

INTRODUCTION TO THE INTERLINEAR GREEK-ENGLISH RECONSTRUCTION TO MARCION'S TEXT OF GALATIANS

Daniel Jon Mahar

The limitations of where my zeal exceeds my actual knowledge and abilities with Greek will become painfully evident to actual trained scholars in this field, and for any errors and shortcomings in this attempt, I humbly apologize in advance.

This interlinear owes much to the reconstructions of Harnack and Zahn, and pursues the spirit of their maximalist approach, where all material and citations in the ancient literature relevant to discussions concerning Marcion is noted and utilized. Signs and abbreviations (below) are used to indicate variant possibilities for a reading.

CRITICAL SIGNS AND ABBREVIATIONS

The signs employed in the Greek text of the United Bible Society are also applied to the reconstructed Marcionite text, but primarily to display the relationship of variants that exist in readings among the various sources used for the reconstructing Marcion's text, and *not* the larger textual tradition. For example, where a reading differs between Tertullian and Adamantius, the signs are used to indicate this difference. The closing bracket, ` , unlike the UBS text, is extended here to indicate the completion of both omitted *and* inserted words.

- = the single word that follows is *omitted*.
- ┘ = the single word that follows is *replaced* with another word.
- = the few *words* or sentences which follow are *omitted*
- ┘ = the few *words* or sentences which follow are *added* or *inserted*.
- ˘ = marks end of *omitted* **or** *inserted* text.
- ? = following *any* sign -questionable or conjectural- no absolute certainty.
- [] = Brackets enclose *conjectures*, or supply partial words or readings often needed to complete the sense of a reading that is otherwise unattested.
- ⌈ ⌋ = *the words* enclosed in this sign indicate *replacement* by other words.
- ⌊ ⌋ = the word or words enclosed are *transposed*
- () = Paranthesis, which enclose verse numbers, indicate passages or sections for which no attestation exists.
- [] = Bold brackets enclosing passage numbers indicate missing or deleted sections from the text.

ΠΡΟΣ ΓΑΛΑΤΑΣ

- 1:1 Παυλος αποστολος ουκ απ ανθρωπων ουδε δι ανθρωπου
Paul apostle not of men nor by man
 αλλα δια Ιησου Χριστου¹ του εγειραντος αυτον εκ
but by Jesus Christ Who raised himself from
 6 νεκρων.² (1:2-1:5) Θαυμαζω οτι ουτως ταχεως μετατιθε-
(the) dead I-marvel that thus quickly ye-are-changed
 σθε απο του καλεσαντος υμας εν τ την? ρχαριν τ αυτου?
from him-who called you in the grace his
 7 εις ετερον ευαγγελιον,³ ο ς αλλο τ παντως? ουκ εστιν^{2 4}
unto [a] different gospel which another wholly not is
 τ κατα το ευαγγελιον μου⁵ ει μη τινες εισιν οι
according to gospel my but some [there] are who
 ταρασσοντες υμας και θελοντες μεταστρεψαι τ υμας?
trouble you and want to change you
 8 ρεις ετερον ευαγγελιον του Χριστου⁶ αλλα και εαν
unto [a] different gospel of Christ but even if
 ρ ημεις η[?] αγγελος εξ ουρανου αλλως ευαγγελιση-
we or [an] angel from heaven another gospel-proclaims

¹ Gal.1:1 (Tert.,AM V.1) : *apostolum ...non ab hominibus nec [or, neque] per hominem, sed per Iesum Christum.*

² Gal.1:1b ρ και θεου πατρος⁵ Origen (by Hieronymus , *Commentary to Galatians*): "...in Marcion's *Apostolikon* not written is "and by God the Father" (*et per Deum patrem*) in order to expound, that Christ was not by God the Father, but of his own self awakened (*semetipsum suscitatum*)".

³ Gal.1:6 (Tert, AM V.2): *miror quod tam cito transferri ab eo, qui vos vocavit in gratiam, ad aliud evangelium.*; Dial.I.6.11-13 (Rufin): supplied in paranthesis: (*Miror quod sic tam cito transferimini in aliud evangelium*), w/ no parallel in Gk. txt. | ρχαριν τ αυτου cf. Ephr^{Molitor} (*Der Paulustext*, p.72): ... απο του καλεσαντος υμας εις την χαριν αυτου ; sy^P ܫܚܪܝܢܐܘܬܘܘܢ = εν χαριν αυτου ; Harnack/Zahn ρχαριτι ; Manen: εις (την) χαριν for εν (την) χαριτι

⁴ Gal.1:7a (Tert, AM V.2): *quod aliud omnio non est.*; (Meg.)Dial.I.6.11-13: ς ουκ εστιν αλλο;
 Rufin: *quod non est aliud* . | Manen: ρ αλλως παντως⁵ = ο ουχ εστιν sy^P

⁵ Gal 1:7b (Meg.)Dial.I.6.11-13: ουκ εστιν αλλο κατα το ευαγγελιον μου... ; (Chrysostom, *On the Epistle to the Galatians*, in his discussion of Gal.1:7): "[the marcionites'] explanation of the words, "according to my Gospel and the preaching of Jesus Christ," is sufficiently ridiculous...".

⁶ Gal 1:7c (Meg.)Dial.I.6.11-13: (ουκ εστιν αλλο κατα το ευαγγελιον μου) ει μη τινες εισιν οι ταρασσοντες υμας και θελοντες μεταστρεψαι εις ετερον ευαγγελιον του Κριστου |cf. Ephr^{Molitor} (*Der Paulustext*, p.72): θελοντες μεταστρεψαι υμας το ευαγγελιον του Κριστου [who would change you..", and n.12 : + υμας = sy^P gg arm .

- 9 ται υμιν [†]παρ ο ευηγγελισαμεθα υμιν` ? αναθεμα εστω. ⁷
to you against that proclaimed to you accursed be.
- 9 [και παλιν λεγω?] ει τις υμας °αλλως ευαγγελισεται
and again I say if anyone to you another gospel-proclaims
- παρ ο ευηγγελισαμεθα υμιν` αναθεμα εστω. ⁸
against what we proclaimed to you accursed be
- 15a (1:9 - 1:14) [οτε δε ευδοκησεν ο θεος ο αφορισας με
be. when but was-pleased the God who separated me
εκ κοιλιας μητρος μου ?] ⁹ (1:15b - 1:16a)
from (the) womb mother my
- 16b [ου προσανεθεμην σαρκι και αιματι ?] ¹⁰ (1:17- 1:24)
not I conferred (with) flesh and blood.
- 2:1 δια δεκατεσσαρων ετων ανεβην εις Ιεροσολυμα
after fourteen years ascended-I unto Jerusalem
- 2 και ανεθεμην αυτοις το [†]κανονος του` ευαγγελιον . . .
and set before them the canon of the Gospel
- 3 μη πως εις κενον τρεχω η εδραμον . ¹¹ αλλ ουδε Τιτος
lest-somehow to vain I should be running or had run. But not-even Titus
ο συν εμοι Ελλην ων ηναγκασθη περιτμηθηναι
who with me [a]Greek being was-compelled to-be-circumcised.
- 4 δια τους παρεισακτους ψευδαδελφους οιτινες
Because [of] those brought in secretly pseudo-brethren who
παρεισηλθον κατασκοπησαι την ελευθεριαν ημων ην
arrived-undercover to spy out the freedom our which
εχομεν εν Χριστω ινα ημας καταδουλωσουσιν
we-have in Christ that us they might enslave

⁷ Gal.1:8 (Tert., AM V.2), twice: (a) *licet angelus de caelo aliter evangelizauerit, anathema sit.* (variant repeated in Tert. against Apelles, ch. 7, *On the Flesh of Christ*); (b) *sed et si nos aut angelus de caelo aliter evangelizauerit.*; cf. also NHL (*Test.Truth IX, 3, 73.19-20*). "They say [even if] an [angel] comes from heaven, and preaches to you beyond that which we preached to you, may he be anathema!" ; (Meg.)Dial.I.6.18-20: *αλλα καν ημεις η αγγελος εξ ουρανου ευαγγελισται υμιν παρ ο ευηγγελισαμεθα* (Rufin): *Sed et si nos... aut angelus de caelo evangelizaurit vobis praeterquam quod evangelizavimus vobis, anathema sit* ; [†]παρ ο ευ- ... ` text here questionable in view of Tert.'s earlier testimony.

⁸ Gal 1:9? (Meg.)Dial.I.6.7/8 (Rufin) *...secundum euangelium meum...Et iterum dicit* ["and a second time (or, again?) he says"] *Si uobis quis aliter euangelizauerit, anathema sit.* Rufin.'s testimony may indicate 1:9, if *iterum* actually meant "a second time" -but if "again", then 1:8 might have been intended ; less certain is the Gk. parallel: (κατα το ευαγγελιον μου, 1:7) . . . ιδε πως λεγει εν ειναι. και λεγει ει τιφ υμας ευαγγελισεται παρ ο ευηγγελισαμεθα υμιν, αναθεμα εστω., w/o *αλλως* but adding *παρ ο ευηγ-...*, omitted by Rufin.

⁹ Gal 1:15 (Ad.)Dial.IV.15.25/26: *οτε δε ευδοκησεν ο θεος ο αφορισας με εκ κοιλιας μητρος μου.* Though contained in Harnack's reconstruction, this is entirely uncertain due to the section of *Dial.IV* where it occurs. cf. NHL , Apoc.Paul, V,2,18.15; V,2,23.1-5.

¹⁰ Gal.1:16 Harnack (Beilage III, p 69-70): "According to Hieronymus, *Comm.in Gal.*, has "the most part" [*plerique*] and also Porphyrius, of the words, (ου προσανεθεμην) σαρκι και αιματι ["(I conferred not) with flesh and blood"]].

¹¹ Gal.2:1 (Tert., AM V.3) But with regard to Peter and the rest of the apostles, he tells us that :

(2:1) *ascendisse Hierosolyma post annos quattuordecim ... (2:2) conferret cum illis de evangelii sui regula, ne in vacuum annis cucurrisset aut curret...*".

5 ουδε προφ ωραν ειξαμεν τη υποταγη ¹² (2:6 - 2:8)
not for an hour did we yield in-subjection

9 δεξιας εδωκαν εμοι Πητρος και Ιακωβος και Ιωαννης [
they gave [the] right to me Peter and James and John those
δοκουντες στυλοι ειναι] ινα εγω εις τα εθνη αυτοι δε εις
reputed pillars to be that I unto the nations they but unto

10 την περιτομην . μονον των πτωχων ινα μνημονευωμεν ¹³
the circumcision. only the destitute that we should remember

11 Πητρος . . .κατα προσωπον αυτω αντεστην οτι κατεγνωσ-
Peter to the face [of] him I withstood because he-was-to-blame

12 μενος .[προ του γαρ ελθειν [□]τινας απο` ? Ιακωβον, μετα
before that For came certain from James with
των εθνων] συνησθιεν [οτε δε ^Γηλθεν υπεστελλεν. . .]
the nations he-was-eating when but he-came he - withdrew

14 φοβουμενος τους εκ περιτομης .(2:13) ουκ ορθοποδουσιν
being afraid of those of [the] circumcision not- uprightly-they-walk

16 προς την αληθειαν του ευαγγελιου. ¹⁴ (2:15) ου δικαιοιται
for the truth of the gospel not is-justified

ανθρωπος εξ εργαων νομου εαν μη δια πιστεως ¹⁵
man from works of law but by faith

18 ει γαρ α κατελυσα ταυτα παλιν οικοδομω ¹⁶ (2:19)
if for what I-cast-down these things again I build

20 ο δε νυν ζω εν σαρκι εν πιστει ζω τη του υιου του θεου
that but now I live in flesh in faith I-live that of the Son of-the God

3:1 του ^Γαγορασαντος με . ¹⁷ [Ω ανοητοι Γαλαται τις υμας
who ransomed me. O insensitive Galatians who you
εβασκανεν.] ¹⁸ [οισ κατα οφθαλμους Ιησους Χριστος
fascinated ? Whose before eyes Jesus Christ

¹² Gal.2:3-5 (Tert., V.3): *sed nec Titus, qui mecum erat, cum esset Graecus, coactus est circumcidi*, (4) *Ergo propter falsos, in superinducticios fratres, qui subintrauerant speculandam libertatem nostram, quam habemus in Christo. ut nos in subigerent seruituti*, (5) *nec ad horam cessimus subiectioni*.

¹³ Gal.2:9b-10 (Tert. AM, V.3):*...quod et dexteris Paulo dederunt Petrus et Iacobus et Iohannes et de officii distributione pepigerunt, ut Paulus in nationes, illi in circumcissionem, tantum ut meminissent egenorum.*

¹⁴ Gal.2:11-12,14 (Tert., AM V.3): *Sed reprehendit Petrum non recto pede incedentem ad evangelii. Plain reprehendit, non ob aliud tamen quam ob inconstantiam uictus,(2:12) quem pro personarum qualitate variabat, "timens eos qui erant ex circumcissione"...de qua et aliis in faciem restitus .cf. Gal.5:12 , Hieronymus (Zahn, p503): Secretly, they say, Peter lacerated (lacerat), of whom previously he wrote "to the face resisted"; | 2:12, [□]τινας...` , van Manen: προ του γαρ ελθειν Ιακωβε. . . ; (12b) ^Γηλθεν ("he came") w/ ηλθον ("they came").*

¹⁵ Gal.2:16 (Tert. AM V.3): *negan ex operibus legis iustificari hominem sed ex fide.*

¹⁶ Gal.2:18 (Tert. AM V.3): *merito non reaedificabat quae destruxit.*

¹⁷ Gal 2:20 (Ad.)Dial.V.22.13-15 : Rufinus: *Quod autem nunc uiuo in carne in fide uiuo Filii Dei, qui redemit me.* But the Gk.: ο δε νυν ζω εν σαρκι εν πιστει ζω τη του υιου του θεου του ^Γαγαπησαντος με . (...who loved me).

¹⁸ Gal.3:1a:(Tert.,*Prescript.Haer.27*)- *O insensati Galatae, quis vos fascinavit?* - with Marcion addressed in the context of that discussion.

2 προεγραφη εσταυρωμενος].¹⁹ [τουτο μονον θελω
was-openly-portrayed crucified ? This only I wish

11 μαθειν. . . ?]²⁰ (3:3 - 3:5) [3:6 - 3:9]²¹ Μαθετε οτι δικαιος
to learn Learn that the just

10 εκ πιστεως ζησεται . Οσοι γαρ υπο νομον υπο καταραν
from faith shall live. as-many for under law under curse

12 εισιν .²² ο δε ποιησας αυτα ζησεται εν αυτοις .²³
are. the[one] but who-did these-things shall-live in them.

13 Χριστος ημας εξηγορασεν²⁴ εκ της καταρας του νομου
Christ us ransomed from the curse of the law

γενομενος επι υπερ ημων καταρα²⁵ οτι γεγραπται
having-become for us [a] curse that as-was-written

14 επικαταρατος πας ο κρεμαμενος ξυλου .²⁶ ελαβομεν
Accursed all who suspends upon [a] tree we might receive

ουν την ευλογια του πνευματος δια της πιστεως .²⁷
thus the blessing of the spirit by the faith

26 [3:15b - 3:25] παντες γαρ υιοι εστε της πιστεως .²⁸
all for sons are of the faith

28 . . . ουκ ενι αρνερ ουδε θηλυ . . .²⁹ (3:29-4:2)
not there is male nor female

¹⁹ **Gal.3:1b Gal.3:1** Hieronymus (Origen) 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* ("Thus we may question this place with Marcion, who repudiated the prophets, how he interpreted it as far as this") - namely, 3:1". προεγραφε = "openly-portrayed", or "set-forth" -- construed by both Zahn and Harnack as attesting to *at least* the presence of this passage in Marcion's text (cf. Harnack, Marcion, p.*72).

²⁰ **Gal.3:2** cf. μαθειν w. Μαθετε in Gal.3:10.

²¹ **Gal.3:6-9 MISSING!** Hieronymus (Origen) "From this place (Gal.3:6) up till this, where it is written "they who are of faith, are blessed with faithful Abraham" , Marcion has erased from his Apostle".

²² **Gal 3:10** (Epiphanius, *Adv.Haer.*42): Μαθετε διοτι δικαιος εκ πιστεως ζησεται ... οσοι γαρ υπο νομον, υπο καταραν εισιν ; cf. Ep.Barn.6: "Learn trust" she says..."- alluded (or influenced) from Marcion's text?

Gal 3:10b (Tert, AM V.3) : *quia iustus ex fide vivit.*

²³ **Gal 3:12b** (EPIP., *Adv.Haer.*42): ο δε ποιησας αυτα ζησεται εν αυτοις

²⁴ **Gal 3:13a** (Meg.)Dial.I.27.12 : Κριστος ημας εξηγορασε ; (Rufin.): *Christus nos redemit.*; Hieron.(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.

²⁵ **Gal.3:13b**, Tert.(AM V.3): *cur autem Christus factus sit pro nobis maledictio...*

²⁶ **Gal.3:13c**(Tert., AM V.3): *maledictus omnis ligno suspensus.*

(EPIP.,*Adv.Haer.* 42): Επικαταρατος πας ο κρεμαμενος επι ξυλου.

²⁷ **Gal.3:14b** (Tert., AM V.3): *accipiamus igitur benedictionem spiritalem per fidem .*

²⁸ **Gal.3:26b** (Ter., AM V.3): *omnes enim filii estis fidei* . But Harnack (Beil.III, p.51-52, 73) proposes that Tert.'s reading *filii fidei* ("sons of faith") is a common Latin *dittographie*, which should read *filii dei* ("sons of God").

²⁹ **Gal. 3:28**(Eznik, *De Deo* s.413.288): But, it is by reason of a greatest love of God, that of the good creatures of God they [marcionites] renounce; so that, to become equal to the Angels of God, where there is *neither male nor female* , they show, likewise on earth, this same perfection... |cf. NHL, *Trip.Tract.*I,5,132.

20-25, which is perhaps more a citation of Col.3:11.

3:15a **Επι** **κατα** **ανθρωπον** **λεγω** . **οτε** **ημεν** **νηπιοι** **υπο** **τα**
 Yet as [a] man I speak . when we were infants under the

4:3 **στοιχεια** **του** **κοσμου** **ημεθα** **δεδουλωμενοι** .³⁰ **οτε** **δε**
 elements of the cosmos we were held in slavery when but

4 **ηλθεν** **το** **πληρωμα** **του** **χρονου** **εξαπεστειλεν** **ο** **θεος** **τον**
 arrived the fullness of the time sent-forth the God the

5 **υιον** **αυτου** .³¹ **ινα** **τους** **υπο** **νομον** **εξαγοραση** **και** **ινα**
 Son His that those under law he-might-ransom and that

6 **την** **υιοθεσιαν** **απολαβωμεν** .³² **οτι** **δε** **εστε** **υιοι**
 the adoption we-might-receive. because- but ye are sons

εξαπεστειλεν **ο** **θεος** **το** **πνευμα** **του** **υιου** **αυτου** **εις** **τας**
 sent - forth the God the spirit of-the Son [of] His into the

καρδιας **υμων** **κραζον** **Αββα** **ο** **Πατηρ**³³ (4:7)
 hearts your crying Abba Father.

9a **Ει** **ουν** [**γνοντες** **Θεον** **μαλλον** **δε** **γνωσθεντας** **υπερ** **Θεου**]
 Yet thus having-known God rather but having been known by God

8b **τοις** **εν** **τη** **φυσει** **ουσιν** **θεοις** **δουλευετε** . **πωφ** **επιστρε**
 those in nature are gods ye serve. How do ye turn

9b **φετε** **παλιν** **επι** **τα** **ασθενη** **και** **πτωχα** **στοιχεια** . **ημερας**
 again to the weak and beggarly elements ? Days

10 **παρατηρεισθε** **και** **μηνας** **και** **καιρους** **και** **ενιαυτους**³⁴
 ye-observe and months and times and years

Τ **και** **σαββατα** **ως** **οιμαι** **και** **δειπνα** **καθαρα** **και** **νηστειας**
 and sabbaths as I-suppose and suppers meagre and fasts

19a **και** **ημερας** **μεγαλας** .³⁵ **τεκνια** **μου** **ους** **ωδινω** **παλιν**³⁶
 and days great little-children my of whom I travail again

21 **Λεγετε** **μοι** **οι** **υπο** **νομον** **θελοντες** **ειναι** **τον** **νομον** **ουκ**
 Tell me ye-who under law wish to be . the law not

22 **ακουετε** . **γεγραπται** **γαρ** **οτι** **Αβρααμ** **δυο** **υιους** **εσχεν**
 do-ye-hear ? It was written for that Abraham two sons had

23 **ενα** **εκ** **της** **παιδισκης** **και** **ενα** **εκ** **της** **ελευθερας** . **αλλ**
 one from the slave-maid and one from the free [woman] but

³⁰ **Gal.3:15/Gal.4:3** (Tert.,AM V.4):*secundum hominem dico: dum essemus parvuli, sub elementis mundi eramus positi ad deseruendum eis.*

³¹ **Gal.4:4** (Tert, AM V.4): *cum autem evenit impleri tempus, misit Deus Filium suum.* Missing : “made of a woman”, according to Hieron., 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.*

³² **Gal.4:5a** (Tert., AM V.4): *ut eos qui sub lege erant redimeret.* **Gal 4:5b** (Eph.1:5?) Dial.II.19.21 (Markus): *oti eij uiogesian elhfqhmen, to adoption we were called.*

³³ **Gal.4:6** (Tert., AM V.4): *misit spiritum suum in corda nostra clamantem: Abba Pater.*

³⁴ **Gal.4:8-10**(Tert. AM V.4): (8) *si ergo his, qui in natura sunt dei, servitis...(9b) ad infirma et mendica elementa... (10) dies observatis et menses et tempora et annos.* (An allusion to Genesis 1:14 ?).

³⁵ **Gal.4:10b?** (Tert., AM V.4):*“...et sabbati ut opinor et coenas puras et ieiunia et dies magnos”;* as proposed by van Manen (“Marcions Brief van Paulus ann de Galatiers”, *Theologisch.tijdschrift* , vol.21, p.531).

³⁶ **Gal 4:19** (Tert. AM V.8):*filii mei, quos parturio rursus .*

ο μεν εκ της παιδισκης κατα σαρκα γεγεννηται ο δε εκ
 the one from the slave-maid according-to flesh has been born he but from
 24 της ελευθερας δια της επαγγελιας .³⁷ ατινα εστιν αλληγο-
 the free[woman] by the promise which-things are allegorized
 ουμενα αυται γαρ εισιν δυο ἑπιδειξειξ μια μεν απο
 these for are two manifestations one from
 ορους Σινα εις συναγωγην των Ιουδαιων κατα τον νομον
 mount Sinai unto [the] synagogue of the Jews according-to the law
 26 γεννωσα εις δουλειαν ;³⁸ αλλη δε υπερανω πασης αρκης
 (that) generates unto slavery the other but above every principality
 γεννωσα και δυναμεως και εξουσιας και παντος ονομ-
 generates and power and authority and every name
 ατος ονομζομενου ου μονον εν τω αιωνι τουτω αλλα
 that is named not only in this aeon this but
 και εν τω μελλονται εις ην επηγγειλαμεθα αγιαν
 also in the coming unto [the] promise [of the] holy
 εκκλησιαν ητις εστιν υητηρ ημων .³⁹ (4:27-30 ?)
 church which is Mother our .
 31 Διο αδελφοι ουκ εσμεν παιδισκης τεκνα
 Wherefore brethren not are we [of a] slave-maid children
 5:1 αλλα της ελευθερας .⁴⁰ η ελευθερια [ουν] η Χριστος
 but of the free . In the freedom therefore with Christ
 ημας ηλευθερωσεν στηκετε και μη παλιν ζυγω
 us made-free stand-fast and not again a yoke
 3 δουλειας ενεχεσθε .⁴¹ Μαρτυρομαι δε παλιν οτι
 of slavery be held. I testify but again that

³⁷ Gal:4:22-23 (Tert.V.4), “the last mention of Abraham’s name he left untouched” : (22) *si enim Abraham duos liberos habuit, unum ex ancilla et alium ex libera*, (23) *sed qui ex ancilla carnaliter natus est, qui vero ex libera per repromissionem Gal:4:23* (Epirh.): ο δε εκ της επαγγελιας, δια της ελευθεριας .

³⁸ Gal:4:24-25 (Tert., V.4): *quae sunt allegorica : haec sunt enim duo testamenta (siue ‘duae ostensiones’. sicut inuenimus interpretatum). unum a monte Sina in synagogam Iudaeorum secundum generans in servitute*. cf. Lao.1:21. Gal. 4:24 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”.

³⁹ Gal:4:26/Eph.1:21 (Tert.V.4): *alium super omnem principatum generans uim dominationem et omne nomen quod nominatur, non tantum in hoc aeuo sed et in futuro, in quam repromissimus sanctam ecclesiam, quae est mater nostra*. The insertion of Eph.1:21 at this place is also also attested with Ephraem (*Comm.in Epistolas d. Paul*, p.135): *Hoe vero fuerunt symbola duorum testamentorum*. Una populi Iudaeorum secundeum legem in servitute generans ad similitudinem ejusdem Agar. Agar enim ipsa *mons Sinai in Arabia*; est autem illa similitudo hujas Jerusalem, quia in subjectione est, et una cum filiis suis servit Romanis. Superior autem Jerusalem libera est, sicut Sara ; et eminent supra omnes potestates ac principatus. Ipsa est Mater nostra, Ecclesia sancta, quam confessi sumus.

⁴⁰ Gal:4:31 (Tert.V.4): “by reason of which he adds in conclusion”: *fratres, non sumus ancillae filii, sed liberae*.

⁴¹ Gal:5:1 (Tert., AM V.4): *qua libertate Christus nos manumisit*, (“the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free,”) *et merito non decebat manumissos rursus ingo servitutis, id est legis, adstringi*, (And it is properly unsuitable for those set free to turn back to slavery, that being to the law, “entangled”).

ανθρωπος περιτετμημενος οφειλετης εστιν ολον τον
 [a] man circumcised [a] debtor he-is [the] whole [of] the
 4 νομον πληρωσαι .⁴² †καταργειτε το σημειον της
 law to fullfil Exempted is he with the brand-mark of
 δουλειας` .?⁴³ [οιτινες εν νομω δικαιουσθε της χαριτος
 bondage Whosoever in law are justified, of the grace
 6 εξεπεσατε?]. εν γαρ Χριστω Ιησου ουτε περιτομη τι
 ye have fallen. in for Christ Jesus neither circumcision any
 ισχυει ουτε ακροβυστια αλλα πιστις δι αγαπης
 is of impact nor uncircumcision but faith by love
 9 †επιτελειθαι ? ⁴⁴ Μικρα ζυμη ολοντο φυραμα δολοι ⁴⁵
 is perfected A little leaven whole the lump corrupts.
 10b ο δε ταρασσων υμας το κριμα βαστασει οστις αν η. ⁴⁶
 he but troubling you the judgment shall bear whoever he may be.
 14 (5:12-13) ο γαρ πας νομος εν υμιν πεπληρουται.
 the- for- whole law in you is fulfilled
 αγαπησεις τον πλησιον σου ως εαυτον ⁴⁷ (5: 15 - 5: 18)
 You shall love the neighbor as yourself.
 19 φανεραι δε εστιν τα εργα της σαρκος ατινα εστι πορνεια
 Manifest now are the works of the flesh which are fornication
 20 ακαθαρσια, ασελγεια. ειδωλολατρευια φαρμακεια εχθραι
 uncleanness licentiousness idolatry sorcery enmities
 ερεις ζηλοι θυμοι εριθειαι διχοστασιαι αιρεσεις
 strifes jealousies indignations contentions divisions sects
 21 φθονοι μεθαι κωμοι [και τα ομοια τουτοις] α προλεγω
 envyings drunkenesses revels and things like these against which-before I say
 υμιν καθως και προειπον οτι οι τα τοιαυτα πρασسونτες
 to you even as also I-before-said that they-who such things do

⁴² Gal 5: 3 (Erip.) Μαρτυρομαι δε παλιν οτι ανθρωπος περιτετμημενος οφειλετης εστιν ολον τον νομον πληρωσαι.

⁴³ Gal.5:4 (Tert., AM V.4): *De servitute igitur exemptos ipsam servitutis notam eradere perseverabat, circumcissionem...* ("All those, therefore, who had been exempted from the yoke of slavery he would earnestly have to obliterate the very mark of slavery, even circumcision..."). W.C.van Manen regarded Tert.'s statement here as reference to an actual passage from Marcion's version, contained in van Manen's 1888 reconstruction of Galatians ("Marcions Brief van Paulus ann de Galatiers", *Theologisch.tijdschrift* , vol.21, p.532).

⁴⁴ Gal.5:6a (Tert.) *cur etiam praeputationem negat quicquam valere in Christo sicut et circumcissionem?* (why therefore uncircumcision if not anything availeth in Christ even as also circumcision?)

(5: 6b) *illius fidei quam dicendo per dilectionem perfici* - †επιτελειθαι for ενεργουμενη ("worketh") ?

⁴⁵ Gal 5: 9 (Erip.) : Αντι του μικρα ζυμη ολον το φυραμα ζυμοι εποινσε δολοι Cf. Tert., AM, I.2.

⁴⁶ Gal.5:10 (Tert.) *Qui autem turbat vos iudicium feret.* (But the one who troubles you shall bear his judgement).

(Ad.)Dial.II.5.25: ο ταρασσων υμας βαστασει το κριμα οστις αν η . Rufin.: *Qui conturbat uos portabit iudicium, quicumque est ille*

⁴⁷ Gal.5:14 (Tert.): *tota enim, inquit, lex in vobis adimpleta est: diliges proximum tuum tamquam te.*

("For all" says he, "the law in you is fulfilled by this: "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.' ")

(Erip.) : Ο γαρ πας νομος υμιν πεπληρωται. αγαπησεις τον πλησιον σου ως εαυτον.

- βασιλειαν Θεου ου κληρονομησουσιν ⁴⁸ (5:22 - 5:23)
 (the) kingdom of God not shall enjoy allotment .
- 24 οι δε του Χριστου την σαρκα εσταυρωσαν συν τοις
 they but of the Christ the flesh have crucified with the
 παθημασιν και ταις επιθυμιας ⁴⁹ (5:25 - 6: 1)
 passions and the desires
- 6:2 Αλληλων τα βαρη βασταζετε και ουτως αναπληρωσατε
 one-another's the burdens bear ye and thus fulfill
- 6 τον νομον του Χριστου . ⁵⁰ (6:3 - 6:5) Κοινωνειτω δε ο
 the law of the Christ. let share but him
 κατηχουμενος τον λογον τω κατηχουντι εν πασιν
 being-taught-in the utterance him teaching in all
- 7 αγαθοις .⁵¹ [Μη] πλανασθε Θεος ου μυκτηριζεται ο γαρ
 good. not be misled God is not derided for
 εαν σπειρη ανθρωπος ταυτα και θερισει ⁵² (6:8)
 whatsoever may sow [a] man that also he-shall-reap.
- 9 το δε καλον ποιουντες μη εκκακωμεν καιρω δε ιδιω
 that but well doing not we-should-lose-heart [in] time but due
- 10 θερισομεν . ως εχομεν καιρον εργαζομεθα το αγαθον ⁵³
 we-shall-reap as we have occasion we-should-work the good.
- 12 (6:11) [Οσοι θελουσιν ευπροσωπησαι εν σαρκι ουτοι
 as many as want to make a fair show in flesh these
 αναγκαζουσιν υμας περιτεμυεσθαι] . . . Ϛ διωκτους ?
 compel you to be circumcised [they are] persecutors
 [τω σταυρω ?] του Χριστου . ⁵⁴
 of the cross of Christ

⁴⁸ Gal 5:19-21 (Eriph.) :Φανερὰ δε εστι τα εργα της σαρκος ατινα εστι πορνεια, ακαθαρσια, ασελγεια (20)ειδωλολατρια, φαρμακεια, εχθραι, ερεις, ζηλοι, θυμοι, εριθειαι, διχοστασιαι, αιρεσεις, 21) φονοι, μεθαι, κωμοι, α προλεγω υμιν, καθως και προειπον, οτι οι τα τοιαυτα πρασσοντες βασιλειαν θεου ου κληρονομησουσιν.

⁴⁹ Gal 5: 24 (Eriph.): Οι δε του Χριστου την σαρκα εσταυρωσαν συν τοις παθημασι και ταις επιθυμιας.

⁵⁰ Gal.6:2 (Tert. AM V.4) *onera vestra inuicem sustinete, et sic adimplebitis legem Christi.*

⁵¹ 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*)".

⁵² Gal.6:7 (Tert.)*Eratis, Deus non deridetur...quae enim seminaverit homo, hoc et metet.*

(Ad.) Dial.II.5.30: α γαρ εαν σπειρη ανθρωπος τουτο και θερισει.

Rufin: *Quodcunque seminaverit homo hoc et metet.*

⁵³ Gal.6:8-10,(Tert.):(v8,alluded):*porro si retributionem praedicat, ab eodem et corruptionis messis et vitae.*

(Again if he stated beforehand retribution, from the same also the harvest [or, the reaping] of corruption and life).

(9) *bonum autem facientes non fatigemur... tempore autem suo metemus.*(10) *dum habemus tempus, operemur bonum.*

⁵⁴ Gal.6:12b (Tert.): *persecutores vacat Christi,* rebuked by Paul in 6:12-14. Cf. also "the others" in 6:17.

Ϛ διωκτους for διωκωνται ? Such would seem possible if Tert.'s testimony is considered alone.

- 13 ουδε γαρ οι περιτετημενοι αυτοι νομον φυλασσουσιν ⁵⁵
 neither for they being-circumcised themselves law keep
- 14b μοι κοσμος εσταυρωται καγω κοσμω ⁵⁶ (6:15 - 6:16)
 [to] me world has been crucified as I world.
- 17 Του δε ραλλων εικη κοπους μοι μηδεις παρεχεσθω. ⁵⁷
 the- but- others without troubles me no one let-give
- εγω γαρ τα στιγματα του Χριστου εν τω σωματι μου
 I for the marks of the Christ in the body my
 βασταζω. ⁵⁸ (6:18)
 bear

December 28th, 2000 by Daniel J. Mahar, dmahar@snet.net .

⁵⁵ **Gal 6: 13** (Eriph.): Ουδε γαρ οι περιτετημενοι αυτοι νομον φυλασσουσι.

⁵⁶ **Gal.6:14** (Tert.):*Sed et mihi...mundus crucifixus est,...et ego mundo.*

⁵⁷ **Gal 6:17**(Ad.)Dial.V.22.15-17 : των δ αλλων [ραλλων for λοιπου] εικη χοπους μοι υνδεις παρεχεσθω.
 εγω γαρ τα στιγματα του Ιησου εν τω σωματι μου βασταζω.

Rufin.: *De caetero* ["the rest"= Ιοιρου] *nemo mihi molestus sit. Ego enim stigmata domini nostri Iesu Christi in corpore meo porto.*

⁵⁸ **Gal.6:17b** (Tert.) *cum vero adicit stigmata Christi in corpore suo gestare se.*