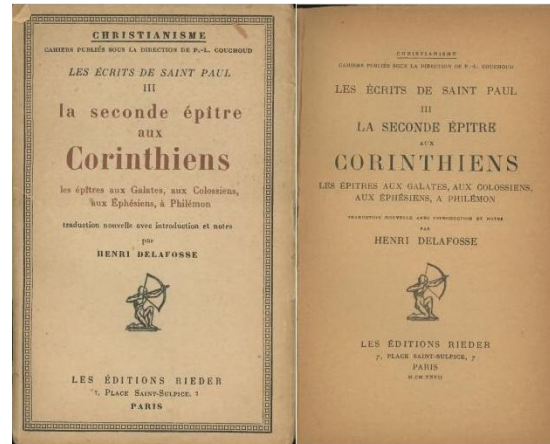


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<https://archive.org/details/turmel-les-ecrits-de-saint-paul-ii-la-premiere-epitre-aux-corinthiens>

Neil Godfrey - November 2023



EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS

I leave it to the learned to decide where the Galatians with whom our epistle deals came from and where they lived. I will come to the point.

The churches founded by Paul in Galatia -- either in the north or in the south -- were composed primarily of Jewish elders whom the apostle had met in the synagogues and whom he had won over to his propaganda. But they also included some former uncircumcised proselytes. Many of the latter, seduced by co-religionists of Jewish origin who claimed to be the authorized interpreters of Paul's thought, had allowed themselves to be yoked to the circumcision. Others who still resisted the solicitations of the Judaizers were on the verge of succumbing.

PAULINE REDACTION

Informed of this situation, Paul rebukes the Galatians (I, 6-7); he takes them by the scruff of the neck by evoking memories of the past (IV, 13-20); but above all he reasons with them. Only his reasoning is important here: let us get to know them.

There are three of them. In one of them (V, 11) Paul replies to the Judaizers who gave themselves as interpreters of his thought: "If I still preach circumcision, why am I persecuted? This is a denial that is followed (12) by a jest. It is enough to mention it and the joke that accompanies it.

1. The promise to Abraham.

The second argument is set out in III:6-29 (with the deduction of certain supplements which we will discuss later). It is the most important argument. To understand it, a few preliminary notions are indispensable. It is necessary to know that between Paul and the Judaizers who seduced the Galatians, there is agreement on three points and conflict on a fourth. First, there is agreement that a promise was made to Abraham; second, there is agreement as to the object of that promise; and third, there is agreement that only the sons of Abraham will share in his promise. The conflict is over the requirements for being a son of Abraham. The Judaizers say: "One is a son of Abraham only by observing the law and especially by circumcision; hence it follows that only those will share in the promise made to Abraham who observe the law and, above all, who are circumcised. No," replies Paul, "one is a son of Abraham only when one has the faith which Abraham had; and only those who believe will share in the blessing of Abraham the believer (9). This point being the only one in dispute, Paul is hardly concerned with it, and in order to establish it he resorts to a laborious argument, the thought of which is this: "The promise having been made with this clause that it would be obtained by faith, the law which came four hundred and thirty years later cannot annul the primitive provision, for if it were to annul it, it would abolish the essential clause of the promise, and consequently it would abolish the promise itself. If, in fact, the inheritance comes by means of the law, it no longer comes by the means instituted at the time the promise was made, since God made his gift to Abraham with the clause that it would be obtained by faith." Theoretically, his thesis is that the means used by God to obtain the promise is faith in that promise. But, in reality, this means as he conceives it is faith in Christ charged by God to realize the promise. In order to reconcile the theoretical thesis with the real one, he was obliged to find Christ in the text which promises blessing to the "posterity" of Abraham. And, by a prodigious feat of strength, he found him there.

Paul's concern is to establish firmly against the Judaizers the necessity of faith as a means of participating in the promise. As for us, our attention is drawn to another side. We are interested in knowing the promise itself, in knowing what its object was. But Paul did not feel the need to explain himself on this point, which was not open to dispute. He did not say - because it would have been useless - how the promise was to be understood; he was content with a few mentions about it. Let us collect them.

First, we notice that Paul speaks of "the promise" (17, 18, 29), but also of "the promises" (16, I leave out 21). Why these two names? There was only one promise in the sense that God made a commitment to give a gift to Abraham. But God renewed this commitment on various occasions and gave several formulations of it that can be seen in Genesis. So both expressions are legitimate and both have their purpose. When Paul speaks of the promise in the singular, he has in mind the gift that God has committed to Abraham and his descendants. When he speaks of the promises, he is referring to the many forms of the promise that Genesis presents to us.

These formulas fall into two groups. One group includes texts where (according to the LXX that Paul used) there is a question of a blessing. In XII, 3 God says to Abraham: "All the tribes of the earth will be blessed in you. In XVIII, 18:

"Abraham will become a great and numerous people, and all the peoples of the earth will be blessed in him." In XXII, 18: "All the peoples of the earth will be blessed in your descendants."

To the other group belong the texts where God commits himself to give the land of Canaan to Abraham and his posterity. In XIII, 15: "All the land that you see, I will give it to you and your descendants forever." In XV, 7: "I am the Lord who brought you out of the land of the Chaldeans to give you this land so that you may inherit it." In XVII, 8: "I will give you and your descendants after you this land where you travel as a stranger, all the land of Chanan in perpetual possession."

These two groups of thoughts complement each other 1.

1. According to Paul the nations will be blessed in Abraham in the sense that they will share in the blessing received by Abraham: and this blessing received by Abraham is the gift of the land of Canaan given to him by God. This is what follows from 14 where we read that the blessing of Abraham is poured out on the nations through Christ. In Hebrew XII, 3 and XVIII, 18, mean that the nations will envy the race of Abraham.

In Gal. III, 8, Paul, concerned to prove that faith is the means of participating in the promise, refers to the first group, because he recalls that all nations will be blessed in Abraham. But, in III, 6-29, to which group does he refer? Let us study his texts closely. He speaks twice about inheritance. In III:18 he says: "If the inheritance comes from the law, it does not come from the promise, but by the promise God gave it (the inheritance) to Abraham. And in III, 29: "If you belong to Christ, then you are Abraham's seed, heirs according to the promise."

Now we read in Gen. XV, 7: "I am the Lord who brought you out of the land of Canaan to give you this land so that you may inherit it. This is the text from which Paul took his idea of the inheritance conferred on Abraham. Let us continue. In III:16, after saying that the promises were made to Abraham and his descendants, he adds: "It is not said 'and to the descendants' as to many, but 'and to your descendants' as to one. It is clear that he is quoting a scriptural formula without changing anything, since he is careful to include the particle "and". There must be somewhere in Genesis one or more texts offering the turn of phrase "and to thy seed". There are two, indeed, and there are only two. They are those of Gen. XIII, 15; XVII, 8 (see above). And we have twice acquired the proof that, in Gal. III, 16-29, Paul refers to the texts of Genesis in which God promises the land of Canaan as an inheritance to Abraham and his descendants.

The possession of the land of Canaan is the object of God's promise to Abraham and his descendants. Now this posterity is above all Christ; but it is also the mass of those who belong to Christ by faith. We have here the thesis which will later be formulated again in Romans 1.

1. The Epistle to the Romans, p. 13.

In both epistles the object of Christian hope is the possession of an earthly kingdom; and Christ is the personage entrusted by God with the possession of this kingdom. In both epistles Christ is the representative of Abraham; this is his title of nobility and not in any pretended descent from David. And this representative of Abraham has as his mission the realization of the promise with which the great patriarch was once blessed. The program which he is to carry out, but which emanates from God, is of a political nature; it consists in the foundation of an earthly kingdom. Only in the epistle to the Galatians does this kingdom have the borders of the land of Canaan as its boundaries: it is the kingdom of Israel. It has existed in the past; it has disappeared for several centuries; but it will be restored. In the epistle to the Romans, on the contrary, judging by IV, 3 which speaks of the inheritance of the world, this kingdom has been enlarged, it is no longer enclosed within the borders of Canaan. And the Christ who is to come will not only restore the ancient kingdom of Israel; he will found the empire of the world.

2. The two sons of Abraham.

The third argument is found in IV, 21-31 (apart from certain additions which will be pointed out later). Paul, who has just given free rein to the outpourings of his heart, uses here the story of the two sons of Abraham. One of these sons was born according to the flesh of the slave woman; the other was born according to the Promise of the free woman. Now only the son of the free woman inherited. The Galatians are, like Isaac, the sons of the promise. They are therefore the sons of the free woman.

Of course, what Paul wants to prove is that the Galatians, sons according to the promise and therefore sons of the free woman, are free in the sense that they are not subject to legal observances. And this objective, which is his, is of little interest to us. But our curiosity is piqued by the following scriptural text which is brought up in the course of the argument (30): "What does the Scripture say? Cast out the slave and his son, for the son of the slave shall not inherit with the son of the free. It goes without saying that the inheritance in question is the one that God promised to Abraham, that is, the land of Chanaan. The Christians, sons of the great patriarch according to the promise, sons of the free woman, will possess this land under the leadership of Christ who will return to found his kingdom there.

MARCIONITE REDACTION

1. The law promulgated in view of transgressions.

Let us return to argument III, 6-29, which deals with the promise made to Abraham. It is not all of a piece: far from it. The elements which compose it are separated into several sections. Let us now examine the following piece of text which separates these sections.

III, 10: For all who are under the works of the law are under a curse, for it is written: Cursed is everyone who does not do everything that is written in the book of the law.
-13: Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law, having become a curse for us, because it is written, "Cursed is everyone who hangs on a tree. - 19a: Why then the law? It was added for transgressions.

This piece must be studied first in itself and then in its relation to Paul's thesis about the promise to Abraham. If we consider it in itself, the first thing that strikes us is that its elements, though separate in reality, have a logical connection with each other. For since all violations of the law are punished by a curse, it is obvious that none of those who are under the works of the law escape the curse, since none of them completely avoid breaking the law. And if all men are under the curse of the law, we cannot be surprised to learn that Christ came to deliver us from this curse. On the other hand, it is surely not by chance that the law is a source of curse for all those who are under its rule. Such a universal result must necessarily have been foreseen and intended. Hence the legitimacy of the inference: "It was added in view of transgressions."

So the elements of our essay connect well together. But what do they say? That Christ has redeemed us. Captives are redeemed; they are bought back from the victor who holds them under his dominion; and a price is given in payment. From whom were the captives? From whom did they have to be redeemed? And what price did Christ pay for the redemption? A mystery! But let's move on. What else do our texts say? That in order to redeem us, Christ became a "curse for us", according to a text in Deuteronomy XXI, 23, according to which everyone who hangs on a tree is cursed; and that, becoming a curse himself, he redeemed us from the curse. This curse which Christ incurred must be the price he paid for us, since it was this curse which enabled him to redeem us. And the curse that we ourselves had incurred was the cause of the captivity into which we were plunged. This information gives us part of the key to the mystery mentioned above. But they give us a little light only to plunge us into a more formidable mystery. For finally, the curse that we had incurred was God's curse since we had incurred it because of our sins. It was to God's curse, then, that Christ also subjected himself, and it was this curse - of which his death on the cross is the testimony recorded in Scripture itself - that he gave in payment! To whom could he have made this payment if not to God? And how can we understand that Christ, cursed by God, made payment for the curse he was under?

But we are not at the end of our surprises. We read in 19a that the law was added "for transgressions". What does this mean? Does it mean that the law was given to punish transgressions? Or, on the contrary, is the purpose of the law to multiply transgressions? Estius admits that this second interpretation is far more probable. And he recalls in this connection the text of Ro. V, 20 where we read that the law intervened to multiply sin. The comparison is, indeed, decisive. The oracle of Gal. III, 19a puts us therefore in the presence of a God who has promulgated the law expressly to multiply transgressions. On the other hand, verse III, 10 that this God punishes with his curse all transgressions of this law. We conclude, first of all, that this God wanted to curse all men; that he succeeded in doing so, as is proved by III, 10. And since the evil God of Marcion alone responds to this description, our second conclusion is that the little essay

III, 10, 13, 19a is of Marcionite origin, just like the text of Ro. V, 20 to which it is intimately related.

2. Artificial entanglement of divergent texts.

Now that we have established the origin of III, 10, 13, 19a, we could stop our investigations there. Let us continue however. Let us forget that the thesis about the curse against all men is not, cannot be, Paul's, and let us confront it with the thesis about the condition required to be a child of Abraham. It is only natural that an author should take up one thesis and then, having proved it, move on to another. It would not be surprising, therefore, to see Paul proving first of all that to be a child of Abraham, to participate in his blessing, that is to say in the inheritance promised to him, one must have faith (faith in Christ who is the posterity of Abraham); then, having done this, he explains that all men are under a curse from which Christ has come to deliver them. But this is not how our two theses present themselves. They do not come one after the other. They are intertwined with each other. From 6 to 9 it is about Abraham, his blessing and the condition required to participate in it. With 10 and 13 we learn that men are under a curse from which Christ has come to deliver them. We return, with 14a, and 16-18 to the blessing of Abraham. Then 19a brings us back to the curse. And finally 29 brings us back to the heritage of Abraham. Intimately intertwined, the two theses are supposed to support each other. And so it is, if we take into account only the indications of the syntax. Let us read again 9 and 10.

So those who believe will be blessed with Abraham the believer. (10) For as many as are under the works of the law are under the curse, for it is written, Cursed is everyone who does not do all that is in the book of the law and keep it.

Verse 10 appears as a development of 9, which it explains and motivates.

Same show in 13 and 14:

Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law having become a curse for us, for it is written, Cursed be everyone who hangs on a tree; (14) so that the blessing of Abraham might come to the Gentiles in Christ Jesus.

Verse 14 indicates the purpose for which Christ delivered men from the curse.

Finally, let us take 19a and 19*>;

Why the law? It was added in view of the transgressions (196), waiting for the posterity to come for which the promise was made.

The first assertion says that the law was instituted to multiply transgressions and, consequently, to cause men to be cursed. The second explains that this provision had, in the mind of the one who made it, an essentially transitory character; it was to subsist only until the coming of Christ for whom the promise was made.

In short, we have before us three groups of thoughts which are linked two by two. The syntax gives us the articulation which, in each group, links the second thought to the first. Its role stops there. Let us now turn to logic and ask it what it thinks of these joints. In groups 13-14 the connection is that between the middle and the end. The Christ became a curse: that is the means. He became a curse "so that" the blessing of Abraham might come to the nations, that is, to the pagans: that is the end. Now in this end, which verse 14 formulates, one sees without difficulty two considerable defects.

Its first defect is that it overlaps with another end formulated in verse 13. There we read that "Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law by becoming a curse. This means that Christ became a curse "in order" to deliver us from the curse and that our deliverance from the curse was the goal he set out to achieve. The end put forward by 14 duplicates the end mentioned by 13. This is its first defect. It has a second. It says that the curse which Christ voluntarily incurred will benefit the Gentiles. Will the Jews not benefit? Why then are they not mentioned? The omission is all the more strange because Christ wanted to deliver men "from the curse of the law", and because, of this curse of the law, the Jews are the first victims, even the only victims strictly speaking, since they alone are initiated into the observances of the law. The truth is that 13 and 14 are linked to each other by an artificial articulation and that they are not made for each other. Verse 14 is like a lock in which a key (verse 13) has been inserted that does not fit.

Is the real key missing? Let's read 14 again:

"that the blessing of Abraham may come to the nations (Gentiles) in Christ Jesus". What does it take for the blessing of Abraham to come to the Gentiles in Christ Jesus? Obviously, there must be a means of transmission that is within the reach of the Gentiles, that is, neither carnal generation nor the law, since the Gentiles are not descended from Abraham in the flesh and do not know the law. Now, in verse 9, the means by which the blessing granted is transmitted is mentioned. The means indicated is faith; and the indication is presented as an inference from the text of Genesis which the said blessing reports:

Therefore (i.e., since God told Abraham that all nations would be blessed in him) those who believe are blessed with Abraham the believer.

To participate in the blessing of Abraham one must believe, one must have faith. Faith is the means of transmission of the blessing. Why did God choose this way?

So that the blessing might be extended to the nations through Christ answers verse 14. The lock has found its key. Verse 14 is the goal of which 9 is the means. Originally these verses were linked together. It took a violent blow to separate them and make them serve other purposes.

I could dispense with studying the 9-10 group. Since 9 has 14 as its point of attachment, the connection that exists today between 9 and 10 must be artificial. Let us see, however, whether experience will confirm this deduction (9): "Therefore those who believe will be blessed with Abraham the believer (10), for all those who are under the works of the law are under a curse. We can immediately see that 10, with its particle "for", serves as a proof of 9 and gives the reason for it. Why will those who believe be blessed with Abraham the believer? It is because those who are under the law are cursed. Unfortunately, the proposition stated in verse 9 does not have a proof. It does not because it is a conclusion deduced from the text of the promise that is quoted in 8. God told Abraham that all nations would be blessed in him; therefore those who believe will be blessed with Abraham the believer. Verse 9 concludes. Now conclusions complete the evidence but do not accept it. The proof that 10 wants to provide is therefore irrelevant, which for a proof is a serious drawback. But let's forget this detail. The point is to prove that those who believe will be blessed with Abraham the believer. How does 10 do this? By claiming, with a scriptural text to back it up ("for it is written...") that all those under the law are cursed. But this consideration, if it has any value, applies only to the Jews, since only the Jews were under the law. It does not apply to the Gentiles who did not know the law, who were, it is true, pressured by the Judaizers to put themselves under the Mosaic yoke, but who had only to follow Paul's orders to safeguard their freedom. It does not even apply to the Jews. It states that all servants of the law are cursed. This curse is certainly a great misfortune for those who are its victims. But between this misfortune and the happiness of those who, because they believe, participate in the blessing of Abraham, the only relationship that can exist is one of contrast and not one of dependence. The state of curse in which the observers of the law groan is incapable of providing proof of anything. Verse 10, which announces itself as having to demonstrate and motivate 9, neither demonstrates nor motivates anything. Since it does not accomplish the task it claims to accomplish, it is artificially articulated to 9, and its articulatory particle "for" is a misleading one. I had arrived at this result by way of deduction; the careful study of 9 and 10 confirmed the correctness of my calculation.

It remains to examine the group 19a, 19b. Of the two thoughts which compose it, one states the purpose for which the law was given; the other relates to the law the coming of the posterity for which the promise was made, that is, the coming of Christ. The law was given to multiply transgressions and, consequently, to intensify the curse, since to each transgression corresponds a curse. This law was given while waiting for the coming of Christ who is to fulfill the promise made to Abraham. And it is with amazement that we see these two provisions which follow one another and contradict one another. How, in fact, can we reconcile this curse inflicted on the Jews with the mission of Christ who is to fulfill the promise made to Abraham? And what better way to prepare for the coming of Christ than to take the necessary steps to ensure that he falls into an environment where all will be cursed? The texts in which these incoherent thoughts are juxtaposed are not made for each other. Verse 19b does not complete 19 which does not prepare it. What has been established "while waiting" for the coming of Christ to fulfill the promise made to Abraham is not the machine for multiplying transgressions, it is something else. And this other thing we do not have to look far. In verse 18 we read that "the inheritance (of Canaan) was given to Abraham by promise". G is that promise which was made in anticipation of the coming of Christ who is to fulfill it. Verse 19b is linked to 18. Originally these two verses were one and the same sentence, in the middle of which 19 was later inserted.

I have subjected verses III, 10, 13, 19 to two investigations conducted according to different methods; and both investigations gave the same result. It can therefore be stated with full assurance that these three verses are foreign to the original text of Galatians and that they were introduced into it around 140.

3. Paul as an apostle to the Gentiles.

I pass to the long piece which goes from I, 8 to III, 5 and, among the assertions which one meets there, I note first of all those which relate to the apostolate of Paul. According to 1:16 Paul was charged with announcing the Son of God "among the Gentiles". According to II, 2, he explained to the Christians in Jerusalem the gospel he was preaching "among the Gentiles". The notables recognized that the gospel (II, 7) had been entrusted to him "for the uncircumcised". Therefore (11,9) it was agreed that Paul and Barnabas would address "the Gentiles". In a word, Paul is the apostle of the Gentiles.

Let us now open the Acts. Paul, immediately after his conversion (IX, 20) preaches in the synagogues of Damascus. Later (XIII, 5) he announces the word of God in the synagogues of Salamis of Cyprus. In Antioch of Pisidia (XIII, 14) he preaches in the

synagogue. Driven out of Antioch he goes to Iconium and there again (XIV, 1) he goes straight to the synagogue. But there are cities where the Jews are not numerous enough to have a synagogue. Such is the case of Philippi. What does Paul do? He conjectures that, if there is no synagogue, there must at least be a modest oratory, and that this oratory must be placed near a watercourse where ablutions can be performed. When the Sabbath arrived (XVI, 13), he went to the small river that flowed near the city. There he finds women gathered. He speaks to them and one of them, Lydia, "a God-fearing woman", is baptized with her family. In Thessalonica "the Jews," says the author of Acts (XVII, 1), "had a synagogue. Paul enters it and for three Sabbaths he speaks in it. Chased out of Thessalonica, he went to Beroea and went to the synagogue (XVIII, 10) to exercise his apostolate. In Athens, in Corinth, it is again in the synagogue (XVII, 17; XVIII, 4) that he speaks. And it is also in the synagogue of Ephesus (XVIII, 19; XIX, 8) that, during his two stays in that city, he preaches Christ.

It is true that in three places (XIII, 46; XVIII, 7; XXVIII, 28) he threatens the Jews to turn away from them and to turn to the pagans; but it is recognized that these threats belong to interpolated texts and do not deserve to be taken into consideration¹. It is also true that in Athens, after several weeks' contact with the philosophers who swarmed the city and whose life was lived in the square, Paul spoke before a pagan audience which listened to him with excited curiosity. But this exceptional case aside, the fact remains that the apostle, wherever he went, carried out his propaganda in the synagogues or, as in Philippi, in places that served as synagogues. His listeners were partly Jews and partly proselytes. The latter were not always circumcised, which explains the case of the Galatians who were won over by Paul to the Christian cause while they were still uncircumcised, but they were affiliated with Judaism, they had ceased to belong to the pagan religion. Paul evangelized the Jewish world and its dependencies; he did not evangelize the Gentile world. And the long section of the Epistle to the Galatians that presents him as the apostle of the Gentiles is a fiction devoid of reality.

1. Loisy, *Acts of the Apostles*, p. 541, 692, 938

4. Paul is dead to the law.

In the same piece in which he claims the title of apostle to the Gentiles, Paul solemnly declares that the law no longer means anything to him. And he gives to his declaration this sharp turn (II, 19):

Through the law I died to the law that I might live for God.

Now, according to the Acts (XVIII, 18) Paul, before leaving Corinth, made the vow of the nazirat which consisted in shaving his head. When he arrived in Jerusalem (XXI, 26), he completed his vow in the temple in the company of four needy nazirs; and it was in the middle of these holy exercises that he was arrested by the Jews. But that is not all. In the epistle Paul insists on behaving like a man dead to the law, and he refuses (II, 3) to let his companion Titus, who is Greek, be circumcised. But in Acts XVI, 3, we see him circumcising Timothy who, being the son of a Greek father, had not received circumcision. The two stories of Titus and Timothy have always embarrassed the exegetes. However, until our time, it was believed that, with good will, they could be reconciled with each other. Today it is recognized that they contradict each other¹ and that one of them was invented from scratch to combat the other. It is only said that the fiction is in the account of the Acts, whose writer wanted to neutralize the text of the epistle. But it is granted that Paul really made the vow of Nazirat². This concession is enough for us. The man who performed the rites imposed on the Nazirite in the temple may well have circumcised Timothy; and we do not see why he would have obstinately refused to circumcise Tuteus. In any case he did not consider himself dead to the law; he did not believe that death to the law was the indispensable condition of life for God. Here again the text of the epistle belongs to the realm of fiction, and the apostle it portrays has nothing in common with the historical Paul.

1. Loisy, p. 620.

2. Id. p. 796.

5. God revealed his son to Paul.

The essay in I, 11-III, 5 is not by Paul. Whose is it? Let's see where it goes. Its author, who died to the law in order to live for God, adds that he was crucified with Christ and that he lives by the life of Christ. This mystical theology is exactly the one we encountered in the epistle to the Romans¹. There too we learned that the Christian grafted onto Christ dies with Christ and lives with the life of Christ. Now we know that Ro., V-VIII was written by a disciple of Marcion.

1. The Epistle to the Romans, p. 29.

The dissertation 1,11-III,5 is of Marcionite origin. This origin gives us the key to various details which until now had remained mysterious. In particular, it explains the revelation that Paul displays and the disdain that he shows for the apostles. The son of God whom Paul preaches is the good God, the God who came to earth to rescue men from the rule of the creator God, but whom men blinded by the creator God did not receive or, what

amounts to the same thing, did not understand. It is not, therefore, in the school of men that Paul was able to know this God. He would always have been unaware of him without a revelation. He received this benefit. God revealed his son to him, that is, he revealed himself in the ethereal garment he wore during his time on earth.

When Paul received his revelation, he at first avoided all contact with the apostles, who were men of flesh and blood, in that they believed in a carnal Christ destined to raise up the kingdom of David. His apostolate was carried out in Arabia and then in Syria and Cilicia. However, after fourteen years he went to Jerusalem. He would never have made this decision on his own, but a revelation forced him to do so. To obey God's command, Paul went to Jerusalem and evangelized the Christian community there. He was the one who acted as an apostle, for he presented his gospel (II, 2), the gospel he had received from God, but nothing was presented to him, no attempt was made to instruct him (II, 6b). The three "pillars" of the Jerusalem community, James, Cephas and John, believed in his mission; they promised him to cooperate in his work among the circumcised and asked him to help them materially. The results of Paul's apostolate in Jerusalem were therefore consoling. Unfortunately, they did not last. James returned to his carnal dreams, and Peter did not have the courage to resist him. Needless to say, everything in this account is fictitious except for the trip to Jerusalem and the collection for the poor, and these two facts have been distorted (the collection is presented as a help requested by the apostles).

6. The redemption of the slaves of the law.

In IV, 1-5 (minus 4b, which will be studied later) humanity is compared to a son abandoned in his infancy to the rulers. Men were for centuries subject to the elements of the world. But when the time was fulfilled God sent his son with the mission to redeem the men who were under the law and to give them divine sonship.

According to this text, men were under the yoke of the law. If the son of God had not come to deliver them, they would still be under it. It was the coming of the Son of God that put an end to this situation. Let us now recall how Paul spoke of the law in III:15-18. According to him, God, at the same time as he promised Abraham and his descendants the possession of the land of Canaan, set the condition required to participate in this promise. This condition is faith, and the law which came four hundred and thirty years after this fundamental provision can do nothing against it. Christ will come to fulfill the promise and to bring the benefit of it to all those who, in accordance with this "diatheke" provision, have faith. But he has no interest in delivering us from the law of which we have never been prisoners. Deliverance from the yoke of the law has no meaning in

Paul's system. Therefore, we should not attribute to the apostle the piece IV, 1-5, of which the said deliverance is the climax.

Whose is it? The answer is provided by IV, 5, which tells us that Christ has delivered us by way of redemption, *exagorasé*. This redemption is a repetition of the one we met in III, 13 (p. 57). And, enlightened by III, 13, here is what IV, 1-5 means. The cruel God who created the world had made of the men the slaves of the matter (*dedou- lomenoi*; the *stoïcheïa tou kosmou* on which one disserted as far as the eye can see designate the material world which the dualistic philosophy had in horror). To this first slavery he had added the yoke of the law "to multiply the transgressions". For a long time the good God let this happen. Finally, when the time he had fixed had arrived, he sent his son to deliver the men he wanted to make his sons and to pay the cruel God the ransom for this deliverance. The piece IV, 1-5 is Marcionite. It was written around 140.

7. Freedom must not be a pretext for living according to the flesh.

In V, 13 the Galatians are warned that the freedom to which they have been called must not be a pretext for living according to the flesh. After this comes a moral lesson in V:13-26, which, as we shall see later on p. 97, continues in VI:7-10 and gives rise to several observations. The first is provoked by V,21 where we read: "I warn you, as I have warned you, that those who do these things will not inherit the kingdom of God". So what Paul says here is only a repetition; for, already during his stay with the Galatians, he dealt with this subject before them. He could not, in fact, have refrained from treating it, if his apostolate had the moral and religious character which is universally attributed to it. The above-mentioned note considered in itself is therefore not of a nature to surprise us. But to read the instruction itself, to read the details it provides on the struggle of spirit against flesh, flesh against spirit, to see the meticulous care with which it enumerates the works of the flesh and then the fruits of the spirit, to hear the threats formulated ("Do not be deceived, God is not mocked"), one has the impression that such teachings had never before been given to the Galatians and that they are given for the first time. Verse 21 presents the instruction as a repetition of an oral teaching. But the instruction itself is presented as something new. Verse 21 is a fiction. And since it is part of the instruction, the instruction is a fiction in which Paul could have had no part.

A second observation is called for by V:15: "But if you bite and eat one another, beware of being devoured by one another. This text brings us face to face with deep dissensions, so deep even that they threaten the existence of the community which is

the scene of them. He notes these dissensions and presents them as current. And the meaning of "if you bite each other..." is obviously: "if you continue to bite each other... as you do". So the community referred to here is torn apart by violent factions.

What is the cause of the evil? Usually the propaganda of the Judaizers is put forward as the cause of the trouble among the Galatians. Let us examine this hypothesis. There were Galatians who resisted the Judaizers and stood firm on the right path. They formed a compact group which stood up to the group of deviants. Between these two groups violent dissensions broke out, of which the text V, 15 is a faithful echo. In any case, Paul could not forget that in this fratricidal struggle, some fought for him while others fought against him. And between these two he could not remain neutral. His sympathies must necessarily have been with those who defended his doctrine. Now the text V, 15, far from containing the slightest trace of this sympathy, is on the contrary, the expression of an arbitrator who hovers over the two antagonistic parties, who has for both of them the same indifference, the same disdain, who asks them both to disarm immediately under penalty of perishing both. We might as well say that Paul, if V:15 comes from him, could not have meant by this text the dissensions caused among the Galatians by the propaganda of the Judaizers. He wanted to designate something else. But what? A conflict of a secular nature? It is easy to see that a secular preoccupation cannot involve all the members of a religious community and that only theological or liturgical controversies are capable of shaking the foundations of an edifice based on faith. A religious conflict? Apart from the dispute about legal observances, which we have just dismissed, it is hard to see what religious conflict could have arisen at the time. Let us conclude that the text V, 15, which has no meaning in the words of Paul, cannot be the work of Paul.

The list of "works of the flesh" in V:19-21 gives rise to a third observation. It mentions several sins of lust, but not all of them, since adultery, incest and rape are not mentioned. The list of other sins is also very incomplete, since neither sloth, nor avarice, nor sins against justice are mentioned. On the other hand, the enumeration of the sins produced by hatred or jealousy touches on prolixity. Gaps and overabundance are explained by the fact that the list is purely practical. It does not intend to make an inventory of all the infractions to the moral law; it points out the sins which are committed more or less frequently; it points them out so that they can be avoided in the future (note the threat: "One does not mock God").

The list has a practical character. Why then does it mention idolatry and heresies? The Galatians have just been subjected to the legal observances. This submission to the prescriptions of the Mosaic law does not indicate a pronounced inclination towards pagan worship. It is therefore surprising to see them warned against idolatry. But this astonishment is nothing compared to that which provokes the hairéséïs translated in the

Vulgata by sectas and which designate, according to the admission of Estius, dissensions of a religious nature. Supposing that the doctrine of the Judaizers had a heretical character, we would have a heresy and not heresies. But can it be targeted here? Let us judge. Verse V, 13, with which the essay begins, says in substance: "After the arguments you have just read, it is well proven that you are free with regard to legal observances. In effect, Paul has completed his demonstration, he has settled their account with the Judaizing missionaries whom he finally wished to emasculate. The question of legal observances is cleared up and it is undeniable that Christians are free with regard to them. Only they must not abuse this freedom to do the "works of the flesh". Now heresies are among the works of the flesh, that is, among the sins which Christians who know they are free with regard to the legal observances are exposed to commit. Is it not now clear that the said heresies have nothing in common with submission to the legal observances, and that they do not aim at it? And the conclusion that follows from this is that the "heresies" spoken of in verse 20 are meaningless in the words of Paul.

One more observation, which will be the last. It would be easy to understand why the Galatians, immediately after Paul's departure, had a crisis of morals and moved away from the Christian ideal as we understand it. Nor would one be surprised if, learning at the same time of the lamentable neglect of the moral law which his sons in the faith were showing and the successes obtained among them by the Judaizing missionaries, Paul had linked the first fact to the second as the product to its cause and had served the Galatians with the following reasoning: "It is because you have abandoned my gospel that your morals have become deplorable. Return to the doctrine which I preached to you, and the virtues will begin to flourish among you again, as in the days when I was your guest. It is with sophisms of this kind that apologists and preachers defend religion. Instead, here is the argument that the piece, V, 13-26, puts into his mouth: "Under the pretext that you are called to freedom, you let go of your passions and you commit the most shameful sins, you make a very unfortunate confusion. It is with regard to the observances of the Mosaic law that you are free; but you are always subject to the prescriptions of the moral law. Correct yourselves therefore and know that God is not mocked. The Galatians have just allowed the observances of the Mosaic law to be imposed on them; Paul replies: "You misunderstand the freedom that has been granted to you; you are free with regard to the law of Moses but you are still subject to the moral law". The cock-a-doodle-do is complete.

8. Those who are in Christ have crucified the flesh.

The piece V, 13-26; VI, 7-10 is not from Paul. But before approaching this question we must first go to whom it is addressed. In the community where it was written, idolatry is not an unheard of phenomenon, nor is magic; lust flourishes, cabals abound, religious unity is broken by sects (the word *sectae* in the Vulgate renders exactly the *haireseis* of the Greek), in a word, morals are loose, hearts are divided, faith is subject to various interpretations: this is the first observation that immediately follows from the reading of the text. Here is a second one: the field that has produced such an abundant and varied harvest is vast, very vast; in other words, the community that is destined to receive it is numerous, it can only be found in a very large city, it brings together conditions that can hardly be found in the Christian community of Rome. Third observation: the bases having made their appearance only after the first quarter of the second century, the recipients of the black piece are posterior to 125. What is said of the relaxation of morals does not lead us, so much so, to a contrary opinion.

I arrive at the author of whom we know now that he wrote after 125. The "sects" to which he refers are the groups which, in the second quarter of the second century, formed around Basilides, Valentinus, Cerdon, etc., and invaded the Christian community of Rome (Valentinus and Cerdonus came to Rome; if Basilides himself did not come, his disciples could not have been long in coming). He has a horror of the flesh which he presents as the seat of evil and against which he warns Christians. However, one would hesitate to give his formulas their full meaning, if it were not for the text V, 24 where he declares that, in order to belong to Christ, one must crucify his flesh and that one does not belong to him until this operation has been accomplished. The crucifixion of the *ὡμίλαμε* >α echoed the place of the *Epto aux Rondins* VI, 6 which also asks for the crucifixion of the flesh; it is inspired by the same doctrine. This doctrine is the one according to which the flesh is a sin machine which is killed (fictitiously) in the baptism; according to which the Christian, dead to the sin and grafted on the death of Christ, lives of the life of Christ (pu is spirit. The author of λ, 13-26; VI, 7-10 is a Marcionite. It goes without saying that he asks the Christian to practice chastity which is one of the fruits of the spirit. It also goes without saying that "the kingdom of God" which he mentions is heaven, and that he promises the servants of the spirit "eternal life", but without the resurrection of the flesh. He scourges the bad Christians as well as the Gnostics who were mixed with the Christians. He writes around 140 1.

1. There are two other Marcionite interpolations, one in I, 4, the other in IV, 14-16. The first is discussed in the following lines. For the second see the notes.

CATHOLIC WRITING

1. Christ has taken us out of the present, an evil century.

From time immemorial the question has been asked what Christ came to earth to do, and to this question many different answers have been given. But never in any school has it been taught that he came "to rescue us from this evil age". The verse I, 4 which says this is pure nonsense.

But let's delete the two words "this age"; it says that Christ came "to take us out of the evil one". Now history tells us that once upon a time there was a Christian communion according to which Christ came to snatch men from the Evil One. In his treatise against Marcion, Tertullian I, 23, first of all poses the principle that it is unjust to tear the servant away from his master. Then, applying this principle, he shows us the good God of Marcion who enters a world which he did not create, and which is therefore not his, and who tears man away from the creator God. Further on, in I, 25, he adds that the good God, in coming to fight sin and death, has necessarily upset the creator God, who is the sovereign master of sin and death, all the more so because this good God came to deliver man from the creator God³. So the Marcionite Christ came to "deliver" men from the Creator God, to "tear them away" from him. And as the Creator passed in the Marcionite school for being the evil God, the Marcionite Christ came to "deliver" us from the evil one. The same Marcionite Christ "gave himself for our sins". He "gave himself" in the sense that he allowed himself to be put to death by the Evil One. He gave himself "for our sins" because he delivered us from the death to which the Evil One had condemned us because of our sins, after he had tried to make us commit those sins. We see that I, 4, without the "present age" is of Marcionite origin. The "present century" was inserted by a Catholic who was exclusively concerned with removing the venom from the Marcionite wording. He has achieved his goal, for his interpolation, which blurs everything, has at least the advantage of confusing the reader and hiding from him the true meaning of the primitive text.

1 "Ut domino eripiatur".

2. "Eripiens Deo hominem".

3. "Curans hominem liberare hoc ips o jam aemulatur et cum a quo libérât...".

2. The spirit.

Leverset III, 13 tells us that Christ, in becoming a curse for us, had a purpose which was to redeem us from the curse of the law. We know (see p. 59) that this is of Marcionite origin. Verse III:14a, if we consider only the syntax, assigns to the curse incurred by Christ a second purpose which was to enable the nations to share in the blessing of Abraham. But we have seen (p. 60) that the present arrangement is artificial and that 14a is really linked to 9. Let us now examine 14b. It too, if we consider only the syntax, assigns a new reason, which is the third, to the curse incurred by Christ. According to this text, Christ became a curse "so that we might receive the promise of the Spirit by faith". This "promise of the Spirit" is the one made by Christ in the Fourth Gospel XIV, 16, 26; XV, 26. It was made at the time of the Montanist movement. The "faith" that obtains the promise of the Spirit is the faith in the outpouring of the Spirit, that is to say, the belief in the psychic phenomena (glossolalia, ecstasies, eccentric and disordered gestures) that occurred in Montanist circles. The text III, 14b, which, moreover, has no relation to 14a, is of Montanist origin.

1. See *Le quatrième évangile*, p. 117.

Let us now turn to III:2-5 where the spirit is mentioned three times. The "spirit" of verse 3, which is opposed to the flesh, is the spirit of the Christian or, if you like, his soul. So let's leave it out of the discussion. But it is clear that the "Spirit" of 2 and 5 is the Holy Spirit, the third member of the divine college. The Galatians received the Spirit that God gave them. This assertion, stated twice with meaningless nuances, is presented as an undisputed fact, and the reason, implied but obvious, for which the fact is not disputed is that the Spirit manifested his presence through sensible phenomena, glossolalia, ecstasies, etc.

So the Galatians received the Holy Spirit, and they received it at a time when they had not yet been seduced by the Judaizers. What does this prove? In the present state of the text it clearly proves that the legal observances are useless for salvation and that the Galatians were wrong to submit to them. The conclusion is decisive. Unfortunately, it clashes with the conduct of the Galatians and the attitude of Paul in the epistle. The Galatians had only faith, they were not subject to legal observances when the Holy Spirit took possession of their souls and manifested his presence to them by palpable as well as wonderful effects. How, then, did they fail to resist the sophisms of the Judaizers who came to preach to them the necessity of the works of the law? Their blindness is truly inexplicable! But Paul's naivety is no less so. He has just reminded the Galatians of the great honor that the Holy Spirit has bestowed upon them. He has just made them touch with his finger the uselessness of legal observances. And, after this

so luminous observation, he embarks on an argument as off-putting as it is subtle about the blessing of Abraham (III, 6-9, 14a, 29) and about the two sons of this patriarch (IV, 21-23; 28-31). How could he not see that these laborious and indigestible reasonings were pushing an open door, that the uselessness of the law was already peremptorily proven by the descent of the Holy Spirit into the souls of Christians who were strangers to the law, and that all the pretended additions to this magisterial proof were infallibly going to obscure it?

This accumulation of implausibilities warns us that we are in the world of fiction. In reality, the Galatians had not been visited by the Holy Spirit when they were seduced by the Judaizers and Paul did not tell them about this august visitor. The texts III, 2, 5 which have to do with the Holy Spirit have the same author as III, 14b. The Catholic friend of the Montanists who wrote the latter text, reading in verse 3 that the Galatians had begun with the spirit, saw in this word an excellent opportunity to make propaganda in favor of the Holy Spirit and he used it.

3. The teaching law.

Verses III:21-28 contain a discussion of the providential role of the law in teaching us until the day when, through faith in Christ, we became the sons of God.

What do the "sons of God" have to do with it? It is clear from III, 6-9, 14a 15-18 that Paul's concern was to establish against the Judaizers the conditions required to be a son of Abraham. Will it be said that his thought evolved in the course of his dissertation? So little did he change that in 29 he still says: "If you belong to Christ, then you are Abraham's descendants, heirs according to the promise. Again, what do the "sons of God" of 26 have to do with it? They are intruders. Now let's look at verse 22. It teaches that faith would not provide the promise if sin were not universal and that there is a finality relationship between the universality of sin and the promise. But Paul sees the divine plan in a different way. According to him, the explanation of the regime to which Christians are subjected is found in the Genesis account of the blessing of Abraham. God gave Abraham a blessing which consisted in the promise of the land of Canaan. This blessing, as well as being given to Abraham, was also given to the seed of this patriarch, which is Christ, and he decided that all those who had faith in this seed, that is, faith in Christ, would share in it. It is by virtue of this ancient and irrevocable provision that faith is necessary. It is easy to see that sin does not intervene here in any capacity. And one must conclude that verse 22, with its connection of sin and faith, is completely foreign to Paul's program.

But our attention is especially drawn to 21 where we read, "Is the law against the promises of God? Far from it." This assertion refutes in advance an anticipated, expected objection. More precisely, what is foreseen is that an assertion that has just been made will be misunderstood and this misinterpretation is rectified in advance. The meaning is: "You might conclude from what I have just said that the law is against the promises of God and that this is my thought. Well, I declare that the law is not against the promises. Where, then, is the assertion susceptible to misinterpretation that prompted the above correction? It is certainly not in 17 where Paul solemnly declares that the law, which came four hundred and thirty years after the promise, cannot annihilate it. For this very statement warns the Galatians against any attempt to set the law against the promise. But between 17 and 21 there is 19a, which in effect says: "The law was added to multiply transgressions. Admittedly, 19a gives an unfortunate impression of the law.

It is to correct this impression that 21 and the verses that follow it are used. The whole of 21-28, which explains the providential mission of the law, is motivated by 19a. Its purpose is to comment on it, to explain it, to give a correct interpretation. We have only acquired the proof that 19a came out of the Marcionite office around 140. This tells us about the origin, date and value of commentary 21-28. It is the work of a Catholic who wrote around 160 and who, under the guise of interpreting 19a, exorcised it. This learned exegete was not afraid to borrow from the Marcian theology from which he read in IV, 1-5. He was not afraid to say that we were imprisoned under the law (23) and that sin was universal (22) - so deep was the imprint left on souls by the preaching of Marcion! But he explained that the law, which was our jailer, was meant to lead us to Christ; he said that we were imprisoned under the law in view of the faith which was one day to be revealed. Naturally, he did away with redemption. He replaced the antagonism of the cruel God and the good God with the providential provision of the one God who makes the law serve to prepare the coming of Christ. He used the data of the Marcionite theology, but in using them he transformed them.

4. The two wills.

Paul's essay on the two sons of Abraham IV, 21-31, mentioned above (p. 55), is cut into two sections by verses 24-27, which begin by stating that "these things are said allegorically", and then add that the two wives of Abraham are the two wills, which correspond to two distinct Jerusalems, etc. Let us study this piece.

First of all we notice that it knows two divine plans, two regimes to which the human race has been successively subjected by God. And these two regimes, called diathekai, are - no one denies it - our two testaments. In short, he knows what we call the Old and New Testaments. Let us now recall what Paul wrote in III, 15-17. He has set before our eyes, on the one hand, a diatheke will, with the clauses it contains, and on the other hand, the divine diatheke provision laying down the conditions required for participation in the promise made to Abraham. Then he said: "Just as nothing can be added to or subtracted from the provision which is called a testament, so the law, which came four hundred and thirty years after the promise, cannot annihilate the diathekè provision, made by God to fix the conditions under which one will participate in the promise". Paul knows only one provision, only one divine plan, only one regime to which man has been subjected by God, and this regime is that of faith. Part IV, 24-27 knows two divine plans, two regimes. This is the first difficulty. - Here is a second. The text of Isaiah LIV which is quoted here contrasts two women, one of whom is deserted and the other has a husband, and it adds that the children of the deserted woman outnumber the children of the married woman. We do not have to look for what the prophet meant, and the only question that interests us is how the transcriber understood the text he quotes. Now we can clearly see - moreover the commentators agree on this point - that, in the quotation, the forsaken woman designates the Church and that the married woman represents the synagogue. From this it follows that IV:24-27, with its quotation from Isaiah, was written at a time when the Church had the advantage of numbers over Judaism. But who will believe that this situation was realized during Paul's lifetime or even in the generation following his death?

Note the contrast of the two Jerusalems, the present Jerusalem which is in bondage and the Jerusalem above which is free. It is the Jerusalem above that Christians hold as their mother and it is to the possession of this heavenly dwelling that they aspire. Now Paul's hope has as its object the blessing of Abraham, that is to say, participation in the kingdom which Christ, the true successor of this patriarch, is going to found in the land of Chanaan (when he writes the epistle to the Romans his horizon will have widened and he will dream for Christ the empire of the world). In two words, Paul does not suspect the Jerusalem above, and the Jerusalem above does not know the kingdom that Christ will found in Palestine. And this is a third objection.

But all these difficulties are of little importance compared to the following ones. After verses 22-23, in which Paul mentions the two sons of Abraham, one of whom was born of a free woman according to the promise and the other of a slave according to the flesh, we read: "These things are said in a manner of warning to the people of Israel:

These things are said by way of allegory.

Let us now see what Paul's essay is about. His final aim is to establish - not that Christians should share in the blessing of Abraham, i.e. inherit the land of Canaan (Palestine), for this is beyond dispute, but - that Christians called to receive the inheritance promised to Abraham are free from the law. He considers his aim to be achieved if he can show that Christians are in the same condition as Isaac, since Isaac was born of a free woman (in his mind, to be born of a free woman is equivalent to being free with regard to the law; it would obviously be useless to criticize this method of argumentation; we can only take it as it is). Now between Christians and Isaac there is a common point which is the following: Isaac was born by virtue of a promise in which Abraham had faith; Christians, on the other hand, are born by faith in Christ, through whom the promise made to Abraham must be fulfilled: Christians are sons of the promise just as Isaac was; therefore, like Isaac, they are the sons of the free woman and, consequently, they are free with regard to the law. One can make all the criticisms one wants of this argument except that of allegorizing. Paul draws the most unexpected consequences from the Genesis account, but he does not treat it as an allegory. And if he had treated it as an allegory, he would have turned the masterpiece he had worked so hard to create upside down. He could not do that; he could not write: "These things are said in the manner of an allegory." Here we are at the fourth difficulty.

And we are not yet at the end. The principle of the covenant once laid down is then explained. And the explanation consists in saying that "women are the two testaments." So in the allegory of the two sons of Abraham, the foreground is occupied by the women Hagar and Sarah. And these two allegorical figures play an important role since they symbolize the two Testaments, the old with the present Jerusalem, the new with the Jerusalem above. However, it is enough to read Paul's essay to see that the women Hagar and Sarah remain in the background. It is on Isaac that our attention is drawn above all, because the capital question is to demonstrate that Christians are in the condition of Isaac. If, therefore, the story of the sons of Abraham offered matter for allegory, the allegory in Paul's essay should be first of all about Isaac. And Paul, who could not write that these things are said in allegory, could even less add that the two wives of Abraham symbolize the two testaments.

One more observation which will be the last. If, by any chance, Paul had thought he was doing a useful job in explaining the allegorical value of the two wives of Abraham, he would have taken the elementary precaution of referring his lesson to the end of his dissertation on the two sons of Abraham, he would not have thrown it out of order. Yet this is how the exegesis lesson that begins with verse 24 is thrown out. It cuts Paul's argument into two sections, and by cutting it he blurs it. In addition to its other faults, therefore, verse 24-25 is out of place, which is more than enough to allow us to reject it.

The piece IV, 24-27 is not by Paul. It is only a question for us of knowing its date and the motive which inspired it. We should place it before 150 if we had the proof that Justin, who quotes the text of Isaiah LIV, 1 in the first apology 53, 5, borrowed his quotation from the epistle to the Galatians. But this proof is impossible to obtain (let us remember that Justin, who wrote after the Marcionite redaction of the fourth Gospel, is prior to the Catholic redaction of this book). Let us rather ask for a point of reference in the text which lays down the principle of allegory. We know that the allegorical method, invented by the Greek philosophers who used it to purify pagan myths, developed by the Stoic school, was introduced into the Bible by Philo¹. At what time did apologetics have recourse to its services? Obviously from the day when it felt the need. Now this happened when the Marcionites used the biblical accounts - understood by them in the literal sense - to prove the cruelty and injustice of the creator God. Then a school was formed in the Church which, in order to escape from the Marcionite attacks, renounced the literal meaning of the biblical stories and took refuge in the allegorical interpretation adopted sometimes without reserve (by denying the biblical stories any kind of reality) and sometimes with some attenuations (theory of types and antitypes according to which the biblical facts, historically true, were intended in the divine counsels to represent the life of Christ or the history of the Church). Verse 24, which allegorizes the wives of Abraham, belongs to this school (it seems to deny them any historical reality; but I overlook this detail). IV, 24-27 is the work of a Catholic who knows and takes seriously Marcion's attacks on the Old Testament accounts, and who, in order to save this venerated book, sublimates it. It must be later than 150.

1. See Bréhier, *Les idées philosophiques et religieuses de Philon d'Alexandrie*, p. 36; Decharme, *Critique des traditions religieuses chez les Grecs*, p. 270.

5. A lesson in indulgence and humility.

Verses VI, 1-5 outline the course of action that "spirituals" should take with regard to Christians caught in sin. They should try to put the offender back on the right track, but with gentleness and with the understanding that they themselves may be tempted. Each one of us must be penetrated by a great indulgence. He who imagines himself to be something when he is nothing is mistaken. There is a good way to be humble: it is to put ourselves in front of ourselves, in front of what we have done. Each one of us has his or her package. Let's not forget it and everything will be fine.

In short, VI, 1-5 is a lesson in indulgence and humility. Let us now see what precedes it and what follows it. What precedes it is the dissertation on the necessity for the

Christian to do the works of the spirit and not to do the works of the flesh (V, 13-26), a dissertation of which I spoke above (p. 75) and which is of Marcionite origin. What follows (VI, 7-10) is the announcement of the fate that one will have according to whether one has obeyed the spirit or the flesh: "Do not be deceived: God is not mocked, for what each one has sown, that is what he will reap...". It can be seen perfectly that fragment VI, 7-10 is the conclusion of V, 13-26 and that these two admonitions are the beginning and the end of one and the same dissertation. Today these two sections are separated; but originally it could not be so. The dissertation V, 13-26; VI, 7-10 was in one piece; it was cut off later. And here is the proof that the lesson of indulgence and humility of VI, 1-5 is of late date. We would have a valuable point of reference if we could identify the "spirituals" who are here called to order. This title of Gnostic origin was appropriated by the Montanists who were very fond of it. Our piece was probably written by a community leader whose sympathies were with the Montanist movement.

6. The salary of the catechists.

In VI, 6 we find the following rather unexpected precept

Let him to whom the word is taught give his catechist a share in all his possessions.

If Paul had commissioned catechists to continue his work of teaching the Galatians, he would have provided for them before he left, he would not have waited for an occasional letter to provide for them. The settlement of such a matter is not one to be forgotten or left undone. If he did not have the idea during his stay with the Galatians of establishing a statute for catechists, we can be sure that the thought did not occur to him a few months after his departure. Hence we are authorized to conclude that the said catechists were not instituted by Paul. Besides, why would Paul have instituted them? Let us remember his program. It consisted in presenting Jesus as the man entrusted by God to fulfill the promise made to Abraham and to take possession of the land of Chanaan, that is, Palestine. The apostle was quick to tell the people everything he had to say. The instruction he gave was brief and did not need to be completed. He had helpers, of course, but their role was to do what he did himself, to spread the belief in Christ as the holder of the blessing of Abraham, not to give the believers instruction that did not require further development.

What did he call those who were doing the same propaganda work as he was? He called them precisely his co-workers (Rom., XVI, 9, 21; Philip, II, 25); his brothers (Philip, IV, 21). Nor did he deny them the name of apostles. See this text from Ro, XVI,

7: "Greet Andronicus and Junia, my relatives and companions in captivity, who are highly regarded among the apostles.

1. The meaning of this text as commonly understood by commentators following Estius is that Andronicus and Junia are apostles of exceptional merit, that is, the other collaborators of Paul are also apostles, but Andronicus and Junia exceed most of them in their work).

So Paul knew the apostles, i.e. the propagandists of the Christian movement, but he did not know the catechists.

The latter were born according to the law that the need creates the organ. They waited to make their appearance until there was a dogma to explain and defend. This happened on the day when the mystery of redemption penetrated the Christian communities, the day when it was learned that Jesus was the good God who came down to earth to tear man away from the yoke of the Creator God who was trying to make him sin in this life in order to punish him cruelly in the next. Text VI, 6, which provides stipends to catechists, is the work of an interested party. It was written either by a catechist or by a bishop who had a catechist in his charge. We know from Eusebius (V, 18,2) that Montan had paid collaborators. And the scandal that these hired missionaries caused allows us to conjecture that he was the author of this institution. The text VI, 6 owes its writing to a Montanist influence 1 .

1. Four or five other Catholic interpolations will be indicated in the notes.

CONCLUSION

Paul's work in the epistle to the Galatians includes about thirty verses whose purpose is to prove that, in order to be an heir to the promises made to Abraham, it is necessary and sufficient to have faith in Christ. The rest belongs to one or other of the two editions that have successively enlarged the apostle's text.