

THE LIFE AND WORK OF
JOHN SCHALLER

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"It has pleased our Heavenly Father to call Professor John Schaller, Director of our Theological Seminary at Wauwatosa, to his eternal reward." With these words Professor Herman Meyer announced to the Synod the sudden passing of John Schaller in the February 22, 1920 edition of The Northwestern Lutheran. Schaller's passing was indeed sudden: seemingly in perfect health on February 5th, by the evening of the 7th he was dead, having contracted an influenza virus soon after visiting a sick student.

Schaller's funeral was attended by a veritable "Who's Who" of contemporary orthodox Lutheranism. Professor J.P. Koehler preached at a small, private service at the Schaller home; later at the funeral itself at Grace Church in downtown Milwaukee Professor August Pieper preached. In attendance were the presidents of both Concordia seminaries, the presidents of both the Wisconsin Synod and the Missouri Synod, along with various synodical officials and former members and students of Schaller.

Professor Meyer begins the last paragraph of his public obituary with the simple statement: "We have lost much." This paper will seek to identify just how much our Synod lost when our Lord called Professor Schaller home seemingly before his time. We will look at Schaller's life and work in three parts: first, a chronological history of the man; secondly, a characterization of Schaller as a Christian, a teacher, and a theologian; thirdly, a review of his work as it has survived to this day in written form.

I. History of John Schaller

John Schaller was born in St. Louis, Missouri on December

10th, 1859. He was given no middle name. His father, Johann Michael Gottlieb Schaller (known simply as "Gottlieb"), was an original "Loehe" man who joined the Missouri Synod, eventually becoming professor of logic at Concordia, St. Louis, and a close friend of C.F.W. Walther. J.P. Koehler describes old Professor Schaller as "loveable" (History of the Wisconsin Synod 235) and notes that John acquired many of his father's traits.

John attended Northwestern College and Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, graduating in 1881. He seems to have kept a low profile during his school days, fitting with the "reserved nature" that Koehler mentions (*ibid*). He vicared for one year in Alexandria, Virginia, where he met the girl who became his wife: Emma Mumm. How they met is interesting. John was quite a tobacco aficionado, and Emma's father (actually, stepfather) was the local tobacconist. One thing led to another, and soon young Emma and John were wed (from Morton Schoreder's interview with Emma Schaller [John's daughter] in 1988).

Upon graduation he was called to Little Rock, Arkansas, where he served as pastor for four years before accepting a call to serve the congregation at Cape Girardeau, Missouri. In 1889 John was called to be professor in the theological department of Dr. Martin Luther College in New Ulm, Minnesota.

1892 saw the Federation of Lutheran synods become a reality, and along with it came a restructuring of the educational system. DMLC was to become the Federation's primary teacher training school, and John was called to be its president. In essence, he was the sole authority figure for the entire college. In addition to his teaching and administrative duties, he performed

clerical and secretarial work that today would be delegated to others (see Appendix A).

In 1908 John was called to replace the recently deceased Adolf Hoenecke as director of the Lutheran Seminary in Wauwatosa, Wisconsin, where he would join the esteemed professors August Pieper and J.P. Koehler. Concerning Pieper's and Koehler's attitude toward Schaller, Koehler writes:

When Schaller, through the influence of Gausewitz [president of the Federation at this time and later of the Synodical Conference], was called as Seminary director, after hostile demonstrations by some antagonists against the two incumbent teachers, the latter welcomed this solution of the situation, because they recognized in the new colleague a true son of their old loveable teacher at St. Louis; and so there was a good beginning for their harmonious working together (235).

And concerning Schaller's place among Koehler and Pieper, Schaller's grandson Loren writes in a personal letter addressed to the author, "I do know for a fact Schaller was originally called as a buffer between Pieper and Koehler -- those 'temperamental titans.' What they didn't expect was that he became their accepted equal and leader."

And so was created the triumvirate that would champion the cause of the "Wauwatosa Theology." One might search long and hard to find a precise definition for what the Wauwatosa Theology was and find nothing better than The Lutheran Encyclopedia's definition: "[The Wauwatosa Theology] emphasized history and exegesis over against dogmatics" (810). And yet it is not quite that simple. Dogmatics was not taught less in the Schaller years as opposed to the Hoenecke years, but rather with a different approach. J.P. Koehler was no fan of Hoenecke's style of

systematic theology and sought more of a "back to basics" approach which put less emphasis on what churchmen of generations past said about Scripture and more emphasis on Scripture itself. As Leigh Jordahl says in his preface to Koehler's History of the Wisconsin Synod,

American Lutheranism needed to get beyond the grammar and syntax level. The Wauwatosa Theology was to make an effort to return to the fundamental genesis of Luther's theology in order to recapture Luther's insights and apply them to the new historical situation. This would compel the Wauwatosa men to study the Scriptures directly and thus to elevate exegesis and history in the effort to return to the primary sources of Christian faith-life (xvii).

Of course, the theology itself would be nothing new; it was the approach to formulating the theology that was changed. And John Schaller played no small role in the development and implementation of that change.

In his paper The Wauwatosa Theology -- The Men and Their Message, Martin Westerhaus points out it was quite a challenge for Schaller to assume the teaching of dogmatics at the Seminary. Not only was he replacing the incomparable Adolf Hoenecke, but he himself had not had much reason to dig deeply into dogmatics since his school days (IV 4). Yet Schaller put his nose to the grindstone and made himself into a dogmatician (see Appendix B). How well he succeeded can be judged in part from comments made by August Pieper in the Quartalschrift following Schaller's death: "Thanks to his eminent intellectual gifts and exceptional diligence he succeeded to such an extent that he was fully at home in his assigned field, and could draw from the fullness of his learning and became an interesting and fruitful teacher for his students" (v.17 98). [Note: This translation is transcribed

from Martin Westerhaus' paper. This author is not sure of the identity of the translator.] *Westerhaus?*

Schaller's goal was to produce an English dogmatics text in keeping with the Wauwatosa Theology. He was only able to complete the first volume, Biblical Christology, before his death. As Loren Schaller says in his introduction to that book, "As the years went by it became even clearer to Schaller that our Lutheran Church would be more and more dependent upon the medium of the English language....He also began conducting some of his classes in English. And so it was only natural that he should commence work on an English Dogmatics" (12). Schaller's writing expertise was hardly limited to the field of dogmatics, however. His Pastorale Praxis was intended to be a textbook for the teaching of pastoral theology and served so well that it was used as the pattern for WLS's current P.T. textbook, The Shepherd Under Christ. John also wrote about a dozen papers during his directorship on various topics. We will consider Schaller's writings later in this paper.

To evaluate Schaller's importance to the Seminary, one needs only to look at the strife and ill-will among the faculty members that became evident in the years immediately following Schaller's death. While it is nothing more than speculation, there are those who claim that had Schaller lived another ten years, the Protestant Controversy could have been settled in a timely manner or perhaps even avoided altogether.

II. John Schaller -- The Man

One of Schaller's most defining characteristics was that he was a "modern" theologian, as comfortable working in English as

he was in German (see Appendix A). No doubt having spent significant amounts of time in such far-flung places as Virginia and Arkansas helped his English skills (compare the life and ministry of Koehler, spent almost entirely in Wisconsin). Even a cursory reading of Biblical Christology provides evidence of Schaller's mastery of the English language. It seems that John would decide to use either English or German in his personal correspondence depending on the preference of the recipient. It made little difference to him.

We have been given an interesting picture of John's life during his DMLC years by his daughter Ruth. As the president and de facto secretary, admissions officer, and purchasing agent, Schaller was understandably very busy. Yet he always had time for his family. He would be at school every morning before 8:00 AM but would return home for breakfast and morning devotion with his family. In fact, he made a point of eating almost all of his meals with his family. According to Ruth, "He wasn't just a scholar who didn't have time for his family" (Schroeder interview).

The Schaller family enjoyed their life on the DMLC hill. In fact, Ruth relates that nobody in the family wanted John to accept the call to the Seminary when it came in 1908. That Schaller, a devoted family man, took the call anyway speaks highly of his dedication to his Lord and his synod. And as far as his family goes, perhaps it's just as well that they left New Ulm. Says Ruth about life as New Ulm's "first family," "We were terribly snooty. I didn't think we were at the time" (Schroeder

interview).

John's personal interests were varied. He enjoyed playing the piano -- so much so that he taught all of his children to play. He enjoyed fishing -- a trait passed down to several generations of his descendants. He did not hunt, however. He loved watching birds, and according to Ruth many Schaller family hours were spent bird-watching.

Schaller's picture which hangs on the Seminary walls, which appears in Koehler's History of the Wisconsin Synod, and which appeared in The Northwestern Lutheran following his death belies the way he really looked in person. He was very informal, both in his mannerisms and his dress. He was not the austere scholar shown in his picture as much as he was a quiet, good-natured man who enjoyed a glass of beer as much as the next man. August Pieper went so far as to call his^m "die Seele, das Herz" (the heart and soul) of the Seminary (Biblical Christology 13). In his research for the introduction to Biblical Christology, the only person Loren Schaller could find who remembered John Schaller as a Seminary professor was Dr. Elmer Kiessling, who spoke of John's "impressive scholarship and quiet strength" (14).

One of the results of John's devotion to his paternal duties was that his five sons (Adalbert, Herbert, Winfred, Egbert, and Gilbert) all became ministers. Each of these sons was a story unto himself: Adalbert was a quiet and self-assured scholar, Herbert was a gentle pastor who apparently inherited his father's heart, Winfred was a rather brash young man who was always well aware of his gifts, and Egbert and Gilbert were childhood rascals who made good. Of the five, only Herbert spent his entire

ministry in the Wisconsin Synod. This writer's own mother has fond recollections of Herbert (her grandfather) as a warm-hearted, self-effacing man who took an active interest in his grandchildren.

III. John Schaller's Enduring Legacy

It is possible to get a sense of who a person was by hearing stories about that person. It is much easier, however, to let a person's own words speak for themselves. I have chosen several excerpts of John Schaller's writings which I feel show him to have been well-read, insightful, and still relevant today, in many cases.

If any one of Schaller's writings stand out as a masterpiece, it is his Biblical Christology. The book itself is the best practical example we have of the Wauwatosa Theology being applied to dogmatics. Jordahl talks about it in his introduction to Koehler's History of the Wisconsin Synod:

The book presents doctrinal theses in logical sequence, supports each with relevant proof passages and further discussion of the particular thesis follows. The plan follows the traditional method. However, Schaller, while not an exegete [as opposed to Koehler, I presume - SJS], employed caution in his use of proof passages and tried not to tear them out of context. In this respect his work is more impressive than that, for instance, of Concordia's Franz Pieper or that of the Norwegians' Elling Hove. In his polemics too Schaller is cautious and evidences a desire to understand contrary views (xvii).

As this is not a dogmatics paper, most of Biblical Christology's contents do not directly apply to it. But the preface to the work lets Schaller in his own words give the background of the book: "The publication of this brief treatise on Christology was prompted primarily by the urgent need of

textbooks setting forth Christian doctrine from the Lutheran point of view in the American language" (15). The book's format has already been discussed in this paper.

Along with his Pastorale Praxis, Biblical Christology was designed to be a Seminary textbook, which of course is understandable, given Schaller's position at the Seminary. Not all of his writings were designed for Seminary work, however. During his DMLC days Schaller wrote his Kurze Bibelkunde, designed to be a brief reference tool for those seeking the historical background of the Bible. The English edition, now available under the title The Book of Books, was printed for the first time four years after Schaller's death, though he himself had worked on the translation. In the preface Schaller describes the rationale behind the book: "No one who recognizes the urgent need for more and better Bible-study among our people will deny that those who are to be the leaders in this desirable endeavour should have at hand, in compact form, what every reader of the Bible should know concerning its history as a book" (xiii). The layout of the book is simple. Each book of the Bible is outlined, biographical notes about the Biblical writers are given, and historical background is given for the events contained in each book. There are also historical notes about the Apocrypha, early Church fathers, variant readings, and various translations.

Besides his books, Schaller was a prolific writer when it came to conference papers and contributions to the Theologische Quartalschrift. We will look at one example of each.

Schaller presented a paper entitled "The Need of Christian

Education by Means of Parochial Schools" to a Synodical Conference assembly in Bay City, Michigan in 1900. Though nearly a century old, many of this paper's insights can be applied directly to our church body today. Christian education would naturally have been a primary concern of Schaller's while he was serving as president of the Federation's teacher-training college.

Concerning parental involvement in their children's education, Schaller says, "When a Christian congregation has established a parochial school, this must not be taken as an indication that parents are thereby relieved from their duty toward their children" (5). Concerning the effectiveness (or lack thereof) of public schools, Schaller writes:

Thoughtful men who still consider the public school the pillar of safety of our Union, are compelled to admit that all results of the system have been negative, as far as true education is concerned. Hence you will hear them advancing some scheme or the other to get some religion, if ever so little, into the state school. They point to the fact, that religious differences are gradually being eliminated; that denominational boundary lines are kept up with increasing difficulty; that sectarian dislike is giving place to what they are pleased to call "a spirit of universal brotherhood"...Observing that the education of American youth is woefully deficient, they advance morality as the cure" (9-10).

These same words certainly could have been written about the present-day debates concerning school prayer and the teaching of creationism in the public schools. Schaller comes to a conclusion which few today would argue with: "There is no institution outside of the parochial school in which Christian parents may find real and satisfactory assistance toward the education of their children" (21).

In 1914 Schaller wrote an essay for the Quartalschrift entitled "Der Besitz der Wahrheit" (The Possession of the Truth). Rev. Henry Nitz translated this essay into English in 1962. The quotations which follow are taken from that translation.

In this paper Schaller applies Biblical truth to modern relativist philosophy. Schaller refers to those who refuse to accept Scripture as divine truth because of the internal squabbling among Christians:

"One must grant the unbelievers apparently good grounds for their judgment. The nature of the knowledge of the truth and its proof as it is found in the hearts of Christians is hidden from them. They hear only the presumptive voice of so-called theological science and take this talk for the expression of Christian conviction. However, modern theology is completely saturated with the view that every presentation of Christian truth reflects the subjective interpretation of the individual, and therefore cannot claim objective validity. Holy Scripture has been abandoned as fountain of the truth" (2).

Schaller makes his point without the polemics one might expect from a Pieper.

Schaller warns against placing too much emphasis on the Lutheran confessions:

...A clear comprehension of the rich contents of the book [the Book of Concord] is gained only by means of a conscious effort to prove the arguments of the Symbols by the Word of God and thus truly appropriate them. One can expect of a Lutheran pastor - who upon entering his ministry is pledged to the Book of Concord - that next to the Bible he knows no other book better than this one. Would it be impossible occasionally to find among us a pastor who as representative of the Lutheran confession would base his possession of the truth on the fact that he owns a copy of the Book of Concord, who believes what the Church believes without knowing what she confesses as her faith? But even a thorough knowledge of our Symbolical Books does not yet guarantee the possession of the truth. The doctrinal controversy carried on publicly among us [Lutherans in general] is not waged by men unacquainted with the Book of Concord (12).

Schaller goes on to point out that a dogmatician has no

possession of the truth merely because of his intellectual processes, but only because of Scripture.

Schaller's loss was indeed a blow to the Synod, compounded by the untimely death of his colleague Herman Meyer a few months later. But Schaller left a lasting impression on our Seminary, our training of pastors and teachers, and our church body as a whole. It has been a distinct pleasure of mine to research this man, my great-great-grandfather, and to find in him a fine example of a Christian, a pastor, and a family man. I can only echo the words of my own grandfather, Loren Schaller, as he talks about John, his grandfather: "One gets the distinct feeling that those of us who never knew him are the poorer for it" (Biblical Christology 14).

PUBLISHED SOURCES

Koehler, J.P., The History of the Wisconsin Synod, St. Cloud, MN,
Sentinal Publishing Company, 1970

The Lutheran Cyclopedia, St. Louis, Concordia, 1978

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Schaller, John, Biblical Christology, Milwaukee, NPH, 1981

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Schaller, John, "The Need of Christian Education by Means of
Parochial Schools" Essay File - WLS

Schaller, John, "The Possession of the Truth (Der Besitz der
Wahrheit)" Essay File - WLS

Westerhaus, Martin, "The Wauwatosa Theology - The Men and Their
Message" Essay File - WLS

UNPUBLISHED SOURCES

Loren Schaller - personal letter to the author (March 1996)

Morton Schroeder - audio tape of interview with Ruth Schaller
(May 1988)

John Schaller's Greek Testament (property of the author)

copy book of John Schaller's college correspondence for the 1895/
1896 school year

APPENDIX A

Perhaps the most interesting part of my research for this paper was the discovery (quite by accident) of a copying book containing some fifty copies of letters sent by John Schaller during the 1895/1896 school year in his capacity as president of DMLC. With MLC's permission, this copying book will be turned over to our synod's Archives.

The first letter included here is a letter to a Miss Herta Weshke, who evidently requested information concerning DMLC's academic offerings.

The second page contains two letters, one in English and one in German script, that Schaller sent in his business dealings for the college.

The third page is a personal letter to Dr. Eugene Notz, professor at the Seminary from 1878 to 1903.

The fourth page is evidently a reply to a father who expressed concern about the difficulty of a particular test.

I apologize for the poor quality of these copies. 19th century copying books do not readily translate to today's photostatic copying machines. As aforesaid, the originals will (hopefully) become property of the Synodical Archives.

Miss Alberta Westlake, City

My dear young lady,

As we do not have a course of Stenography separate from our other lessons, but expect every scholar of the Academy to take up enough additional work to keep him profitably employed, I hardly know how to answer your question unless the "terms" you inquire about are stated by what I said above. The tuition fee for the winter term is \$12.75; this will give you the privilege of taking up any branches of study that can be made to harmonize in point of time according to our program. I beg leave to mail you copy of our latest catalogue for inspection; please remember that it does not yet cover our "new departure" in the business department.

Respectfully yours

L. J. Haller

Messrs. Wolkoff, Seamans & Benedict, St. Paul, Minn.

Gentlemen,

Please find enclosed P. O. Money Order for \$100.00 to pay enclosed bill. By mistake, your bill was delivered to the college-mail during the holidays and given to me only yesterday. Hence the delay of payment which I beg you to excuse.

Please send receipt to

John A. Schaller

Yours truly,
J. A. Schaller

Answer from P. Glaeser:

Will permit for and not
in view of the fact that I have not yet
paid you \$875.00 for "The Teacher" (John) magazine.
The printing in question is not in the hands of
any of your agents.

Mit besten Grüßen

New York, June 14/96

J. A. Schaller

Amber abwechselnd auf Thron
Im Bestenfalls unter einem Nippen. Die Felle sind
also bis auf einen bereits unbrauchbar. Das in der
Anzahl Schroeder Stein um Thier gehören der
C-Klasse an und geben alle Ursache zu der Hoff-
nung, daß sie nicht endliche Jahre dauern.
In Palm gleichzeitig geschätzt und sich gut labagen.
Häcker hat bereits die B-Klasse erreicht und ist
abwechselnd ein gutes und schlechtes Nippen. Der
Lager des Nippen, Pett, kann fünf fast Schley's
Herausstellung zu und und hat noch in diesem Herbst
eine kleine Schiffe das von ihm vorläufig nicht, was
und von außen durch für Kommissar wird. Pett ist über
zwanzig Jahre alt, will aber weiter arbeiten und
läuft in der Zeit mit Sexta an.

Das nächste Kommando beauftragt mir gegenüber
ihre sehr in Aufzeichnung über die Aufnahmen und für eine
Vorbereitung eines Nippen zu. Ich kann das nicht einfach
und immer ist für unvollständig gehalten, die Sache so wenig ist.
Nur von unvollständigen Aufnahmen des Board geben. Im Herbst
Achtung, das Nippen als beauftragten anzusehen.

Es grüßt Sie herzlich voll
Ihr J. Schaller

Sept. 13/95

APPENDIX B

This page and the following page contain copies of the Greek text that John Schaller used for his entire teaching ministry at the Seminary. Of particular interest are the notations, some in Greek, some in German, some in English.

1,12-2,2. Προς Γαλατας
 (in *magazin fortan*)
 12 ἐμοῦ ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν κατὰ ἀνθρώπον· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐγὼ παρὰ ἀνθρώπου παρέλαβον αὐτὸ οὔτε ἐδιδάχθην, ἀλλὰ δι' ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.
 Act 28,4-20,13 Ἐκούσατε γὰρ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀναστοφὴν ποτε ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαϊσμῷ, ὅτι κατ' ὑπερβολὴν ἐδίωκον τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐτόρθουν αὐτήν, καὶ προέκοπτον ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαϊσμῷ ὑπὲρ πολλοὺς συνηλικιώτας ἐν τῷ γένει μου, περισσοτέρως ζηλωτῆς ὑπαρχῶν τῶν πατρικῶν μου παραδόσεων. Ὅτε δὲ εὐδόκησεν ὁ ἀφορίσας με ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς μου καὶ καλέσας διὰ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ
 2,7 Mt 16,27,16 ἀποκαλύψαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐμοί, ἵνα ἐναργεῖζωμαι αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, εὐθέως οὐ προσανεθέμην σαρκὶ καὶ αἵματι, οὐδὲ ἀνηλθὼν εἰς Ἱερουσόλυμα πρὸς τοὺς πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἀποστόλους, ἀλλὰ ἀπηλθὼν εἰς Ἀραβίαν, καὶ πάλιν ὑπέστρεψα εἰς Ἀμασκήν. Ἐπειτα μετὰ τρία ἔτη ἀνηλθὼν εἰς Ἱερουσόλυμα ἱστορήσαι Κηφᾶν, καὶ ἐπέμεινα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡμέρας δεκαπέντε· ἕτερον δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων οὐκ εἶδον, εἰ μὴ Ἰακώβον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ κυρίου. Ἄ δὲ γράφω ὑμῖν, ἰδοὺ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ
 Act 9,30 21 ὅτι οὐ ψεύδομαι. ἔπειτα ἦλθον εἰς τὰ κλίματα 22 τῆς Συρίας καὶ τῆς Κιλικίας, ἤμην δὲ ἀγροόμενος τῷ προσώπῳ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Ἰουδαίας 23 ταῖς ἐν Χριστῷ, μόνον δὲ ἀκούοντες ἦσαν δι' ἐδίωκον ἡμᾶς ποτε νῦν εὐαγγελίζεται τὴν πίστιν 24 ἣν ποτε ἐπόρθει, καὶ ἐδόξαζον ἐν ἐμοί, τὸν θεόν.
 Act 15,2 2 Ἐπειτα διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἑτῶν πάλιν ἀνέβην εἰς Ἱερουσόλυμα μετὰ Βαρνάβαν, συνπαραλαβὼν καὶ 6,9 2 Τίτον· ἀνέβην δὲ κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν· καὶ ἀνεθέμην αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὃ κηρύσσω ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.
 Act 15,2 2 Ἰουδαίῳ
 2,1,10

Προς Γαλατας 2,3-14.
 κατ' ἰδίαν δὲ τοῖς δοκοῦσιν, μή πως εἰς κενὸν τρέχω ἢ ἔδοξάμην· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Τίτος ὁ σὺν ἐμοί· Ἐβραῖον ὄν, ἠναγκάσθη περιτομηθῆναι· δια δὲ τοὺς παθεῖν ἀπτοὺς ψευδαδέλφους, οἵτινες παρεισηλθὼν κατασκοπήσασιν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἡμῶν ἣν ἔχομεν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ἵνα ἡμᾶς καταδουλώσουσιν· οἷς οὐδὲ πρὸς ὧρᾶν ἔβλαμεν τῇ ὑποταγῇ, ἵνα ἡ ἀλήθεια τοῦ εὐαγγελίου διαμείνῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δοκούντων εἶναι τι, — ὅποιοι ποτε ἦσαν οὐδὲν μοι διαφέρει· πρόσσωπον [δ] θεὸς ἀνθρώπου οὐ λαμβάνει — ἐμοὶ γὰρ οἱ δοκῶντες οὐδὲν προσκεῖνται, ἀλλὰ τὸνναντίον ἰδόντες ὅτι πεπιστεύομαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς ἀχρόβυστίας καθὼς Πέτρος τῆς περιτομῆς, ὁ γὰρ ἐνεργήσας Πέτρος εἰς ἀποστολὴν τῆς περιτομῆς ἐκήρυξεν καὶ ἐμοὶ εἰς τὰ ἔθνη, καὶ γνόντες τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσάν μοι, Ἰακώβος καὶ Κηφᾶς καὶ Ἰωάννης, οἱ δοκῶντες πάντοι εἶναι, δεξιὰς ἔδοξαν ἐμοὶ καὶ Βαρνάβαν κοινωνίας, ἵνα ἡμεῖς εἰς τὰ ἔθνη, αὐτοὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν περιτομὴν· μόνον τῶν πτωχῶν ἵνα μνημονεύομεν, ὃ καὶ ἐσπούδασα αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι.
 Ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν Κηφᾶς εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν, κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῷ ἀντέστην, ὅτι κατένυσται ἦν· πρὸ τοῦ γὰρ ἔλθεῖν τινὰς ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου μετὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνήθουσαν· ὅτε δὲ ἦλθον, ὑπέστειλλεν καὶ ἀπόρριψεν ἑαυτὸν, φοβούμενος τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς, καὶ συνυπεκροθήσασιν αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Ἰουδαῖοι, ὡσεὶ καὶ Βαρνάβαν συνδιήκοντων αὐτῶν τῇ υποκρίσει, ἀλλ' ὅτε εἶδον ὅτι οὐκ ὀρθοποδοῦσιν πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, εἶπον τῷ Κηφᾷ ἐμπροσθεν πάντων· εἰ αὐτὸς Ἰουδαῖος ὑπάρο-
 4 H καταδουλώσουσιν. — 5 H — οἷς οὐδὲ 6 [ο] : T-RW 13 H ἦλθεν ἄ περιτομῆς : T-W, 13 και 7 : [H]-V
 4 — δε Marcion 5 διαμενη .LFGa 9 — και Κηφας .I Πέτρος κ. Ιακ. D Eu 11 Πέτρος D Eas 14 Πέτρος D Emς
 481 31

Act 15.10.11.
3.20.23: 4.9:
11.6. B. 17.8.
Ps 148.2.

Αποστολική
R 7, 11
1.4.
J 13.1. 17.23.
1 J 3.10.
αγαπάω

Πίστις
Gn 15.6.

ζων ἔθνικως καὶ οὐκ Ἰουδαϊκῶς ἕως, πῶς τὰ
15 ἔθνη ἀναγκάζεις ἰουδαΐζειν; Ἡμεῖς γὰρ Ἰου-
16 δαῖοι καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἔθνῶν ἁμαρτωλοὶ, πιδότες δὲ
ὅτι οὐ δικαιούται ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἔργων νόμου ἵνα
μὴ διὰ πίστεως Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς
Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐπιστεύσαμεν, ἵνα δικαιωθῶμεν
ἐκ πίστεως Χριστοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων νόμου. ὅτι
17 ἐξ ἔργων νόμου οὐ δικαιωθήσεται πᾶσα σὰρξ·
οἱ δὲ ζητούντες δικαιωθῆναι ἐν Χριστῷ ἐσθλήθησαν
καὶ αὐτοὶ ἁμαρτωλοὶ, ἅρα Χριστὸς ἁμαρτίας διά-
18 κωνος; μὴ γένοιτο. εἰ γὰρ ἂ κατέλυσαι ταῦτα
πάλιν οἰκοδομῶ, παραβάτην ἑμαυτὸν συνιστάνω.
19 ἐγὼ γὰρ διὰ νόμου νόμῳ ἀπέθανον ἵνα θεῷ ζῆσω.
20 Χριστῷ συνεσταύρωμαι· ζῶ δὲ οὐκέτι ἐγώ. ἢ δὲ
ἐν ἐμοὶ Χριστός· ὁ δὲ νῦν ζῶ ἐν σαρκί, ἐν πίστει
ζῶ τῇ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀγαπήσαντός με
21 καὶ παραδόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ. Οὐκ ἀπέ-
την χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ· εἰ γὰρ διὰ νόμου δικαιο-
σύνη, ἅρα Χριστὸς δωρεάν ἀπέθανεν. α. η. ρ. ν. κ.
22 Ὁ ἀνόητοι Γαλάται, τίς ὑμᾶς ἐβάδισεν εἰς
κατ' ὄφθαλμοὺς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ προεγράφη ἔσται
23 ῥωμένους; τοῦτο μόνον θέλω μαθεῖν ἀπ' ὑμῶν. ἐξ
ἔργων νόμου τὸ πνεῦμα ἐλάβετε ἢ ἐξ ἀκοῆς πί-
24 στευς; ἥδυνάως ἀνόητοί ἐστε; ἐναρξάμενοι πνεύματι
25 οὐκ ἐπιτελείσατε; τοσαῦτα ἐπάθετε εἰκή;
26 εἰ γε καὶ εἰκή. ὁ οὖν ἐπιχορηγῶν ὑμῖν τὸ πνεῦμα
καὶ ἐνεργῶν δυνάμεις ἐν ὑμῖν, ἐξ ἔργων νόμου ἢ
27 ἐξ ἀκοῆς πίστεως; καθὼς Ἀβραάμ ἐπίστευσεν τῷ
θεῷ, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην.

14 οὐκ : h („MSS“) T ουκ W ουκ 15 W ἁμαρτωλοὶ
16 R πιστ. Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ | hW εἰς Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν
20 hW τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ του αγαπ. 3,1 εὐαγγελιστῆς
h+ τη ἀληθεία μὴ πειθεσθῆναι 6 (W seet inc. Καθός).
14 πος : τι Κλας 16 - δε ΔΚας | σι 3^ο : πιστ.
CEας 20 αγαπ. : αγορασαντος Marcion 3,1 προστῆ : +
εν υμιν DEας

Ἰαν Ἀβραάμ. προῖδοσα δὲ ἡ γραφή ὅτι ἐκ
πίστεως δικαιοὶ τὰ ἔθνη ὁ θεός, προεγγεγλιόσατο
ἡ Ἀβραάμ ὅτι ἐνελογηθήσονται ἐν σοὶ πάντα
τὰ ἔθνη. ὥστε οἱ ἐκ πίστεως ἐυλογοῦνται σὺν
τῷ πιστῷ Ἀβραάμ. Ὅσοι γὰρ ἐξ ἔργων νόμου
πίσιν, ὑπὸ κατάραν εἰσίν· γέγραπται γὰρ ὅτι ἐπι-
κατάρατος πᾶς ὃς οὐκ ἐμένει πᾶσιν τοῖς γεγραμ-
μένοις ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ ποιῆσαι αὐτά.
ὅτι δὲ ἐν νόμῳ οὐδεὶς δικαιώσεται παρὰ τῷ θεῷ
ἄλλῃ, ὅτι ὁ δικαίος ἐκ πίστεως ζῆσεται· ὁ δὲ
καρμῶς οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ πίστεως, ἀλλ' ὁ ποιήσας αὐτὰ
ζῆσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς. Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξηγόρασεν ἐκ
τῆς κατάρας τοῦ νόμου γενόμενος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατ-
άρη, ὅτι γέγραπται· ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὁ κρεμά-
μενος ἐπὶ ξύλον, ἵνα εἰς τὰ ἔθνη ἡ εὐλογία τοῦ
Ἀβραάμ γένηται ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, ἵνα τὴν ἐπαγ-
γελίαν τοῦ πνεύματος λάβωμεν διὰ τῆς πίστεως.
Ἀδελφοί, κατὰ ἄνθρωπον λέγω. ὅμως ἀνθρώπου
20 κληρονομίην διαθήκην οὐδεὶς ἀθετεῖ ἢ ἐπιδια-
τάσσεται. τῷ δὲ Ἀβραάμ ἐροῦθήσαν αἱ ἐπαγγε-
λίαι καὶ τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ. οὐ λέγει· καὶ τοῖς
σπέρμασιν, ὡς ἐπὶ πολλῶν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐφ' ἑνός·
καὶ τῷ σπέρματι σου, ὅς ἐστιν Χριστός. τοῦτο
δὲ λέγω· διαθήκην προκεκλωμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ
ὁ μετὰ τετρακοσίου καὶ τριακοντα ἔτη γεγονώς νό-
μος οὐκ ἀκυροῖ, εἰς τὸ καταργῆσαι τὴν ἐπαγγε-
λίαν. εἰ γὰρ ἐκ νόμου ἡ κληρονομία, οὐκέτι ἐξ
ἐπαγγελίας· τῷ δὲ Ἀβραάμ δι' ἐπαγγελίας κε-
χάρισται ὁ θεός. Τί οὖν ὁ νόμος; τῶν παρα-
βάσεων χάριν προστεθῆ, ἄχρις ἂν ἔλθῃ τὸ σπέρμα
ᾧ ἐπηγγελῆται, διαταγῆς δι' ἀγγέλων, ἐν χειρὶ με-

Gn 12.3; 13.18.
Act 3.25.

R 1.18.
10 Dt 27.26.

Hb 2.4. R 1.17.
H 10.38.
12 Lv 18.5.
R 10.5.

13 R 5.3.
2 K 5.21.
Dt 21.23.

14.

16 Ga 12.7; 13.15;
17.7; 22.13;
24.7.

17 Ex 12.40.

18 R 11.6.

19 R 5.20.
Act 7.38.53.
H 2.2.
6 P 5.2.μα

12 T αλλα 14 hRT Χριστω Ἰησου 15 HR λεγω
16 α : hRT ου | W αγγελων εν
10 εν πλαν ΔΟμς 12 αυτα : + ανθρωπος ΕΚας
11 ος : ο D*E 17 θεου : + εις Χριστον DEας 19 ετεθη
D*FG

Rom. 4, 15
Rom. 3, 20
" 7, 7.63
" 5, 20