

The Text of Galatians and Its History

by

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Graduate Program in Religion
Duke University

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Michael W. Holmes

Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
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ABSTRACT

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Abstract

This dissertation investigates the text of Paul's Epistle to the Galatians and its history, how it changed over time. This dissertation performs a stemmatic analysis of 92 witnesses to the text of Galatians, using cladistic methods developed by computational biologists, to construct an unoriented stemma of the textual tradition. The stemma is then oriented based on the internal evidence of textual variants. After the stemma is oriented, the textual variants near the base of the stemma are examined and the text of Galatians is established based on stemmatic and eclectic principles. In addition, two branches of the textual tradition, the Western and the Eastern-Byzantine, are studied to assess the nature of textual variation in their history. This study reaches the conclusion that a modified stemmatic approach is an effective way to study both the text of a New Testament book and its history.

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my family who have sacrificed so much for me.

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List of Abbreviations

- BDAG Walter Bauer, Frederick W. Danker, William F. Arndt, and F. Wilbur Gingrich, eds., *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (3rd ed. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000).
- BDF Friedrich Blass, Albert Debrunner, and Robert W. Funk, eds., *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961).
- BDR Friedrich Blass, Albert Debrunner, and Friedrich Rehkopf, eds., *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* (14th ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1976).
- BETZ Hans Dieter Betz, *Galatians: A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Churches in Galatia* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979).
- BONNARD Pierre Bonnard, *L'Épître de Saint Paul aux Galates* (2d ed.; Commentaire du Nouveau Testament 9; Neuchâtel: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1972).
- BURTON Ernest de Witt Burton, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1921).
- BUSCEMI *Lettera ai Galati: Commentario esegetico* (Analecta [Studium Biblicum Franciscanum] 63; Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 2004).
- BUTTMANN Alexander Buttmann, *A Grammar of the New Testament Greek* (J. G. Thayer, tr.; Andover, Mass.: Draper, 1873).
- DE BOER Martinus C. de Boer, *Galatians: A Commentary* (NTL; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 2011).
- DENNISTON J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles* (2d ed.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954).
- DUNN James D. G. Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians* (BNTC; London: Black, 1993).
- EADIE John Eadie, *A Commentary on the Greek Text of the Epistle of Paul to the Galatians* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1879).
- HORT B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort, *Introduction to the New Testament in the Original Greek* (repr. Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1988).
- LEGASSE Simon Légasse, *L'épître de Paul aux Galates* (LD 9; Paris: Cerf, 2000).
- LIGHTFOOT J. B. Lightfoot, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians* (1st ed., 1865; repr. Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1995).
- LONGENECKER Richard N. Longenecker, *Galatians* (WBC 41; Dallas: Word Books, 1990).
- LSJ Henry George Liddell, Robert Scott, and Henry Stuart Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (9th ed.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1940).
- MARTYN J. Louis Martyn, *Galatians* (AB 33A; New York: Doubleday, 1997).

- MATERA Frank J. Matera, *Galatians* (SP 9; Collegeville, Minn.: Glazier, 1992).
- MEISER Martin Meiser, *Galater* (NTP 9; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007).
- METZGER *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (2d ed. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994).
- MEYER Heinrich August Wilhelm Meyer, *Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the Epistle to the Galatians* (G. H. Venables, trans.; 2d ed.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1904).
- MUSSNER Franz Mussner, *Der Galaterbrief* (HTKNT 9; Freiburg: Herder, 1974).
- NET Michael H. Burer, W. Hall Harris III, and Daniel B. Wallace, *New English Translation: New Testament* (Dallas: Net Bible Press, 2004).
- NT.VMR New Testament Virtual Manuscript Room [Muenster website located at <http://intf.uni-muenster.de/vmr/NTVMR/IndexNTVMR.php>]
- ROHDE Joachim Rohde, *Der Brief des Paulus an die Galater* (THKNT 9; rev. ed.; Berlin: Evangelische, 1988).
- ROYSE James R. Royse, *Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri* (NTTSD 36; Leiden: Brill, 2008).
- SCHLIER Heinrich Schlier, *Der Brief an die Galater* (KEK 7; 10th ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1949).
- SIEFFERT Friedrich Sieffert, *Der Brief an die Galater* (KEK 7; 9th ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1899).
- SMYTH Herbert Weir Smyth, *Greek Grammar* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1920; Rev. ed. Gordon M. Messing, 1956).
- WEISS Bernhard Weiss, *Textkritik der paulinische Briefe* (TU 14.3; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1896).
- WINER George Benedict Winer, *A Grammar of the New Testament Diction: Intended as an Introduction to the Critical Study of the Greek New Testament* (Edward Masson, tr.; 4th ed.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1863).
- ZAHN Theodor Zahn, *Der Brief des Paulus an die Galater* (KNT 9; Leipzig: Deichert, 1905).
- ZIMMER¹ F. Zimmer, “Zur Textkritik des Galaterbriefes,” *ZWT* 24 (1881): 481-494.
- ZIMMER² F. Zimmer, “Zur Textkritik des Galaterbriefes (Cap. III.),” *ZWT* 25 (1882): 327-343.
- ZIMMER³ F. Zimmer, “Zur Textkritik des Galaterbriefes (Cap. IV-VI),” *ZWT* 26 (1883): 294-308.

Acknowledgments

This project has been such a long time in the making, and any project of this scope has so many people who deserve my thanks that I cannot possibly name everyone. As a result, I can only acknowledge the most formative influences upon me and my thesis.

I first encountered the heady field of New Testament textual criticism in the academic mailing lists of the mid-1990s. Though I was but an amateur, I got to interact with some of the best, brightest, and most technologically savvy people in the field of Biblical historical criticism. Two of those I had interacted with nearly twenty years ago, Mark Goodacre and Bart Ehrman, have become my co-supervisors of this dissertation. I am profoundly grateful to them for their knowledge, inspiration, and encouragement over these decades. Over this time, I have kept up with the academic mailing lists, and the one that has probably helped me the most is the Biblical Greek mailing list, from whose participants I first heard about modern linguistic approaches to Hellenistic Greek. I am particularly appreciative of the help I received over the years from Carl Conrad, Edward Hobbs, Mike Aubrey, and Steve Runge. In fact, Steve was kind enough to encourage me to call him to discuss his work with Greek discourse grammar.

The dissertation itself derives its inspiration from an email sent to a textual criticism mailing list about a text-critical challenge where a biologist successfully classified various Old Norse manuscripts using off-the-shelf software for classifying biological organisms. As someone trained in computer programming myself, I became fascinated by computer-assisted methods of textual criticism using insights from systematic biology. On-line discussions with two members of the mailing list in particular, Robert B. Waltz and Larry W. Hurtado, helped crystallize my thinking. I am grateful to them, as well as to two biologists, Robert J. O'Hara and John Alroy, who answered my email queries while I was learning the theory.

By this time, I had started attending sessions of New Testament textual criticism section at the annual meetings of the Society of Biblical Literature, and I would like to acknowledge my gratitude for all the stimulating discussions I have had about textual criticism over the years, including Michael W. Holmes, David Parker, Bill Warren, Peter Head, Tommy Wasserman, and Jan Krans among others. I have learned a lot in my discussions with them and from reading their writings. I am especially thankful that Mike Holmes was able to join my committee and make many useful comment on earlier drafts of this dissertation.

I would never have followed up on my idea unless I had the opportunity to enroll in Duke's Ph.D. program, and I decided to make this work a focus of my doctoral research during one of Bart Ehrman's textual criticism seminars open to Duke students. I learned so much from my Duke family, including two of the members of my dissertation committee, Joel Marcus and Douglas Campbell. They taught me much about scholarship in general and about Judaism and Paul in particular. I am also grateful to my fellow students at Duke and UNC, from whom I have received much intellectual stimulation, including Hans Arneson, Maria Doerfler, Nathan Eubank, T. J. Lang, Tom McGlothlin, Ken Olson, Jason Staples, and many others.

Of course, being able to pursue my passion at Duke meant that my family had to make many sacrifices. It is to my wife Aili and my children, therefore, that I dedicate this dissertation. Without their love, sacrifice, and encouragement, this would never have been accomplished.

1. Theories of New Testament Textual Criticism

1.1 Introduction

Paul's Epistle to the Galatians is one of the most important books of the New Testament for historians and theologians. As one of the earliest Christian documents that has survived, Galatians is historically important because it contains the most extensive autobiographical section of any early Christian leader. It is also theologically important because of its exposition of the role of the Torah in Christian life in the first century, and it later became foundational for the doctrine of justification by faith during the Reformation. Because of its importance, readers care about what the text of this epistle means.

The text of Galatians, however, does not exist in a single form. It exists in a variety of forms in millions of copies. To be sure, most of these copies are found in printed Bibles in modern language translations, but the variation in the forms of the text is no modern phenomenon. Like other books of the New Testament, the text of Galatians is present in hundreds of medieval manuscripts and none of these contain the exact same form of the text. In fact, as far back in time as the evidence can reach, the text of Galatians has exhibited a variety of forms, at least one for each manuscript witness.

Most readers of the text do not appreciate this bewildering diversity of textual forms. They want something more convenient. They want an edition they can read. To this end, ever since the dawn of the age of printing, publishers have been producing editions and translations of the text for the benefit of their readers. There is a social dimension as well. Readers want to share their thoughts about the text with others, and mutual exchanges of ideas are facilitated

by having a text in common. Otherwise, there will be disputes about what the text says in addition to the expected disputes about what it means.

In some cases, even tiny differences over what the text says can have a huge effect on what the text means. For example, ever since a memorable exchange between Jerome and Augustine, exegetes have been fascinated by what happened at Antioch as Paul described it in Gal 2:11-14. According to the current Nestle-Aland text, this incident was triggered by the arrival of certain people from James, who intimidated Cephas into publicly changing his mind and separating himself from the gentiles (Gal 2:12 ὅτε δὲ ἦλθον ὑπέστειλεν “but when they came, he withdrew”). The best and earliest manuscripts, however, tell another story. A difference of a single letter in the text—from the *omicron* in ἦλθον (“they came”) to the *epsilon* in ἦλθεν (“he came”)—results in a markedly different understanding of the incident. Instead of being intimidated at Antioch into changing his mind, Cephas came to Antioch with no intention of eating with the gentiles, and this is what Paul found objectionable. What happened at the Antioch incident and even when it happened remains a scholarly point of contention even today.

Now, the social dimension to reading, expounding, and disputing the text means that the nature of the text chosen for the common edition is in large part socially constructed. This is why most forms of the text of Galatians are now found in the vernacular. Very few people can read the Greek language that Paul spoke. They need to access the text in a form they can manage, in their native tongue. Nevertheless, the act of translation necessitates having a textual base from which to translate, and this shifts the onus of coping with the diversity of

textual forms from the general readers to its translators—and these translators cope with this diversity by relying on critical editions of the text prepared by textual critics.¹

Like other readers of the text, New Testament textual critics also operate within a social environment and their ideal form of the text is also socially constructed. After all, it is not self-evident what form of the text the critical text should represent. Should it represent the most current form of the text? Should it represent the most popular form of the text? Should it represent the oldest surviving form of the text? Should it represent the form of the text when the text became canonical? Should it represent, insofar as it is possible to determine, what Paul actually wrote to the Galatians? All of these forms of the text are within the purview of textual criticism, but they do not all get the same attention from textual critics.² Rather, one particular state of the text has attracted the lion's share of the attention from textual critics, who—like other members of the society in which they live—operate within a common framework of shared assumptions about what is important or authoritative.

The social context within which New Testament textual criticism has been operating is modernity. The Renaissance's call to return to the sources (*ad fontes*) led to the Protestant Reformation's insistence on *sola scriptura*, making scripture in its original languages the sole authority for purposes of theology.³ On the secular side, this call to return to the sources also

¹ For an overview of scholarly editing of a broad range of texts, see D. C. Greetham, *Textual Scholarship: An Introduction* (Garland Reference Library of the Humanities 1417; corr. repr.; New York: Garland, 1994), and the collection of essays in D. C. Greetham, ed., *Scholarly Editing: A Guide to Research* (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1995).

² To be sure, throughout much of the history of the text, producers of new copies of the New Testament text have simply been content to reproduce the standard text of their time with little to no input from textual critics, even in the age of printing. This reliance on a “received text” is an example of a socially constructed authoritative text.

³ So Michael W. Holmes, “From ‘Original Text’ to ‘Initial Text’: The Traditional Goal of New Testament Textual Criticism in Contemporary Discussion,” in Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes, eds., *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis* (2d ed.; Leiden: Brill, forthcoming), preprint pp. 5. Holmes goes on to mention that other faith traditions such as the Roman Catholic Church and the Eastern Orthodox Church

led to the Enlightenment's privileging of the historical situation in which the documents were written for purposes of historical inquiry.⁴ Thus, textual critics both for the New Testament and for classical texts have confidently proclaimed that their goal is to restore the text of the "original." For example, on the New Testament side, F. J. A. Hort declared that the goal of textual criticism is "recovering an exact copy of what was actually written on parchment or papyrus by the author of the book or his amanuensis."⁵ On the classical side, Paul Maas asserted, "The business of textual criticism is to produce a text as close as possible to the original (*constitutio textus*)."⁶ As a result, textual critics have long taken for granted that their goal was to restore the "original text."⁷

To be sure, there are many advantages that come from restoring the text of an ancient work as the author wrote it. For example, the exegesis of a text requires knowledge of the historical circumstances in which the work was composed.⁸ For this reason, the form of the text subjected to exegesis should reflect that historical context, not a *mélange* of multiple historical contexts for the author and each scribe who changed the text. Furthermore, the historical situation of a particular author is usually more accessible to critics than those of the scribes. Though some authors were anonymous, the scribes who transmitted the work almost

prefer to invest authority in a standard text of a later era. For a brief debate between two different stances about which form of the text ought to be authoritative for theology, see David Parker, "Textual Criticism and Theology," *ExpT* 118 (2007): 583-589, and John C. Poirier, "Living Text or Exquisite Corpse?" *ExpT* 119 (2008): 437-439.

⁴ Edgar Krentz, *The Historical-Critical Method* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975), 7-10, 17-19, and 35-41.

⁵ B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort, *Introduction to the New Testament in the Original Greek* (repr. Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1988) [hereinafter "Hort"], 3.

⁶ Paul Maas, *Textual Criticism* (trans. Barbara Flower; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), 1.

⁷ Holmes, "Original Text," 7-11.

⁸ E.g., Douglas Stuart, "Exegesis," *ABD* 2:682-688 at 263: "Investigating and identifying the historical context of a passage is a pivotal step in the exegesis process. Reconstruction this historical context helps provide the exegete with a potentially clearer sense of the meaning of the passage than would otherwise be possible, by providing some of the general knowledge that its original audience(s) relied upon to understand what was said and/or written."

always were.⁹ As a result, there is a greater chance of knowing something about the author than about the unknown scribes.¹⁰ Similarly, historical linguists studying the state of the language at the time the work was composed would prefer to have a text that contains the language of that time period without later elements. Historians interested in a time period also prefer having a witness whose text reflects that particular time period, rather than another or later time period.¹¹ This preference—by the consumers of the textual critic’s efforts—for a text that reflects the time and author of an ancient work’s composition creates a powerful social environment in favor of restoring the original text.

With this single-minded focus on the original text, scholars have scoured monastic libraries for Biblical manuscripts, dug up trash heaps in hopes of finding papyrus scraps of the New Testament, and combed through ecclesiastical texts in search of early scriptural quotations. They collated the thousands of witnesses they found, they carefully sifted through the hundreds of thousands of collated variants, and they argued over thousands of significant points of variation. All this effort culminated in a series of highly-regarded Nestle-Aland critical editions of the New Testament, which have become the basis for exegesis, translation, and historical investigation for most of the twentieth century.¹² This success came at a price,

⁹ A rare exception is the scribe Ephraim, who wrote the tenth-century minuscule 1739. For more about Ephraim, see Amy S. Anderson, *The Textual Tradition of the Gospels: Family 1 in Matthew* (NTTS 32; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 22-46.

¹⁰ For a careful engagement with a frustratingly small body of material about Christian scribes, see Kim Haines-Eitzen, *Guardians of Letters: Literacy, Power, and the Transmitters of Early Christian Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

¹¹ This is why John Knox, *Chapters in a Life of Paul* (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1950), privileged Paul’s letters, especially Galatians, over the later Acts of the Apostles for the study of Pauline chronology. However, if the historian’s text of Paul’s letters and Acts contains elements from later time period, then the basis of Knox’s methodological premise is no longer valid.

¹² For an overview of the praxis of textual criticism behind the Nestle-Aland editions, see Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament: An Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism* (2d ed.; trans. Erroll F. Rhodes; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1989) [hereinafter “ALAND-ALAND”].

however. It has led to a stagnation of the field.¹³ By the end of the twentieth century, a dwindling number of New Testament scholars continued to argue for one or another reading as being original, and the text of the standard Nestle-Aland critical edition effectively remained unchanged since 1975.¹⁴ The field had entered what Eldon Jay Epp had once dubbed the “twentieth-century interlude in New Testament textual criticism.”¹⁵

Against this twentieth-century backdrop of the relentless pursuit of the original text, there have been voices crying in the wilderness that there ought to be more to textual criticism than that. Specifically, they have argued that understanding the history of the text—how and why the text changed over time—is also important for understanding the history of its readers.¹⁶ The tide began to turn in 1993 with the publication of *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture* by Bart D. Ehrman.¹⁷ In it, Ehrman demonstrated that the behavior of the scribes who transmitted and modified the text had a lot to say about the ongoing Christological controversies in the first few centuries of Christianity, and vice versa.¹⁸ To this end, it is necessary to look at more than what the original text can provide. The Christian controversies revolved around the texts of their day, not around the text of an original that had long since

¹³ On this stagnation, see Bart D. Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture* (2d ed.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 333-334.

¹⁴ The third edition of the United Bible Societies’ text was set in 1975 and adopted by the editors of the twenty-sixth Nestle-Aland edition in 1979. The twenty-seventh edition in 1993 made changes only to the apparatus. See Barbara Aland, Kurt Aland, Johannes Karavidopoulos, Carlo M. Martini, and Bruce M. Metzger, eds., *Novum Testamentum Graece* (27th ed.; Stuttgart: German Bible Society, 1993), 2*-3*, 44*-45*. Beginning with James in 1997, the editors of the Nestle-Aland edition have been publishing a major critical edition in parts, with some changes to the text.

¹⁵ Eldon Jay Epp, “The Twentieth Century Interlude in New Testament Textual Criticism” in Eldon J. Epp & Gordon D. Fee, eds., *Studies in the Theory and Method of New Testament Textual Criticism* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1993), 85-108. See also Eldon Jay Epp, “A Continuing Interlude in New Testament Textual Criticism?” in *Studies in the Theory and Method*, 109-123; and L. W. Hurtado, “Beyond the Interlude? Developments and Directions in New Testament Textual Criticism” in D. G. K. Taylor, ed., *Studies in the Early Text of the Gospels and Acts* (Atlanta: SBL, 1999), 26-48.

¹⁶ See Ehrman, *Orthodox Corruption*, 331-332.

¹⁷ Ehrman was not without his precursors, the most important of whom was Eldon Jay Epp, *The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis in Acts* (SNTSMS 3; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966).

¹⁸ Ehrman, *Orthodox Corruption*, 320-330.

disappeared. Moreover, the variants that provide a window into this past are in many cases the very ones that textual critics have purged from the text in their quest for the original.¹⁹ To be sure, textual critics have documented some of these early controversial variants in the critical apparatus below the main text, but this documentation is often spotty and unhelpful, especially in the Nestle-Aland hand editions, because the variants in the apparatus were chosen more for their relevance in reconstituting the editor's notion of the original text rather than for their relevance in the study of the transmission of the text.²⁰ Ehrman's study and the others that have followed in its wake have led to a greater emphasis upon the variants generated within the historical transmission of the text as a way to study the development of early Christianity.²¹

In point of fact, Epp has called for a "variant-conscious" edition of the New Testament that would facilitate the study of textual variants within the history of the text.²² According to Epp's proposal:

A variant-conscious edition, then, would display significant variants in a single running text that, at each variation-unit, places the selected variant readings in horizontal comparison, one below another, and then reverts to a running text until the next variation-unit is reached. A separate apparatus would provide the attestation for various readings displayed in the running text.²³

Epp's proposal is no mere intellectual exercise. It is, in fact, very similar to the approach of the *Editio Critica Maior* in the Catholic Epistles published by the Institute for New Testament Textual

¹⁹ See Bart D. Ehrman, "The Text as Window: New Testament Manuscripts and the Social History of Early Christianity" in Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes, eds., *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis* (SD 46; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1995), 361-379.

²⁰ E.g., ALAND-ALAND, 232: "Nestle-Aland²⁶ does not report every variant, including, e.g., the obviously singular readings of individual manuscripts."

²¹ Ehrman, *Orthodox Corruption*, 352-361, has an overview of recent studies.

²² Eldon Jay Epp, "It's All about Variants: A Variant-Conscious Approach to New Testament Textual Criticism," *HTR* 100 (2007): 275-308.

²³ Epp, "Variants," 301.

Research in Muenster.²⁴ The main difference between Epp's proposal and Muenster's edition is that Muenster is much more comprehensive in printing variants under the baseline text, rather than restricting them to those deemed "significant."²⁵ While this approach is an important advance in the study of the history of the text, it does not go far enough. The history of individual textual variation is not the history of the text. A text is more than its individual readings. It is a *pattern* of readings, in a specific sequence and embodied in a single witness, and it is this pattern of readings that may tell us whether the readers of the text were consistent or schizophrenic in their attitude to Christology, apologetics, Judaism, and women. A text is a pattern of readings, so the history of the text ought to be concerned with patterns of readings, not disembodied variants.²⁶

Another important part of Epp's proposal is that the running, baseline text in his variant-conscious edition is pointedly not the "original" text, but the "earliest attainable text." This distinction is necessary, Epp contends, because "the nature of New Testament textual transmission virtually precludes any ultimate identification of 'earliest attainable' with *the* original."²⁷ This, too, is the approach adopted by Muenster in their concept of an "initial text," which is somewhere between the author's original and the text that can be reconstructed based

²⁴ E.g., Barbara Aland, Kurt Aland, Gerd Mink, and Klaus Wachtel, *Novum Testamentum Graece: Editio Critica Maior*, vol. 4, pt. 1.1, *James* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1997). Curiously, though Epp cites Muenster's major critical edition ("Variants, 286 n.38), he does not mention it as a model for his variant-conscious edition.

²⁵ It is just as well that the Muenster edition is not limited to "significant" variants. These are notoriously hard to define. Though Epp suggests that they ought to relate to the "theological, liturgical, and ethical contexts . . . in the life of the church" ("Variants," 294), this criterion seems too subjective to apply consistently and unlikely to satisfy the full range of issues that scholars find interesting.

²⁶ To be sure, Epp, "Variants," 300, is aware of this point, but he counsels against it as "inappropriate for the Greek text" because "the issue of text types in New Testament textual criticism is highly complex and still debated, and it is essential, rather, to present the textual variants without invoking one theory or another." My claim is that, if we are serious about the history of the text, then we have to confront the issue of text types (see Chapter 2).

²⁷ Epp, "Variants," 294 (emphasis original).

on the surviving variants.²⁸ The humility behind this distinction is certainly refreshing, but, while these alternative phrasings may avoid the term “original,” they do not avoid the concept of an original, authorial text.²⁹

A good illustration of this tension is evident in Epp’s article on whether there was an apostle named Junia in Rom 16:7.³⁰ At the beginning of the essay, Epp problematizes the concept of an original—“at least in this writer’s judgment, textual critics must now speak of multivalence in the term ‘original text’”³¹ and “the search for a *single* original text or reading may have to be abandoned.”³² Yet, when he addresses Rom 16:7, Epp does not abandon the quest for the original. Rather, he makes such categorical statements as “Paul, in Rom 16,7, requested his readers,”³³ and “The conclusion to this essay is simple and straightforward: *there was an apostle Junia.*”³⁴ These statements presuppose that the text he recovered was Paul’s authorial original rather than someone else’s. Otherwise, Rom 16:7 would have no more authority for Epp’s historical analysis than the later Paulinists whom Epp held were responsible for 1 Cor 14:34-35, Eph 4:22-24, Col 3:18, and 1 Tim 2:8-15.³⁵ Thus, Epp’s historical criticism about the apostle Junia requires his textual criticism of Rom 16:7 to have produced a reading

²⁸ See, e.g., Gerd Mink, “Problems of a Highly Contaminated Tradition: The New Testament—Stemmata of Variants as a Source of a Genealogy for Witnesses” in Piet van Reenen, ed., *Studies in Stemmatology II* (Philadelphia: Benjamins, 2004), 13-85 at 25-27. A more detailed overview of this trend is found in Holmes, “Original Text,” 11-25.

²⁹ See Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (3d ed.; Minneapolis, Fortress, 2012), 162: “Almost all scholars are involved with the evaluation of textual variants, but often they may not be aware that this procedure actually requires the acceptance of some idea of an original text in some form.”

³⁰ Eldon Jay Epp, “Text-Critical, Exegetical, and Socio-Cultural Factors Affecting the Junia/Junias Variant in Romans 16,7,” in A. Denaux, ed., *New Testament Textual Criticism and Exegesis* (Festschrift J. Delobel; BETL 161; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002), 227-291. Epp published an expanded form of this essay in book form as Epp, *Junia: The First Woman Apostle* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005).

³¹ This is in reference to his earlier article, “The Multivalence of the Term ‘Original Text’ in New Testament Textual Criticism,” *HTR* 92 (1999): 245-281. The sense that is necessary to his historical argument is the “autographic text-form,” rather than the “predecessor text-form,” the “canonical text-form,” or the “interpretive text-form” (276-277).

³² Epp, “Junia/Junias Variant,” 228; Epp, *Junia*, 5-6.

³³ Epp, “Junia/Junias Variant,” 243. Also Epp, *Junia*, 79: “the Pauline phase in Rom 16:7.”

³⁴ Epp, “Junia/Junias Variant,” 290 (emphasis original); Epp, *Junia*, 80 (emphasis original).

³⁵ Epp, “Junia/Junias Variant,” 291; Epp, *Junia*, 80-82.

closely connected to what Paul wrote. In other words, for Epp's historical argument to work, the "earliest attainable text" has to be Paul's authorial text—an "original" text, not some later form of the text—yet this is the very equation that Epp has called into question.

The shift in focus from the "original text" to the history of the text over the past quarter-century has been a welcome development. It has rejuvenated the field. Nevertheless, it is important not to drive a wedge between a text and its history. We need one to study the other.³⁶ History, after all, is the study of change over time. One cannot do a history of the text—that is, how the text changed over time—without a sense of what the text looked like before a scribe changed it and what it looked like afterwards. Textual critics, therefore, need to be able to assess which forms of the text precede other forms and, as part of this enterprise, identify a form of the text that precedes all the other surviving forms of the text. Furthermore, it is important to understand what relationship this archetypal text has to the original, authorial text that so interests historical critics, linguists, theologians, and other customers of textual criticism. Whether the goal is the "original text," the "earliest attainable text," the "initial text," or even the "archetypal text," all these proposed forms of the text are the products of modern text-critical methods.³⁷ As the survey of text-critical methods in the field of the New Testament later in this chapter will demonstrate, all of them produce a critical text that approximates an authorial, original text to the extent that they rely upon a class of textual evidence called internal evidence.

³⁶ So also Holmes, "Original Text," 7: "In short, the two goals are best understood not as competing but as complementary pursuits—perhaps even as two sides of a single coin. To pursue one is not at all either to privilege it or to argue against the value of the other." Similarly Epp, "Variants," 294.

³⁷ Epp, "Variants," 287, is explicit on this point, stating that the "earliest attainable text" is "a text, or better, texts that represent the best that modern text-critical resources and methods can recover."

Where these text-critical methods significantly differ, however, is in their approach to the history of the text. Some impose an *a priori* history of the text upon the evidence, but others attempt to reconstruct the history from the textual evidence. If the history of the text is also important, it is important to adopt a text-critical method that actually infers a history of the text. Consequently, in order to test how well various text-critical methods are able to infer a history of the text, a hypothetical history of the text of Galatians is presented next and then used to evaluate the efficacy of several text-critical methods. Based on the results of this evaluation, one of these text-critical methods is adopted for the remainder of this study into the text of Galatians and its history.

1.2 A Textual Transmission Scenario for Evaluating Modern Text-Critical Methods

Every text-critical method for producing an edition of a text presupposes a historical model for evaluating the transmission of the text. As Michael W. Holmes once put it, “In short, the evaluation of individual readings depends greatly on how the critic views them in relation to the larger picture of the history of the text, because there is a synergistic relationship between history and method.”³⁸ Like all models, the history of the text presupposed by any particular method is necessarily a simplification of the actual, complex, and messy transmission of the text. Thus, inherent in any model are limitations and assumptions that affect the usefulness of the model for evaluating the evidence for a text. In order to elucidate the limitations and assumptions of commonly employed text-critical methods, this section

³⁸ Michael W. Holmes, “The Case for Reasoned Eclecticism” in David Alan Black, ed., *Rethinking New Testament Textual Criticism* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker, 2002), 77-100 at 92. Also earlier, Michael W. Holmes, “Reasoned Eclecticism in New Testament Textual Criticism,” in Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes, eds., *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis* (SD 46; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1995), 336-360 at 350.

presents a scenario for the transmission of the text that is more complicated and indeed messier than the histories of the text adopted by those methods.

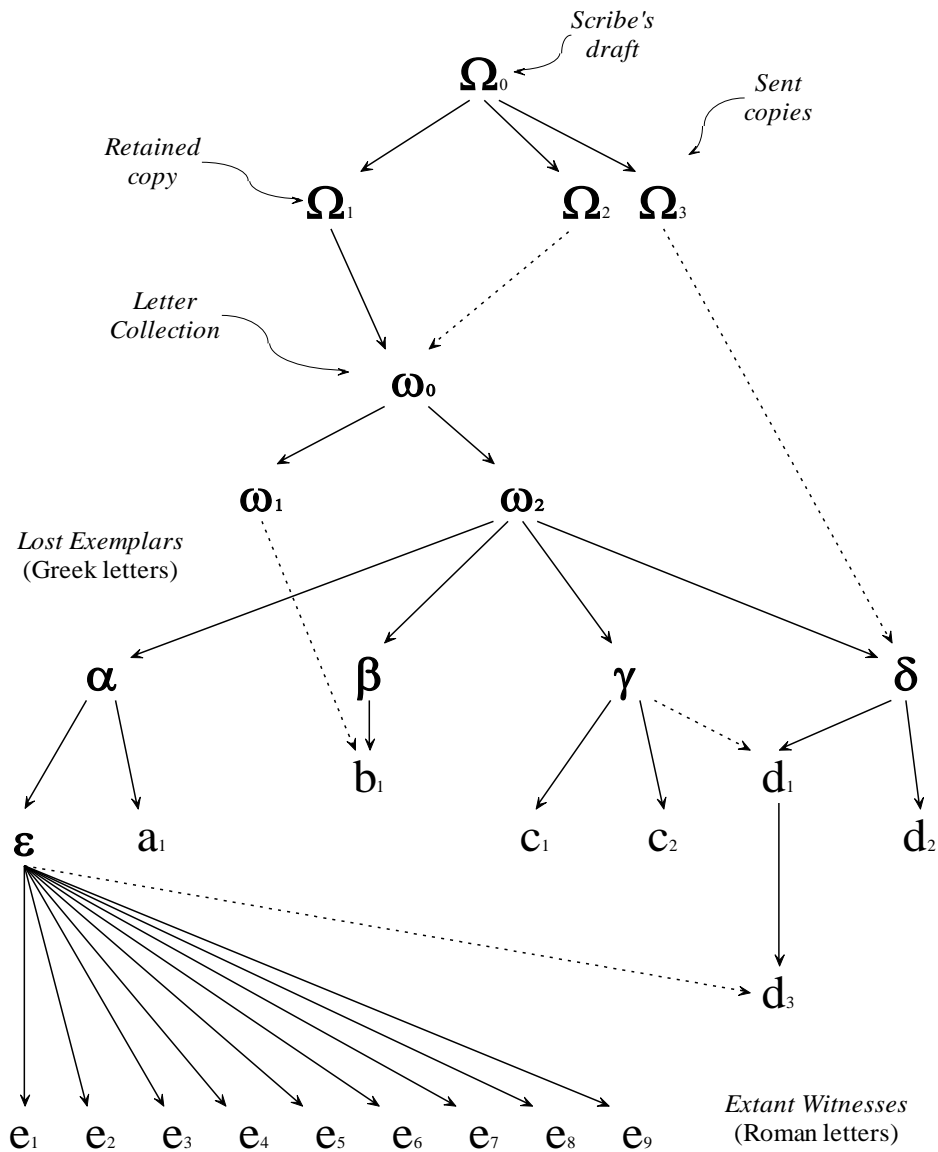


FIG. 1 A Hypothetical Textual Transmission Scenario for Galatians

FIG. 1 depicts a possible scenario for the transmission of Paul's letter to the Galatians from the middle of the first century down to the present day. The purpose of this scenario is not so much to propose an actual textual history to be defended, but rather to explore and

expose the limitations and assumptions of various methods that textual critics use. Thus, the historical scenario presented in FIG. 1 may be more complicated than what happened in some aspects but simpler in other aspects. Nevertheless, this scenario is informed by research into letter-writing and book production in antiquity.³⁹

At the top of FIG. 1, Paul dictated the bulk of his letter to a scribe or secretary, up through Gal 6:10, producing a draft Ω_0 .⁴⁰ Though Paul is the dominant voice in the epistle, suggested by the prevalent use of the first person,⁴¹ the prescript discloses the presence of additional people who are with Paul (Gal 1:2 καὶ οἱ σὺν ἔμοι πάντες ἀδελφοί, “and all the brothers with me”). Thus, the dictation of the letter ought to be envisioned as occurring in a communal setting, and it is conceivable that parts of the dictated letter may have originated from someone with Paul at the time.⁴² The dictated draft of the letter would have been written on a temporary medium such as wax tablets or scratch sheets of parchment.⁴³

After some possible corrections, the scribe then copied the letter from the temporary medium to a papyrus or parchment sheet suitable for sending to the Galatians.⁴⁴ On this copy, marked Ω_2 , Paul wrote a handwritten note beginning with 6:11 Ἴδετε πηλίκους ὑμῖν γράμμασιν ἔγραψα τῆ ἐμῆ χειρὶ (“See what large letters I write to you in my own hand.”). Like many letter writers in antiquity, it is reasonable to posit that Paul had his scribe copy the whole letter,

³⁹ See especially Harry Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church: A History of Early Christian Texts* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1995); and E. Randolph Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing: Secretaries, Composition and Collection* (Downer’s Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity, 2004).

⁴⁰ Gamble, *Books*, 95-96.

⁴¹ E.g. the use of the emphatic pronoun ἐγὼ in Gal 1:12; 2:19, 20; 4:12; 5:2 (Ἴδε ἐγὼ Παῦλος λέγω ὑμῖν “See, I, Paul, tell you”), 10, 11; 6:17.

⁴² Richards, *Paul*, 45-46.

⁴³ Richards, *Paul*, 47-58.

⁴⁴ Richards, *Paul*, 161-165.

either from the draft or the official letter, in order to retain a copy for his own reference.⁴⁵ This copy is labeled Ω_1 . With multiple destinations in Galatia (1:2), it is also conceivable that other copies of the letter (e.g., Ω_3) could have been made at this time or later by the Galatians themselves as the letter carrier traveled from church to church.⁴⁶ Given the imperfections of the process of copying a text by hand and the possibility that Paul may have made alterations to some of the copies, it is probable that there were already variant readings among the copies Ω_0 , Ω_1 , Ω_2 , and Ω_3 .

Now, many scholars believe that one or more collections of Paul's letters were gathered together, perhaps at the end of the first century or near the beginning of the second century.⁴⁷ It is unclear to what extent the maker of this collection sought out different copies of the letter. Perhaps the collector had access to Paul's retained copy Ω_1 , perhaps one of the Galatians' copies Ω_2 , or perhaps both. The simplest scenario is that the collector merely had access to a single copy of Galatians, but, to complicate the scenario, we will assume that the collector had access to at least two copies, collated them, and reconciled their variants, either by selecting one of them or by writing an alternative reading in the margin. The form of the text of Galatians in the letter collection at this stage in the tradition is labeled ω_0 in FIG. 1.

In this scenario, the initial letter collection was copied many times, each time introducing scribal variants in the process. One copy, ω_1 , left no direct copies but survived long enough to become a source of corrections for manuscript b_1 . Another copy of this letter

⁴⁵ Gamble, *Books*, 100-101; Richards, *Paul*, 158-161.

⁴⁶ Gamble, *Books*, 97. Richards, *Paul*, 157 n.8, points out that the mention of Paul's handwriting in Gal 6:11 points away from the scenario that Paul had prepared multiple sent originals.

⁴⁷ Gamble, *Books*, 59-63, 100; Richards, *Paul*, 210-223. For an overview of various theories, see also Stanley E. Porter, "When and How was the Pauline Canon Compiled? An Assessment of Theories" in Stanley E. Porter, *The Pauline Canon* (PS 1; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 95-127.

collection, however, was destined to become the common ancestor of every surviving manuscript of the letter, labeled ω_2 in FIG. 1. In particular, copy ω_2 itself was copied several times and four of its copies are labeled α , β , γ , and δ in FIG. 1. All of these copies were lost to the vagaries of time, war, and worm, but they each were the beginning of their own branch in the history of the text. Furthermore, copy α became the exemplar for two of its own copies. One survived as extant witness a_1 ; another copy ϵ did not survive but became the ultimate ancestor of the majority of surviving witnesses: $e_1, e_2, e_3, e_4, e_5, e_6, e_7, e_8,$ and e_9 . Copy β , on the other hand, was only copied once, as copy b_1 . Copy γ was a little bit more fruitful: it produced two pure descendents c_1 and c_2 . As for copy δ , the history is considerably more complicated in this scenario. First, its scribe had access to a descendent of one of the sent copies Ω_3 and used that exemplar to change some of the readings of its main source ω_2 . The mixture does not stop here, however. One of copy δ 's descendents, d_1 , itself was corrected based on lost exemplar γ . (Another descendent d_2 was not so corrected, however.) Furthermore, d_1 's descendent d_3 was corrected, this time against the popular exemplar ϵ .

In sum, FIG. 1 presents a possible historical scenario for the transmission of Galatians designed to challenge the assumptions of different approaches to studying its textual history. There were multiple authorial originals, $\Omega_0, \Omega_1, \Omega_2,$ and Ω_3 . There was an early recension of the text ω_0 that was based on collating and combining multiple exemplars. To complicate matters, it is assumed that this copy presented alternative readings or notes in places. A further complicating assumption is that ω_0 is not the most recent common ancestor of the surviving witnesses to the text. Rather, that ancestor is ω_2 . Furthermore, the textual history from this ancestor was not uniform. One branch of the text beginning from ϵ , via α , was especially prolific and it has supplied the majority of the existing manuscripts of the text. Another part β

produced only one witness but it was corrected from an earlier edition of the letter collection. Still another part of the tradition, starting with δ , was rife with contamination.

1.3 Notions of Textual Evidence

The transmission of a text is a historical process, and this process produces evidence of what happened in the form of manuscripts that embody a particular sequence of words. More specifically, at each stage in the transmission, a scribe prepares a manuscript by copying and changing the wording of one or more exemplars.⁴⁸ Unfortunately, much of this evidence has perished. Manuscripts have been worn out, lost, or destroyed, and scribes rarely, if ever, identify their exemplars in those manuscripts that have survived. Thus, we lack most of the physical evidence produced by the process of textual transmission, and almost all of the relational evidence (which manuscript was the source for the other). For example, all that is left of the hypothetical textual history depicted in FIG. 1 are sixteen witnesses to the text.

The surviving evidence has a concrete component and an abstract component. The concrete component is an actual manuscript that came into being at a particular place and time in history. The abstract component constitutes the words represented by the physical marks on the manuscript. This distinction leads naturally to the traditional division of the text-critical evidence into external evidence and internal evidence.⁴⁹ Specifically, external evidence pertains to the identity of the physical witness that embodies a form of the text, and it is used

⁴⁸ Ulrich Schmid, "Scribes and Variants—Sociology and Typology" in H. A. G. Houghton and D. C. Parker, eds., *Textual Variation: Theological and Social Tendencies? Papers from the Fifth Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (TS3 6; Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias, 2008), 1-23, makes the point that readers and owners of a manuscript can be a source of textual variation when they alter the text of their manuscripts. Schmid's point is well taken, and it should be understood that any references in this study to scribal changes also include the textual alterations made by readers and owners of the manuscript that were inscribed into a copy of its text by a scribe.

⁴⁹ E.g., ALAND-ALAND, 280: "Only the reading which best satisfies the requirements of both external and internal criteria can be original."

whenever a textual critic argues about a variant reading based on which manuscript has that reading. On the other hand, internal evidence relates to the form of the text as compared with another, and it is used whenever a textual critic argues for or against a reading based on its wording.

The value of external evidence provided by a witness to the text depends on the distance between the witness and the desired point of interest within the transmission of the text. When the textual distance is very small, external evidence is very powerful. For example, in FIG. 1, manuscript c_1 is the best evidence for the form of the text produced by its scribe. Here, the textual distance is zero. Manuscript c_1 may be fairly good evidence for the form of the text in its lost, immediate exemplar γ , though it differs from it in an unknown number of places. On the other hand, manuscript c_1 would be a poor representative of the text of exemplar ϵ , for it is further removed from it. A better, but not perfect, representative for the text of ϵ would be any of its descendants, for example, manuscript e_1 .

Unlike external evidence, internal evidence is directional. In its broadest formulation, internal evidence assesses which of two readings better explains the other.⁵⁰ Internal evidence is typically subdivided into two components: intrinsic probabilities and transcriptional probabilities, one relating to the author and the other relating to scribes, respectively.⁵¹ More specifically, intrinsic probabilities pertain to the fitness of the readings for the author's content and style, and transcriptional probabilities pertain to the likelihood that a scribe would have

⁵⁰ HORT, 19, formulates the principle that internal evidence "consists in dealing with each variation independently, and adopting at once in each case out of two or more variants that which looks most probable."

⁵¹ HORT, 20. Interestingly, intrinsic and transcriptional probabilities are not usually distinguished in Old Testament textual criticism (Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 275 n.21).

changed one reading into the other.⁵² Though these two components are often distinguished from one another, they are really two sides of the same coin, for the assessment of these probabilities assumes that it is possible to detect differences in the textual behaviors of an author who originated a text and of a scribe who imperfectly transmitted the text.

For instance, both authors and scribes attempt to produce a text that makes good sense, but the principle of the harder reading (*lectio difficilior potior*) assumes that authors and scribes make textual sense in different ways. In particular, a scribe's correction usually appears smoother on the surface while the author's form of the text fits better at a deeper level.⁵³ In other words, the reading that appears harder to a scribe may, in essence, fit the author's text better than what appears to be the easier reading. As a result, both the intrinsic and the transcriptional probabilities have to be balanced against each other to estimate which reading has priority over the other. By selecting the reading that appears relatively more authorial than scribal, the use of internal evidence attempts to establish an authorial text.

The appeal to an author's content and style has prompted a theoretical objection, however. Jacobus Petzer has pointed out that, with the loss of the author's manuscripts, the only access to the author's content and style is at best indirect, mediated through the text's surviving witnesses.⁵⁴ This critique actually does not go far enough. It can also be applied to transcriptional probabilities. After all, there is no direct evidence of the behavior of any particular scribe because access to the scribe's exemplar has been lost.⁵⁵ At best, understanding

⁵² HORT, 20.

⁵³ So HORT, 47: "It follows that, with the exception of pure blunders, readings originating with scribes must always at the same time have combined the appearance of improvement with the absence of its reality. If they had not been plausible, they would not have existed: yet their excellence must have been either superficial or partial, and the balance of inward and essential excellence must lie against them."

⁵⁴ J. H. Petzer, "Author's Style and the Textual Criticism of the New Testament," *Neotestamentica* 24 (1990): 185-197.

⁵⁵ If we had access to the scribe's exemplar, we would just use that and eliminate the derivative copy as irrelevant.

the scribe's behavior is indirect, based on the inference of scribal tendencies in analogous circumstances.⁵⁶ Consequently, the use of both intrinsic probability and transcriptional probability requires the textual critic to construct behavioral models, admittedly upon incomplete evidence, of both the author who originated the text and the various scribes who handled the text.⁵⁷ As David C. Greetham, a theorist of textual scholarship, put it:

Being a critic means being sensitive to another person's quirks and peculiarities; it means that the critic must by an almost phenomenological leap, "become" the other person while preparing the text for publication. And this is true whether the other person is the author or one of the text's transmitters, scribe, compositor, printer, proof-reader, or publisher's editor.⁵⁸

The value of internal evidence is thus sensitive to the assumption that, textually, authors behave differently from scribes. The internal evidence is clear-cut when the intrinsic probabilities suggest one reading as coming from the author while the transcriptional probabilities suggest the other reading as coming from a scribe. When the probabilities line up like this, internal evidence can be very powerful. On the other hand, when the probabilities do not line up so nicely, internal evidence can be difficult to evaluate. Sometimes, however, the behavior of scribes who transmitted the text cannot be sharply distinguished from authors who originated the text, and so the diagnostic value of internal evidence suffers as a result.

On the one hand, authors can behave like scribes. This can happen, for example, when an author revises an earlier edition, creating authorial variants in the process. In the

⁵⁶ Detailed treatments of scribal behavior are few and far between, but an impressive recent study is James R. Royce, *Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri* (NTTSD 36; Leiden: Brill, 2008).

⁵⁷ Ehrman, *Orthodox Corruption*, 350-353, is one of the few who seem to be aware of this theoretical issue, though he limits the discussion to intrinsic probabilities. Specifically, Ehrman argues (352): "We are reconstructing an author. Doing so allows us to apply intrinsic probabilities in evaluating which of the surviving readings go back to his pen and which ones do not. . . . This author has verbal, stylistic, literary, and theological predilections. Recognizing them allows us to decide which readings go back to his imaginary pen and which ones were later creations of scribes." I argue here that we must also reconstruct the scribes, and so both intrinsic and transcriptional probabilities are on similar epistemological footings.

⁵⁸ Greetham, *Textual Scholarship*, 296.

hypothetical textual history depicted in FIG. 1, authorial variants between originals Ω_1 , Ω_2 , and Ω_3 can enter the tradition of surviving manuscripts in one of two ways. One way is through marginal readings. For example, the compiler of the letter collection ω_0 may have had access to multiple originals or copies of them, collated them, and included the variant readings in the margin of the text. If these marginal readings survived into the archetype ω_2 of surviving tradition, then subsequent copyists could have chosen to reproduce the reading in the main text or in the margin. Wherever these copyists differed in their choices, there would be variant readings that also happen to be authorial readings because the variant ultimately owe their origin to the author. Another way for authorial variants to survive in the transmission of the text is through contamination from a document whose line of descent is independent of that of the originals used to create the archetype. Referring again to FIG. 1, the scribe who created exemplar δ might have had access to an authorial original Ω_3 (or its descendent) and incorporated readings from that source into the scribe's copy δ . This process too would create authorial variants.

It is unclear, however, how internal evidence can help the textual critic adjudicate between authorial variants. On the surface, authorial variants look like any other kind of textual variant, and, as a result, the textual critic must employ general-purpose rules for every variant, because the textual critic cannot tell just by looking at them which textual variant is scribal and which happens to be authorial. Although the internal evidence rules work well for scribal variants (since they attempt to distinguish between authorial and scribal textual behavior), they do not work so well for authorial variants. Consider the principle of the harder reading, for instance. An author may change infelicitous wording in an earlier form of the work so that it both better fits the context and also appears smoother. If the harder reading is

chosen according to the harder reading principle (even though it does not happen to be better suited to the context), then, in effect, the textual critic would have chosen the reading that the author created but then rejected. This consideration, in fact, is the reason why, in fields where multiple authorial originals (autographs) have survived, textual critics generally choose the *last* autograph as their goal.⁵⁹ Unless there are variants involving datable historical events, dating the autographs is a question of external evidence, not internal evidence. At any rate, no autograph of a literary work has survived from antiquity, so the question of choosing which autograph to print and read is moot. Even if authorial variants did exist, our methods of evaluating internal evidence are not designed to discriminate among authorial variants, but only between authorial and scribal variants. In this sense, Kurt and Barbara Aland's rule "Only *one* reading can be original," may not necessarily be correct on historical grounds,⁶⁰ it is sensible to adopt on methodological grounds.

On the other hand, scribes can behave like authors when they thoroughly revise a text. For example, in FIG. 1, it is conceivable that the compiler of a letter collection ω_0 could have reworked the letters in the collection so thoroughly as to put the compiler's own stylistic stamp on the text. This, for example, is the view of J. C. O'Neill who held that the current form of Galatians had been extensively interpolated.⁶¹ Now, O'Neill did not have external evidence for

⁵⁹ G. Thomas Tanselle, *Textual Criticism and Scholarly Editing* (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1990), 29: "The job of a scholarly editor, therefore, can be stated as the exercise of critical thinking in an effort to determine the final intention of an author with respect to a particular text." But see James Thorpe, *Principles of Textual Criticism* (San Marino, Calif.: The Huntington Library, 1972), 46-47, quoting editors of English classics including Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* for this principle, but arguing that the critic should select the one that best reflects the author's intentions even if it is not the last.

⁶⁰ ALAND-ALAND, 280. Georg Luck, "Textual Criticism Today," *AJP* 102 (1981): 164-194 at 175-177, discusses the possibility of authorial variants in ancient Greek literature.

⁶¹ J. C. O'Neill, *The Recovery of Paul's Letter to the Galatians* (London: SPCK, 1972): "The only explanation must be that Paul's epistle was edited for publication some time after it had been in use for preaching and teaching. At that stage the editor felt free to add material, perhaps on the grounds that its antiquity guaranteed its authenticity."

the interpolations, so he had to presume a certain authorial consistency of personality for the real Paul and assign all passages that do not fit his notion of Paul to a later editor.⁶² Despite O'Neill's claim that he was merely working within a text-critical tradition that employs conjecture to restore the text,⁶³ O'Neill's attempt to disentangle an original author Paul from a later editor does not involve the use of internal evidence as explicated here, because he had not been comparing the behavior of an author with that of a scribe. Rather, what O'Neill was trying to do is distinguish two different strands of authorship within a text. Separating different authors properly belongs to the domain of source criticism, not textual criticism. What the evidence and methods of textual criticism can provide is a text that is reasonably free of later, scribal changes to the text. So, in the case of a thorough reviser of the text, textual criticism in effect treats both the author and the reviser as co-authors and delivers up a joint-authored text for the source-critical customer.⁶⁴ This complication does come at a cost, however; with many cooks the flavor of the broth may become muddled, and the intrinsic probabilities as to the authorial style may be harder to discern as a result and therefore less decisive.

Different methods of textual criticism balance the use of external and internal evidence differently. Some methods rely mostly on external evidence and hardly consider internal evidence at all, while other methods rely on internal evidence almost exclusively. Still other methods give approximately equal consideration to external and internal evidence. The

⁶² E.g. O'Neill, 9: "The great difficulty about accepting all Galatians as written by Paul is that Paul can scarcely have adopted the attitude towards Judaism that sometimes appears in Galatians" and 73: "the epistle which I conjecture Paul wrote is reasonably clear and consistent."

⁶³ O'Neill, 84.

⁶⁴ E.g., Petzer, "Author's Style," 192: "It is then a redacted text which is being dealt with—a text in which a number of authors have directly participated, each changing, adding to or omitting from the original text, becoming a co-author of that text."

following sections describe a spectrum of different textual methods starting from those which favor external evidence and ending with those which favor internal evidence.

1.4 Methods of Textual Criticism

1.4.1 Copy-Text Method

The copy-text method is the most basic method of textual criticism. Its practitioner simply obtains a copy of a text (the “copy-text”) and uses it to produce another copy, possibly with emendations to the text.⁶⁵ This method is principally the way that texts have been reproduced throughout much of its history of transmission, not only during the manuscript age but also during the age of printing.⁶⁶ For instance, when the New Testament was first published by Erasmus in 1516, he used a local Greek minuscule manuscript for his copy-text of Paul’s letters.⁶⁷ This method has continued to be used in Biblical textual criticism well into the modern day. For example, Philip Buttmann’s nineteenth-century edition of the New Testament for the Teubner series of classical texts used *Codex Vaticanus* as its copy-text.⁶⁸ As another example, the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (BHS), which is today’s standard scholarly text for the

⁶⁵ In the editing of English literature, copy-text editing has acquired a specialized sense of using a copy-text merely for a work’s accidentals (e.g. spelling and punctuation). See W. W. Greg, “The Rationale of Copy-Text,” *Studies in Bibliography* 3 (1950): 19-36. As Greg points out, in Biblical and classical textual criticism, such issues as spelling are routinely normalized (20). Indeed, Westcott and Hort’s *Introduction* is fairly unusual in its detailed treatment of orthography and punctuation (Hort 302-322, App, 143-173).

⁶⁶ Sebastiano Timpanaro, *The Genesis of Lachmann’s Method* (trans. Glenn W. Most; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 45-47.

⁶⁷ According to Andrew J. Brown, *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami: recognita et adnotatione critica instructa notisque illustrata* (ordo 6; tome 3; Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2004), 4-6, the printer’s copy was an eleventh-century manuscript, Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek, A. N. III. 11 (Gregory-Aland 2817; Wettstein-Tischendorf 7^p), which was corrected with readings from a twelfth-century manuscript, Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek, A. N. IV. 4 (Gregory-Aland 2815; Wettstein-Tischendorf 2^p).

⁶⁸ Philip Buttmann, *Novum Testamentum Graece: ad fidem potissimum codicis Vaticani B recensuit, varias lectiones codicis B, Textus Recepti, editionum Griesbachii Lachmanni Tischendorfii integras adiecit* (3d rev. ed.; Leipzig: Teubner, 1865), as its title indicates.

Hebrew Bible, uses the eleventh-century *Codex Leningradensis* as its copy-text, even to the point of printing the codex's errors in the main text.⁶⁹

Ω



e_1

FIG. 2 A Copy-Text Model

The historical model presupposed by the copy-text method is conceptually simple. As illustrated in FIG. 2, the copy-text method assumes that the work being edited was produced by an author in an original form, labeled Ω , and eventually transmitted to an extant witness to the text, labeled e_1 , by a chain of transmission, denoted by an arrow, involving an unknown number of scribes who imperfectly copied their respective exemplars. The method thus assumes that the witness e_1 is not the same manuscript as the original Ω , but its descendent.⁷⁰ Given the inaccuracy of reproduction in ancient copies, the witness e_1 is assumed to differ from the original Ω at various places in the text.

In accordance with the copy-text method, the copy-text has a presumptive authority.

That is, the text of the copy-text is the basis of the textual critic's edition unless it can be

⁶⁹ Karl Elliger and Wilhelm Rudolph, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (4th rev. ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1990), xii: "We have thought it best to reproduce the text of the latest hand of L [scil. *Codex Leningradensis*] with close fidelity. We have accordingly refrained from «removing obvious scribal errors;» how we have dealt with doubtful examples may be seen in the critical apparatus to Is 2,15, note a." At the cited place in the text, *BHS* has a footnote stating "sic" followed by the correct reading of many other manuscripts in the apparatus. Thus, the user of this edition must consult the apparatus to avoid the errors of the copy-text.

⁷⁰ Indeed, the assumption that any surviving manuscript witness to the text is not the original is non-controversial for any literary text from antiquity. For documentary texts, such as those found at Oxyrhynchus, however, each letter, contract, receipt, and the like are probably the original copies. In this context, the challenge becomes one of papyrology: restoring the degraded physical remains of the manuscript witness to a readable state.

affirmatively shown to the critic's satisfaction that another reading should be adopted at various places in the text.⁷¹ In other words, the burden of proof is placed on any emendation of the copy-text to reflect another reading. Depending on the nature of the emendations to the copy-text, the resulting text may become closer to or further from the original Ω . Despite its simplicity, the copy-text method is not a mechanical procedure. The practitioner must employ critical judgment in deciding how to emend the copy-text and also in choosing which witness to adopt as the copy-text.

A practitioner of the copy-text method could simply decide to make no emendations of the copy-text at all. In fact, this decision is entirely appropriate for producing a diplomatic edition of a manuscript, whose sole purpose is to present the text of that manuscript.⁷² Although diplomatic editions are prized by scholars interested in the state of a living text in a particular witness at a particular point in history, the particularity of such an edition makes the text less accessible or useful to readers. In terms of accessibility, the witness chosen as the copy-text may employ orthography or punctuation unfamiliar to the readers and even contain obvious scribal errors that reduce the intelligibility of the text. In terms of usefulness, the text of a diplomatic edition may not be relevant to the point in the history of the text that interests the reader. For example, the historical critic is interested in how the text was read in the historical situation at the time of its composition (i.e., original Ω), but the diplomatic edition does not purport to convey such a text, only the form of the work at a particular point in its history (e.g., witness e_1).

⁷¹ E.g. Tanselle, *Textual Criticism*, 303: "what underlies this conception of copy-text is the idea of presumptive authority, a text to be relied on when one finds no basis for preferring one variant over another."

⁷² In fact, diplomatic editions of the witnesses to the text of Galatians, along with facsimiles and photographs of manuscripts, have been vitally important in this study of the text of Galatians in lieu of access to the manuscripts themselves. These are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2.

If the practitioner of the copy-text method is not content with merely producing a diplomatic edition of the text, the critic must examine the copy-text for places to emend. The emendation of the copy-text can be assisted by the readings of other manuscripts (*emendatio ope codicum*) or by the critic's own ingenuity (*emendatio ope ingenii*).⁷³ When two manuscripts have different readings at the same place in the text, it is all but assured that at least one of them differs from the original.⁷⁴ Even without another manuscript as a guide, sometimes the wording of the copy-text can be so unintelligible that the critic is convinced that an error in the transmission of the text must have occurred. When no other witness suggests a viable reading to account for the error, the critic has to resort to conjecture in order to divine the reading for the critical edition. Thus, the use of emendation assumes that it is possible to detect readings in the copy-text that did not occur in the original form of the text. These readings are called "errors."

According to the copy-text method, the only external evidence with any authority is the copy-text itself, so it is necessary to rely on internal evidence when deciding to emend the copy-text. Due to the presumption of the authority conferred upon the copy-text, moreover, the reading of the copy-text must appear to be clearly erroneous in terms of the internal evidence when compared with another reading in order to be emended. Unfortunately, internal evidence is not always clear and decisive, and the textual critic may have to struggle in balancing the intrinsic and transcriptional probabilities. The presumptive authority of the

⁷³ Timpanaro, *Genesis*, 46.

⁷⁴ E.g., HORT, 3: "Where there is variation, there must be error in at least all variants but one; and the primary work of textual criticism is merely to discriminate the erroneous variants from the true." Only the slim possibility of authorial variants complicates the issue.

copy-text avoids much of this struggle by removing the discretion of the textual critic in deciding such difficult cases and forcing reliance on the wording of the copy-text.

Since the copy-text is emended only when its wording appears to be clearly secondary according to internal evidence, the result of the copy-text method depends on the witness that the practitioner chooses for the copy-text. Different choices for the copy-text result in different critical texts. In FIG. 2, extant witness e_1 was chosen as the copy-text at a certain textual distance from the original Ω , and emending e_1 may result in a critical text somewhat closer textually to the original Ω than witness e_1 itself. On the other hand, if another witness, say c_1 , had been chosen as the copy-text, its distance from the original Ω may be much smaller than that of e_1 , and the choice of the witness c_1 may result in an emended text that is closer to the original Ω than what could be attained by starting with witness e_1 as the copy-text.

The sensitivity of the copy-text method to the choice of the copy-text means that a textual critic must use judgment in choosing the copy-text, but it is unclear at the outset which witness that ought to be. Because emendations of the copy-text are permitted only when it appears to be clearly erroneous, it stands to reason that the critic ought to choose the witness closest to the original, but the copy-text method provides no basis for determining which witness this is. Paleographers may be able to determine the oldest manuscript based on its handwriting, but the manuscript that is closest in time to the original is not necessarily the closest in text. Another approach would be to choose the “best text,” the witness with the highest number of best readings according to internal evidence, but a single witness does not necessarily contain all or even most of these best readings.⁷⁵ Consequently, investing a single

⁷⁵ So A. E. Housman, *M. Manilii Astronomicon, Liber Primus* (London: Grant Richards, 1903), xxiii: “Chance and the common course of nature will not bring it to pass that the readings of a ms are right wherever they are possible and

witness with the authority of a copy-text means that many apparently earlier readings in other witnesses would not be able to surpass the presumption of correctness conferred upon the copy-text. In other words, the copy-text method's focus on a single manuscript for its locus of textual authority means that best readings outside the copy-text cannot be used. This makes the copy-text method unsuitable for a textual tradition such as that of the New Testament where there are hundreds or thousands of witnesses to each book.⁷⁶

The copy-text method is also unsuitable for the emphasis on the history of the text. As seen in FIG. 2, the copy-text method hypothesizes a textual history only for the witness that embodies the copy-text, and this hypothetical textual history is trivially true—any witness is the eventual descendent of an original. The copy-text method does not consider the history of any other witness in its historical model, nor is the copy-text method capable of relating one witness historically to another. For these reasons, the copy-text method has limited use within New Testament textual criticism.

1.4.2 Majority-Text Method

As its name suggests, the majority-text method determines the text by selecting the most attested variant among the extant witnesses. This method is fairly rare within textual criticism, but it has actually been used for the New Testament. In particular, two editions of

impossible wherever they are wrong.” In characteristic fashion, Housman denounces practitioners of the best-text method as follows (xxxii): “This method answers the purpose for which it was devised: it saves lazy editors from working and stupid editors from thinking.”

⁷⁶ Though there are hundreds if not thousands of copies of New Testament books, many important non-Biblical texts have survived in a single manuscript copy. For example, the *Epistle to Diognetus* was only preserved in a late medieval manuscript, *Codex Argenteratensis Graecus ix*, until it was destroyed in 1870 during the Franco-Prussian War (Michael W. Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and English Translations* [3d ed.; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker, 2007] 689-690.) When a work is attested by a single witness, these more sophisticated methods for editing the work essentially reduce to the copy-text method.

the New Testament have been produced by proponents of this method: one by Zane C. Hodges and Arthur L. Farstad,⁷⁷ and another by Maurice A. Robinson and William G. Pierpont.⁷⁸

Although these editors describe their editorial theory in different terms, their editorial practice is almost the same. They did not actually collate all the surviving witnesses and tally up the support for each textual variant; rather, they adopted the “Koine” text based on a large number of Byzantine manuscripts as collated and constructed by a team of scholars under Hermann Freiherr von Soden for his early twentieth-century edition of the New Testament.⁷⁹ Thus, both editions are highly reliant on von Soden’s research into the Byzantine Koine text. Many additional manuscripts have been discovered or collated in the century since von Soden’s work, so it is possible that it no longer represents the actual majority reading.⁸⁰

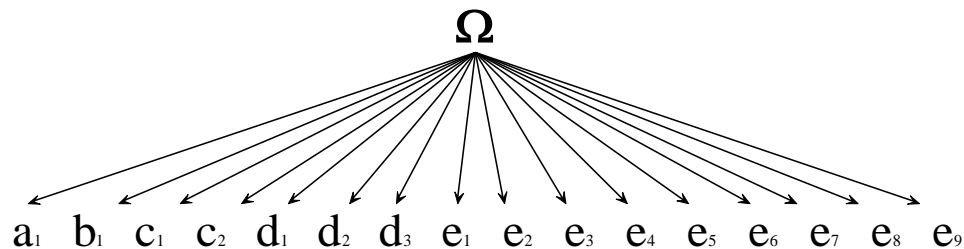


FIG. 3 A Majority-Text Model

⁷⁷ Zane C. Hodges and Arthur L. Farstad, *The Greek New Testament According to the Majority Text* (2d ed.; Nashville: Nelson, 1985).

⁷⁸ Maurice A. Robinson and William G. Pierpont, *The New Testament in the Original Greek: Byzantine Textform* (Southborough, Mass.: Chilton, 2005). There is an earlier edition of this text, Maurice A. Robinson and William G. Pierpont, *The New Testament in the Original Greek According to the Byzantine / Majority Textform* (Atlanta: Original Word, 1991), but it contains no accidentals (e.g., punctuation, accents, breathings, subscripts, upper case) other than verse numbering; as a result, it is virtually unreadable. Citations to the Robinson and Pierpont edition are hereinafter to the 2005 edition.

⁷⁹ Hermann Freiherr von Soden, *Die Schriften des neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1911). On the use of von Soden’s apparatus to establish their texts, see Hodges and Farstad, *Greek New Testament*, xxi-xxiii; and Robinson and Pierpont, *New Testament*, x.

⁸⁰ Another complication to using von Soden’s edition is that his apparatus is error-prone, as recognized by Hodges and Farstad, *Greek New Testament*, xxii-xxiii: “Particularly problematical to the editors of this edition was the extent to which his examination of **K** materials appeared to lack consistency.” Robinson and Pierpont, *New Testament*, x, seem more sanguine, confining the confirmed errors to “relatively few instances.”

The historical model presupposed by the majority-text method is depicted in FIG. 3. All surviving witnesses, a_1 through e_n , are viewed as descendants ultimately of an original Ω , through a chain of one or more ancestors (not shown in FIG. 3). Since they all contribute equally to the reconstruction of Ω , the historical model must necessarily assume that they are independent of each other, or else the mathematics of the majority-text method cannot work properly. Indeed, Robinson has acknowledged that “The genealogical independence of most of the existing MSS points back to the earliest times.”⁸¹ This assumption is highly problematic, however. There are thousands of copies of the Greek New Testament. If each copy can claim an independent line of descent from the original, then the original must have been copied thousands of times. Such a historical possibility did not come into existence until the age of printing, where an exemplar could be reproduced thousands of times mechanically.

In accordance with majority-text historical model, the majority reading of the surviving witnesses dictates the result. In this way, the majority-text method overcomes the idiosyncrasies of a single copy-text by allowing every manuscript to contribute to what is, in effect, a virtual copy-text. Unlike the copy-text method, however, the majority-text is not examined for emendation.⁸² As a result, internal evidence plays no theoretical role in the majority-text method unless the manuscripts are deeply split, and even then a majority-critic may avoid the use of internal evidence by choosing a leading subgroup of the majority text to establish the text. In fact, both sets of editors follow the Byzantine subgroup K^x when the

⁸¹ Robinson and Pierpont, *New Testament*, 569, see also 560. The reason for “most” rather than “all” appears to be that he considered known families of manuscripts, e.g., family 1 and family 13, to be reducible to a single witness.

⁸² Robinson and Pierpont, *New Testament*, 554: “The quality of the preserved evidence for the text of the NT precludes conjectural emendation.”

Byzantine text is divided with no clear majority.⁸³ It is only when there is no clear majority or plurality reading that internal evidence becomes decisive.⁸⁴ Thus, even though internal evidence is designed to distinguish between authorial readings and scribal readings, internal evidence plays only a marginal role in the construction of a majority-text.

According to Hodges and Farstad, the crucial premise behind a majority-text edition is that:

Any reading overwhelmingly attested by the manuscript tradition is more likely to be original than its rival(s). This observation arises from the very nature of manuscript transmission. In any tradition where there are not major disruptions in the transmissional history, the individual reading which has the earliest beginning is the one most likely to survive in a majority of documents. And the earliest reading of all is the original one.⁸⁵

Robinson likewise appeals to a principle of normality, as articulated by Fredson Bowers, to hold “that a text reflected in the overwhelmingly majority of MSS is more likely to have a chronological origin *preceding* that of any text which might be found in a small minority.”⁸⁶

However reasonable this premise may appear at first sight, it is important to point out that Hodges and Farstad’s explanation contains a key proviso: “where there are not major

⁸³ Hodges and Farstad, *Greek New Testament*, xxii; Robinson and Pierpont, *New Testament*, x.

⁸⁴ Hodges and Farstad, *Greek New Testament*, xxii: “Where **K** itself is sharply divided within an **M**^p reading [i.e., a reading that enjoys substantial but not majority support], the rival variations were weighed both in terms of their distribution within the majority tradition as a whole and with regard to intrinsic and transcriptional probabilities.”

⁸⁵ Hodges and Farstad, *Greek New Testament*, xi-xii.

⁸⁶ Robinson and Pierpont, *New Testament*, 540. Unfortunately, Robinson’s reliance on Bowers’s is misplaced for Bowers was discussing the mechanics of printing books. Here is the text of the passage that Robinson quoted as it is found in Fredson Bowers, *Bibliography and Textual Criticism* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1964), 75 (underlining added):

If one collates 20 copies of a book and finds in sheet B that only 1 copy shows the uncorrected state of the type as against 19 showing the corrected, ‘normality’ makes it highly probable that the correction in B was made an earlier point in time in the machining of this forme than the correction of a forme in C that shows 19 with uncorrected type and only 1 with corrected. Despite the fact that statistics can lie, the mathematical odds are excellent that this sampling of 20 copies can be extrapolated in accord with normality.

The portions underlined in the quotation are those which Robinson edited out with ellipses and brackets in his block quotation. The technical terminology, e.g. “machining of this forme,” clearly shows, however, that Bowers comments are directed to printed book production, one of his major research interests.

disruptions in the transmissional history.”⁸⁷ The reason for this proviso is that with major disruptions in the transmissional history, some branches of the textual tradition ceased to be copied. This scenario is illustrated in FIG. 1, where the branches β , γ , and δ have simply stopped producing descendents after only a few copies, while branch ϵ was much more prolific, producing more surviving copies than all the other branches combined. Because the readings of the descendents of ϵ overwhelm numerically all other surviving readings, what a majority-text reconstruction produces is a form of the text that resembles ϵ more than another point in the textual tradition.⁸⁸ Hodges and Farstad were aware of this potential problem with the majority-text method and so they proposed that: “Final decisions about readings ought to be made on the basis of a reconstruction of their history in the manuscript tradition.”⁸⁹ What they mean by this proposal is that the textual critic ought to determine a genealogy of the manuscripts and produce a stemma showing their history. This is, in fact, a different text-critical method, known as stemmatics, and the topic of the following section.

One complication of the majority-text method is that there are portions of the New Testament where the premise simply breaks down. Instead of there being a dominant majority text, the textual witnesses are fractured into multiple distinct groups of manuscripts. The two chief examples are the *Pericope Adulterae* (John 7:53-8:11 in most manuscripts) and the book of Revelation. For the story of the adulteress, the text is split among seven different groups, three of which—known as μ^5 , μ^6 , and μ^7 —are the largest and of nearly equal size.⁹⁰ As for Revelation,

⁸⁷ Robinson is aware of this proviso, but he has argued extensively against the idea that there were in fact major disruptions in the transmissional history, by minimizing the effects of the Diocletian persecution and the Islamic conquest (Robinson and Pierpont, *New Testament*, 572-576). Cf. ALAND-ALAND 294-295, who discuss major disturbances in the New Testament text.

⁸⁸ The classic argument against a majority reading based on genealogical principles is HORT 57-59.

⁸⁹ Hodges and Farstad, *Greek New Testament*, xii.

⁹⁰ Robinson and Pierpont, *New Testament*, xi; Hodges and Farstad, *Greek New Testament*, xxiv.

the textual tradition is split into nearly two equal size groups, known as Andreas and Q.⁹¹ On the one hand, Robinson and Pierpont's approach to John 7:53-8:11 is to print the text of two of the largest subgroups, μ^5 and μ^6 , separately.⁹² Their approach to Revelation is to favor the Q group unless a significant number of manuscripts have defected from it to the Andreas group.⁹³ On the other hand, Hodges and Farstad abandon the majority-text method entirely and offer their own stemma for establishing their text of these problematic portions of the New Testament.⁹⁴

As can be seen in the preceding description, the majority-text method makes extensive use of external evidence but almost no use of internal evidence, even in comparison to the copy-text method. Since internal evidence distinguishes between authorial readings and scribal readings, the diminished role for internal evidence means that scribal readings are not purged from the majority-text. After all, in the majority-text method, individual readings are not decided by determining which one looks more authorial and which one looks more scribal, but by counting the number of witnesses in favor of them. As a result, a majority-text is not suitable to scholars interested in an authorial text. The majority-text method also does not establish a history of the text, because it imposes an *a priori* genealogy that assumes that surviving manuscript can trace independent lineages from the origin. This genealogy, however, is implausible. As a result, the majority-text method is also unsuitable for those scholars interested in the history of the text.

⁹¹ Robinson and Pierpont, *New Testament*, xii.

⁹² Robinson and Pierpont, *New Testament*, xi. The group μ^7 is disregarded, however, because it is associated with a "redactional" group in the Byzantine text.

⁹³ Robinson and Pierpont, *New Testament*, xiii.

⁹⁴ Hodges and Farstad, *Greek New Testament*, xxv and xxxiii.

1.4.3 Stemmatology

Stemmatology is a method that explicitly reconstructs the history of the text in order to reconstruct the original. The history of the text reconstructed by this method is usually depicted graphically in the form of a family tree of manuscripts or a *stemma codicum*. The invention of stemmatology is typically attributed to the early nineteenth-century textual critic Karl Lachmann, but there were important precursors who anticipated significant features of his text-critical theory.⁹⁵ Perhaps the clearest and most succinct explication of the method is that of Paul Maas in the middle of the twentieth-century.⁹⁶ Although stemmatology has been popular in the textual criticism of classical Latin and Greek texts, it has hardly been applied to the New Testament. A notable exception is that of Hodges and Farstad who applied stemmatology based on manuscript groups for John 7:53-8:11 and Revelation.⁹⁷

According to Maas's description of the method, stemmatology has three phases.⁹⁸ The first phase, known as *recensio*, organizes the witnesses to the text into a stemma that represents the historical development of the text from the most recent common ancestor, called the "archetype." This phase reconstructs the history of the text. The second phase, known as *examinatio*, examines the readings of the branches of the family tree closest to the archetype and selects which reading, if any, is "original" (i.e., authorial). This phase reconstructs the text of the archetype. The third phase, *divinatio*, tries to repair the text of the archetype when no

⁹⁵ Timpanaro, *Genesis*, 115-118, points out that nearly every aspect of Lachmann's method has antecedents in earlier textual critics.

⁹⁶ Maas, *Textual Criticism*. Maas's treatise in the Teubner series has been superseded in some respects by Martin L. West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique Applicable to Greek and Latin Texts* (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1973).

⁹⁷ Hodges and Farstad, *Greek New Testament*, xxiii-xli.

⁹⁸ Maas, *Textual Criticism*, 1. Some textual critics refer to another phase, *selectio*, sitting between *recensio* and *examinatio*, but Maas considers *selectio* an aspect of *examinatio* (18).

reading appears to be authorial. This phase emends the archetype to be closer to the original (or “autograph”).

In contrast with the copy-text and majority-text methods, the stemmatic method does not assume a history of the text *a priori*. Rather, it provides a technique for reconstructing the history of the text based on the patterns of readings found in the extant manuscripts. In particular, it identifies which manuscripts, based on their readings, are more closely related to each other than they are to any other manuscript. For example, in FIG. 1, manuscript a_1 is more closely related to manuscript e_1 than to manuscript c_1 , because a_1 and e_1 share a common ancestor α that is not an ancestor of b_1 . When the scribe of α copies the manuscript from its exemplar ω_2 (the common ancestor of a_1 , c_1 , and e_1), a number of textual differences, called “errors,” are introduced. When α itself is copied by later scribes, these errors of α ’s scribe are propagated to its descendants a_1 and e_1 , and ultimately to e_1 . Thus, the presence of these errors in a_1 and e_1 , which are missing in b_1 , is what indicates that a_1 and e_1 descend from a common ancestor (α) that is not an ancestor of c_1 . In other words, the common errors of a_1 and e_1 are evidence of their relatedness.⁹⁹ Accordingly, stemmatics uses a common-error criterion to diagnose groups of related manuscripts.

Crucial to the success of the method, stemmatics groups manuscripts based on their agreement in error, but not on their overall similarity—how often two manuscripts agree on their readings even in original readings.¹⁰⁰ For instance, an overall similarity measure cannot determine if a_1 and e_1 are more closely related to each other than c_1 , because it can be misled by

⁹⁹ Common errors are also called “indicative errors” or *Leitfehler* (Maas, *Textual Criticism*, 42).

¹⁰⁰ Overall similarity is the approach of the “quantitative method” by Ernest C. Colwell and Ernest W. Tune, “Method in Establishing Quantitative Relationships Between Text-Types of New Testament Manuscripts” in Ernest C. Colwell, *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (NTTS 9; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1969), 56-62.

the different number of changes between α and its parent and children. If, on the one hand, the number of changes between ω_2 and α is much larger than the number of changes between α and e_1 , then a_1 would appear more overall similar to e_1 than to c_1 . If, on the other hand, the number of changes between ω_2 and α is much smaller than the number of changes between α and e_1 , then a_1 would appear more overall similar to c_1 than to e_1 . Even though the overall similarity measure gives different answers, the genealogy is the same. These examples show that the overall similarity measure is not diagnosing the genealogy of the manuscripts because it is too sensitive to how the changes are distributed for a given genealogy. Under certain distributions of changes, the overall similarity measure can be misled into giving results that go against the actual genealogy of the manuscripts. As a result, a quantitative approach using an overall similarity measure cannot actually identify groups having a common ancestry, though it may approximate such groups under appropriate circumstances.

There is an obvious chicken-and-egg problem with the common error principle, however. On the one hand, reconstructing the text (that is, deciding which reading is true and which is error) requires reconstructing the history of the text. On the other hand, reconstructing the history of text requires grouping manuscripts by their common errors, which requires reconstructing the text. So which comes first, the reconstructed text or the reconstructed history of the text? An elegant escape out of this circularity has been articulated by Dom J. Froger in 1968.¹⁰¹ This French textual critic recognized that there are two aspects to a stemma: one, its shape and linkage pattern (*l'enchaînement*), and, two, its orientation (*l'orientation*). Froger realized that it is only necessary to identify which textual variant is an

¹⁰¹ J. Froger, *La critique des textes et son automatisation* (INS 7 ; Paris: Dunod, 1968).

error for the second aspect, the orientation of the stemma. For the first aspect, the stemma's shape, it is only necessary to work with textual variants, without knowing which one is erroneous.¹⁰² Thus, his solution is to split the reconstruction of the text into two steps. The first step is to determine the shape and linkage pattern of the stemma based on the distribution of textual variants, not errors. By looking at variants, which do not presume originality, the determination of the directionality of the variants is deferred to the later step, allowing the textual critic to produce an unoriented stemma. The second step is the orientation of this unoriented stemma, and this step is accomplished by using internal evidence to determine which portion of the unoriented stemma is closest to the archetype.¹⁰³

There is another benefit to Froger's two-step solution for reconstructing the history of the text. Froger had the prescience to realize that his first step can be automated by a computer.¹⁰⁴ The possibility of computerization is feasible because no subjective judgments as to the priority or direction of textual changes need to be made in the first step; those judgments are deferred to the second step. The automation of the first step is crucial because constructing a stemma according to a common-error principle becomes exponentially more difficult with each additional manuscript in the stemma. A dozen or so manuscripts can be examined by hand over a couple of weeks, but textual traditions on the order of the New Testaments (hundreds and thousands of manuscripts) cannot be reconstructed by hand within the lifetime of the most ardent textual critic. With modern computer programs, based on

¹⁰² Froger, *La critique*, 77, attributes this insight to Dom Quentin, but the discussion in Henri Quentin, *Essais de critique textuelle (ecdotique)* (Paris: Picard, 1926), 44-50, though on point, is less lucid.

¹⁰³ Froger, *La critique*, 77-78. See also Humphrey Palmer, *The Logic of Gospel Criticism: An Account of the Methods and Arguments Used by Textual, Documentary, Source, and Form Critics of the New Testament* (London: Macmillan, 1968), 78; and West, *Textual criticism*, 70-72.

¹⁰⁴ Froger, *La critique*, 217-266

related work by computational biologists,¹⁰⁵ this step can be performed much more rapidly. For example, Peter M. W. Robinson took several months to derive a stemma from almost fifty manuscripts of an Old Norse saga, but it took a biologist only a few minutes to come up with a substantially similar result using an off-the-shelf computer program.¹⁰⁶ As a result, one of the greatest challenges of applying stemmatics to a tradition as large as the New Testament can be handled by computer technology.

A serious challenge to the common-error principle, however, is contamination, which occurs when readings from one branch of the tradition are incorporated into an independent branch.¹⁰⁷ Contamination confuses the common-error principle. For example, in FIG. 1, manuscript d_1 is a copy of exemplar δ , corrected against exemplar γ . The text of d_1 is thus a mixture of the two exemplars γ and δ . As a result of this mixture, d_1 contains errors in common with d_2 that are not found in c_1 and c_2 , suggesting a common ancestor δ , but d_1 also contains common errors with c_1 and c_2 that are not found in d_2 , suggesting a different common ancestor γ for d_1 . To make matters even more difficult, the process of mixture may have removed some of γ 's errors and some of δ 's errors from d_1 . Thus d_1 would have only an incomplete coverage of the errors of its exemplars.¹⁰⁸

What makes contamination particularly pernicious is that it can distort the shape of the stemma, causing some groups of manuscripts to be regarded more highly than they should

¹⁰⁵ E.g., the cladistics program PAUP. On the operation of this program, see generally Matthew Spencer, Klaus Wachtel, and Christopher J. Howe, "The Greek Vorlage of the Syra Harclensis: A Comparative Study on Method in Exploring Textual Genealogy," *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* [<http://purl.org/TC>] 7 (2003).

¹⁰⁶ Robert J. O'Hara and Peter M. W. Robinson. "Computer-Assisted Methods of Stemmatic Analysis," *The Canterbury Tales Project: Occasional Papers Vol. 1* [<http://www.canterburytalesproject.org/pubs/op1-cladistics.pdf>] (1993): 53-74 at 62.

¹⁰⁷ See generally Michael W. Holmes, "Working with an Open-Textual Tradition: Challenges in Theory and Practice" in Klaus Wachtel and Michael W. Holmes, eds., *The Textual History of the Greek New Testament: Changing Views in Contemporary Research* (TCS 8; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 65-78.

¹⁰⁸ Maas, *Textual Criticism*, 7-8; West, *Textual Criticism*, 37-47.

and other groups less highly than they should. FIG. 4 depicts a stemma for the textual tradition illustrated in FIG. 1 that has been distorted by contamination.

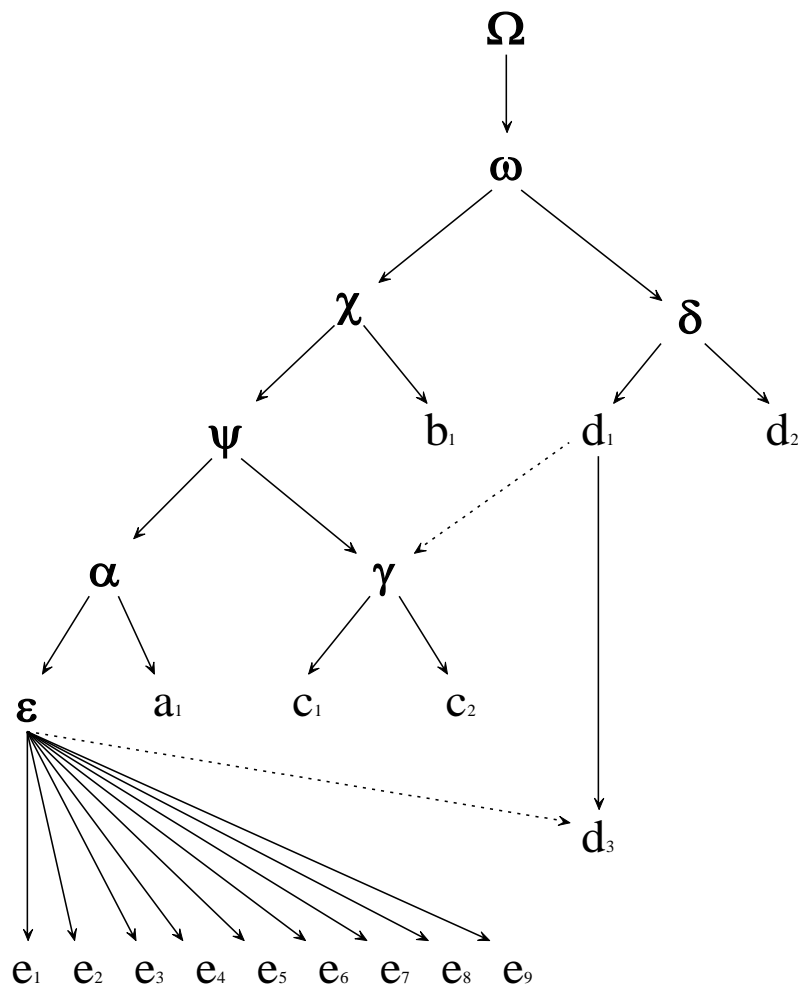


FIG. 4 A Stemmatic Model Distorted by Contamination

In accordance with the stemmatic method, the stemma of FIG. 4 distinguishes between the oldest common ancestor Ω and the most recent common ancestor ω . The oldest common ancestor is placed at the top of the diagram and it represents the text of the autograph Ω , what the author originally wrote. The most recent common ancestor ω is the archetype and it represents the point in the transmission of the text that split into (at least) two independently

surviving branches.¹⁰⁹ Below the archetype ω are two *hyparchetypes*, δ and χ , representing lost exemplars. The stemma of FIG. 4 generally tracks the transmission scenario depicted in FIG. 1, with some necessary simplification (in addition to the distortions due to contamination). For example, the draft by Paul's scribe Ω_0 and the various authorial copies Ω_1 , Ω_2 , and Ω_3 are all coalesced into a single "original" Ω . Furthermore, the transmission from authorial copy Ω_1 down to letter collection ω_2 via an initial letter collection ω_0 is reduced into a simple line of transmission from autograph Ω to archetype ω . The stemma does not include a place for a lost copy of the letter collection ω_1 because no direct evidence for it has survived. Also, lost exemplar β of FIG. 1 had only one descendent b_1 , and, without another descendent to find common errors, the existence of such a stage cannot be ascertained; thus, FIG. 4 does not include a place for lost manuscript β . Consequently, the textual history reconstructed by stemmatics is strongly dependent on the state and quality of the surviving evidence.

One distortion of the stemma is due to the contamination of exemplar δ by an independent line of transmission from one of the sent copies Ω_3 as shown in FIG. 1. If enough of the contaminated readings appear to be authorial based on internal evidence, this would have the effect of promoting exemplar δ to a more prominent place in the stemma and demoting δ 's sisters α , β , and γ . As shown in FIG. 4, this distortion is manifested as a binary split from the archetype ω into two branches δ and ψ . The branch ψ represents the common ancestor of exemplars α , β , and γ in FIG. 1. Branch ψ excludes d_1 and d_2 from its descendents, but the most recent common ancestor of a_1 , b_1 , and c_1 in FIG. 1 is also the ancestor of d_1 . What this distortion does is that it places the readings of δ on equal basis as ψ , the combination of α ,

¹⁰⁹ Maas, *Textual Criticism*, 3.

β , and γ , whereas in the actual textual transmission scenario, these three exemplars should outweigh δ . In this example, the distortion of the stemma may not be too serious. After all, δ has access to authorial readings via Ω_3 that α , β , and γ do not, and promoting δ in the stemma at the expense of the others allows those readings to be considered by the textual critic in the next phase of the stemmatic method. Similarly, the access by the scribe of b_1 to another independent stream from an authorial original (via a lost of a letter collection ω_1 in FIG. 1) tends to promote b_1 at the expense of the descendants of α and γ , subordinating their readings in the guise of branch χ .

Another distortion of the stemma due to contamination could occur in not being able to recognize that d_1 in FIG. 1 is a mixture of γ and δ . A textual critic, misled by this contamination, might get the direction of mixture wrong and conclude erroneously that γ is a mixture of χ and d_1 instead, as shown in FIG. 4.¹¹⁰ This distortion has the effect of giving less weight to γ in the reconstruction of text than it should otherwise have. For example, assume that witness b_1 is fragmentary (like many New Testament papyri) and does not contribute any evidence to a variation unit. In FIG. 1, the joint testimony of c_1 , d_1 , and d_2 ought to outweigh the testimony of α (determined by the joint testimony of a_1 and ϵ). However, in FIG. 4, the agreement of c_1 with d_1 and d_2 would be due to contamination from d_1 , so c_1 (as well as c_2) has no weight to contribute to the decision.

Contamination is such a difficult problem that textual critics abandon the attempt to reconstruct the history of the text when the scale of contamination becomes too great.¹¹¹ In the face of such “open traditions,” classical textual critics instead identify a set of witnesses

¹¹⁰ See Holmes, “Working,” 71-73, and West, *Textual Criticism*, 34-36, for another illustration of this issue.

¹¹¹ Maas, *Textual Criticism*, 49, was fairly pessimistic: “No specific has yet been discovered against contamination.”

that appear to have the best readings and use internal evidence on a reading-by-reading basis to select the readings for their critical text.¹¹² By adopting this approach, the classical textual critic in effect abandons the stemma and begins to resemble the New Testament “eclectics” as described in the following sections.

Once a stemma is obtained, the textual critic proceeds to the next phrase, *examinatio*, to reconstruct the state of the archetype ω . The general procedure is to go from the bottom of the stemma to the top. The lower areas of the stemma can be reconstructed by just the patterns of readings in the neighboring areas of the stemma,¹¹³ but at the highest level, at the archetype ω , it is necessary to use internal evidence.¹¹⁴ For example, in FIG. 4, the text of exemplar ϵ can be reconstructed by the texts of its many descendents e_1 through e_9 , including d_3 . In this case, a simple majority vote suffices to determine the text of ϵ . As for the text of exemplar α , it can be determined as follows. If α 's children, a_1 and ϵ , agree on a reading, then α has that reading. If, however, a_1 and ϵ do not agree, then α 's closest relatives on the stemma, e.g., b_1 , c_1 , and c_2 , are used to break the tie. If all relatives of these disagree, then the text of α is doubtful at that place.¹¹⁵ By a similar procedure, the texts of exemplars γ , δ , and ψ can be determined. As for exemplar χ , the contamination of γ by witness d_1 (according to this misled stemma) means that the testimony of γ is not available to reconstruct the text of χ whenever γ agrees with d_1 .

¹¹² This is the recommended procedure of West, *Textual Criticism*, 43. For example, Maurice Bénévot, *The Tradition of Manuscripts: A Study in the Transmission of St. Cyprian's Treatises* (Oxford: University Press, 1961; repr. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1979), dealt with contamination in the text of Cyprian by sorting the manuscripts into three opposing groups and using internal evidence to adjudicate among their differences.

¹¹³ Maas, *Textual Criticism*, 4-6.

¹¹⁴ Maas, *Textual Criticism*, 12-14.

¹¹⁵ Maas, *Textual Criticism*, 4.

After reconstructing the text of the two main hyparchetypes ψ and δ , the textual critic is ready to reconstruct the text of the archetype ω . If ψ and δ agree on a reading, then that reading becomes the text of ω . If ψ and δ do not agree, then the textual critic must decide which reading if any is original. If one of the readings based on internal evidence appears to be a scribal error derivable from the other reading, then the other reading is adopted as the reading of the archetype. If both readings appear to be errors but neither reading can be plausibly derived from the other, then the reading of the archetype may have to be restored by conjecture. In rare instances, if both readings appear authorial and neither reading can be plausibly derived from the other, then the textual critic must consider the possibility of authorial variants.¹¹⁶

Throughout this process of examination, the textual critic is attentive to anomalies in the text that are not only unexplainable by the author's style or larger context but also appear to be the result of scribal corruption. This examination is performed even where there are no variant readings in the tradition. In detecting anomalies, the textual critic looks at the same intrinsic probabilities that are used in internal evidence. In determining if an anomaly looks like a scribal error, the textual critic looks at the same transcriptional probabilities that are used in internal evidence. Thus, the detection of such anomalies is an application of internal evidence. If the anomaly is sufficiently harsh and appears to be the result of scribal corruption, the textual critic can propose to remove the anomaly by conjectural emendation.¹¹⁷ This is the third phase of stemmatics, *divinatio*, which seeks to correct errors in the archetype ω , thereby bringing the reconstructed text into closer alignment with the assumed autograph Ω . The

¹¹⁶ Maas, *Textual Criticism*, 6, 17-18.

¹¹⁷ Maas, *Textual Criticism*, 11.

practice of divining satisfying conjectures is very difficult, more art than science, and much of the effort in classical stemmatics has gone into making and evaluating conjectures.¹¹⁸ If the criteria of internal evidence have been used well during this process, then the textual critic can be reasonably confident that the emended text of the archetype approximates an authorial text.

In sum, stemmatics is a text-critical method that is eminently suited for both kinds of customers of textual criticism. The use of internal evidence to reconstruct and to correct the text of the archetype means that stemmatics can deliver an authorial text that is suitable for readers of the text interested in what the author wrote. As for those customers interested in the history of the text, stemmatics not only hypothesizes an explicit history of the text in the form of a stemma, but it is also able to reconstruct the text at every stage in the transmission. Thus, the textual historian is able to trace the development of the text through the ages and ascertain how both individual variants and also patterns of variation can be informative about the readers, users, and copiers of the text. The major disadvantage to the stemmatics, however, is handling the presence of contamination, which threatens to make the reconstruction of the history of the text impossible. Only if this problem can be overcome or at least controlled, then stemmatics may well become a suitable text-critical method for the textual traditions of the New Testament. Indeed, New Testament textual critics generally recognize the benefits of a stemmatic approach, but they contend that the massive size of the New Testament textual tradition and the pervasiveness of contamination preclude any rigorous use of genealogy.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸ In fact, the bulk of Maas's tiny book is devoted to examples of conjectural emendation (*Textual Criticism*, 24-41), as is the textbook of Robert Renehan, *Greek Textual Criticism: A Reader* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1969).

¹¹⁹ E.g., Ernest C. Colwell, "Genealogical Method: Its Achievements and its Limitations," in Colwell, *Studies*, 63-83.

1.4.4 Reasoned and Thoroughgoing Eclectic Methods

In its broadest sense, eclecticism is a method for constructing a critical text by examining the witnesses at each individual variation unit and selecting the reading for the critical text based on the textual evidence at that individual variation unit. This variant-by-variant approach of eclecticism allows for the considerable use of internal evidence, and it stands in sharp contrast to documentary approaches,¹²⁰ where the reconstructed text is determined by the contents of a specifically chosen copy-text or a majoritarian construct of the manuscripts. Stemmatics, by contrast, can be considered to be partially eclectic in that its *examinatio* phase employs internal evidence on a variant-by-variant basis at a limited number of variation units at the base of the tradition's genealogical stemma as determined by its *recensio* phase.

Although practitioners of eclecticism for New Testament textual criticism are in general agreement that internal evidence must play an important role in evaluation of various readings, they disagree as to the relative role of external evidence. On one the hand, proponents of "reasoned" eclecticism argue for a balanced use of external evidence. As Michael W. Holmes articulated their fundamental principle, "the variant most likely to be original is the one that best accounts for the origin of all competing variants in terms of both external and internal evidence."¹²¹ On the other hand, the "thoroughgoing" eclectics argue

¹²⁰ Holmes, "Reasoned Eclecticism in N.T.," 338; Michael W. Holmes, "Reasoned Eclecticism and the Text of Romans," in Sven K. Soderlund and N. T. Wright, eds., *Romans and the People of God: Essays in Honor of Gordon D. Fee on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1999), 187-202, at 187-188 n.2; Holmes, "Case," 79.

¹²¹ Holmes, "Case," 79.

that external evidence should hardly play any role in their craft, championing instead the value of internal evidence.¹²²

Reasoned eclecticism has been the dominant method of editing the text of the New Testament throughout the twentieth century.¹²³ It has been the approach of the committee of textual critics who edited the United Bible Societies' Greek New Testament in 1966.¹²⁴ A thoroughly revised edition of the UBS text according to eclectic principles was published in 1975, which then became the basis of the twenty-sixth Nestle-Aland edition in 1979.¹²⁵ As a result, the standard text of the New Testament being used now by scholars is an edition based on an eclectic methodology.

Reasoned eclecticism begins with a study of the individual readings in the tradition, collated from a number of sources, especially Greek witnesses such as the papyri, uncials, and minuscules, but also from versional and patristic sources.¹²⁶ These variants are studied in terms of their internal evidence—which ones appear to be authorial based on intrinsic probabilities and which appear to be scribal on transcriptional probabilities. Kurt Aland recommends that the critic should draw up a local stemma for the variation unit showing the development of its variant readings.¹²⁷ The study of the variants in terms of the internal evidence, however, does not end the inquiry for the reasoned eclectic, because, in the words of Hort's oft-quoted

¹²² J. Keith Elliott, "Thoroughgoing Eclecticism in New Testament Textual Criticism" in Ehrman and Holmes, *Text*, 321-335.

¹²³ Holmes, "Reasoned Eclecticism," 336.

¹²⁴ Bruce M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament, its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration* (3d ed.; New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 145-146.

¹²⁵ Metzger, *Text*, 280.

¹²⁶ Earnest Cadman Colwell, "Hort Redivivus: A Plea and a Program" in Colwell, *Studies*, 148-171 at 160. Zuntz, *Text*, 12, refers to this step with the stemmatic term *examinatio*. See also, Holmes, "Case," 80, n.11.

¹²⁷ Aland-Aland, 281, Rule 8, also known as the local-genealogical principle.

dictum, “knowledge of documents should precede final judgement upon readings.”¹²⁸ As a result, eclecticists study the witnesses carefully to determine how well they transmit their texts and how they relate to other manuscripts in various groups.¹²⁹ For example, Bruce M. Metzger lists various criteria for evaluating external evidence, including the age of the witness, the distribution of the witnesses geographically, the genealogical connections among the witnesses, but the most important of which is the age of the *text-type* to which the witness belongs.¹³⁰ Thus in Metzger’s eclectic approach, text-types play an important role.

The concept of a text-type has been difficult to define. Ernest Cadman Colwell defined it as “the largest identifiable group of related New Testament manuscripts,” and distinguished it from a “family” as the “smallest . . . group whose inter-relationships are so close that its stemma or family tree can be established with exactness.”¹³¹ Thus, built into the very notion of a text-type is the need to work with groupings of related manuscripts beyond the capability of contemporary stemmatics to discover. In the editing of the UBS text, three text-types have been identified in Paul: an Alexandrian text-type, divided into a proto-Alexandrian group (P46 **Σ** B) and a later Alexandrian group (A C Ψ 33 1739);¹³² a Western text-type (D F G and Old Latin versions);¹³³ and a Byzantine text-type (L and most minuscules).¹³⁴

¹²⁸ Hort 31 (original in small caps). Quoted, e.g., by Colwell, “Hort,” 160; Gordon D. Fee, “Rigorous or Reasoned Eclecticism—Which?” in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 124-140; Holmes, “Case,” 77.

¹²⁹ Colwell, “Hort,” 161-164.

¹³⁰ Metzger, *Text*, 209.

¹³¹ Ernest C. Colwell, “Method in Establishing the Nature of Text-Types of New Testament Manuscripts,” in Colwell, *Studies*, 45-55 at 45-46.

¹³² Metzger, *Text*, 216.

¹³³ Metzger, *Text*, 214.

¹³⁴ Metzger, *Text*, 213.

Now, the identification of text-types does not end the inquiry for the reasoned eclectic. The text-type must also be fit into a historical framework of the textual tradition.¹³⁵ In the case of these three text-types for the text of the Pauline epistles, the Byzantine text-type is considered newer and derivative of the Alexandrian and Western text-types.¹³⁶ Among the two earlier text-types in Paul, the Alexandrian is generally considered more reliable than the Western, except when the Alexandrian Codex Vaticanus (B) joins with the Western witnesses.¹³⁷ This judgment about the value of the Western text, especially in combination with B, goes back to Westcott and Hort.¹³⁸ Günther Zuntz, however, in his study of the Pauline epistles is more sanguine about the Western text; he holds that “Western witnesses joined by P⁴⁶ or B or 1739 are more often right than wrong.”¹³⁹ Zuntz based his conclusions mainly on his examination of 1 Corinthians and Hebrews, so it is a *desideratum* to see if his conclusions hold up in other parts of Paul, such as Galatians.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁵ Colwell, “Hort,” 164-169. Also Holmes, “Reasoned Eclecticism,” 350: “Eclecticism does not work in a vacuum; it functions only in conjunction with a view of the history of the transmission of the text.”

¹³⁶ Metzger, *Text*, 212.

¹³⁷ Metzger, *Text*, 218.

¹³⁸ HORT, 240-241.

¹³⁹ Günther Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles: A Disquisition upon the Corpus Paulinum*. The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1946 (London: Oxford University Press, 1953), 158.

¹⁴⁰ See also Michael W. Holmes, “The Text of Epistles Sixty Years After: An Assessment of Günther Zuntz’s Contribution to Text-Critical Methodology and History” in *Transmission and Reception: New Testament Text-Critical and Exegetical Studies* (J. W. Childers and D. C. Parker, eds.; TS3 4; Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias, 2006), 89-113.

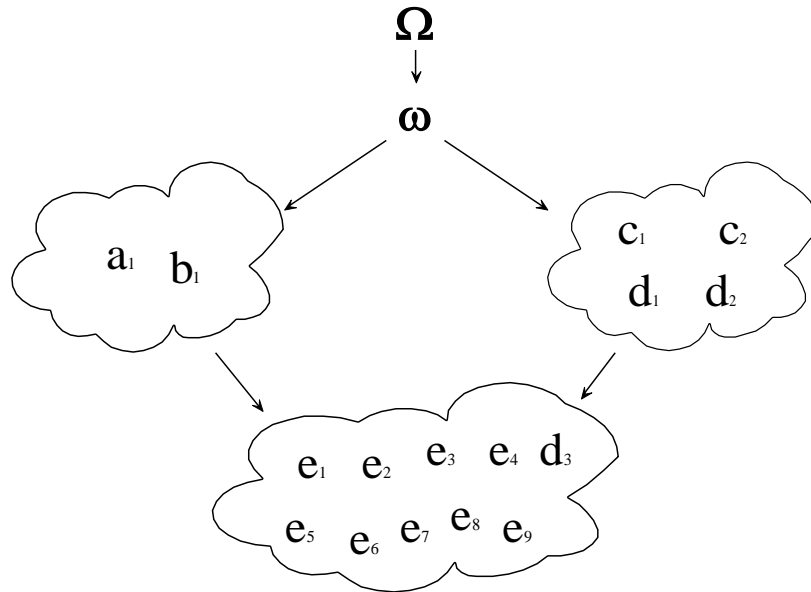


FIG. 5 A Hortian Eclectic Model using Text-Types

FIG. 5 depicts a historical model of the transmission of the text illustrated in FIG. 1 using text-types, in general alignment with Hort’s theory of the text. Like the stemmatic model, this historical model includes the distinction between an autograph Ω and an archetype ω in order to permit the use of conjectural emendation.¹⁴¹ Similar manuscripts are grouped together into text-types. In FIG. 5, the text-types are denoted by cloud figures, and there are three of them: one contains a_1 and b_1 ; another contains c_1 , c_2 , d_1 , and d_2 ; and a third text-type contains d_3 and e_1 through e_9 . No genealogical relationships are depicted within the text-type clouds because those relationships are generally not known. The diagram indicates that the third text-type on the bottom is derivative of the other two, and so its witnesses carry less weight in the reconstruction of the text than the other two.¹⁴² On the other hand, the top two text-types have more weight than the third, derivative text-type because they represent the

¹⁴¹ The term “archetype” is not used in eclecticism, however, and the use of conjectural emendation is almost entirely absent, Acts 16:12 being the notable exception.

¹⁴² This third text-type is analogous to Hort’s view of the Byzantine text.

earliest forms of the text.¹⁴³ These top two text-types are not necessarily weighted equally, however, because the critic's knowledge of their documents may indicate that the members of one text-type tend to be more prone to scribal interference in the text than the other.¹⁴⁴

Compared with the previously discussed text-critical methods (copy-text, majority-text, and even stemmatics), text-type eclecticism relies more heavily on internal evidence in reconstructing the text. The lack of genealogical information within the text-types means that no particular witness should necessarily dominate in furnishing readings for the critical text. Rather, any member of an early text-type—especially one prized in terms of external evidence—can potentially provide a good reading for the critical text, even against the testimony of its fellow text-type members. Internal evidence is used, in conjunction with this external evidence, to identify such good readings in various individual members of the earliest text-types.

This greater use of internal evidence in text-type eclecticism helps to cope with contamination in a way that stemmatics cannot handle well. As seen in FIG. 1, both witnesses b_1 and d_1 have independent access to authorial readings apart from the copy in the letter collection ω_2 . With stemmatics, b_1 's location on the stemma of FIG. 4 means that the readings in b_1 are always outweighed by the agreement of δ and ψ . In the light of the mixture of readings from ω_1 , however, some of these b_1 readings may actually be authorial, but the stemma does not permit these authorial readings in b_1 via ω_1 to be selected. With the text-type eclecticism of FIG. 5, on the other hand, b_1 is present in one of the two earliest text-types, and, as a result, makes its readings available to be selected based on internal evidence.

¹⁴³ These may be analogized to the Western and Alexandrian text-types.

¹⁴⁴ The so-called "Western" text-type in Paul has this reputation.

This use of text-types characterizes the approaches of Metzger and Colwell, but other eclecticists organize the external evidence somewhat differently. Aland and his colleagues, for example, classify the textual witnesses into five categories based on their readings in a number of test passages.¹⁴⁵ Zuntz, on the other hand, likens the transmission of the text to a stream with two major branches and places the different manuscripts at various points on the stream.¹⁴⁶ All of these textual critics attempt to integrate both internal and external evidence in their work, but there is another set of eclecticists who eschew external evidence altogether.

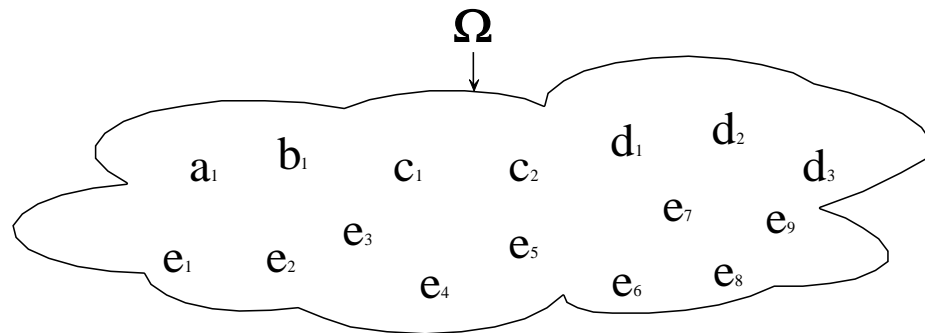


FIG. 6 A Thoroughgoing Eclectic Model with No Distinct Text-Types

Indeed, some “radical” or “thoroughgoing” eclecticists have argued that external evidence, including text-types, ought to be abandoned altogether or at least subordinated in favor of using internal evidence at every turn. As one of its practitioners, J. Keith Elliott, put it:

Thoroughgoing eclecticism is the method that allows internal considerations for a reading’s originality to be given priority over documentary considerations. The thoroughgoing eclectic critic feels able to select freely from among the available fund of variants and choose the one that best fits her or his internal criteria. This critic is skeptical about the high claims made for the reliability of some MSS or about

¹⁴⁵ ALAND-ALAND 317-337. The five categories are three groups (I-III) of Alexandrian manuscripts with various degrees of mixture with the Byzantine text, a so-called Western category (IV), and the Byzantine text (V).

¹⁴⁶ Zuntz, *Text*, 278.

arguments favoring a particular group of MSS. For him or her no MS or group contains the monopoly of readings.¹⁴⁷

This means that any manuscript can potentially supply a reading that a thoroughgoing eclectic may consider original if that reading passes the tests of internal criticism in the view of the critic. Accordingly, depicted in FIG. 6 is the historical model presupposed by thoroughgoing eclecticism. Rather than grouping the witnesses into text-types, there is a single fund of witnesses, denoted by the large cloud, from which any variant can be selected for the critical text. The stated assumption of this model is the tenacity of the tradition, that any original reading must have survived in at least one of the extant witnesses, rendering conjectural emendation as unnecessary.¹⁴⁸ This ban on conjectural emendation puts the thoroughgoing method in a curious place, however. On the one hand, internal evidence is apparently so powerful that external evidence is hardly relevant, as long as even one manuscript attests to the variant. On the other hand, internal evidence is so poor that it cannot supply a reading that happens to be unattested no matter how well it explains the state of the evidence. It seems better, thus, to resolve this paradox over the capacity of internal evidence by giving up on the assumption of tenacity.

Compared with stemmatics, eclecticism uses internal evidence to a greater degree and external evidence to a lesser degree. The greater use of internal evidence helps to overcome the problem of contamination, because the eclectic textual critic is empowered to examine for authorial readings (based on internal evidence) a greater number of witnesses than what stemmatics would allow according to its stemma. This greater reliance on internal evidence,

¹⁴⁷ Elliott, "Thoroughgoing Eclecticism," 321.

¹⁴⁸ Elliott, "Thoroughgoing Eclecticism," 322: "On a positive note the thoroughgoing method of textual criticism assumes that the original reading has been preserved somewhere among the extant MSS and that conjectural emendations are unnecessary."

however, comes with a cost. Internal evidence is only decisive to the extent it can distinguish between the textual behavior of an author and that of a scribe. Given two variant readings, when one looks authorial while the other reading looks scribal, internal evidence can be very helpful. Nevertheless, not every variant unit is so clear. Sometimes the semantic difference between two variants (e.g. for word order variations) is so subtle that it may seem fruitless to figure out how one is more scribal or authorial than the other. In this case, internal evidence may hardly seem decisive, and the less decisive the internal evidence, the more important external evidence must become.

Although the quality of the New Testament text produced by eclecticism has had a well-deserved good reputation, it has come at the expense of having a clear history of the text. Among users of text-types, there is a rough sense of which text-types are older and which are newer, but there is no detailed sense of the history of the text within the text-types. This means that scholars interested in the original context of a New Testament work have been well-served by eclecticism, but those who wish to understand the history of the text and its readers have been disadvantaged.

1.4.5 Coherence-Based Genealogical Method

The Coherence-Based Genealogical Method (CBGM) is the newest of the text-critical methods reviewed in this survey. It has been developed by Gerd Mink of the Institute for New Testament Textual Research in Muenster and described in a number of his publications

beginning in 1993.¹⁴⁹ The CBGM has been applied to the text of the New Testament, specifically to the Catholic Epistles of the new *Editio Critica Maior*.¹⁵⁰

The purpose of the CBGM is to deal with the circular reasoning that Mink identifies as inherent in contemporary eclecticism: witnesses are good because of their good readings, but readings are good because of their good witnesses. Mink doubts that this circular reasoning can entirely be avoided but he proposes that it can be controlled through his method. In particular, he sees the CBGM as a way to refine the quality of a critical text in accordance with his genealogical principles, especially that of genealogical coherence.¹⁵¹

It is important to understand what the CBGM is and what it is not. As Klaus Wachtel explains it:

The CBGM does not provide a means of automating the reconstruction of the initial text, nor the 'royal way' to it. Furthermore, the CBGM often does not make textual decisions more secure. It may cast new doubt on cases that seemed to be settled. It is a way to analyse the structure of a manuscript tradition and to integrate methodically our growing knowledge about it.¹⁵²

Thus, the CBGM is not an automated method for generating a stemma of the New Testament or otherwise to derive the textual history of the New Testament. Rather, it enables more precision for weighing the external evidence in support of various readings in the course of deciding the critical text. Accordingly, its practitioners see this method as an advance over the use of text-type and categories that dominated the twentieth century.

¹⁴⁹ Gerd Mink, "Eine umfassende Genealogie der neutestamentliche Überlieferung," *NTS* 39 (1993): 481-499; and idem, "Problems," 13-85.

¹⁵⁰ E.g., Barbara Aland, Kurt Aland, Gerd Mink, and Klaus Wachtel, *Novum Testamentum Graece: Editio Critica Maior*, vol. 4.1, *James* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1997); vol. 4.2, *The Letters of Peter* (2000); vol. 4.3, *The First Letter of John* (2003); vol. 4.4, *The Second and Third Letter of John, The Letter of Jude* (2005).

¹⁵¹ Mink, "Problems," 25.

¹⁵² Klaus Wachtel, "Towards a Redefinition of External Criteria: The Role of Coherence in Assessing the Origin of Variants" in *Textual Variation: Theological and Social Tendencies* (H. A. G. Houghton and D. C. Parker, eds.; TS3 6; Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias, 2008), 109-127 at 127.

The CBGM works as follows. First, it begins with an estimate of the initial text that is intended to be relatively close to the form of the text from which the textual tradition of a New Testament book has originated.¹⁵³ Then, at a large number variation units, a local genealogy of the variant readings is drawn up, showing the evolution of the variants without regard to the witnesses that transmit those readings. Similar in practice to Aland's local genealogical principle, the practitioner of the CBGM uses internal evidence to decide what the likely pattern of textual flow from reading to reading appears to be.¹⁵⁴ At this point, it is not necessary to perform this analysis for all variation units, just for the ones whose local genealogy is fairly clear and uncontroversial. A local genealogy can be represented by a local stemma, and it indicates which variants are to be considered prior or posterior to other variants.¹⁵⁵

Next, the local genealogies are considered for each witness to identify which other witness is a potential ancestor. The best potential ancestors are those which have a high degree of agreement in readings and, of the variant units where they do not agree, the potential ancestor has a high proportion of the variants that are prior to the readings found in the witness under consideration. Thus, a "substemma" can be established for each witness that indicates which other witnesses are the best potential ancestors for it.¹⁵⁶

These various substemmata can be aggregated to produce a global stemma, which shows the textual flow of the tradition. Now, Mink is careful to warn the reader that his global stemmata is not the same as the classical stemmata in the Lachmannian or Maasian sense. In particular, Mink eschews the use of hyparchetypes (hypothetical ancestors) and allows for

¹⁵³ The first iteration of this "initial text" seems to have been the Nestle-Aland 27th ed.

¹⁵⁴ This use of local genealogies makes the CBGM incompatible with a purely documentary approach, such as the majority-text method.

¹⁵⁵ Mink, "Problems," 35-36.

¹⁵⁶ Mink, "Problems," 38-46.

most witnesses to have multiple ancestors (to account for contamination). Another major difference is that, in classical stemmatics the Archetype usually has two, sometimes three immediate descendants, while in the CBGM there can be a dozen or more witnesses whose best potential ancestor is the initial text.¹⁵⁷

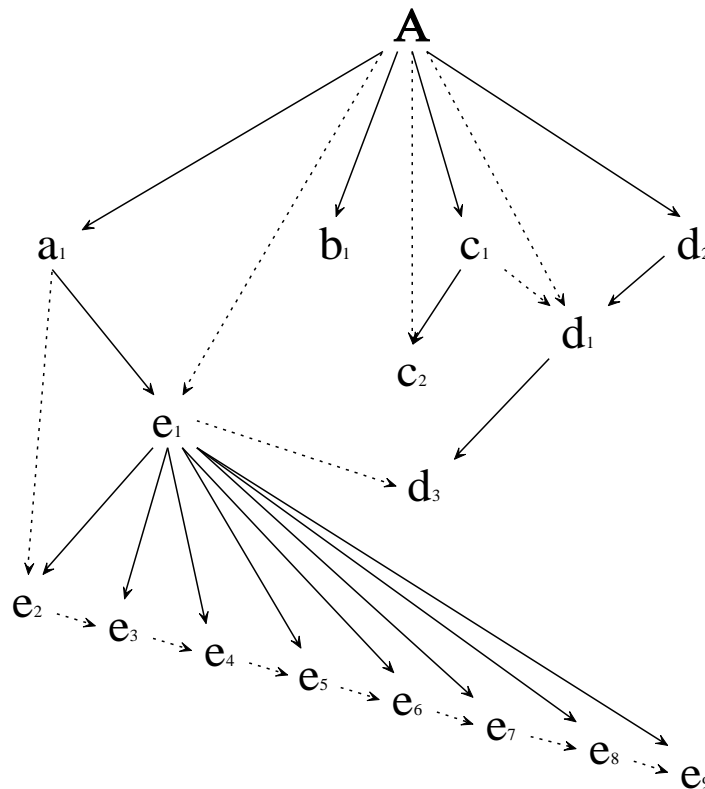


FIG. 7 A Global Stemma Showing Textual Flows According to the CBGM

To illustrate how a CBGM global stemma differs from a classical *stemma codicum*, a mocked-up global stemma for the transmission scenario is shown in FIG. 7. In contrast to the classical stemma of FIG. 4, there are no hypothetical exemplars in the diagram except for the initial text labeled **A** (German *Ausgangstext*). Instead of these hypothetical exemplars, the

¹⁵⁷ Mink, “Problems,” 46-49.

global stemma shows multiple textual pathways for most witnesses.¹⁵⁸ For example, manuscript d_1 is shown as having three potential ancestors, \mathbf{A} , d_2 , and c_1 . The link from \mathbf{A} to d_1 indicates that d_1 has access to the readings of ω_2 in FIG. 1 that are not found in d_2 . Yet d_1 and d_2 also share some readings in common against the rest of the tradition, and this fact is indicated by the arrow from d_2 to d_1 . As for the contamination from γ (the ancestor of c_1 and c_2 in FIG. 1), this mixture is shown by an arrow from c_1 to d_1 . Another difference between a CBGM text-flow diagram and a classical stemma lies in the number of children for ancestral documents in the stemma. Ancestors in classical stemmata have a tendency to have only two descendants,¹⁵⁹ while some ancestors in a CBGM text-flow diagrams can have numerous children. For example, while the classical stemma often has a binary split at the highest level (e.g. ψ and δ in FIG. 4), the initial text \mathbf{A} in FIG. 7 has a direct link to seven witnesses.

Once the global stemma has been produced, the variation units of the initial text can be revisited, either to revise the local stemma, or even to modify the reading of the initial based on the quality of the “coherence” of the respective variant readings. Basically, a reading exhibits good coherence if it is found only among witnesses that are closely related genealogically, and poor coherence if it is found among witnesses that are distantly related. In other words, a reading with poor coherence is likely to have originated multiple times in the transmission of the text, and for that reason may be considered transcriptionally a later reading. On the other hand, a reading should belong to the initial text if it has good coherence among those witnesses whose best potential ancestor is the initial text. If two variants appear

¹⁵⁸ The use of hypothetical ancestors without contamination has been shown to be mathematically equivalent to the use of contamination without hypothetical ancestors. See John Alroy, “Continuous Track Analysis: A New Phylogenetic and Biogeographic Method,” *Systematic Biology* 44 (1995): 152-172.

¹⁵⁹ An issue made famous by Joseph Bédier, “La tradition manuscrite du *Lai de l'ombre*: Réflexions sur l’art d’éditer les anciens textes,” *Romania* 54 (1928): 161-196.

to be good candidates for the original text based on coherence, then the reading is considered on internal grounds (e.g. the *lectio difficilior*) to be original is chosen. After the initial text has been revised based on genealogical coherence, this refinement process can be repeated over and over until the repeatedly revised initial text stabilizes.¹⁶⁰

To its credit, the CGBM appears to be more rigorous about evaluating external evidence than the use of text-types and categories currently employed in reasoned eclecticism. It also applies the notion of internal evidence when the external evidence appears balanced in terms of coherence. The benefit of this rigor is that the “initial text” produced by the CGBM may reflect the authorial text better, and this benefits those who are interested in the text as it was composed by an author within its historical context. Historians of the text, however, are less helped by the CGBM. The CGBM does not reconstruct the history of the text, but instead a diagram of textual flows. These flows are highly abstract and they do not correspond to the textual state of any lost exemplar other than the initial text.

1.5 Proposals and Road Map

There are two goals now in New Testament textual criticism: reconstructing a serviceable authorial text for those interested in the historical context of its composition and reconstructing the history of the text for those interested in the change of the text over time and space. Based on the foregoing survey of five text-critical methods, two of the methods, the copy-text method and the majority-text method, are plainly unsuitable to the task. Neither method attempts to discover the history of the text; rather, they impose an *a priori* history upon the textual evidence. Moreover, both of these unsuitable methods generally avoid the use

¹⁶⁰ Mink, “Problems,” 38-46.

of internal evidence to construct their texts; thus, their constructed text contains a combination of authorial and scribal readings that do not interest most users of the text.

Stemmatics may appear ideal for the twin goals of contemporary New Testament textual criticism. It explicitly generates a history of the text in the form of a stemma according to the theoretically sound common-error criterion, and it brings to bear internal evidence to identify and reconstruct the archetype. Moreover, it also uses internal evidence in correcting the archetype by conjectural emending. This use of internal evidence means that the emended archetype of stemmatics is a serviceable authorial text. The main disadvantage of stemmatics is that text-critics have not found a way to handle contamination. By contrast, the eclectic and coherence-based genealogical methods are designed to work in contaminated textual traditions by emphasizing internal evidence at the expense of external evidence. To the extent that their use of internal evidence permits, these methods produce an authorial text suitable for historians of the time period in which the text originated.¹⁶¹ Yet this product comes with a price: these methods have largely foregone a detailed reconstruction of the history of the text.

Accordingly, this study of the text of Galatians and its history proposes to take a hybrid stemmatic-eclectic approach to the textual evidence. Rather than finding a general solution to the contamination problem, this study proposes both a stemmatic solution to contamination and an eclectic solution to contamination. Specifically, on the stemmatic side, only that level of contamination that can distort the stemma will be addressed in the construction of the stemma (see section 2.3), and the remaining amount of contamination will be handled in accordance with eclecticism, by a more extensive use of internal evidence than stemmatics normally

¹⁶¹ Of course, the distinction between the original text and the initial or critical text recognizes that the results of their methods are necessarily provisional and limited by the value of the available textual evidence and methods.

permits. With this hybrid approach, this study can reap the benefits of stemmatics for the history of Galatians and reap the benefits of eclecticism for a serviceable authorial text.

Chapter 2 sets forth the materials and methods of this study. For the materials, Chapter 2 surveys ninety-two textual witnesses used in this study of Galatians, detailing their characteristics and how they were collated. For the methods, Chapter 2 describes a computer-implemented method for producing an unoriented stemma of the witnesses to the text of Galatians. The method itself is based on “cladistic” techniques developed by computational biologists for finding family trees of organisms and adopted by some textual critics. Accordingly, this chapter explains the theoretical basis of cladistics, its past use by textual critics, how the method operates, and how it handles contamination. Chapter 2 concludes with a presentation and description of an unoriented stemma of Galatians.

Chapter 3 is directed toward orienting the stemma. To this end, thirty-six variants on four early branches of the stemma are examined in terms of their internal evidence. In particular, this chapter sets forth how internal evidence is evaluated in accordance with the basic methodological approach of reasoned eclecticism. The result of this evaluation is to determine which variants are authorial based on internal evidence and then to orient the stemma by chosen as the base of the stemma the portion with the most authorial readings.

Chapter 4 examines the resulting text near the base of the stemma and resolves textual variants where the earliest witnesses are divided among themselves. After resolving these issues, the chapter concludes with a critical text of Galatians.

Chapter 5 traces the history of the text. Due to the size and complexity of the textual transmission, this chapter concentrates on the Western Branch, and the rise of the Byzantine text within the Eastern branch. For each branch, its new readings are examined to ascertain

the nature of the transmission process for the branch. Specifically, the nature of the textual transmission will be examined to determine if it is relatively strict or periphrastic, and whether there is a discernible theological or other tendency to its changes.

Chapter 6 concludes the dissertation with a brief outline of the history of the text of Galatians, and contrasts the history of the text depicted in the stemma to that of other scholars with special attention to Hort and Zuntz.

2. Materials and Methods

2.1 *Materials and Manuscripts*

For most of the past century and a half, a researcher on the text of Galatians and its history had limited options for grasping the state of the manuscript evidence. The physical manuscripts were scattered across the globe, and most of them were not published at all. Because of the limited accessibility of the manuscripts themselves, researchers had to consult microfilms of them in specialized centers,¹ or they had to rely on published collations and editions. Tischendorf's great eighth critical edition of the nineteenth century had been helpful to many critics in the age of Westcott and Hort, garnering praise for its range of witnesses, breadth of variation units, and reputation for accuracy.² Its usefulness, however, has diminished with every new important manuscript discovery.³ For the Pauline corpus, these include the early third-century Bodmer papyrus P46 and codex 1739. The Nestle-Aland handbooks, especially its 26th and 27th editions, present a wealth of up-to-date and accurate textual evidence, but these editions are not exhaustive and remain less comprehensive than Tischendorf.

Over the past decade especially, there have been on-going projects to improve the evidentiary basis for the practice of textual criticism. The International Greek New Testament

¹ Such as the Institute for New Testament Textual Research (Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung, INTF) in Muenster.

² Konstantin Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Graece: ad antiquissimos testes denuo recensuit apparatus criticum omni studio perfectum apposuit commentationem isagogicam* (2 vols.; 8th ed., critica maior; Leipzig: Giesecke & Devrient, 1869).

³ Another inconvenience of the edition has been a later change in the enumeration of the (mainly miniscule) witnesses by Caspar René Gregory. As a result, scholars have to work with conversion tables between Tischendorf's system (largely inherited from Wettstein) and Gregory's. See generally, Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament: An Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism* (2d ed.; Erroll F. Rhodes, trans.; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1989), 38-41.

Project (IGNTP) is producing a volume on the Gospel of John.⁴ For the Catholic epistles, the Muenster Institute has produced a *Critica Maior* with over a hundred fully-collated witnesses,⁵ and they are beginning to work on the Acts of the Apostles. For Paul, scores of manuscripts of the *Hauptbriefe* have been collated, transcribed, and published by Rueben J. Swanson.⁶ These publications promise to make more comprehensive and accurate compilations of the textual evidence available to scholar than ever before.

Accordingly, the evidentiary basis for this project begins with Swanson's collations of manuscripts of Galatians, because of its comprehensive coverage of the earliest substantial witnesses to the text, including P46, **8**, A, B, C, D, F, and G.⁷ Swanson's manuscripts were further supplemented with some additional Greek witnesses (e.g. 1780 because of its presence at Duke University and 1881 because it is consistently cited in the 27th Nestle-Aland edition) and versional witnesses. Nevertheless, to the extent reasonably feasible, Swanson's collations of the most important witnesses have been double-checked against available images of the manuscripts in question, with transcriptions from the Muenster Institute available on its New Testament Virtual Manuscript Room website (NT.VMR), and from other publications. As a result, this study has double-checked Swanson's edition of Galatian for eleven manuscripts, some of which are the most important for understanding its text.

⁴ Unfortunately the earlier products for Matthew and Mark under the editorship of S. C. E. Legg are poorly regarded (Aland and Aland, *Text*, 23-24).

⁵ E.g., Barbara Aland, Kurt Aland, Gerd Mink, and Klaus Wachtel, *Novum Testamentum Graece: Editio Critica Maior*, vol. 4, pt. 1.1, *James* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1997); idem, *Novum Testamentum Graece: Editio Critica Maior*, vol. 4.2, *The Letters of Peter* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2000); idem, *Novum Testamentum Graece: Editio Critica Maior*, vol. 4.3, *The First Letter of John* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2003); idem, *Novum Testamentum Graece: Editio Critica Maior*, vol. 4.4: *The Second and Third Letter of John, The Letter of Jude* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2005).

⁶ Swanson has since retired and died in 2009. His materials have been entrusted with Kent D. Clarke at Trinity Western University, who is currently at work on the volume for Revelation; see <http://twu.ca/academics/faculty/profiles/clarke-kent.html>. It is unclear when the remaining volumes for the Pauline corpus will come out.

⁷ A witness is considered "substantial" for this study if it can supply a reading for at least 250 variation units. As a result, fragmentary manuscripts, including P51, H, I, 0176, and 0261 were not used for this study.

The following witnesses have been collated for this study:

P46. The text of P46 used for this study was originally obtained from Swanson's transcription and then double-checked against high-resolution images of Gal 1:1-6:8 available at the University of Michigan website APIS and the transcriptions of P46 at the Muenster Institute website NT.VMR. Based on the images and transcriptions, I propose a number of corrections (or differing interpretation of P46) to Swanson's text. These are documented in Appendix A.⁸

Σ/01.⁹ *Codex Sinaiticus*. The text was obtained from Swanson and double-checked against the images and transcriptions at <http://codexsinaiticus.org/>. As Swanson did not discriminate the first and second correctors,¹⁰ the transcriptions at the Nestle-Aland 28th edition website were consulted to determine which correction belongs to which corrector. Based on the images and transcriptions, I differ from Swanson at a number of places, particularly in the assignment of the correctors. These differences are documented in Appendix A.¹¹

⁸ The following are the most substantive corrections to Swanson in P46:

At Gal 1:14, Swanson 9 has **περισσότερον** ὡς, but the image shows περισσοτερόν ὡς, with deletion dots above the ending ὄν and with ὡς written inline afterward. The ὡς accordingly represents a corrected ending, not a new word; so also ROYSE 228; Philip W. Comfort and David P. Barrett, *The Text of the Earliest New Testament Greek Manuscripts: New and Complete Transcriptions with Photographs* (2d ed.; Wheaton, Ill.: Tyndale House, 2001), 313 n.d. Therefore, this variant is coded as the P46⁹ reading περισσότερον and P46¹ reading περισσότερω.

At Gal 1:17, Swanson 10 confusingly writes οὐδέ ***λθον**, which might suggest partial support for ἀνήλθον or ἀπῆλθον. It is clear from the image, however, that P46 only has enough space for η to read ἦλθον rather than either variant.

At Gal 5:17, Swanson 73 reverses the indications for the original hand of P46 and its corrector. According to the image, however, P46* actually reads τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα and P46^c reads τὸ δὲ ^{τὸ} πνεῦμα; cf. Comfort and Barrett, *Text*, 313 n.a.; ROYSE 220, 223, 239, 241, and 244 assigns the supralinearly written τὸ to a third hand of P46.

⁹ This study prefers the traditional Wettstein-Tischendorf capital letters for some of the uncial (majuscule) manuscripts due to their compactness, though the recent trend is to use only the numeric sigla for them; see D. C. Parker, *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts and their Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 36-37.

¹⁰ The various correctors have been collapsed to a single document state labeled Σ^c.

¹¹ The following are the most substantive differences:

A/02. *Codex Alexandrinus.* The text obtained from Swanson was double-checked against the black-and-white photographs from Thompson and the NA28 transcription.¹² Based on my inspection, there is one substantive change to be made to Swanson’s collation.¹³ At Gal 3:29, Swanson 45 reads ὑμεῖς for A, but the first letter is not evident from the photograph and assigned to part of a lacuna in the NA28 transcription. Therefore, A should not be recorded as support for the reading ὑμεῖς.¹⁴

B/03. *Codex Vaticanus.* The text was obtained from Swanson, and double-checked against the color photographs of Carlo M. Martini with reference to the NA28 transcription.¹⁵ Based on my inspection of these color photographs of B, Swanson generally fails to record the mostly orthographic letter deletions by the medieval corrector throughout the text (these are documented in Appendix A),¹⁶ but otherwise has two substantive errors.¹⁷

At Gal 2:13, Swanson 23 reads συναπήχθη (“got carried away”) for **Ν**, which is for both **Ν*** and **Ν^c**, but, according to the image and transcription **Ν^c** (actually **Ν²**) corrected the verb to read συνυπήχθη (“withdrew together”). At Gal 5:3, Swanson 65 reads ἀνθρώπων for both **Ν*** and **Ν^c**; according to the image and transcription, however, both read ἀνθρώπω.

At Gal 5:18, Swanson 73 seems to have misread the letters **τιε** added above **εστε** as a command to replace the word **εστε** with **τις**, as if **Ν^c** has οὐκ τις. Actually, as apparent in the image and the transcription, the correction is to insert the letters **τιε** after the **ε** in **εστε** so that **Ν^c** (i.e., **Ν²**) should read οὐκέτι **εστὲ**.

¹² E. M. Thompson, *Facsimile of Codex Alexandrinus: New Testament and Clementine Epistles* (vol. 4; London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1879).

¹³ At Gal 4:21, the NA28 transcription states that the θέλοντες originally read λέγοντες (a singular reading that is perhaps a scribal assimilation to the preceding λέγετε), but this is not apparent to me—or presumably to Swanson 57—from the photograph.

¹⁴ This is the case even despite the fact that A reads **εστέ** later in the sentence, for 1241^s reads both ἡμεῖς and **εστέ** (spelled as **εσται**).

¹⁵ Carlo M. Martini, *Novum Testamentum e codice vaticano graeco 1209 (Codex B): Tertia vice phototypice expressum* (Codices e vaticanis selecti 30; Vatican City: Bibliotheca apostolica vaticana, 1968).

¹⁶ Some corrections listed in the NA28 transcript of B are not apparent to me in the color photographs, which could reflect a limitation of inspecting the photographs rather than the manuscript directly. These corrections include: Gal 1:11 **εστι[v]**, 2:8 **ενεργησε[v]**, 5:7 **πειθεισθ[ε]-<αι>**, 5:19 **εστι[v]** τα. Moreover, at Gal 1:11, where the first hand of B reads τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τὸ εὐαγγέλιον (three times), Swanson’s layout implies that the second and third occurrences were deleted by a later corrector, while the color photographs indicate that the first and second occurrences were deleted.

¹⁷ At Gal 2:4, Swanson 16 reads καταδουλώσουσιν for B with no correction, but, according to the color photographs and the NA28 transcript, the medieval corrector of B changed the word to read καταδουλώσωσιν.

C/04. *Codex Ephraemi Syri Rescriptus*. The text was initially obtained from Swanson and then double-checked against Tischendorf’s 1843 edition and the corrections recommended by R. W. Lyon.¹⁸ Tischendorf’s edition of C is laid out so that the base text of C for Galatians is found on pp. 253-258 but his notes about corrections are located in an appendix on pp. 351-352. Swanson seems to have largely ignored Tischendorf’s appendix with the corrector notes, as well as Lyon’s own list of corrections. Thus, various changes, detailed in Appendix A, were made to Swanson’s transcription of C for this study.¹⁹

D/06. *Codex Claromontanus*. The text was obtained from Swanson and double-checked against Tischendorf’s edition of 1852.²⁰ There appears to be one substantive error in Swanson’s transcription of D*.²¹ Swanson is much less accurate and precise with the correctors of D, however. Tischendorf discriminates between various correctors, especially the seventh-century D** (i.e. D¹) and the ninth-century D*** (i.e. D²).²² Swanson, on the other hand, uses the siglum D^c for most of the corrections to D and, on rare occasions, refers to individual

At Gal 2:16, Swanson 26 reads ὅτι ἐξ ἔργων νόμου δικαιωθήσεται πᾶσα σὰρξ for B, omitting οὐ (“not”) between νόμου and δικαιωθήσεται. According to the color photographs and the NA28, however, Swanson apparently misread the ligature in νόμου at the end of the line. The ligature consists of the letters μου, and Swanson seems to have taken that ligature as merely the letter mu (μ), and so considered the following letters ου at the beginning of the next to be the ending of νόμου instead of the separate word οὐ. At any rate, the medieval corrector of B added a smooth breathing to οὐ—not noted in Swanson—indicating that, at least in the mind of the corrector, those letters do not belong to νόμου.

¹⁸ Konstantin Tischendorf, *Codex Ephraemi Syri Rescriptus sive fragmenta Novi Testamenti e codice graeco parisiensi celeberrimo quinti ut videtur post Christum seculi* (Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1843); R. W. Lyon, “A Re-Examination of Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus,” *NTS* 5 (1959): 260-272.

¹⁹ In particular: Gal 2:5 C^{vid} διαμένη (Tischendorf 351 appendix); 2:7 C εἰδότες; 3:10 C ἐμμένει πᾶσιν (Lyon); 3:14 C γένηται; 3:16 C τῷ Ἀβραάμ (Lyon); 3:19 C^{vid} ἀγγέλου, C^c ἀγγέλων; 3:21 C^{vid} δύναμος [sic] ζῳοποιῆσαι (Lyon *contra* Tischendorf 352 appendix δυνάμενος ζῳοποιεῖν); 4:1 C* πάντων, C^c πάντων ὧν; 4:14 C ἐδέξασθέ (Lyon); 4:26 C^c πάντων [sic]; 5:2 C ὠφειλήσει [sic]; 5:10 C* ἐγὼ δὲ πέποιθα, C^c ἐγὼ πέποιθα; 5:10 C ἐὰν (Lyon); 5:11 C* εἴ τι, C^c ἔτι; 5:17 C* ἂ θέλητε, C^c ἂ ἄν θέλητε; 5:23 C ἔστι (Lyon); 6:14 C* κἀγὼ κόσμῳ, C^c κἀγὼ τῷ κόσμῳ; and 6:16 C* στοιχοῦσιν, C^c στοιχήσουσιν.

²⁰ Konstantin Tischendorf, *Codex Claromontanus sive epistulae Pauli omnes graece et latine ex codice parisiensi celeberrimo nomine Claromontani plerumque dicto sexti ut videtur post Christum saeculi* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1852).

²¹ At Gal 6:8, Swanson 81 reads εἰς τοῦ πᾶν, but according to Tischendorf 287 (line 7), D* actually reads ἐκ τοῦ πᾶν.

²² There is also a sixteenth-century corrector, which Tischendorf cites as D^{nov} and NA27 sometimes cites as D^c.

correctors. Appendix A lists my changes to Swanson’s handling of D’s correctors, including those cases where either D¹ or D² differs from Swanson’s D^c. Nevertheless, because of the confusion over which correction belongs to which correction, this study uses only D² as the corrected form of D.

F/010. *Codex Augiensis*. The text for this analysis was obtained from Swanson and double-checked against Scrivener’s 1859 edition.²³ It appears that while Scrivener had access to the manuscript, Swanson looked at photographs, which explains why Swanson occasionally missed or misread some corrections. These and other errors are detailed in Appendix A.²⁴

G/012. *Codex Boernernianus*. The text for this analysis was originally obtained from Swanson and double-checked against the photographic facsimile by Reichardt.²⁵ The manuscript has since suffered extensive damage during World War II, so the facsimile remains among the clearest sources for the Greek and Latin text of this manuscript in Paul. Suggested errata for Swanson’s transcription of G are detailed in Appendix A.

33. “The Queen of the Cursives.” The text of 33 for this study has been taken from Swanson 1999 and double-checked against photographs of the manuscript available at the New Testament Virtual Manuscript Room (NT.VMR), hosted at a Muenster Institute website. Almost all of the Galatians portion of this manuscript is clearly legible on these photographs, but some letters are not, especially at the beginnings or ends of lines, but Swanson hardly indicates

²³ Frederick Henry Scrivener, *An Exact Transcript of the Codex Augiensis, a Græco-Latin Manuscript of S. Paul’s Epistles, Deposited in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, to Which is Added a Full Collation of Fifty Manuscripts Containing Various Portions of the Greek New Testament in the Libraries of Cambridge, Parham, Leicester, Oxford, Lambeth, the British Museum, &c.* (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, 1859).

²⁴ At Gal 2:5, Scrivener 141 appears to be in error for printing εἰζαμεν instead of εἰξαμεν; similarly, at 4:27, Scrivener 150 prints Πηζοῦ instead of Πηξοῦ.

²⁵ Alexander Reichardt, *Der Codex Bœernianus: Der Briefe des Aposteks Paulus (Msc. Dresd. A 145^h)* (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1909).

difficulty reading them.²⁶ I have not listed such illegible readings in Appendix A, due to their extent, but other, more substantive corrections to Swanson's transcription are noted.²⁷

1424. The text of this manuscript was obtained from Swanson 1999 and checked against the exquisite color photographs published online at the website for The Center for the Study of New Testament Manuscripts. While Swanson's transcription of the base text was generally accurate, he did err when corrections were involved. All the proposed changes for 1424 are detailed in Appendix A.²⁸

1735. The text of this manuscript for this study has been taken from Swanson and double-checked against images of the manuscript available at the New Testament Virtual Manuscript Room (NT.VMR), hosted at a Muenster Institute website. Suggested errata for Swanson's transcription of 1735 are detailed in Appendix A.²⁹

1780. Durham, N. C.: Duke University, Greek 1. The text of this manuscript was directly collated from the codex itself on April 21, 2011.

1874. The text of this manuscript for this study has been taken from Swanson and double-checked against images of the manuscript available at the New Testament Virtual

²⁶ For example, on fol. 59v, line 50 (third up from bottom), Swanson records the letters "···**εἰς**", indicating that 33 read ἔρεις instead of ἔρις at Gal 5:20. Unfortunately, the photograph only appears to have two round black blotches at the extant beginning of the line where this word is found. Other editors of Galatians, in fact, do not decide what 33 read here; for example, 33's reading is not listed at all in Tischendorf or in Nestle-Aland. For purposes of this study, however, I am reluctantly supporting Swanson's reading of ἔρεις for 33^{vid} here at Gal 5:20, because the round shape of the blotch better supports an *epsilon-iota* ligature (εἰ) instead of a bare *iota* (ι).

²⁷ Specifically, the substantive corrections include: Gal 1:4 ἐξελεῖται (not ἐξέληται); 3:11 νόμου (not νόμω); and 3:14 γένηται (not γενήσεται).

²⁸ The substantive issues include: Gal 2:20, 1424^c reads κ(αί) π^αρ^οδόντος, 1424^{*vid} seems to have omitted καί; Gal 3:10, 1424^{*} ὁ κρεμύμενος in erasure after πᾶς (cf. 3:13, but Swanson did not identify erased text); Gal 3:18, both 1424^{*} and 1424^c omit ἡ after erasure (of unidentifiable content); Gal 3:22, 1424^c ἐκ πίστεως τῷ χῶ (not ἐκ πίστεως χῶ); Gal 4:5, 1424^{*vid} reads υἰοθεσίαν λάβωμεν (not υἰοθεσίαν ἀπολάβωμεν); and Gal 6:8, 1424^{*} αὐτου, 1424^c ἑαυτοῦ.

²⁹ Only orthographic errors have been noticed, one involving a corrected reading.

Manuscript Room (NT.VMR), hosted at a Muenster Institute website. Suggested errata for Swanson's transcription of 1874 are detailed in Appendix A.³⁰

1881. The text of this manuscript was taken from a copy of the microfilm photographs of the manuscript obtained from the Library of Congress.

2138. The text of this manuscript was taken from a collation published by Barbara Aland and Andreas Juckel.³¹

2423. Durham, N.C.: Duke University, Greek 3. The text of this manuscript was taken from a collation by Kenneth W. Clark and checked against the actual manuscript on April 22, 2011.³² No errors were discovered in Clark's collation.

2892. The text for this manuscript was taken from its online photographs hosted by the Center for the Study of New Testament Manuscripts.³³

Latin versions. The Latin versions used in this study include the following witnesses, taken from the cited published sources: *b* (Beuron 89),³⁴ *d* (Beuron 75),³⁵ and *f* (Beuron 78).³⁶ The text of the Vulgate was obtained from the edition of Wordsworth and White.³⁷

Syriac versions. The text of the Peshitta and the Harklensis Syriac versions was taken from the edition of Aland and Juckel.³⁸

³⁰ The only substantive error that might affect the outcome of this study is that, at Gal 3:28, 1874 reads ἄρσεν ἢ θῆλυ, not ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ.

³¹ Barbara Aland and Andreas Juckel, *Das Neue Testament in syrischer Überlieferung* (vol. 2.2; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995), 507-514.

³² Kenneth W. Clark, *Eight American Praxapostoloi* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941), 160-165.

³³ Online at <http://www.csntm.org/>.

³⁴ Hermann Josef Frede, *Eine neuer Paulustext und Kommentar. II: Die Texte* (Vetus Latina 8; Freiburg: Herder, 1974), 217-233.

³⁵ Tischendorf, *Codex Claromontanus*, 2:255-289, 568-571.

³⁶ Scrivener, *Codex Augiensis*, 137-155, 277-278.

³⁷ John Wordsworth and Henry Julian White, *Nouum Testamentum Domini Nostri Iesu Christi Latine secundum editionem Sancti Hieronymi* (pt. 2; fasc. 4; Oxford: Clarendon, 1934), 367-405

³⁸ Aland and Juckel, *Syrischer Überlieferung*, 181-247.

Marcion. The reconstructed text of Marcion's edition of Galatians was taken from the study by Ulrich Schmid.³⁹ At places, Schmid is more cautious than the editors of the Nestle-Aland text, and so he sometimes declines to consider Marcion a witness for a particular textual variant.⁴⁰

Chrysostom. This siglum refers to the text of John Chrysostom's commentary on Galatians, not to his quotations of the epistle in his other works. The text for the study was taken from a tenth-century manuscript of his commentary in Codex Coxianus.⁴¹ At times, the text discussed in the commentary differs from that presented in a lemma, so the text adopted for this study is determined on a case-by-case basis but generally favoring that of the commentary. One of the issues with working with manuscripts of patristic commentaries rather than with a critical edition is a manuscript text may be contaminated with Byzantine readings. In this case, it was felt that the tenth-century date of the manuscript allowed it to be early enough to avoid much contamination from the Byzantine text, and in any event that the method described in this chapter for detecting contamination should work. According to this study, Chrysostom's text as found in Codex Coxianus turned out to be pre-Byzantine and did not have a significant amount of Byzantine contamination.

The text from the following manuscripts have also been taken from Swanson's transcription, though without double-checking: K/018, L/020, P/025, Ψ/044, 056, 075, 1, 6, 69, 88, 104, 131, 205, 209, 226, 323, 330, 440, 460, 489, 517, 547, 614, 618, 796, 910, 927, 945, 999, 1175,

³⁹ Ulrich Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos: Rekonstruktion und historische Einordnung der marcionitischen Paulusbriefausgabe* (ANTT 25; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995), 314-319.

⁴⁰ One example is Gal 1:8, which is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3.

⁴¹ Wesley L. Hemphill, *Codex Coxianus of the Homilies of Chrysostom on Ephesians and his Commentary on Galatians* (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania; Norwood, Mass.: Norwood, 1916), published a collation of Codex Coxianus against Migne. Thus, all the citations to this commentary are to J.-P. Migne, *Joannis Chrysostomi opera omnia quae exstant* (PG 61; Paris, 1862), modified by any differences noted by Hemphill.

1241S, 1242, 1243, 1245, 1270, 1315, 1319, 1352, 1448, 1505, 1573, 1611, 1646, 1734, 1738, 1739, 1827, 1836, 1837, 1854, 1874, 1891, 1982, 2125, 2147, 2344, 2400, 2412, 2464, 2495, and 2815. Based on double-checking Swanson’s transcriptions in other manuscripts, it can be expected that there would be about 3-6 errors in each of these manuscripts, usually involving corrections and singular readings. Nevertheless, it seems unlikely that correcting Swanson’s transcriptions will materially change the results because no corrections aside from those of D^c are used in this study, singular readings do not affect the shape of the stemma, and most of Byzantine manuscripts usually differ from one another in over ten variation units.

The text from the following manuscripts have also been taken from Clark’s collations: 223, 876, 1022, 1799, 1960, and 2401. These have not been double-checked, but Clark’s accuracy for 2423 was so impressive as to suggest that any errors in the rest of his work should be minor or at least fewer than Swanson’s.

In all, 92 witnesses (counting D* and D^c as distinct witnesses) were collated for this study at 1624 variation units. Generally, orthographic variants are not considered unless they produce a grammatically and syntactically coherent form (interchange between ι and ει, between ε and αι,⁴² προλημφθῆ/προληφθῆ), because these can easily be removed by scribal conjecture and are therefore not amenable to stemmatic analysis. Moreover, nonsense spellings corrected by the first hand are also ignored. These collations provide the evidentiary basis for the computational analysis used in this study as described in the following sections.

⁴² For example, the following ε/αι variants from the UBS text produced grammatically and syntactically coherent forms and were therefore considered as appropriate variants for this study: 3:3 οὕτως ἀνόητοί ἐστε, ἐναρξάμενοι πνεύματι νῦν σαρκί ἐπιτελεῖσθαι (“Are you, who got started in the spirit, so senseless as to get finished now in the flesh?”); 3:7 γινώσκειται ἄρα ὅτι (“then it is known that”); 4:9 οἷς πάλιν ἄνωθεν δουλεύειν θέλεται (“to which it is wanted to enslave all over again”); 4:10-11 ἡμέρας παρατηρεῖσθαι ... φοβοῦμαι ὑμᾶς (“I fear you keep days”); 4:12 γίνεσθαι ... δέομαι ὑμῶν (“I beg of you to become”); 4:18 καλὸν δὲ ζηλοῦσθε ἐν καλῷ πάντοτε (“but you are always being sought well for good”); 5:10 ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄλλο φρονήσεται (“that nothing else is considered”); 5:18 οὐκ ἔσται ὑπὸ νόμου (“it will not be under the law”); and 6:15 ἀλλὰ κενὴ κτίσις (“but an empty creation”).

2.2 Computational Stemmatics: Cladistics

As discussed in the previous chapter, the approach that seems the most theoretically promising for deducing a usable history of the text is stemmatics, as long as some allowance for contamination can be made. None of the other methods are geared to producing an account of the textual history in the form of a genealogy of documents. The copy-text method assumes a trivially true but unusable history of the text for just a single witness, while the majority-text method imposes an artificial history of the text upon a much larger set of witnesses. The eclectic and coherence-based genealogical methods, moreover, are designed to cope with contamination but at the expense of losing precision over the history of the text. For eclecticism, the questions of textual history and the genealogical relationships between manuscripts are sacrificed in favor of reconstructing the original text based on internal evidence. For the coherence-based genealogical method, the textual history is scrapped in favor of a highly abstract diagram of textual flows that does not convey the textual state of any lost exemplar other than the initial text. Only stemmatics promises to present a history of the text in the form of a genealogy with both extant manuscripts and their hypothetical ancestors.

Ever since the times of Karl Lachmann, textual critics have understood the importance of the common-error principle to identify genealogically related groups, but they have had difficulty applying this principle to the messy details of actual documents. In particular, accounting for contamination had been a major theme of their research. Within the field of New Testament textual criticism, most of the intellectual effort in wrestling with the Lachmannian common-error principle has occurred, not in conjunction with Paul, but over the question of the so-called “Caesarean Text” in Mark. Accordingly, the following historical overview of stemmatic analysis in New Testament textual criticism must necessarily shift gears

and discuss the text of Mark, but it is to be stressed that the difficulties and concepts found in relation to Mark are also applicable to Paul.

The concept of a Caesarean text of Mark did not exist in the seminal theory of the New Testament text propounded by Westcott and Hort in 1881.⁴³ Many of the most important members assigned to the Caesarean text—P45, W, and Θ—were yet to be discovered and, among the four forms of the text they identified (neutral, Western, Alexandrian, and Syrian),⁴⁴ many of the other Caesarean members—namely, 565, family 1, family 13, 22, 28, and 157—were merely considered to support Western readings.⁴⁵ In their theory of the text, Westcott and Hort “emphatically” endorsed the role of genealogy: “All trustworthy restoration of corrupted texts is founded on the study of their history, that is, of the relations of descent or affinity which connect the several documents.”⁴⁶ This genealogy is discovered by applying the principle as they formulated it that, apart from accidental coincidence, “identity of reading implies identity of origin.”⁴⁷ This formulation is actually incomplete and potentially misleading, because Westcott and Hort properly disregarded agreements in original readings and used scribal errors and other forms of alterations in identifying their textual groups. A more careful formulation of the genealogical maxim was the “old rule” quoted by Kirsopp Lake: “community of error implies unity of origin.”⁴⁸

As famously observed by E. C. Colwell, Westcott and Hort did not actually employ the genealogical method to its fullest extent; they did not prepare any stemma of the New

⁴³ B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort, *Introduction to the New Testament in the Original Greek* (repr. Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1988). References to this work use the abbreviation HORT.

⁴⁴ HORT 178.

⁴⁵ HORT 165.

⁴⁶ HORT 40 (small capitals original).

⁴⁷ HORT 40.

⁴⁸ Kirsopp Lake, *Codex 1 of the Gospels and its Allies* (TS 7; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902), xxiii.

Testament textual tradition.⁴⁹ The reason for this, of course, was mixture, which, if not taken into account, threatens to invert the genealogical relations and distort the stemma. Accordingly, Westcott and Hort approximated the history of the text by relying on a few, well-chosen “best documentary representatives” for the different forms of text that they found.⁵⁰ Among their four forms of text, they considered the neutral text, best exemplified in Codex Sinaiticus (Ⲛ) and especially Codex Vaticanus (B), as the purest form of the original text, while the Syrian (now called “Byzantine”) text was viewed as the latest, being a recension of the previous three forms.⁵¹

About twenty years later, the first major modification of this genealogical principle was proposed by Kirsopp Lake.⁵² In his edition of Codex 1 and its allies, Lake modified the old text-critical rule that “community of error implies unity of origin” to account for mixture from Byzantine manuscripts. Specifically, Lake argued that genealogical relations for late manuscripts “can be deduced, in the absence of direct information, by studying the variations from the standard text which they share in common.”⁵³ By “standard text,” Lake means the Byzantine text. In practical terms, however, Lake used the *Textus Receptus* as the standard of comparison when he edited the text of four members of family 1, recognizing that the unusual readings of the *Textus Receptus* have to be noted.⁵⁴

After working out a stemma for family 1, Lake proceeded to consider the family’s connections with other manuscripts. Even though this phase of the investigation evaluated

⁴⁹ E. C. Colwell, “Genealogical Method: Its Achievements and its Limitations” in idem, *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (NTTS 9; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1969), 65–66.

⁵⁰ HORT 59.

⁵¹ HORT 210 and 132–135.

⁵² Lake, *Codex 1*.

⁵³ Lake, *Codex 1*, xxiii.

⁵⁴ Lake, *Codex 1*, xxiii.

readings in early manuscripts, Lake continued to exclude any reading that agrees with the Byzantine text, worried that Byzantine contamination could still have affected the archetype of family 1. Among the remaining non-Byzantine readings, Lake also excluded those readings which were found in almost all of the witnesses because such readings were probably original and therefore not indicative of “the special affinities of the text of *fam*¹.”⁵⁵ Then, Lake compared the uncommon, non-Byzantine readings in family 1 with other leading witnesses and found that while family 1 seems to have “a more definite connection with the Old Syriac,” there is a “close connection between *fam*¹ and *fam*¹³ 22 28 565 700.”⁵⁶ Lake concluded that these manuscripts belong to a “larger family [that] seems to represent a local text or local texts which were current in a comparatively limited region in the East.”⁵⁷ Thus, it is evident that Lake had used a modification of the common-error principle to establish genealogical relationships, but only after excluding any possible agreements in Byzantine readings.

Lake’s justification for filtering out Byzantine readings may seem reasonable when working out the relationships within family 1, because a major source of accidental coincidences in readings is independent assimilation to the current standard text. The standard text was probably memorized by monks who had spent a greater part of their lives studying, reciting, and copying the Biblical texts. In fact, his wife and collaborator Silva Lake reported: “In collating aloud in Greek monastic libraries I have found that the librarian almost always breaks in with a correction when I have read from a ms. a phrase which differs from

⁵⁵ Lake, *Codex 1*, xlvihi.

⁵⁶ Lake, *Codex 1*, l.

⁵⁷ Lake, *Codex 1*, liv.

that which he is accustomed to hear.”⁵⁸ Kirsopp Lake’s reasoning for excluding Byzantine readings when assessing the affinities of family 1 with non-Byzantine texts, however, makes less sense because many of those texts were not contaminated by Byzantine mixture so the risk of over-counting accidental coincidences should be lower. One wonders whether there was a more pragmatic basis underlying Lake’s decision: manuscripts were routinely collated against the *Textus Receptus*, and it actually requires additional work to include rather than exclude Byzantine readings. In other words, the analysis may have been made to fit the form in which the evidence was collected. Regardless of the demerits of Lake’s first step, Lake’s second step properly excluded original readings from being used to erect groups, and Lake thus arguably found a limited community of error implying a common origin for his set of manuscripts.

Lake’s alliance of Markan manuscripts was expanded over the ensuing decades as new ones were discovered and published. For example, Lake and Blake added Θ, the Koridethi Codex, to this alliance in 1923, and considered it to be its leading member.⁵⁹ In 1924, Burnett Hillman Streeter accepted their findings of a family Θ and connected this family to the text of Origen when he lived in Caesarea.⁶⁰ At this point, Streeter changed Lake’s method in a manner that would prove disastrous. Streeter kept Lake’s problematic first step in filtering out all agreements with the *Textus Receptus*, but, instead of looking for agreements in error, he calculated rates of agreements with Alexandrian and Western representatives and considered any manuscript that fell somewhere in between to be “Caesarean.”⁶¹ The problem with

⁵⁸ Silva Lake, *Family II and the Codex Alexandrinus: The Text According to Mark* (SD 5; London: Christophers, 1936; repr. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1965), 17 n.1.

⁵⁹ Kirsopp Lake and Robert P. Blake, “The Text of the Gospels and the Koridethi Codex,” *HTR* 16 (1923): 267-286.

⁶⁰ B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins Treating of the Manuscript Tradition, Sources, Authorship, & Dates* (1st ed., 1924; 2d ed., London: Macmillan, 1926), 91-102.

⁶¹ See Streeter, *Four Gospels*, 81-84.

Streeter's method is that it now groups anything not clearly Byzantine, Alexandrian, or Western into a catch-all category without any regard for how their readings are patterned. In effect, Streeter treated the Caesarean text as a wellspring of variants that could turn up in any manuscript, and Streeter designated so many collateral members of other text-types as secondary or tertiary witnesses to the Caesarean text that almost any non-standard variant could be classified as Caesarean. For example, Streeter thought that the Purple Uncials (N, O, Σ, and Φ) were secondary Caesarean witnesses,⁶² and in the years to come Streeter continued to find additional members, such as 157, 1071, the uncial U, and, for that matter, most of von Soden's I-text.⁶³

Streeter's approach is also deeply flawed because it too easily elides the distinction between a manuscript, its text, and its readings. A text is not a hodgepodge of variant readings; it is a pattern of sequential readings embodied in a document. Though Streeter identified a collection of interesting readings, it was questionable whether a substantial majority of these variants were ever embodied together in the text of a real manuscript that actually existed in history. In other words, it was unclear whether Streeter's Caesarean text corresponded to historical reality or whether it was merely an artifact of his defective method.

In his second edition of *The Four Gospels*, Streeter responded to these criticisms with a new appendix arguing that Codex W from Mark 5:31–16:8 was the purest authority for his Caesarean text: "I found a total of 260 readings in which W differs from the T.R. In 37 of these the readings of W is supported by no other MS. or version. ... Ignoring these, there remain 223 readings. Of these 189, *i.e.* all but 85%, are, I found, supported by at least one, and usually by

⁶² Streeter, *Four Gospels*, 575-577.

⁶³ B. H. Streeter, "Codices 157, 1071 and the Caesarean Text" in Robert P. Casey, Silva Lake, and Agnes K. Lake, eds., *Quantulacumque* (Kirsopp Lake FS; London: Christophers, 1937), 149-150.

several, of the six above-named authorities for *fam. Θ*.”⁶⁴ Streeter’s argument may sound impressive, but some of the agreements against the *Textus Receptus* are in original readings and are therefore not indicative of genealogical affinity below the level of the original. Of the remaining agreements, Streeter was satisfied by any agreement with even one member of his Caesarean gaggle of witnesses. Yet this procedure presupposes that his Caesarean set of texts was already a true community of error having a common origin, not an artificial assortment of variants. Thus, Streeter’s response is a form of circular reasoning.

Starting in the 1950s, Ernest Cadman Colwell began publishing a series of papers calling for a methodological refocus in the practice of New Testament textual criticism.⁶⁵ Most importantly, Colwell established that a text-type is a group of documents, not a collection of various readings.⁶⁶ Colwell also criticized the practice of only counting agreements among deviations from an external standard, namely, the *Textus Receptus*.⁶⁷ As a result, Colwell in a very influential paper co-authored with Ernest Tune proposed a “quantitative method,” in which all pairs of manuscripts were to be compared against each other directly, rather than indirectly through the *Textus Receptus*.⁶⁸ Colwell and Tune applied their ideas to a sample of 18 manuscripts and their correctors and found that, for their sample, a minimum of 70% total agreement in a discriminated set of variants with a 10% gap corresponded well to the distribution of known text-types. Colwell and Tune expressed hope that their method could be

⁶⁴ Streeter, *Four Gospels*, 599.

⁶⁵ These are republished in E. C. Colwell, *Studies in Methodology*.

⁶⁶ E. C. Colwell, “Method in Grouping New Testament Manuscripts,” in *Studies in Methodology*, 9.

⁶⁷ Colwell, “Method,” 4 n.4, credits Harold Murphy, “Eusebius’ New Testament Text in the *Demonstratio Evangelica*,” *JBL* 73 (1954): 167-168, for this insight.

⁶⁸ Colwell and Tune, “Method in Establishing Quantitative Relationships Between Text-Types of New Testament Manuscripts” in *Studies in Methodology*, 56-62.

extended to greater numbers of manuscripts and that their 70% agreement and 10% gap criteria would carry over generally.⁶⁹

This quantitative approach differs from stemmatics in the kinds of agreements that are counted. Lachmannian stemmatics counts agreements in error, but the Colwell-Tune approach counts all agreements in the variation units, whether their readings are original or secondary. As a result, the quantitative approach cannot actually identify groups having a common ancestry, although it may approximate such groups under appropriate circumstances. In its favor, however, the quantitative approach outlined by Colwell and Tune is easy to calculate by hand and yields a rough, first-order approximation of which manuscripts are probably related and which are going to be worth studying in more detail. If the goal is the history of the text, however, the quantitative method was not ultimately designed for that purpose.

At approximately the same time that Colwell and Tune were developing their quantitative approach, systematic biologists also began investigating numerical techniques for the classification of biological organisms.⁷⁰ One of the first attempts in this area by Robert Sokal and Peter Sneath, called “numerical taxonomy” or “phenetics,” also calculated percentages in overall agreements. Though independent of Colwell and Tune, Sokal and Sneath’s numerical taxonomy operates on a similar theoretical basis. Its proponents, however, merely conceived of their method as an aid to classification, not a technique for inferring genealogical relationships.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Colwell and Tune, “Quantitative Relationships,” 59.

⁷⁰ For excellent textbooks on cladistics, see Joseph Felsenstein, *Inferring Phylogenies* (Sunderland, Mass.: Sinauer, 2004); and Ian J. Kitching, Peter L. Forey, Christopher J. Humphries, and David M. Williams, *Cladistics: The Theory and Practice of Parsimony Analysis* (The Systematics Association Publication 11; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000). The historical overview presented here is based on Felsenstein, *Inferring Phylogenies*, 123–138.

⁷¹ Felsenstein, *Inferring Phylogenies*, 123–124.

In 1963 and 1964, two population geneticists, Anthony Edwards and Luca Cavalli-Sforza worked out a family tree of human populations based on blood group gene frequencies using the principle of “parsimony,” which is that the tree with the smallest number of changes would correspond to the organisms’ “phylogeny” or historical pedigree.⁷² Because scientists had good access to mainframe computers in the 1960s, they began to develop algorithms for calculating the number of changes on a set of possible trees and choosing the optimal tree.⁷³ By 1970, one of these computational biologists, James S. Farris, noticed that a German entomologist named Willi Hennig had provided the philosophical justification for using parsimony as a metric for evaluating different phylogenies as far back as 1950.⁷⁴ Hennig’s justification or “auxiliary principle” is that “the presence of apomorphous characters in different species ‘is always reason for suspecting kinship . . . , and that their origin by convergence should not be assumed a priori.’”⁷⁵ In other words, Hennig reinvented Lachmann’s common error principle articulated a century earlier. Since computational biologists had figured out how to implement this criterion in computer software, this means that much of the laborious effort in classical stemmatics can be performed by a computer.

Indeed, researchers began noticing in the 1970s deep analogies between cladistics in biology and stemmatics in philology. In fact, one article published in 1977 urged biologists to use cladistics for classifying organisms based on shared, derived characteristics precisely because of the success in textual criticism of the common error principle in stemmatics for

⁷² Felsenstein, *Inferring Phylogenies*, 125-128.

⁷³ Felsenstein, *Inferring Phylogenies*, 129-130.

⁷⁴ Felsenstein, *Inferring Phylogenies*, 137.

⁷⁵ Willi Hennig, *Phylogenetic Systematics* (English trans, D. Dwight Davis & Rainer Zangerl; Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1966, repr. 1999), 121. “Apomorphous” is a technical term referring to a derived character in biology; it corresponds to a scribal error in textual criticism.

recognizing kinship.⁷⁶ By 1987, cladistics had been applied to manuscript traditions,⁷⁷ yet it was four years later that cladistics managed to pass a significant test. Peter Robinson, who had painstakingly constructed a stemma of an Old Norse narrative based, in part, on direct external evidence, posted an on-line challenge in 1991 to reconstruct his stemma solely by mathematical techniques. One of the entrants was a biologist who ran the data through a cladistics computer program and successfully found all of Robinson's textual groups.⁷⁸ Robinson later used cladistics in the editing of the *Canterbury Tales*.⁷⁹ In fact, cladistics was even applied to the text of the New Testament, specifically manuscripts of the Epistle of James.⁸⁰ As a result, cladistics has proven to be an appropriate method for implementing stemmatics with a computer, both for theoretical and practical reasons.

2.3 Cladistics in Action: A Simplified Example

Cladistics works on the principle of "maximum parsimony." It searches through many different possible stemmata for a set of witnesses, calculating the number of changes each stemma requires, and choosing a stemma with the minimum number of changes. Every change is a hypothesis that a certain event happened in history (e.g., that such and such a scribe changed this word to another), and, following Occam's Razor, the maximally parsimonious

⁷⁶ Nelson I. Platnick & H. Don Cameron, "Cladistic Methods in Textual, Linguistic, and Phylogenetic Analysis," *Systematic Zoology* 26 (1977): 380–385. See also H. Don Cameron, "The Upside-Down Cladogram: Problems in Manuscript Affiliation" in Henry M. Hoenigswald & Linda F. Wiener, *Biological Metaphor and Cladistic Classification: An Interdisciplinary Perspective* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987), 227–242.

⁷⁷ Arthur R. Lee, III, "Numerical Taxonomy Revisited: John Griffith, Cladistic Analysis and St. Augustine's *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum*," *Studia Patristica* 20 (1989): 24–32, orig. deliv. (Oxford: 10th International Conference of Patristic Studies, 1987).

⁷⁸ Peter M.W. Robinson & Robert J. O'Hara, "Report on the Textual Criticism Challenge 1991," *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 3 (1992): 331–337.

⁷⁹ Robert J. O'Hara & Peter M.W. Robinson, "Computer-Assisted Methods of Stemmatic Analysis," *Occasional Papers of the Canterbury Tales Project* 1 (1993): 53–74.

⁸⁰ Matthew Spencer, Klaus Wachtel, and Christopher J. Howe, "The Greek Vorlage of the Syra Harclensis: A Comparative Study on Method in Exploring Textual Genealogy," *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* [<http://purl.org/TC>] 7 (2003).

explanation is the one that requires the fewest separate hypotheses of historical change. In other words, where two manuscripts agree on a non-original reading, it is more parsimonious of an explanation that the textual variant happened once rather than twice in history. Of course, the principle of maximum parsimony does not mean that the pattern of textual variation is such that no coincidental alterations of the text ever happened. They did, multiple times in fact. Rather, what it means is that the textual history that minimizes the number of historical hypothesis is *prima facie* superior to one that requires additional hypotheses of coincidences.

The method of constructing a stemma using cladistics can be illustrated using a simplified example of four witnesses over a single chapter of Galatians. The method illustrated here follows Dom Froger's approach to stemmatics, mentioned in the first chapter.⁸¹ In order to avoid the circularity of having to identify beforehand which reading is authorial and which is a scribal error, the method splits the reconstruction of the stemma into two steps. First, the shape and linkage pattern (*l'enchaînement*) of the stemma is determined based on the pattern of textual changes, not errors. By minimizing the textual changes, a maximally parsimonious unoriented stemma can be found without having to determine the directionality of the changes. The second step is the orientation (*l'orientation*) of this unoriented stemma, and this step is accomplished by using internal evidence to determine which branch of the unoriented stemma is closest to the archetype. Solely for the purposes of this simplified example, the Nestle-Aland text is used to identify which readings are considered authorial.

⁸¹ J. Froger, *La critique des textes et son automatisation* (INS 7 ; Paris: Dunod, 1968), 77-78.

Accordingly, the preliminary step in this simplified example is to collate the witness.

When P46, **Σ**, A, and B are collated over the first chapter of Galatians, a total of thirty-four variation units are found, as set forth in the following Table 1.⁸²

Table 1: Variation Units in Galatians 1

Gal	Nestle-Aland text	P46	Σ	A	B
1:1	τοῦ ἐγείραντος αὐτόν ἐκ νεκρῶν	=	αὐτῶν ⁸³	=	=
1:3	θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ	καὶ κυρίου ἡμῶν ⁸⁴	=	=	καὶ κυρίου ἡμῶν
1:4a	τοῦ δόντος ἑαυτόν	αὐτόν ⁸⁵	=	=	=
1:4b	ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν	περὶ ⁸⁶	περὶ	περὶ	=
1:4c	ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν	— — — ⁸⁷	=	=	=
1:4d	κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ	=	— — — ⁸⁸	=	=
1:6a	Θαυμάζω ὅτι οὕτως ταχέως	οὕτω ⁸⁹	=	=	=
1:6b	ἀπὸ τοῦ καλέσαντος ὑμᾶς	ἡμᾶς ⁹⁰	=	=	=
1:6c	ἐν χάριτι Χριστοῦ	— — — ⁹¹	=	=	=
1:7	καὶ θέλοντες μεταστρέψαι	=	— — — ⁹²	=	=
1:8a	ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐὰν ἡμεῖς	=	=	=	κ᾿ ⁹³
1:8b	εὐαγγελίζεται ὑμῖν	?	εὐαγγελίσηται	εὐαγγελίσηται	=
1:8c	εὐαγγελίζεται ὑμῖν	?	— — — ⁹⁴	=	=
1:8d	εὐαγγελίζεται ὑμῖν	?	?	=	ὑμῖν εὐαγγ.
1:9	ὡς προειρήκαμεν	?	προεῖρηκα ⁹⁵	=	=

⁸² In this table, the first column contains the citation of the textual variant, the second column holds the text of the Nestle-Aland 27th edition, with the relevant portion of the text marked in bold to indicate the variation unit. In each of the remaining columns for the witnesses, the equal sign (=) indicates that the respective witness agrees with the reading of the Nestle-Aland text. If the witness disagrees with the Nestle-Aland text, the replacement text is given in the column, with omissions being indicated by three *em*-dashes (— — —). Where a witness is lacunose (as with P46 at 1:8b-9) or otherwise cannot attest to any of the readings due to an overriding textual variant (e.g., 1:8c dominating 1:8d and 1:11c dominating 1:11d), then that lack of attestation is indicated by a question mark.

⁸³ Although this variant by the original hand of **Σ** is apparently orthographic since *omicron* and *omega* merged by the fourth century, this textual change potentially has a different sense: “who raised from their dead.”

⁸⁴ See Chapter 3 for a more detailed discussion of this transposition.

⁸⁵ Also shared by 33 and 056*. If *αυτον* has the rough breathing, it is an orthographic variant of *ἑαυτόν*. If it has the smooth breathing, the referent of the participle would have to be God the Father instead of Jesus Christ.

⁸⁶ See Chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion of this substitution.

⁸⁷ This is one of 28 singular omissions of the article cataloged by ROYSE 273.

⁸⁸ By **Σ***, then corrected to include *τό*.

⁸⁹ This is probably a mere orthographic change.

⁹⁰ By P46*, then corrected to *ὑμᾶς*.

⁹¹ See Chapter 3 for a more detailed discussion of this omission.

⁹² This is an omission by the original hand of **Σ**. 2464* has the same mistake.

⁹³ WEISS 63 holds that this crasis is due to a scribal error in B also apparent in Gal 5:17.

⁹⁴ This and the following variant are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3.

Gal	Nestle-Aland text	P46	Σ	A	B
1:11a	Γνωρίζω γὰρ ὑμῖν	δέ ⁹⁶	=	δέ	δέ
1:11b	τὸ εὐαγγέλιον	=	=	=	ter ⁹⁷
1:11c	τὸ εὐαγγελισθὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ	ὄθεν ⁹⁸	=	=	=
1:11d	τὸ εὐαγγελισθὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ	?	=	εὐηγγελισθὲν	=
1:12	οὔτε ἐδίδαχθην	=	οὔδε ⁹⁹	οὔδέ	=
1:14a	καὶ προέκοπτον ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαϊσμῷ	ἐπροέκοπτον ¹⁰⁰	=	=	=
1:14b	περισσότερως	περισσότερον ¹⁰¹	=	=	=
1:15a	ὅτε δὲ εὐδόκησεν [ὁ θεός]	=	=	ἠυδόκησεν	=
1:15b	ὅτε δὲ εὐδόκησεν [ὁ θεός]	----- ¹⁰²	=	=	-----
1:15c	καὶ καλέσας διὰ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ	----- ¹⁰³	=	=	=
1:16	ἵνα εὐαγγελίζωμαι αὐτόν	εὐαγγελίσωμαι ¹⁰⁴	=	=	=
1:17a	οὔδὲ ἀνήλθον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα	ἦλθον ¹⁰⁵	=	=	ἀπήλθον ¹⁰⁶
1:17b	ἀλλὰ ἀπήλθον εἰς Ἀραβίαν	ἀπήλθα ¹⁰⁷	=	=	=
1:18a	Ἔπειτα μετὰ ἔτη τρία	=	τρία ἔτη ¹⁰⁸	τρία ἔτη	=
1:18b	καὶ ἐπέμεινα πρὸς αὐτόν	ἔμεινα ¹⁰⁹	=	=	=
1:19	οὐκ εἶδον	οὐχ ¹¹⁰	=	=	οὐχ
1:21a	ἦλθον εἰς τὰ κλίματα	?	=	κλήματα ¹¹¹	=
1:21b	τῆς Συρίας καὶ τῆς Κιλικίας	?	----- ¹¹²	=	=

⁹⁵ This textual variant by the original hand of Σ appears to be an assimilation to the number of the following λέγω and has the effect of aggrandizing Paul's importance.

⁹⁶ This substitution is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3.

⁹⁷ That is, repeated three times as τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, apparently out of confusion with the immediately following phrase τὸ εὐαγγελισθὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ.

⁹⁸ A nonsense reading; see ROYSE 258 n.328, for more detail.

⁹⁹ Discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3.

¹⁰⁰ Another example of a double augment in a singular reading by P46 is found at Eph 2:2 (ROYSE 305).

¹⁰¹ By P46*; see also ROYSE 226 n.136, for editors misreading the correction.

¹⁰² Discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3.

¹⁰³ This omission is apparently occasioned by a leap from μητρός μου to αὐτοῦ; for more detail see ROYSE 288 n.514. This omission is also attested in 1739 and 6 but, unfortunately, not discussed by Günther Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles: A Disquisition upon the Corpus Paulinum* (The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1946; London: Oxford University Press, 1953).

¹⁰⁴ The substitution for the more usual subjunctive is also attested in D*, 330, and 2400.

¹⁰⁵ The singular omission of prefixes is common in P46 (ROYSE 326).

¹⁰⁶ The change in the verbal prefix is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3.

¹⁰⁷ A singular reading in P46; other instances of first aorist endings with second aorist stems occur at Heb 9:11, 11:15, and 12:9 (ROYSE 303).

¹⁰⁸ This transposition is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3.

¹⁰⁹ This is another example of P46's penchant to omit verbal prefixes.

¹¹⁰ Discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4.

¹¹¹ This itacism produces a reading on the verge of nonsense ("I went to the branches of Syria of Cilicia.").

¹¹² The lack of the article would tend to indicate that Syria and Cilicia are taken together; see Daniel B. Wallace, *Granville Sharp's Canon and Its Kin: Semantics and Significance* (SBG 14; New York: Peter Lang, 2009), 167 ("discrete items

Gal	Nestle-Aland text	P46	⚡	A	B
1:22	ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Ἰουδαίας	?	=	=	ἐκκλησίας

Out of these thirty-four variation units, all but five involve singular readings.¹¹³ The distribution of singular readings is not even, and the bulk of the singular readings comes from P46 with 13; there are 7 singulars each for ⚡ and B, and just four for A.¹¹⁴ It is possible for a variation unit to have more than one singular reading; for example, the variation unit at 1:17a has two singular readings, with P46 reading ἦλθον and B reading ἀπῆλθον against the ἀνῆλθον of ⚡ and A. Of the five non-singular readings (1:3, 1:12, 1:15b, 1:18a, and 1:19), they all oppose the combination of P46 and B against the combination of ⚡ and A.

The next step in the method is to apply the pattern of textual variation to possible unoriented stemmata for the witnesses and count how many textual changes each unoriented stemma implies. Typically, implementations of cladistics do not permit one witness to be the direct ancestor or descendent of another and, by a simplifying assumption, they limit internal nodes to three branches. Thus, there would only be three unoriented stemmata to be considered.¹¹⁵ This constraint is justified in zoology because systematic biologists are dealing with animals, for whom the biological species concept forbids interbreeding, but for manuscripts it seems to better to permit one distinct manuscript to be the ancestor of another. Accordingly, this study follows an extension of cladistics described by biologist John Alroy and

which are united”) and 170 (“Geographic terms were easily the largest type of nouns to belong in the discrete group.”).

¹¹³ Many of these readings, however, are attested in witnesses not part of this simplified example.

¹¹⁴ In 1:8d both word orders are considered singular for the data set. When more witnesses are added, neither reading remains singular.

¹¹⁵ They are unoriented stemmata (17), (18), and (19), shown below.

termed “Continuous Track Analysis.”¹¹⁶ Alroy reformulated the parsimony objective of minimizing the number of changes to be one of minimizing the number of introduced variants, which he called “continuous tracks.” Because any extant witness can be linked to any other, Continuous Track Analysis straightforwardly handles extant ancestors, multiple children, and even contamination.

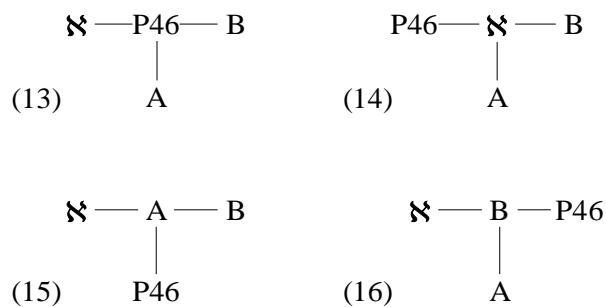
Thus, when direct ancestry of witnesses is permitted, there are actually twenty possible unoriented stemmata for any four witnesses. These unoriented stemmata can be classified depending on how many branches they have and how hypothetical intermediaries they include. Perhaps the simplest configuration is a straight linear stemma with no more than two branches at each node or and hypothetical intermediaries. According to combinatorial theory, there are $4! = 24$ possible linear orderings of four distinct elements. Since the stemmata are unoriented, however, each ordering is equivalent to the reversal of the ordering for $4! / 2 = 24 / 2 = 12$ possible orderings. These twelve linear stemmata are shown in FIG. 8 as follows:

¹¹⁶ John Alroy, “Continuous Track Analysis: A New Phylogenetic and Biogeographic Method,” *Systematic Biology* 44 (1995): 152-172.

- (1) P46 — \aleph — A — B
- (2) P46 — \aleph — B — A
- (3) P46 — A — \aleph — B
- (4) P46 — A — B — \aleph
- (5) P46 — B — \aleph — A
- (6) P46 — B — A — \aleph
- (7) \aleph — P46 — A — B
- (8) \aleph — P46 — B — A
- (9) \aleph — A — P46 — B
- (10) \aleph — B — P46 — A
- (11) A — P46 — \aleph — B
- (12) B — P46 — \aleph — A

FIG. 8 Twelve Linear Unoriented Stemma of Four Manuscripts

It is important to keep in mind that these stemmata are unoriented. In other words, the starting point of the tradition, when the stemma is oriented, can be at any node where there is a witness or at any branch between two nodes. Thus, for unoriented stemma (1), the order P46— \aleph —A—B is equivalent to the unoriented order B—A— \aleph —P46 at this stage in the



method.

FIG. 9 Four Unoriented Stemmata in a T-Configuration

Another configuration is with one manuscript in the middle with three branches to other manuscripts respectively, but with no hypothetical intermediaries. This configuration can be arranged in the shape of a “T” and there four such unoriented stemmata, one for each manuscript in the middle, as in shown in FIG. 9.

Finally, if hypothetical intermediaries are permitted, there are another four possibilities as shown in FIG. 10.

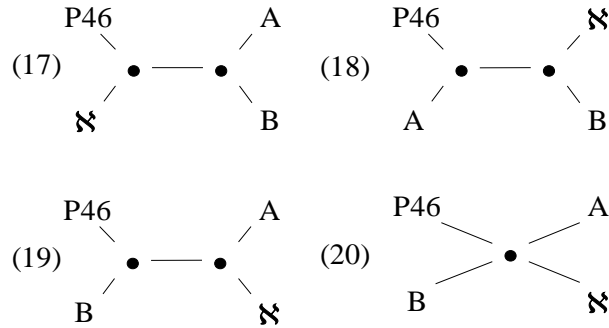


FIG. 10 Four Unoriented Stemmata with Hypothetical Intermediaries

All of these unoriented stemmata represent possible histories of the text, but some fit the textual evidence better than others. Accordingly, the textual variants are then used to evaluate the possible unoriented stemmata in terms of the number of textual changes they imply. In cladistics, the number of changes is referred to as a “cost.” This evaluation is performed on a variation-unit-by-variation-unit basis to count the cost, i.e., the number of textual changes implied by each variation unit. The total cost for an unoriented stemma is determined by adding up all the individual costs of the variation units. In accordance with the maximum parsimony principle, the goal is to choose the unoriented stemma with the minimum cost.

For example, the first variation unit in this example is a singular reading at Gal 1:1 where **N** reads αὐτῶν while the other witnesses (P46, A, and B) all read αὐτόν. For unoriented stemma (1), with the pattern P46—**N**—A—B, there are two textual changes: one between P46 and **N** (since P46 and **N** have different readings, αὐτόν and αὐτῶν, respectively), and another textual change between **N** and A. The same cost of 2 also applies for unoriented stemmata (2), (3), (5), (11), and (12), because in all these configurations **N** is an internal node with two branches. For unoriented stemma (14), the cost goes up to 3 because now there must be a textual change between **N** and P46, between **N** and A, and between **N** and B. Here, **N** is an internal node with three branches, and all three branches connected to **N** incur a cost because **N** has a reading different from its neighbors on the unoriented stemma. When **N** is located on the edge (or “leaf”) of a stemma, its cost is only 1. Concerning unoriented stemma (4) P46—A—B—**N**, for example, there is only one textual change, between B and **N**; the rest of the branches incur no cost because they all have the same reading for this variation unit. Indeed, the cost for a singular reading on a leaf node is always 1, and this is why unoriented stemmata (6), (7), (8), (9), (10), (13), (15), (16), (17), (18), (19), and (20) would all evaluate to a cost of 1.

As another example, variation unit 1:3 has two non-singular readings. P46 and B have one word order (καὶ κυρίου ἡμῶν) while **N** and A have another (ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου). For unoriented stemma (1), with the pattern P46—**N**—A—B, there are two textual changes: one between P46 and **N** and another between A and B. There is no textual change between **N** and A, because they have the same reading. For unoriented stemma (2), P46—**N**—B—A, the cost goes up to 3, because there is an additional textual change in this configuration, here, between **N** and B. A different cost of 1 is the result for unoriented stemma (5), P46—B—**N**—A, because the only textual change is between B and **N**; the branches between P46 and B and also between **N** and A

do not have any cost. All the branching stemmata (13)–(20) have a cost of 2, except for one configuration: unoriented stemma (19) where there is only textual change between the P46-B side and the ~~Σ~~-A side.

The costs incurred by each variation unit for each unoriented stemmata can be presented in the form of a table, as follows:

Table 2: Cost Table for Twenty Unoriented Stemmata

Gal	Unoriented Stemma																			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1:1	2	2	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1
1:3	2	3	2	3	1	1	3	2	1	2	3	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2
1:4a	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	
1:4b	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	
1:4c	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	
1:4d	2	2	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	
1:6a	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	
1:6b	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	
1:6c	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	
1:7	2	2	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	
1:8a	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	
1:8b	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	2	2	1	3	1	1	2	1	1	1	
1:8c	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	
1:8d	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	
1:9	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	
1:11a	2	2	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	
1:11b	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	
1:11c	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	
1:11d	2	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	2	1	1	1	3	1	2	1	1	1	1	
1:12	2	3	2	3	1	1	3	2	1	2	3	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	
1:14a	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	
1:14b	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	
1:15a	2	1	2	2	1	2	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	
1:15b	2	3	2	3	1	1	3	2	1	2	3	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	
1:15c	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	
1:16	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	
1:17a	2	3	2	3	2	2	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	2	2	3	2	2	2	
1:17b	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	
1:18a	2	3	2	3	1	1	3	2	1	2	3	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	
1:18b	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	
1:19	2	3	2	3	1	1	3	2	1	2	3	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	
1:21a	2	2	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	
1:21b	2	2	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	
1:22	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	
Total	48	57	49	52	47	41	60	58	49	58	67	56	74	55	43	50	40	40	35	40

As shown in Table 2, the various possible unoriented stemmata vary greatly in the number of textual changes they imply. More specifically, they range from a low of 35 for unoriented stemma (19) to a high of 74 for unoriented stemma (13). According to the maximum parsimony principle, the unoriented stemma with the lowest cost is the one that best explains the distribution of the textual variation and is therefore selected as the hypothetical history of the textual transmission. Since the most parsimonious unoriented stemma is unoriented stemma (19) with a low cost of 35 textual changes, it is accordingly selected as the proposed textual history that best describes the state of the external textual evidence.

The final step is to orient the stemma. The step of orienting the stemma looks for the portion of the stemma, a node or a branch, that appears to be closest to the text of the work as the author wrote it. External evidence does not determine this, and the previous operations up to this point have so far involved only external evidence. Rather, in order to orient the stemma it is necessary to use internal evidence, because internal evidence can identify which reading more likely owes its origin to the author of the work and which reading more likely owes its origin to a copyist. In other words, it is necessary to decide, based on internal evidence, which textual variant is more likely to be authorial than the others in the variation unit. A detailed examination of the internal evidence follows in Chapter 3, so for purposes of this simplified example it is assumed that the reading of the Nestle-Aland text is the reading adjudged to be the earliest form of the text even though this edition does not always depend on internal evidence in establishing its text.

The following table itemizes the readings collated for this simplified example, with the authorial readings (those that agree with the Nestle-Aland text) in **bold** and the scribal variants

in *italics*. Between the columns for the witnesses are the authorial reading counts for the intermediary nodes between P46 and B and between **ℵ** and A, as well as the middle branch.

Table 3: Authorial Readings in Galatians 1

Gal	P46	Node	B	Br.	ℵ	Node	A
1:1	αὐτόν	1	αὐτόν	1	<i>αὐτῶν</i>	1	αὐτόν
1:3	<i>καὶ κυρίου ἡμῶν</i>	0	<i>καὶ κυρίου ἡμῶν</i>	1	ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου	1	ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου
1:4a	<i>αὐτόν</i>	1	ἑαυτόν	1	ἑαυτόν	1	ἑαυτόν
1:4b	<i>περί</i>	0	ὑπὲρ	0	<i>περί</i>	0	<i>περί</i>
1:4c	----	1	τῶν	1	τῶν	1	τῶν
1:4d	τό	1	τό	1	----	1	τό
1:6a	<i>οὕτω</i>	1	οὕτως	1	οὕτως	1	οὕτως
1:6b	<i>ἡμᾶς</i>	1	ὑμᾶς	1	ὑμᾶς	1	ὑμᾶς
1:6c	----	1	Χριστοῦ	1	Χριστοῦ	1	Χριστοῦ
1:7	καὶ θέλοντες	1	καὶ θέλοντες	1	----	1	καὶ θέλοντες
1:8a	καὶ ἕάν	1	<i>κᾶν</i>	1	καὶ ἕάν	1	καὶ ἕάν
1:8b	?	1	εὐαγγελίζεται	1	<i>εὐαγγελίσηται</i>	0	<i>εὐαγγελίσηται</i>
1:8c	?	1	ὑμῖν	1	----	1	ὑμῖν
1:8d	?	0	<i>ὑμῖν εὐαγγ.</i>	1	?	1	εὐαγγ. ὑμῖν
1:9	?	1	προειρήκαμεν	1	<i>προεῖρηκα</i>	1	προειρήκαμεν
1:11a	δέ	0	<i>δέ</i>	0	γάρ	0	<i>δέ</i>
1:11b	τὸ εὐαγγέλιον	1	<i>ter</i>	1	τὸ εὐαγγέλιον	1	τὸ εὐαγγέλιον
1:11c	<i>ὅθεν</i>	1	τὸ εὐαγγελισθέν	1	τὸ εὐαγγελισθέν	1	τὸ εὐαγγελισθέν
1:11d	?	1	εὐαγγελισθέν	1	εὐαγγελισθέν	1	<i>εὐαγγελισθέν</i>
1:12	οὔτε	1	οὔτε	1	<i>οὐδέ</i>	0	<i>οὐδέ</i>
1:14a	<i>ἐπρόκοπτον</i>	1	πρόεκοπτον	1	πρόεκοπτον	1	πρόεκοπτον
1:14b	<i>περισσότερον</i>	1	περισσοτέρως	1	περισσοτέρως	1	περισσοτέρως
1:15a	εὐδόκησεν	1	εὐδόκησεν	1	εὐδόκησεν	1	<i>ἠεὐδόκησεν</i>
1:15b	----	0	----	1	ὁ θεός	1	ὁ θεός
1:15c	----	1	καὶ . . . αὐτοῦ	1	καὶ . . . αὐτοῦ	1	καὶ . . . αὐτοῦ
1:16	<i>εὐαγγελίσωμαι</i>	1	εὐαγγελίζωμαι	1	εὐαγγελίζωμαι	1	εὐαγγελίζωμαι
1:17a	<i>ἦλθον</i>	0	<i>ἀπῆλθον</i>	1	ἀνήλθον	1	ἀνήλθον
1:17b	<i>ἀπῆλθα</i>	1	ἀπῆλθον	1	ἀπῆλθον	1	ἀπῆλθον
1:18a	ἔτη τρία	1	ἔτη τρία	1	<i>τρία ἔτη</i>	0	<i>τρία ἔτη</i>
1:18b	<i>ἔμεινα</i>	1	ἐπέμεινα	1	ἐπέμεινα	1	ἐπέμεινα
1:19	<i>οὐχ</i>	0	<i>οὐχ</i>	1	οὐκ	1	οὐκ
1:21a	?	1	κλίματα	1	κλίματα	1	<i>κλήματα</i>
1:21b	?	1	τῆς	1	----	1	τῆς
1:22	?	0	<i>ἐκκλησίας</i>	1	ἐκκλησίαις	1	ἐκκλησίαις
Total	8	26	25	32	23	29	26

As can be seen from Table 3, different nodes and branches have different authorial reading counts. P46 has the least amount of authorial readings, only 8, and this reflects the fact

that it is lacunose in a number of places and has many singular readings in the variation units that are extant for this papyrus. Somewhat better is **Σ** with 23 authorial readings, and B with 25 authorial readings, but A has the most with 26 authorial readings. None of these extant witnesses, however, contain as many authorial readings as the intermediary nodes and middle branch. The intermediary node between P46 and B has 26 authorial readings, while the one between **Σ** and A has 29 authorial readings. Even more authorial readings, moreover, can be assigned to the middle branch between P46-B on one side and **Σ**-A on the other. Indeed, a total of 32 authorial readings can be assigned to the middle branch. There are only two variation units whose authorial readings according to the Nestle-Aland edition are not found on the middle branch, and in both cases the singular reading is the one read by the Nestle-Aland main text. One is at 1:4b where B reads ὑπέρ, while P46, **Σ**, and A all read περί instead.¹¹⁷ The other is at 1:11a where **Σ** reads γάρ, while P46, A, and B all read δέ instead.¹¹⁸ At any rate, these counts of authorial readings can be mapped onto the unoriented stemma, as shown in FIG. 11:

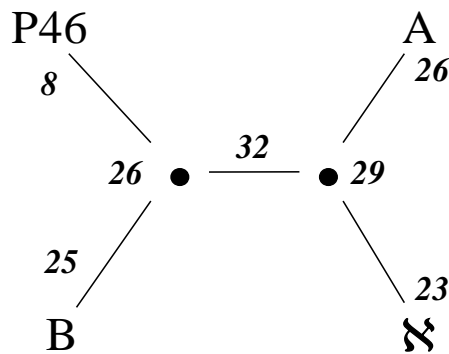


FIG. 11 Unoriented Stemma (19) with Counts of Authorial Readings

¹¹⁷ Naturally, in the full dataset the numbers work out differently. See Chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion of this variation unit.

¹¹⁸ In Chapter 3, it will in fact be argued that δέ should be established for the critical text.

The authorial reading counts indicate that the base of the stemma—where the textual tradition of Galatians begins to diverge—should be located in the middle, between the places where P46-B and \aleph -A join the stemma, as shown in FIG. 12:

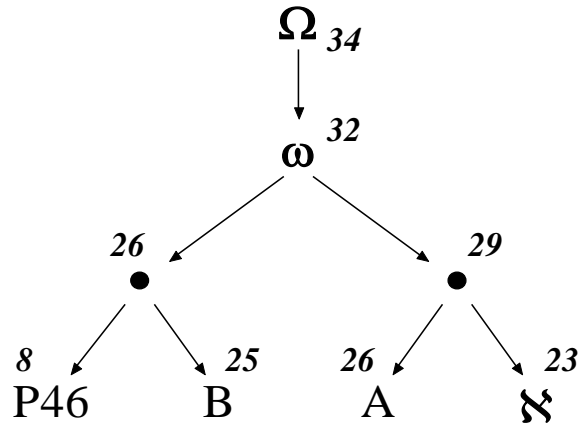


FIG. 12 Oriented Stemma (19) with Counts of Authorial Readings

On this stemma, the starting point of the extant textual tradition is the archetype ω , located between the P46-B group and the \aleph -A group. Because the archetype text ω differs from the original text as designated by the Nestle-Aland edition in two places, there are also two changes between the earliest form of the text Ω and the archetype ω . These differences suggest that either the identification of the earliest form of the text was erroneous (indeed, it will be argued in Chapter 3 that the authorial reading of 1:11a is actually $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$) or that a scribal change was so common as to have been committed multiple times independently (as argued in Chapter 4 concerning the variation unit at 1:4b).

This simplified example shows how cladistics can be used to construct a plausible stemma of the textual tradition of four witnesses to the text of the first chapter of Galatians. Of course, as the number of witnesses and the number of variation units expand, it quickly becomes impossible to be done by hand, so it is necessary to implement the cladistic method in

computer software. There are many existing programs that can perform cladistic analysis and some have even been applied to manuscript traditions.¹¹⁹

It should be acknowledged, however, that after a certain point not even computers can search every possible stemma within a reasonable amount of time, because the total of number of possible unoriented stemmata quickly becomes too great to search exhaustively. For example, the number of possible unoriented, strictly bifurcating genealogical trees with no mixture is given by the double-factorial formula $(2n - 5)!!$.¹²⁰ For three witnesses, there is $(2 \times 3 - 5)!! = (6 - 5)!! = 1$ possible unoriented strictly bifurcating tree.¹²¹ For four witnesses, there are $(2 \times 4 - 5)!! = 3!! = 3$ such trees, which corresponds to unoriented stemmata (17), (18), and (19) in FIG. 10.¹²² For five witnesses, the number climbs to 15. For six, the number is 105. For nine, the number exceeds two million. By 15 witnesses the number exceeds a trillion, and they increase astronomically from there.¹²³ With 94 witnesses, the number of such stemmata with no mixture is 1.93×10^{166} . This number is unfathomably immense. By way of comparison, the number of atoms in the universe has been estimated to be a mere 10^{80} , less than the square root of the number of such stemmata.¹²⁴

As a result, computer programs that implement cladistics must find their results by a heuristic search.¹²⁵ Heuristic searches are designed to start with a relatively good estimate of

¹¹⁹ E.g., Matthew Spencer, Klaus Wachtel, and Christopher J. Howe, "The Greek Vorlage of the Syra Harclensis: A Comparative Study on Method in Exploring Textual Genealogy," *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* [http://purl.org/TC] 7 (2003).

¹²⁰ Felsenstein, *Inferring Phylogenies*, 24-25. The expression $(2n - 3)!!$ is equal to $(2n - 3)! / 2^{n-1}(n-1)!$, where the factorial operator (!) on a number n indicates the product of all the numbers from n down to 1.

¹²¹ If direct links between witnesses are permitted, the number rises to 7.

¹²² With direct links and the permissibility of more than three branches per node, the number rises 20.

¹²³ A table of these numbers is found on Felsenstein, *Inferring Phylogenies*, 24.

¹²⁴ E.g., John D. Barrow, *The Constants of Nature: The Numbers that Encode the Deepest Secrets of the Universe* (New York: Vintage, 2004), 118.

¹²⁵ See generally Felsenstein, *Inferring Phylogenies*, 37-53.

the result and attempt to improve it with minor modifications to the best current estimate of the result. The initial estimate is usually determined by adding one witness at a time to a stemma.¹²⁶ This initial estimate is then rearranged by switching branches around to see if a better result can be found.¹²⁷ After these possibilities are exhausted, then all the variants are randomly reweighted, and various rearrangements of the stemma are retested.¹²⁸ By use of such heuristic searches, computer programs can find acceptable results within a reasonable amount of time (e.g., less than a month of constant computer time).

Therefore, it must be kept in mind that the result of a cladistic analysis of the data by any computer program does not necessarily represent the actual genealogical history. First, the history can be messy and there is no guarantee that the actual process that generated this history did so with the least number of changes. From an epistemological perspective, however, the stemma with the least number of changes explains the textual evidence with fewer auxiliary hypotheses than any of its competitors. Thus, even if a computer program found the maximally parsimonious stemma, that stemma is only presumed, in the absence of countervailing evidence, to be the stemma that represents the history of the text. Second, once exhaustive searches become impossible due to the astronomical numbers of different stemmata, the result of a computer program can only be thought of as the “best found” stemma, not the “best possible” stemma. It is always conceivable that with additional computer time a better result might be found, though it may take months or years to find one.

With the practical impossibility of finding the ideal genealogical tree, practitioners of cladistics have become more interested in grasping how well the trees that they find are

¹²⁶ This is called a “greedy algorithm” (Felsenstein, *Inferring Phylogenies*, 38).

¹²⁷ Felsenstein, *Inferring Phylogenies*, 38-51, details several ways to rearrange phylogenetic trees.

¹²⁸ Felsenstein, *Inferring Phylogenies*, 51-52.

supported by the evidence. In particular, they are interested in understanding what parts of the tree are strongly supported by the evidence and what parts are poorly supported by the evidence. For this reason, computational biologists have devised various tests to gauge the amount of uncertainty in their results.¹²⁹ A common test for this purpose is the “bootstrap test,” which works by randomly resampling the variants in the original dataset to produce a series of related datasets known as “bootstrap replicates.” From these bootstrap replicates, a set of genealogical trees are generated and compared against the tree under test. If a group of witnesses in the tree under test is supported by 70% of the trees among the bootstrap replicates, then that group is considered to be well supported. On the other hand, groups in the tree under test that are supported by fewer than 70% of the bootstrap replicates are considered to be poorly supported.

The heuristic search and bootstrap testing principles just described are standard features found in available, off-the-shelf cladistics software packages. What they do not do, however, is account for contamination. As a result, it became necessary for this study of the text of Galatians and its history to implement these principles in special-purpose software in a way that takes contamination into account, as described in the following section.

2.3 Contamination

Standard cladistics computer packages make several assumptions that are out-of-place for manuscript filiation. For example, most computer packages assume a strictly dichotomous

¹²⁹ See generally, Felsenstein, *Inferring Phylogenies*, 335-363.

view of descent, in which each ancestor has exactly two immediate descendents.¹³⁰ Moreover, they also assume that every ancestor is lost, or, in other words, that no extant organism is the ancestor of any other organism being studied. The most serious assumption, however, is that lineages only diverge, never converge. All of these assumptions are problematic when applied to manuscripts: manuscripts may have more than two copies made from them; some extant manuscripts are known to be exemplars of other manuscripts, and contamination is sufficiently common that it cannot be ignored. In fact, mixture is the major problem when studying the text of Paul, and off-the-shelf computer packages produce strange results, such as the Western text being a late and highly derived member of the Byzantine text.

Nevertheless, various approaches have been attempted among computational biologists in adapting cladistics to handle mixture, hybridization, horizontal gene transfer, and other forms of what they generically call “reticulation.” Some of these ideas are unfeasible, unfortunately. For example, some methods first generate a family tree assuming no mixture and attempt to add links to account for reticulation.¹³¹ The problem with this approach is that contamination distorts the tree before the links are added, even reversing the direction of development in some of the branches. Merely adding reticulating links without fixing the reversed branches will not correct the distortion. Another approach is something called “reduced median networks,”¹³² which is too restrictive in the input it accepts, being limited to

¹³⁰ This recalls Bédier’s complaint against the bifid stemma; cf. Ernest C. Colwell, “Genealogical Method: Its Achievements and its Limitations,” in idem, *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (NTTS 9; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1969), 63–83 at 78–79.

¹³¹ So P. Legendre & V. Makarenkov, “Reconstruction of Biogeographic and Evolutionary Networks Using Reticulograms,” *Systematic Biology* 51 (2002): 199–216; Gareth Nelson, “Reticulation in Cladograms” in *Advances in Cladistics 2* (Norman I. Platnick & V. A. Funk, eds.; New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 105–111.

¹³² So Matthew Spencer, Klaus Wachtel, and Christopher J. Howe, “Representing Multiple Pathways of Textual Flow in the Greek Manuscripts of the Letter of James Using Reduced Median Networks,” *Computers and the Humanities* 38 (2004): 1–14.

binary characters with no missing data,¹³³ and unrealistic in its output—in one case, generating 8517 hypothetical manuscripts based on an original set of 82 manuscripts.¹³⁴

A different approach proposed by Allan W. Dickerman is the use of “hypertrees,” which are trees with additional, “reticulating” links added to connect different lineages.¹³⁵ Under Dickerman’s hypertree idea, the additional link represents a set of possible non-reticulating trees, and only one of those trees in the set is applied at each variation unit, but the tree is chosen to minimize the number of changes in the hypertree. Because each reticulating link will reduce the score for the hypertree, a stopping point in adding links is not immediately apparent, so Dickerman recommended imposing a cost for every additional link until no more can be added. The major problem with Dickerman’s approach, however, is that the calculation of the states of the hypothetical ancestors is very expensive, and, in fact, computationally tractable only for binary characters—those with exactly two states. This is a significant limitation given the number of manuscripts, variation units, and variant readings of interest to textual critics.

The approach of this study builds on Dickerman’s hypertree concept. Like Dickerman’s hypertrees, a slight penalty is imposed for each case of mixture, on a “pay as you go” system. In order to add a reticulating link, a link must first be removed somewhere else in the stemma, either by taking out some other reticulating link or by forcing some ancestors to have more than two descendants. Nevertheless, Dickerman’s suggestion that there should be a cost for each case of mixture is a good one, and a “reticulation cost” is assigned to each case of

¹³³ Spencer et al., “Multiple Pathways,” 11.

¹³⁴ Spencer et al., “Multiple Pathways,” 5.

¹³⁵ Allan W. Dickerman, “Generalizing Phylogenetic Parsimony from the Tree to the Forest,” *Systematic Biology* 47 (1998): 414–426.

contamination to keep the mixture down to a manageable amount, that is, to account for the mixture that could distort the stemma.

Setting an appropriate reticulation cost, however, is theoretically challenging. On the one hand, the cost should not be set so high as to be unable to find even the most significant cases of contamination. On the other hand, the cost should not be so low so as to eliminate any coincidental variation from the stemma by attributing them to contamination. Coincidence and contamination are two competing hypotheses for non-stemmatic agreements in error, but the goal is to produce a workable stemma, not to account for every apparent agreement in error in the textual history. As a result, constructing a stemma does not need to generate reticulating links for all possible cases of mixture, only to generate those links whose absence would distort the shape of the stemma. Low levels of mixture show up in the results as another form of accidental coincidence, and they can be identified by looking at the final set of changes made to each manuscript. Based on my earlier work on the Caesarean text in Mark, I have discovered that the most workable way to estimate an appropriate cost is by setting it to the average number of introduced variants per manuscript in the stemma.¹³⁶ For manuscripts of Mark, this formula for the reticulation costs produced a stemma that coheres well with other researchers' views of the history of the Markan text.¹³⁷

It is also necessary to avoid the problem that befell Streeter. When there is a lot of mixture in the witnesses and most of the variation units have only two variant readings, there

¹³⁶ Stephen C. Carlson, "The Origin(s) of the 'Caesarean' Text" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, San Antonio, 20 Nov. 2004).

¹³⁷ For example, it was able to detect that 118 is a mixed Byzantine member of family 1, long known by Lake and reconfirmed by Amy S. Anderson, *The Textual Tradition of the Gospels: Family 1 in Matthew* (NTTS 32; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 101-102. It also found support for Larry Hurtado's observation that Θ and 565 seem to be more closely related to Codex Bezae (D) than to W. See Larry W. Hurtado, *Text-Critical Methodology and the Pre-Caesarean Text: Codex W in the Gospel of Mark* (SD 43; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1981), 30-43, summarized at 44 and 86.

is a tendency for the readings to sort themselves into two different ancestors, which become the putative ancestors of a large number of mixed manuscripts. This set of affairs is illustrated in a portion of a stemma depicted in FIG. 13, in which hypothetical ancestors α and β are parents of mixed manuscripts A, B, Γ , Δ , E, Z, and H where one of the readings would be assigned to ancestor α and the other reading to ancestor β . In a data set involving the New Testament witnesses, ancestor α could end up with all the Byzantine readings, and ancestor β would be assigned the non-Byzantine variants present in only two of the manuscripts A, B, Γ , Δ , E, Z, and H.

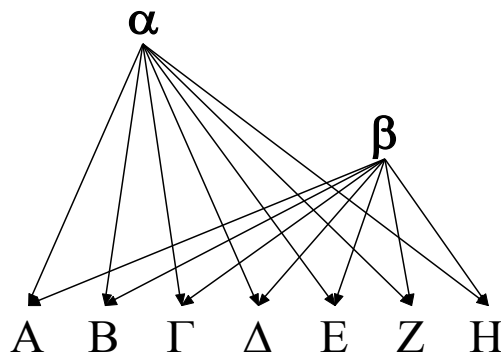


FIG. 13 The “Streeter Problem” of Contamination

This configuration is not unlike Streeter’s 1924 vision of the Caesarean text and subject to the same criticisms. A text is not merely a collection of diverse readings but a sequence of readings that is embodied in a manuscript. Thus, the evidentiary basis for a hypothetical text must be the texts of its descendents. Although unmixed descendents provide the requisite sequential evidence for the reconstruction, mixed descendents do not—they can only substantiate the readings that the other parent did not supply. If, however, all of the descendents of a hypothetical ancestor are mixed, there is no evidence of a connected sequence of readings in the descendents left for the reconstruction. In fact, the problem is still evident

with a single unmixed child and multiple mixed children, because any two of the mixed children can out-vote the attested text of the unmixed child. For this reason, a constraint is imposed that rejects any stemma in which the number of mixed children of a hypothetical ancestor exceeds the number of non-mixed children. Extant manuscripts are not subject to this constraint since we have the direct evidence for their text.

This constraint upon mixture is consistent with the way contamination is handled by classical textual critics working with open traditions. For example, in his study of the text of Cyprian, Maurice Bénévot discussed the importance of finding opposing pairs, triples, or larger sets of manuscripts, which he defined as “when, though each varies often from the resultant text, their variants agree together only very rarely.”¹³⁸ Michael P. Weitzman, approving of Bénévot’s approach, called such opposing manuscripts *poles*, and explained that a stemma can be constructed even in the presence of contamination by assuming that the archetype has only two poles, an assumption he called “far less restrictive than that of total absence of contamination.”¹³⁹ Like the maximum parsimony principle that chooses the stemma with the least amount of coincidental error, the “bipolarity assumption, reasoning from consistent pairs to parent groups, chooses whichever possibility posits the least contamination.”¹⁴⁰ The mixture constraint of this study finds the opposing poles of Weitzman’s bipolarity assumption within a maximum parsimony evaluation framework.

Accordingly, these principles have been incorporated into a computer program developed for this study to search for unoriented stemma that minimizes the number of textual

¹³⁸ Maurice Bénévot, *The Tradition of Manuscripts: A Study in the Transmission of St. Cyprian’s Treatises* (Oxford: University Press, 1961; repr. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1979), 148.

¹³⁹ Michael P. Weitzman, “The Analysis of Open Traditions,” *Studies in Bibliography* 38 (1985): 82-120 at 102.

¹⁴⁰ Weitzman, “Open Traditions,” 104-105.

changes (the maximum parsimony principle), while at the same detecting some degree of mixture at a level that threatens to distort the shape of the stemma.

2.4 A Proposed, Unoriented Stemma for Galatians

For this study's investigation of the text of Galatians and its history, 94 witnesses have been collated over 1624 variation units. Of these variation units, 827 consist of singular readings, and the remaining 797 variation units have at least two witnesses agreeing against all the other witnesses. These collated data for Galatians were inputted into a computer program written by the author of this study that was implemented in accordance with the principles described in this chapter.¹⁴¹ After running the program for about two weeks, the best found stemma with the minimal cost was one with a cost of 4032. This stemma has a reticulation cost parameter of 25, which means that, for mixture to be found, the contaminating source must contribute at least 25 variants. Two views of this best-found stemma are in FIGS. 2.7 and 2.8.

¹⁴¹ The program was written in the C programming language and consists of 6548 lines of code in 21 source files.

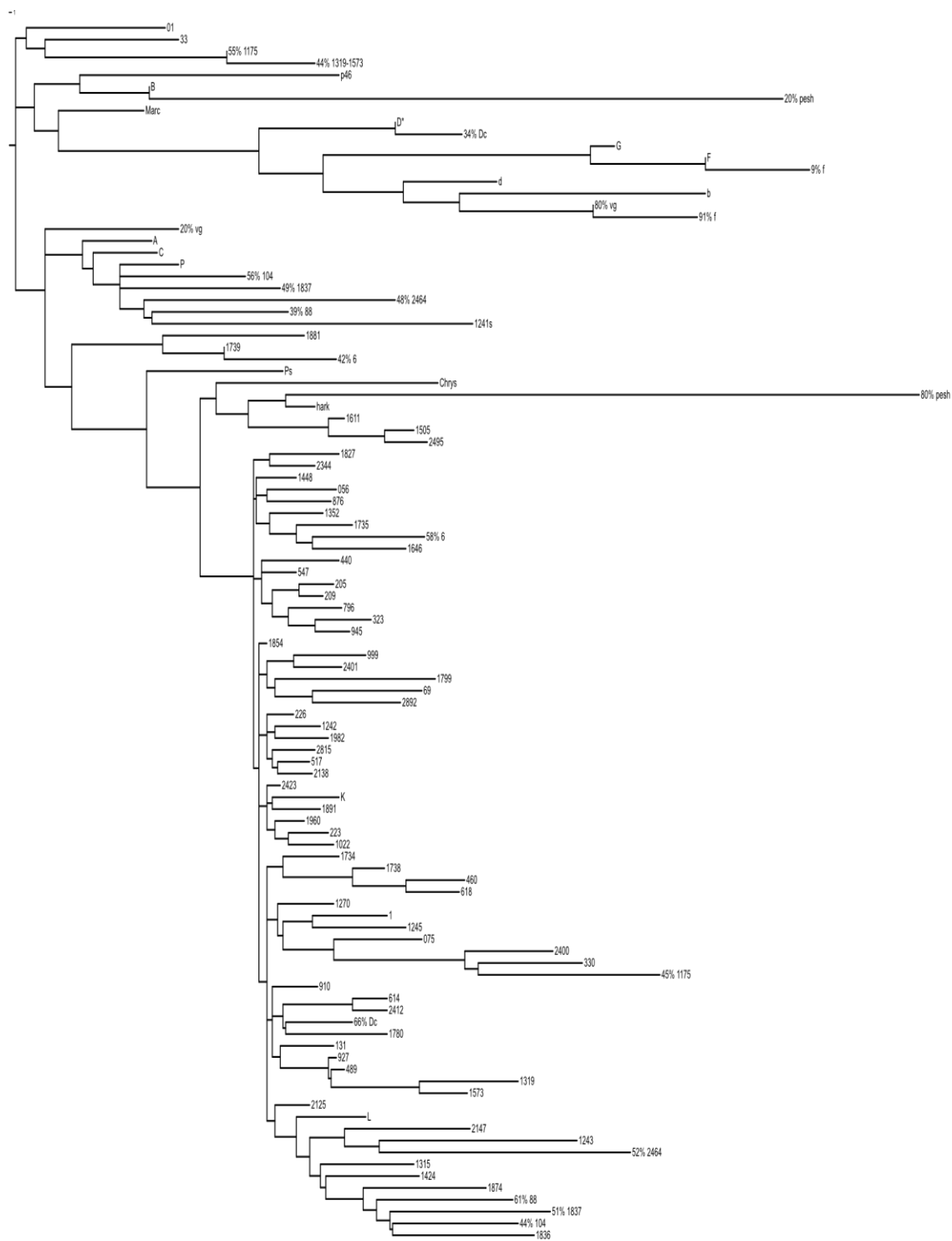


FIG. 15 Best-Found Stemma of 94 MSS of Galatians, Oriented to Nestle-Aland Text

This unoriented stemma has a general linear progression, from which the manuscripts and groups diverge. On one side are the so-called “Western” witnesses, consisting of the Greek-Latin diglots D*, D^c, F, and G, as well as the Old Latin and Vulgate witnesses b, d, f, and vg. Some of these Western witnesses are mixed, and estimates of their mixture percentage is put next to their names. Not surprisingly, the corrected text of *Codex Claromontanus* (D^c) has been determined to be a mixed witness of D*, but it was drastically corrected to a Byzantine text, such that nearly two-thirds of the readings that differ between its parent D* agree with the Byzantine text. The Vulgate was also found to be mixed, with 80% Old Latin and 20% proto-Alexandrian sources. This result generally coheres with the conclusions of scholarship that “Jerome reacted against the predominance of the Western type of text, and deliberately sought to orientate the Latin more with the Alexandrian type of text.”¹⁴² Latin manuscript *f* is also a mixture, being 91% Vulgate and 9% in agreement with F, the Greek text on the other side of the page.

Closest to the Western witness is the text of Marcion (labeled “Marc”), followed by a cluster including P46 and B. Within this cluster, the Syriac version known as the Peshitta appears to be 20% contaminated by B. In this regard, the Peshitta may be compared with the Vulgate—both are sanctioned translations that seem to incorporate some older readings into their text base.

Next to P46 and B on the main line of the stemma is a collection of witnesses headed by **Ⲛ** (labeled “01”) and 33. Both these manuscripts are considered “Alexandrian” and their location on the stemma next to P46 and B shows that their text is very important. The

¹⁴² Bruce M. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament: Their Origin, Transmission, and Limitations* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), 359.

Alexandrian manuscript 33 has an ancestor that contributes about 55% of the readings to a mixed manuscript 1175. According to the stemma, 1175 itself contributes about 44% (four-ninths) of the contaminated readings to the ancestor of a cluster consisting of 1319 and 1573.

At this point on the stemma, the text diverges into three directions. One of them is a source of about 20% of the Vulgate readings. Another direction is a group of what is generally known as “secondary Alexandrian” manuscripts with A, C, P, and 1241S plus various others whose text has been conformed to the Byzantine standard in varying percentages. In particular, this group includes manuscript 88 (39% Alexandrian, 61% Byzantine), 104 (56% Alexandrian, 44% Byzantine), 1837 (49% Alexandrian, 51% Byzantine), and 2464 (48% Alexandrian, 52% Byzantine). The result that these later manuscripts appear to be Byzantinized indicate that the Alexandrian text did not so much cease to be copied but that its copies were steadily and progressively corrected to the dominating Byzantine text. Due to the implementation of Weitzman’s bipolarity assumption for contamination as described above, it should be recognized that the failure to detect mixture for 1241S only means that this manuscript is a secondary Alexandrian pole; it is possible that it too was mixed with Byzantine readings but its status as a pole means that it is merely the *least* Byzantine contaminated among these later secondary Alexandrian witness.¹⁴³

The third direction of divergence is toward the Byzantine text. Next in this direction is a group of related manuscripts that include 1739 and 1881, plus the partially Byzantinized 6. The leading member of this group was extensively studied by Günther Zuntz in his examination

¹⁴³ The fact of that three of these mixed Alexandrian-Byzantines—88, 104, and 1837—all seem to be contaminated from the same place in the Byzantine text near 1836, which has some Alexandrian readings too, suggests that the other “pole” in accordance with Weitzman’s bipolarity assumption is probably 1836.

of the text of Paul.¹⁴⁴ Zuntz considered 1739 to be an excellent manuscript, on par with P46, B, and **ℵ**, but, according to the best-found stemma, 1739 is still very good but it is a sister to the common ancestor of the secondary Alexandrians A and C. Next in the direction toward the Byzantine text is the Athos Codex Ψ, followed by a group of “Syrian” witnesses including the text of John Chrysostom, the Peshitta, the Harklean, and its Greek allies 1505, 1611, and 2495.¹⁴⁵ On one side of the stemma are the bulk of the witnesses in this study and they correspond to the Byzantine text.

Up to this point, the discussion of the results of the computer-analysis of the text of Galatians has revolved around the best-found stemma and the contamination that has been detected within the textual tradition. The next step is to subject the stemma to a bootstrap test to see which groups identified in the best-found stemma are strongly supported by the textual evidence and which groups are poorly supported. A bootstrap test with 1000 replicates was run against the best-found stemma and the groups with at least 70% support in the replicates were determined. The result of the bootstrap analysis is shown in the stemma of FIG. 2.9:

¹⁴⁴ Zuntz, *Text*, 68-83.

¹⁴⁵ These three Greek manuscripts had already been identified to be related to the Harklensis Syriac version by Aland and Juckel, *Syrischer Überlieferung*, 507-514. They also included 2138, but its text appears to be Byzantine in Galatians.

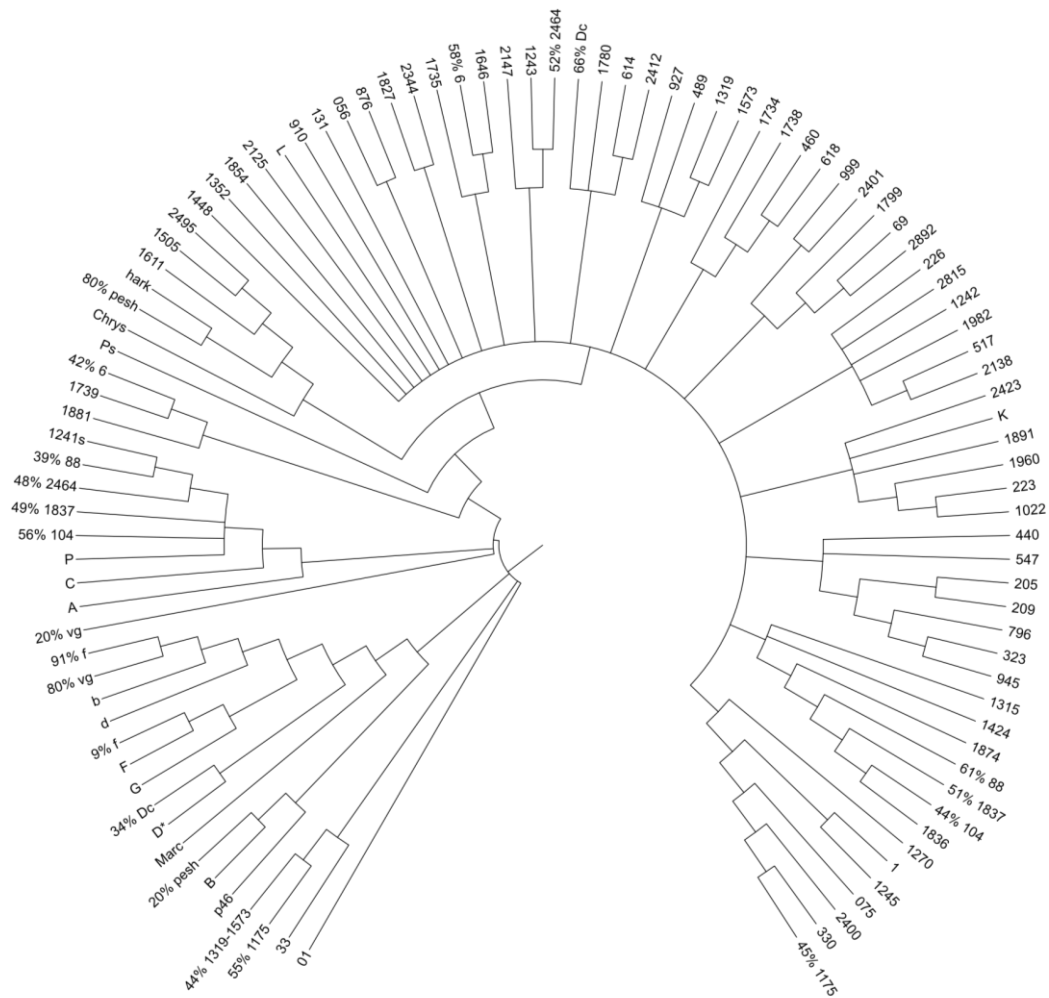


FIG. 16 Best-Found Stemma of 94 MSS of Galatians with Bootstrap Cutoff at 70%

Based on a comparison of the best-found stemma with the result of the bootstrap analysis, it appears that the groups of related textual witnesses identified in the best-found stemma have generally held up with two major exceptions. The first exception is the relationship between **ℵ** and 33. According to the best-found stemma, **ℵ** and 33 appear to be more closely related to each than to any other witness, except for 1175 and 1319-1573, which were contaminated by a text close to 33. According to the bootstrap analysis, however, this

relationship between **N** and 33 dissolves. Further scrutiny of the evidence initially supporting **N** and 33 indicates that this outcome of the bootstrap is reasonable. Just four textual variants initially supported a close relationship between **N** and 33, which were deemed insufficient by the bootstrap test. Now, the bootstrap test works only with the numeric level of support at particular places in the stemma, and it did not find these four variants to be sufficient to warrant the conclusion of a close textual relationship between these two witnesses. The numerical bootstrap test, of course, knows nothing about the Greek language, but further inspection of these variants shows the wisdom of this result of the bootstrap test. These variants are: Gal 3:3 ἐπιτελεῖσθαι for ἐπιτελεῖσθε, 4:18 ζηλοῦσθε for ζηλοῦσθαι, 6:9 θερίσωμεν for θερίσομεν, and 6:10 ἔχωμεν for ἔχομεν.¹⁴⁶ All of these variants feature orthographic variants occasioned by mergers in Greek phonology: by the second century, the diphthong αι came to have the same sound as ε,¹⁴⁷ and the length distinction between ο and ω was lost.¹⁴⁸

The other place in the stemma where the groups hypothesized by the best-found stemma dissolved in the light of the bootstrap test is found within the Byzantine text. According to the best-found stemma, there are many groups that are only diagnosed by just a few textual variants. The bootstrap test, however, concludes that the evidence supporting these Byzantine subgroups is numerically insufficient. For example, the best-found stemma holds that there is a Byzantine subgroup consisting of 056, 6 (mixed), 876, 1352, 1448, 1646, and 1735, united by their agreement in error at Gal 6:12. This lone agreement in error is

¹⁴⁶ All of these variants are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4.

¹⁴⁷ W. Sidney Allen, *Vox Graeca: The Pronunciation of Classical Greek* (3d ed.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 79.

¹⁴⁸ Allen, *Vox Graeca*, 94.

numerically insufficient to support this group and further inspection of the variant (an essentially orthographic change of διώκονται for διώκωνται) confirms this conclusion as well.

As a result of the bootstrap analysis, much of the early internal structure of the Byzantine text disappears, leading to twenty separate lines of descent from the common ancestor of the Byzantine text within this dataset. This result has both positive and negative aspects. On the positive side, this means that the text of the common ancestor of the Byzantine text—the Byzantine prototype—can be reconstructed precisely merely on the basis of external evidence on majority-text principles. Each of the twenty separate lines of descent would contribute a vote to the establishment to the text of Byzantine text. The reconstructed Byzantine prototype is presented in Appendix B. Most of the Byzantine manuscripts differ from this prototype in about a dozen or so places, but, as it turns out, one of these witnesses, the eleventh century manuscript 1854, has a text that is almost identical to that of the Byzantine prototype, differing in just four places (the addition of με after καλέσας in 1:15, the addition of the article before θεόν in 4:9, the spelling διώκωνται in 6:12, and the omission of Ἰησοῦ before Χριστοῦ in 6:17). Nevertheless, the Byzantine prototype must be centuries older than 1854; the prototype is, after all, the ancestor of the ninth century uncials K and L as well. What this shows is that the transmission of the Byzantine text was sufficiently controlled, at least from the ninth to the eleventh centuries, that 1854 can accurately reflect the text of a few centuries earlier.

This apparent control over the transmission of the Byzantine text relates to the negative side of the bootstrap results. There does not appear to be enough evidence sufficiently patterned within the text of Galatians to resolve the early history of the Byzantine text subsequent to the Byzantine prototype. It is possible that this problem may disappear

when additional textual evidence is brought to bear on the Byzantine text, for example, the text of another letter in the Pauline Corpus such as 2 Corinthians. Nevertheless, the textual critic ought to keep the possibility open that the transmission of the Byzantine text may have not have operated in accordance with the assumption of independent transmission common to both stemmatics and cladistics. As Silva Lake discovered when she was collating manuscripts of Mark, those responsible for copying the text may have been so familiar with the standard, ecclesiastical text that they were able to detect deviations from that standard text in their exemplars and correct for them. The implication of this scribal familiarity with the standard, Byzantine text is that scribes were able to obliterate the agreements in error that are necessary to establish stemmatic subgroups.¹⁴⁹ Though the stemmatic software has some provisions for detecting contamination, it appears that the level of contamination within the controlled transmission of the Byzantine text is so low (less than the reticulation cost of 25 variants) that it does not register on the stemma. In other words, the Byzantine text appears to be a highly complex interconnected network of texts that neither stemmatics nor cladistics can resolve with any precision. Fortunately, the results of the bootstrap test suggest that this weakness in the ability of stemmatics to reconstruct the history of the text appears to be limited for the carefully controlled Byzantine text. Outside of the Byzantine text (with the exception of **8** and 33), the bootstrap test indicates the discovered manuscript groups are well supported by the textual evidence.

¹⁴⁹ This practice could also account for the convergence of the secondary Alexandrian branch of the text toward the Byzantine.

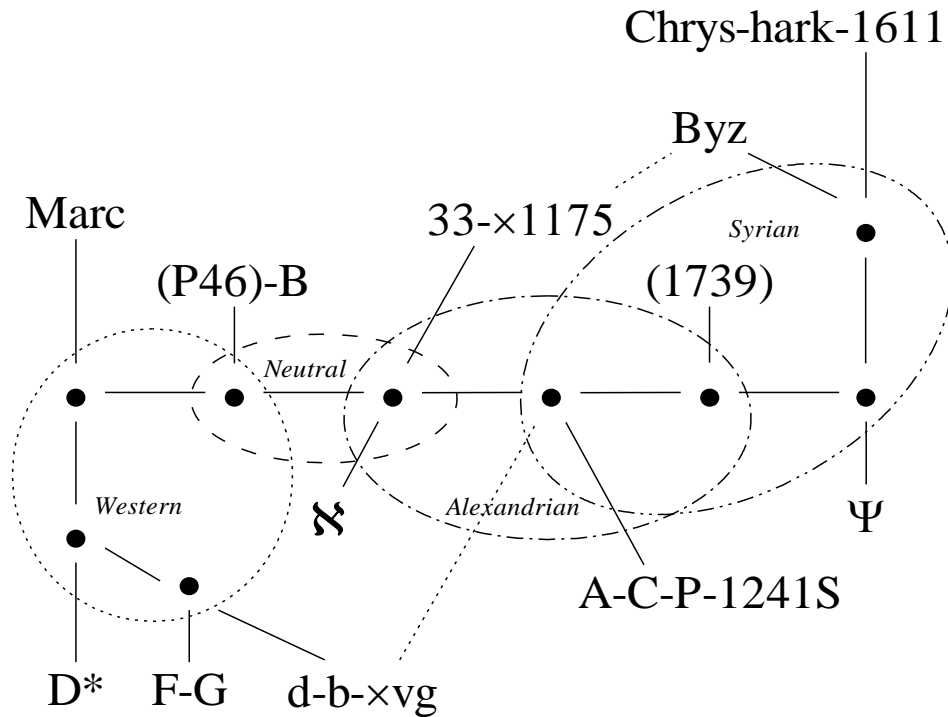


FIG. 17 Unoriented Stemma of Galatians Compared with Hort's Textual Groups

The unoriented stemma of selected witnesses to the text of Galatians is comparable in many respects with Hort's influential theory of the text.¹⁵⁰ According to Hort, there are four kinds of text in Paul, and, with the prevalence of mixture, these textual groups are overlapping to a large extent. Referring to FIG. 17, ovals representing the textual groups identified by Hort are overlaid upon the unoriented stemma of Galatians, showing that Hort's theory of the text and the unoriented stemma are roughly compatible. In particular, Hort identifies a "Western" text, preserved mainly in the Greek-Latin diglots D and G.¹⁵¹ Famously, Hort identifies two "Neutral" witnesses, \aleph and B, and holds that they are primarily but not entirely free from

¹⁵⁰ B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort, *Introduction to the New Testament in the Original Greek* (repr. Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1988). As before, references to this work are cited by the abbreviation HORT.

¹⁵¹ HORT 149. Hort believes that F was a copy of G and discounted out, but, according to this study as explained in the following chapter, F is seen as an independent but inferior copy of one of G's close ancestors.

influences from other textual groups.¹⁵² Specifically, Hort has pointed out that in B's text of Paul, "there is an unquestionable intermingling of readings derived from a Western text nearly related to that of G₃."¹⁵³ This intermingling is indicated in FIG. 17 by the overlapping of the Western and Neutral ovals. Now, Hort has interpreted this intermingling in terms of contamination, but the unoriented stemma suggests that this commonality may be due to genealogy: some of the B-Western agreements could instead go back to a common ancestor of B and the Western manuscripts.¹⁵⁴ As for **ℵ**, it too is not entirely free from what Hort has termed "Alexandrian corrections,"¹⁵⁵ and these are indicated in FIG. 17 by the overlapping of the Neutral and Alexandrian ovals. According to Hort, the "Alexandrian text" is not pure, but contains mixtures of other texts, the most dominant one being the "Syrian" text.¹⁵⁶ The unoriented stemma is thus generally compatible with Hort's theory of the text. The same groups that Hort identified can be located on the stemma and the transitional areas, where one group blurs into another, are also there. The main difference is that Hort usually appeals to mixture to account for these transitional texts, while the stemma implies that the reason for them is genealogical.

Hort's "Neutral" text is of particular interest because it is the text that Hort has identified, based on internal evidence, to contain the least amount of scribal corruptions.¹⁵⁷ The importance of a text with the least scribal corruption is that it should resemble an authorial text the most and can therefore be chosen as the base of an oriented stemma. Thus, if

¹⁵² HORT 150-151.

¹⁵³ HORT 150. "G₃" is Hort's symbol for this study's "G" (Gregory-Aland 012).

¹⁵⁴ As suggested by Zuntz, *Text*, 153.

¹⁵⁵ HORT 153.

¹⁵⁶ HORT 151-155.

¹⁵⁷ HORT 126-130.

Hort's judgment is correct as to the relative purity of the Neutral text based on the internal evidence of readings, then it appears that the base of the stemma should be located somewhere in the area within the oval for the Neutral text. In other words, if the stemma were to be oriented based on Hort's judgment of the text, then the starting point of the transmission of the text should be somewhere near the internal points where P46-B or **Σ** and 33 join the stemma. This point is not far from the oldest portions of the stemma, especially considering that Hort did not have the benefit of the later discovered P46. The two oldest witnesses to the text of Galatians are P46 and Marcion, so the oldest parts of the stemma would be near the internal points where Marc(ion) and P46-B join the stemma.

This proposed unoriented stemma for Galatians based on the patterns of external evidence among the 94 witnesses to the text is an important but beginning step in this study of the text of Galatians and its history. The next steps are to orient the stemma based on internal evidence (Chapter 3), examine the text at the base of the stemma (Chapter 4), and then to investigate the history of the text and its variation (Chapter 5).

3. Orienting the Stemma of Galatians

3.1 Introduction

The next step in this study of the text of Galatians and its history is to orient the unoriented stemma that was generated in Chapter 2. At this stage in the investigation, the stemma is unoriented, which means that it does not indicate any particular starting point where the textual tradition of Galatians began. It does show however which witnesses and which groups of witnesses are more closely related and which are more distantly related. The goal of this chapter is to determine which portion of the unoriented stemma should be the starting point (or “base”) of the stemma. The rule for identifying the base is that it is the part of the stemma that has the most authorial readings, as determined by internal evidence.

Owing to the sheer scale of the textual tradition, particularly within the Byzantine text, it is expedient to concentrate on the portions of the unoriented stemma that are the most promising for the base of the stemma. This study proposes three independent but converging approaches for pinpointing these promising areas of the stemma for further examination: Hort’s theory of the Neutral text, the oldest branches in the stemma, and the part of the stemma closest to the Nestle-Aland critical text.

FIG. 18 depicts the shape and linkage pattern for a stemma of selected witnesses of Galatians that was generated according to the cladistic method described in the previous chapter, with four internal branches labeled for future reference:

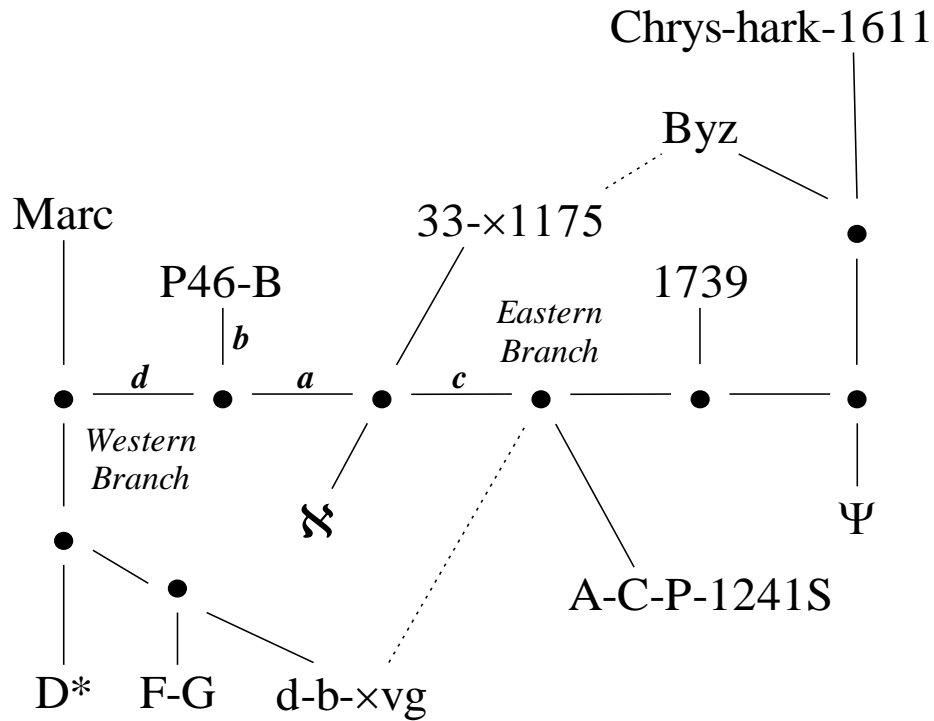


FIG. 18 Unoriented Stemma of Selected Witnesses to Galatians

According to Hort’s theory of the text (described in some detail in the previous chapter), the two most important, “neutral” witnesses are **N** and **B**. Referring to the stemma depicted in FIG. 18, Hort’s neutral text corresponds to the area of the stemma between **N** and **B**, specifically inner branch **a** and inner branch **b**. Thus, if Hort’s theory of the text still has some validity, then the textual changes along the inner branches **a** and **b** ought to be scrutinized.

Another approach is to use the oldest surviving portions of the stemma. The two oldest substantial witnesses of Galatians are P46 and Marcion. Their age indicates that the portions of the stemma that ought to be scrutinized are inner branch **d** and inner branch **b**.

A third approach is to identify the portion of the stemma that is the closest to the Nestle-Aland critical text. The justification for this approach is that, if this text represents the authorial text of Galatians, then the part of the stemma closest to its text would be very

promising. As it turns out, the place in the stemma closest to the Nestle-Aland critical text is the node at which **ℵ** and 33 join the stemma, flanked by the Eastern branch on one side and by the Western branch and P46-B cluster on the other side. This criterion points to inner branch **d** and inner branch **b** as the most fruitful places to scrutinize for the base of the stemma.

These three different approaches toward finding the base of the stemma—Hort’s “Neutral” text, the oldest portion of the stemma, and the point of the stemma closest to the Nestle-Aland text—all converge on an area of the unoriented stemma somewhere between **ℵ** and B, comprising inner branches **a**, **b**, **c**, and **d**. This area, then, is the location on the stemma that is provisionally the most important for constructing a critical text of Galatians. Accordingly, the construction of an eclectic, critical text for Galatian in this study should focus on the variants that change along the course of inner branches **a**, **b**, **c**, and **d**. Variants that arise outside of this area are not ignored but considered in the following chapters on examining the text and studying the history of the text.

Accordingly, each of the inner branches are considered in turn as follows. First, the witnesses on the opposing sides of the inner branch are used to identify the variants that change between the opposing sides. For example, inner branch **a** defines an opposition between the Western branch plus the P46-B cluster, on one hand, and the Eastern branch plus **ℵ** and 33 on the other hand. Each textual variant over which the two sides of the inner branch are opposed is then analyzed, and the analysis of each variant has a common plan. First, the variation unit is presented within a relevant context and highlighted in **bold underlined**. Then, a table of the readings attested for the variation unit is presented, so that the external evidence can be seen at a glance. This table of external evidence has subdivisions for the Western and Eastern branches, as well as columns for their closest relatives near the preliminary base of the

stemma. Specifically, these “basic” witnesses include, on the one hand, P46 and B, which are closer to the Western branch than the Eastern, and, on the other hand, **8**, 33, and the non-Byzantine portion of 1175, which are closer to the Eastern branch than the Western.

In addition to the manuscript and versional witnesses, nine editions of the text of Galatians (including this study) are cited to give a sense of the scholarly support for the readings.¹ These editions are generally chosen for their editorial independence and historical importance.² These editions and their respective sigla, in reverse chronological order, are: Carlson 2012 (SCC), Holmes 2011 (SBL), Robinson-Pierpont 2d ed. 2005 (RP), Nestle-Aland 27th ed. 1993 (NA), von Soden 1911 (S), B. Weiss 1902 (BW), Westcott-Hort 1881 (WH), Tregelles 1869 (T), and Lachmann 1850 (L). Where these editions present more than one reading, the reading in the main text is indicated by a superscripted T, and the reading in the margin is indicated by a superscripted M. For bracketed readings in the critical editions, the full reading within the bracket is designated as the main text reading, while the omission of the bracketed reading is designated as the marginal reading.

Following the table of external evidence is an exegesis of each variant reading under consideration. This exegesis looks at both the traditional semantic and syntactic meaning, and—in a new contribution to the field of New Testament textual criticism—the pragmatic considerations related to the placement of emphasis on particular constituents of the sentence.³ Although the CBGM was not chosen as the text-critical method for this study,

¹ The judgments of various commentators of Galatians, however, are cited in the discussion of the variants, where appropriate.

² Perhaps the only striking omission on this list is Tischendorf’s great edition, which is rightly more famous for the quality of its apparatus than the quality of its text.

³ In general, the principles discussed by Stephen H. Levinsohn, *Discourse Features of New Testament Greek: A Coursebook on the Information Structure of New Testament Greek* (2d ed.; Dallas: SIL International, 2000), have been found to be particularly helpful for assessing the prominence of sentence constituents.

because it does not infer a history of the text, its notion of “coherence” was found useful and occasionally applied, albeit in stemmatic terms. After the exegesis of the variants, the internal evidence is then evaluated in accordance with reasoned eclecticism, taking into account the relative contributions of the intrinsic probabilities and the transcriptional probabilities. For purposes of this study, the criteria and limitations of the internal evidence, especially the harder reading, have been followed as they are outlined by Bruce M. Metzger,⁴ with one important exception that has recently been subject to particular scrutiny.

This exception involves the criterion of the shorter reading. According to Metzger, the shorter reading should be preferred unless it can be shown that it is the result of a mechanical scribal error (e.g. a skip of the eye from one set of letters to another similar set) or if the longer reading appears superfluous, harsh, or unorthodox.⁵ Recent scholarship, however, has called this text-critical canon into question. For example, James R. Royse has found that omissions, especially of little words, were very common in his study of the scribal habits among the six earliest and most substantial papyri.⁶ He argues that in many cases the *longer* reading ought to be preferred unless the longer reading appears late, appears to be a harmonization, or appears to be a grammatical improvement.⁷ Due to this conflict over the status of the criterion of the shorter (or longer) reading, this study is agnostic about the value of mere length as diagnostic of a scribal error. As a result, decisions about which variant to prefer had to rely on criteria other than the length of the reading.

⁴ METZGER 12*-14*.

⁵ METZGER 13*. My characterization of “unorthodox” refers to Metzger’s more precise but longer formulation as “contrary to pious belief, liturgical usage, or ascetical practice.”

⁶ James R. Royse, *Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri* (NTTSD 36; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 703-736. This work is cited hereinafter by the abbreviation ROYSE.

⁷ ROYSE 735.

3.2 Examination of Variants for Inner Branch Oppositions

3.2.1 Inner Branch *a*

The following six variants are those where P46-B and the Western branch oppose **ℵ**, 33, and the Eastern branch along inner branch *a*. In Hort's theory of the text formulated prior to the discovery of P46, this configuration of the witnesses is due to contamination of B with Western readings.⁸ In Zuntz's theory of the text, by contrast, Western agreements with B, especially where supported by P46, are ancient, pre-Western readings.⁹ Accordingly an examination of these readings based on internal evidence is not only helpful for orienting the stemma but it is also useful for adjudicating between Hort and Zuntz on their theories of the text.

Gal 1:3 χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς **καὶ κυρίου ἡμῶν** Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ

Var.	Western branch			Eastern branch	EDS.
καὶ κυρίου ἡμῶν ¹⁰	D F G d ×vg	P46 B		1739 1611 Byz	SCC SBL RP WH ^M T ^T L
καὶ κυρίου				Chrys ¹¹	WH ^M
ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου	b		ℵ 33	A P 1241S	Ψ NA S BW WH ^T T ^M
?	Marc			C	

This variation unit exhibits the divide between the Western branch and P46-B on the one hand and the Eastern branch with **ℵ** and 33 on the other hand, though the Eastern branch

⁸ HORT 150-151, 166, 171, 224, 240-241. Hort's leading example for Western contamination in B is Col 1:12, where B reads καλέσαντι καὶ ἰκανώσαντι against D* F G καλέσαντι and P46 **ℵ** A C 1739 Byz (HORT 240). Hort did not know of P46, of course, but Zuntz points out that P46's failure to confirm B's reading shows that it can help assess B's quality (ZUNTZ 41). In other words, P46's agreement with B on an apparent Western reading means that the reading is pre-Western. (Hort's other example is 2 Thess 3:4, at which P46 is unfortunately lacking.)

⁹ E.g., ZUNTZ 158.

¹⁰ This reading also enjoys the support of P51^{vid}, which was too fragmentary to be analyzed for the stemma.

¹¹ Also attested by the Byzantine manuscripts: 547 910 999 1319 1424 1448 1799 1874 1891 2147 2423.

itself is divided between the readings. The Western branch, together with P46 and B, as well as half the Eastern branch read, “grace to you and peace from God the Father and **our** Lord Jesus Christ,” while the other half of the Eastern branch plus **ℵ** and 33 read, “from God **our** Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.” The former reading, “**our** Lord Jesus Christ,” puts more prominence on the common lordship of Jesus Christ that Paul shares with the Galatians, while the latter reading focuses more on the common fatherhood of God. In other words, the emphasis of the former is Christological, while the latter is theological.

The intrinsic probabilities relate to Paul’s usual expression as well as the reading’s function within the context of the entire letter. To be sure, the “God our Father” reading is identical to most other Pauline salutations,¹² but there is little evidence that the greeting formula had actually become stereotyped by the time Galatians was written.¹³ The earliest letter, 1 Thessalonians, shows a different greeting formula (1:1, merely “grace to you and peace”). Even with a late dating of Galatians, the only undisputed letters with the “God our Father” formula that can confidently be assigned to predate Galatians are 1 Corinthians and possibly 2 Corinthians.¹⁴ The rest of the letters with the formula are too late to establish the existence of the pattern at the time Galatians was composed.

Bernhard Weiss asserts that Paul never uses the pronoun ἡμῶν with an anarthrous κύριος.¹⁵ Although Weiss does not list the instances behind his observation, it nonetheless holds for dozens of instances throughout both the undisputed and disputed Pauline epistles,

¹² This is the reason given by those who favor reading ἡμῶν with God: BURTON 11; BUSCEMI 4; METZGER 520: “the apostle’s stereotyped formula”; MATERA 32.

¹³ NET 859, argues that “in an early letter such as this one his [scil. Paul’s] regular style was yet to be established,” but this argument assumes that Galatians is an early letter.

¹⁴ For those who support an early date for Galatians, then even 1 and 2 Corinthians would not predate Galatians. Second Thessalonians also shows “God our Father,” though B D P 33 1739 omit the pronoun.

¹⁵ WEISS 99: “aus begreiflichem Grunde, nirgends bei Paul κυρ. ημων ohne Artikel steht.”

without a single counter-example in the Nestle-Aland text or corresponding apparatus.¹⁶

Somewhat complicating the force of his observation, however, is that Paul also routinely omits the article with κύριος when it is the second element of a compound joined by καί with θεός (with or without the article) as the first element, especially in the greeting formula.¹⁷ Thus, there is a question of deciding which tendency in Paul's writing should dominate the other when ἡμῶν is used with κύριος as the second element of a compound with θεός.

Contextually, the Christological focus of the placement of the pronoun as “our Lord Jesus Christ” better fits the Christological theme of the letter.¹⁸ Though strictly unparalleled in Paul, the placement of the pronoun ἡμῶν with κυρίου instead of πατρός anticipates the importance of Christ in the argumentation of the letter (e.g. 2:16). Galatians famously lacks a thanksgiving section, which often foreshadows themes to be developed later in other epistles, so the function of the typical Pauline thanksgiving is handled instead by the overloaded introductory section (vv.1-5).¹⁹

Moreover, scribal transcriptional probabilities support the “our Lord Jesus Christ” reading. The “God our Father” reading is likely to be scribal assimilation to Rom 1:3, 1 Cor 1:3, 2 Cor 1:2, etc.,²⁰ and there are similar cases of such scribal assimilation in 1 Thess 1:1.²¹ Indeed, there is evidence for this very assimilation within the Byzantine text. The bulk of the

¹⁶ Specifically, Rom 1:4, 4:24, 5:1, 11, 21, 6:23, 7:25, 8:39; 15:6, 30, 16:18, 20; 1 Cor 1:2, 7, 8, 9, 10, 5:4, 9:1, 15:31, 57; 2 Cor 1:3, 8:9; Gal 6:14, 18; 1 Thess 1:3, 2:19, 3:11, 13, 5:9, 23, 28; cf. Eph 1:3, 17, 3:11, 5:20, 6:24; 2 Thess 1:8, 12, 2:1, 14, 16, 3:18; 1 Tim 1:2, 12, 14, 6:3, 14; 2 Tim 1:8.

¹⁷ Rom 1:3; 1 Cor 1:3; 2 Cor 1:2; Gal 1:3, Phil 1:2; 1 Thess 1:1; Phlm 3; cf. Eph 1:2, 6:23; 2 Thess 1:1, 2, 12.

¹⁸ On the other hand, BETZ 41 n.47 claims that having the pronoun with God the Father, “establishes the proper hierarchical order of the Father, God, and his Son, the ‘Lord Jesus Christ,’” but his argument is obscure, for the order is established by the word order, not the pronoun.

¹⁹ For a recent discussion, see Robert E. Van Voorst, “Why is There No Thanksgiving Period in Galatians? An Assessment of an Exegetical Commonplace.” *JBL* 129 (2010): 153-172.

²⁰ Philip W. Comfort, *Early Manuscripts & Modern Translations of the New Testament* (Wheaton, Ill.: Tyndale House, 1990), 149; EADIE 9; NET 859; ZAHN 31 n.7.

²¹ NET 859 and 869.

Byzantines favors the “Our Lord Jesus Christ” reading, but there are some Byzantine manuscripts that conform the wording to the “stereotyped formula” preferred by the UBS committee.²² The transcriptional probabilities in the other direction are harder to discern, however. The Committee’s contention that the pronoun was moved to “Lord Jesus Christ” out of piety²³ is too undeveloped to be probative (both readings are pious) and is uncorroborated by any evidence for an analogous change in the other letters of the Pauline corpus.²⁴

For these reasons, both the intrinsic and the transcriptional probabilities favor the unusual Christological placement of the pronoun in the greeting.²⁵

Gal 1:17 οὐδὲ ἀπῆλθον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πρὸς τοὺς πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἀποστόλους, ἀλλὰ ἀπῆλθον εἰς Ἀραβίαν καὶ πάλιν ὑπέστρεψα εἰς Δαμασκόν. **18** Ἐπειτα μετὰ ἕτη τρία ἀνῆλθον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ...

Var.	Western branch			Eastern branch		EDS.
ἀπῆλθον ²⁶	D F G	B				SCC BW T ^M L
ἦλθον	(d b xvg <i>veni</i>)	P46				
ἀνῆλθον			Ⲣ 33	A C P 1241S	1739 Ψ Chrys 1611 Byz	SBL NA RP S WH T ^T
?	Marc					

These three readings go back to the earliest period. The reading ἀνῆλθον enjoys the support of the Eastern branch plus Ⲣ and 33, but the reading ἀπῆλθον is also ancient, being

²² For example, 056 131 876 1573 1836 and 2125.

²³ METZGER 520: “The apostle’s stereotyped formula was altered by copyists who, apparently in the interest of Christian piety, transferred the possessive pronoun so it would be more closely associated with ‘Lord Jesus Christ.’” So also MATERA 39.

²⁴ NET 859. WEISS 99 proposes a two-stage corruption in which the pronoun had accidentally dropped out from the standard formula and then restored to the wrong place. Indeed, many Byzantine manuscripts have lost the pronoun (547 910 999 1319 1424 1448 1799 1874 1891 2147 2423), but this occurred within a tradition in which the Christological reading predominated.

²⁵ R. V. G. Tasker, *The Greek New Testament Being the Text Translated in the New English Bible 1961* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964), 428, decides in favor of the Christological placement based on external attestation.

²⁶ This reading is also supported by P51, which was too fragmentary to be analyzed for the stemma.

supported by B and the Greek-Latin diglots D, F, and G. The oldest witness, P46, has another reading ἦλθον due to the scribe's tendency to simplify prefixed words,²⁷ so either ἀνήλθον or ἀπῆλθον could have stood in P46's exemplar.²⁸ Thus, resolution of this variation unit requires an examination of the internal evidence.

The meanings of the verb phrases ἀπῆλθον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ("leave for Jerusalem") and ἀνήλθον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ("went up to Jerusalem") are almost the same, but the emphases are different. On the one hand, ἀνήλθον with its prefix ἀνα- ("up") is commonly used for the hilltop city of Jerusalem (e.g. 2:1 ἀνέβην εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα).²⁹ On the other hand, ἀπῆλθον keeps the topic of Damascus in mind ("nor did I leave [Damascus] for Jerusalem"), minimizing the importance of Jerusalem and consequently that of the Jerusalem apostles.

The specter of scribal harmonization haunts both ἀνήλθον and ἀπῆλθον.³⁰ Scribes would have been at least as prone—if not more so—to use the more common ἀνήλθον with a Jerusalem destination (also in context at v.18, cf. 2:1),³¹ as they would have been to assimilate the verb to the following clause ἀλλὰ ἀπῆλθον εἰς Ἀραβίαν.³² Intrinsically, either reason would apply to Paul, but the implicit minimization of Jerusalem with the ἀπῆλθον reading fits Paul's purposes better. If the objection is that Paul would not have repeated the verb,³³ there are

²⁷ ROYSE 326, citing P46's singular and near singular readings in Rom 8:17 (πάσχομεν), 12:16 (συναγόμενοι), Gal 1:17 (ἦλθον), 1:18 (ἔμεινα), 2:13 (ἀπήχθη); Eph 2:2 (ἐργοῦντος); Col 3:16 (οἰκείτω); Heb 1:6 (ἀγάγη), 6:11 (δείκνυσθαι), 7:27 (ἄπαξ), 10:25 (συναγωγῆν), 12:4 (ἀγωνιζόμενοι), 13:11 (καίεται).

²⁸ ROYSE 309.

²⁹ BURTON 55; LÉGASSE 99 n.5; LIGHTFOOT 83; LONGENECKER 33. These intrinsic analyses do not go beyond noting the relative popularity of the collocation ἀνήλθον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα.

³⁰ BUSCEMI 106.

³¹ EADIE 47; MEYER 11; ZAHN 66 n.74. So also WEISS 35, who argued that ἀπῆλθον was assimilated by the scribes to the technical usage of ἀνήλθον in v.18 due to its seemingly tiresome repetition.

³² BETZ 73 n.173; BURTON 55; LÉGASSE 99 n.5; LIGHTFOOT 83; LONGENECKER 33; MUSSNER 91 n.61; SIEFFERT 65-66 n.**; ZIMMER¹ 488. In fact, there is evidence of just this scribal harmonization to ἀπῆλθον among several minuscules (88 1799 1836 2344 2464). BETZ 73 n.173 notes that "the synonymous ἀναβαίνω is more common," which Paul uses in Gal 2:1, 2; so also ZIMMER¹ 488.

³³ So LIGHTFOOT 83: "the repetition makes the sentence run awkwardly".

examples to the contrary, such as Rom 5:23 καυχώμεθα ... ἀλλὰ καυχώμεθα and 8:15 ἐλάβετε ... ἀλλὰ ἐλάβετε.³⁴

The textual evidence is evenly balanced, but the apparent unusualness of the expression ἀπῆλθον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, despite its fitness to the context, seems to have induced scribes to modify the verb to the more typical ἀνήλθον.

Gal 1:18 Ἐπειτα μετὰ **ἔτη τρία** ἀνήλθον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἱστορήσαι Κηφᾶν καὶ ἐπέμεινα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡμέρας δεκαπέντε,

Var.	Western branch			Eastern branch		EDS.
ἔτη τρία	D F G d b xvg	P46 B			Ψ Chrys 1611 Byz	SCC SBL NA RP BW T L
τρία ἔτη			Ⲑ 33	A P 1241S	1739	S WH
?	Marc			C		

This is a good example of the split of the P46-B and the Western branch against **Ⲑ 33** and the Eastern branch, though the Byzantines and Ψ join the Western branch. Internal evidence is necessary to resolve this.

This word order variant may seem, at first glance, to have hardly any effect on the meaning—both would be translated “after three years.” In noun-adjective pairings, however, Greek prefers to put the adjective first only if it is more informative or contrastive than the noun.³⁵ Thus, the order μετὰ ἔτη τρία suggests a contrast later in the verse with ἡμέρας δεκαπέντε (“for fifteen days”); the units of time are fronted to emphasize that while Paul spent

³⁴ EADIE 47, citing Rom 8:15. LIGHTFOOT 83 concedes that Rom 8:15 and 1 Cor 2:13 (ἃ καὶ λαλοῦμεν οὐκ ἐν διδακτοῖς ἀνθρωπίνης σοφίας λόγοις ἀλλ’ ἐν διδακτοῖς πνεύματος) are contrary examples.

³⁵ Stéphanie Bakker, “Adjective Ordering in Herodotus: A Pragmatic Explanation” in Rutger Allan and Michel Buijs, eds., *The Language of Literature: Linguistic Approaches to Classical Texts* (ASCP 13; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 188-210 at 195.

years away from Jerusalem, he spent only days with Cephas in the city.³⁶ On the other hand, the word order μετὰ τρία ἔτη invites a correspondence with Gal 2:1 διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν (“after fourteen years”), and the point would then have to be on enumerating the different time intervals.

Paul’s usage elsewhere confirms this behavior in the placement of the number for emphasis.³⁷ For example, Paul places the number before the noun ἔτη to emphasize the amount of time, e.g., Gal 2:1 διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν (“after fourteen years”) to highlight his independence from Jerusalem, and 3:17 μετὰ τετρακόσια καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη (“after four hundred and thirty years”) to underscore the length of time between Abraham and Moses. In 2 Cor 12:2 πρὸ ἐτῶν δεκατεσσάρων (“fourteen years ago”), however, he places the number afterwards when the length of time is not important.³⁸

Intrinsically, the word order of μετὰ ἔτη τρία fits the passage better. It is more amenable to the argument of the letter to emphasize his independence from Jerusalem, than to count the time intervals away. Thus, the proper point of contrast is the years apart from Jerusalem compared with the days in Jerusalem, not a three year delay compared with a fourteen year delay in going to Jerusalem. Transcriptionally, the reason for the year first order could be

³⁶ WEISS 130. Indeed, it is noteworthy just how well Weiss was able to anticipate the modern pragmatic analysis more than a century ago: “dass τρία eine sehr kleine Zahl ist, die nicht durch Voranstellung betont werden konnte, so wenig wie das δεκαπεντε im Folgenden.” Cf. ΖΑΗΝ 69 n.77, who takes the number to be more important because Paul had not enumerated anything yet.

³⁷ Pace ZIMMER¹ 488-489, who claims that Paul always places small numbers after the noun. Zimmer’s observation is confounded by the pragmatics of the word order. Small numbers are usually less important than the noun and would therefore go after the noun, but they are not always unimportant in appropriate contexts. As argued here, Gal 1:18 is such an appropriate context.

³⁸ There is also case of a non-numeric adjective before the noun, cf. Rom 15:23 ἀπὸ πολλῶν ἐτῶν (“for many years”)

scribal assimilation to the order of 2:1.³⁹ Thus, the internal evidence decisively favors the order μετά ἔτη τρία of the Nestle-Aland text.

Gal 2:20 19 ἐγὼ γὰρ διὰ νόμου νόμῳ ἀπέθανον, ἵνα θεῷ ζήσω. Χριστῷ συνεσταύρωμαι · 20 ζῶ δὲ οὐκέτι ἐγώ, ζῆ δὲ ἐν ἐμοὶ Χριστός · ὃ δὲ νῦν ζῶ ἐν σαρκί, ἐν πίστει ζῶ τῇ **τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ** τοῦ ἀγαπήσαντός με καὶ παραδόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ.

Var.	Western branch			Eastern branch		EDS.
τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ	D* F G d	P46 B				SCC BW T ^T L
τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ	xvg		Ⲛ 33	A C 1241S	1739 Ψ Chrys 1611 Byz	SBL NA RP S WH T ^M
τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ	b					
τοῦ θεοῦ					330	
?	Marc			P		

The first two readings are old and could conceivably go back to the most recent common ancestor of the text.⁴⁰ Though the shortest reading is attested in 330, this manuscript is so far removed from the ancestor that selecting its reading is tantamount to making a conjectural emendation.⁴¹ As the two oldest readings are evenly split between the Western and Eastern branches with their respective allies, internal evidence must decide this variation unit.

³⁹ WEISS 130.

⁴⁰ HORT App.121 and BURTON 139, however, characterized this as a Western corruption of B, but this was before the discovery of P46.

⁴¹ In fact, J. C. O'Neill, *The Recovery of Paul's Letter to the Galatians*. London: SPCK, 1972), 45, has proposed this very conjectural emendation. Edmond Farahian, *Le "je" paulinien: Étude pour mieux comprendre Gal. 2, 19-21* (Analecta gregoriana 253; Rome: Editrice Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 1988), 237, seems sympathetic to the conjecture but ultimately decides against it.

What is good about this conjecture is that an original τοῦ θεοῦ can easily account for both early extant readings as two independent attempts at fixing a problematic reading, but the resulting phrase, "God, who ... gave himself up for me," suffers from being more anomalous for Paul than either of the extant readings. In particular, O'Neill's argument that "[t]he verb παραδίδωμι is used with God as the implied subject in Rom. 4.25" does not take into account the object of this verb; it is Jesus whom God delivered up in Rom 4:25, but, in his emendation of Gal 2:20, God delivered up himself.

The Nestle-Aland reading, “by faith of/in the Son of God,” raises two major exegetical issues. The first is whether the genitive τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ is subjective, “faith(fulness) of the Son of God,”⁴² or objective, “faith in the Son of God.”⁴³ Proponents of the view that the genitive in Gal 2:20 is objective usually argue that this is controlled by a similar genitive in v.16, which they maintain to be objective.⁴⁴ On the other hand, proponents of the subjective genitive here argue that the context of v.20, rather than v.16, indicates that the genitive is subjective. The following participial phrase “who loved me and gave himself over for me” epexegetically restates what the Son of God’s faithfulness is,⁴⁵ and Paul’s statement that he is no longer living but Christ living in him (v.20a) suggests a christological rather than anthropological focus for the term “faith.”⁴⁶ Moreover, the articulation of v.20 supports the subjective genitive reading. Generally, when the noun lacks the article but its modifier has the article, the modifier is necessary for the correct identification of the noun.⁴⁷ This suggests that this Son-of-God faithfulness implicitly contrasts with Paul’s own faithfulness inherent in his life in the flesh (ὁ δὲ νῦν ζῶ ἐν σαρκί). Just as Paul’s own faithfulness is subjective, so too is the Son of God’s faithfulness.

⁴² So Richard B. Hays, *The Faith of Jesus Christ: The Narrative Substructure of Galatians 3:1-4:11* (2d ed.; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2002), 153-155; MATERA 96.

⁴³ So BURTON 139; BUSCEMI 224; James D. G. Dunn, “Once More, ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ” in Hays, *Faith*, 249-271, at 262; Gordon D. Fee, *Pauline Christology: An Exegetical-Theological Study* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2007), 223-226; Thomas H. Tobin, *Paul’s Rhetoric in its Contexts: The Argument of Romans* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2004), 132-133.

⁴⁴ BUSCEMI 224; Tobin, *Paul’s Rhetoric* 133. Oddly, LONGENECKER 94 reads the genitives of v.16 as subjective but then understands the genitive in v.20 to be objective due to the dative article τῇ, yet the article is dative merely because πίστει is dative.

⁴⁵ Campbell, *Deliverance*, 847; Hays, *Faith*, 291. But Dunn, “Once More,” 262 sees the genitive participle phrases as specifying the content of the faith in the Son of God.

⁴⁶ Campbell, *Deliverance*, 847-848. Hays, *Faith*, 154-155, sums it up as follows: “The whole context portrays Christ as the active agent and Paul as the instrument through which and/or for whom Christ’s activity comes to expression.” Hays, *Faith*, 154, also points to a syntactical analogy with Rom 5:15 ἐν χάριτι τῇ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (“in the grace of one person Jesus Christ”).

⁴⁷ See generally, Stéphanie Bakker, *The Noun Phrase in Ancient Greek: A Functional Analysis of the Order and Articulation of NP Constituents in Herodotus* (ASCP 15; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 271-282 and 289-290, especially at 290: “The use of the NaX [scil. noun-article-modifier] pattern, by contrast, presupposes that the modifier is essential for the identification of a referent: without the help of the modifier, the addressee would identify the wrong referent or no referent at all.”

The second issue raised by the Nestle-Aland reading is to account for why the text introduces the term “Son of God” at all.⁴⁸ The context does not trigger the use of this term; rather, the more commonly Pauline term “Christ” would be more appropriate in the immediate context.⁴⁹ Moreover, the phrase “faith in/of the Son of God” is unique to Paul,⁵⁰ and the fully articulated postpositive genitive phrase τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ is found only here in this exact form among the undisputed Paulines.⁵¹ Consequently, commentators have struggled to account for the phrasing of the Nestle-Aland reading of Gal 2:20.⁵²

As for the “God and Christ” reading, there are also two exegetical issues. The first is whether the lack of the article before Christ as the second member of a compound noun phrase means that the text is equating God and Christ,⁵³ thereby making this reading one of the most

⁴⁸ Noted but not elaborated by Campbell, *Deliverance*, 645: “‘The Son of God’ is not a name for Paul (and only Gal. 2:20 uses it).”

⁴⁹ So BURTON 139, who concedes: “What particular phase of the meaning of this title as applied to Jesus is here in mind, or why it is chosen instead of Χριστός or Χριστός Ἰησοῦς, which have been used in this passage thus far, there is nothing in the context to indicate.” Burton goes on to argue that perhaps Paul used this phrase because he was thinking of Christ’s love.

⁵⁰ Cf. Hermas 93.5 οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ διδάσκαλοι . . . κοιμηθέντες ἐν δυνάμει καὶ πίστει τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ “the apostles and teachers . . . fallen asleep in the son of God’s power and faith.” If the genitive τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ construes with both power and faith, then since the first (power) is Christological, so should the second (faith).

⁵¹ But cf. Eph 4:13 τῆς ἐπιγνώσεως τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ “of the knowledge of the Son of God” (however τοῦ υἱοῦ is omitted by F G b). Among the undisputed letters, Paul’s favorite way by far of expressing divine filiation is ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ (Rom 1:3, 9, 5:10, 8:29; 1 Cor 1:19; Gal 1:16, 4:4, 6; 1 Thess 1:10), though with some variations: τὸν ἑαυτοῦ υἱοῦ (Rom 8:3), τοῦ ἰδίου υἱοῦ (Rom 8:32), absolute ὁ υἱός (1 Cor 15:28), anarthrous υἱοῦ θεοῦ (Rom 1:4), and the pre-posed genitive ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ γὰρ υἱός (2 Cor 1:19).

⁵² Some argue that Paul was incorporating a traditional formulation, but Gabriella Berényi, “Gal 2:20: a Pre-Pauline or a Pauline Text?” *Bib* 64 (1984):490-537 at 522-523, counters that Gal 2:20 is not a traditional saying because the use of παραδοῦναι with the reflexive pronoun is found only in the New Testament at Gal 2:20 and Eph 4:19, 5:2, 25. She goes on to argue that, despite the fact that the use of the phrase “Son of God” is “very rare” in Paul (528 n.62), this “very solemn title” was chosen to enhance the paradox of Christ’s delivering himself up for Paul and lend “an audacious, unusual character” to the entire statement (528-529, also 530, 536).

⁵³ This article-substantive-καί-substantive construction is also known as the “Granville Sharp construction”; see especially Daniel B. Wallace, *Granville Sharp’s Canon and Its Kin: Semantics and Significance* (SBG 14; New York: Peter Lang, 2009), 7 n.21. Wallace argues strongly that this construction with personal, singular, and non-proper referents means that the construction as a whole refers to a single person, but grammarians of Classical Greek prefer to think of this construction as merely having the effect of “a single notion” (SMYTH 291 § 1143) or being “depicted as one whole” (Bakker, *Noun Phrase*, 177).

explicit statements of Christ's divinity in the Pauline corpus.⁵⁴ Though this construction admits this interpretive possibility,⁵⁵ it is more likely that Paul's use of "Christ" as a proper name makes the term sufficiently definite for Paul that the article is unnecessary.⁵⁶ This means that, if the reading was original to Paul, it would refer to two separate persons,⁵⁷ not to a single God-Christ person.⁵⁸

Second, as with the other reading, the genitive phrase τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ can be either subjective, "faith of God and Christ," or objective, "faith in God and Christ." Though this issue for this specific reading has hardly been discussed in the literature, the objective genitive seems difficult to sustain. Against the objective reading, Paul does not otherwise describe two faiths for a Christian, one in God and another in Christ. On the other hand, the subjective reading of the genitive is appropriate because Paul would be talking about God's faithfulness (cf. Rom 3:3 τὴν πίστιν τοῦ θεοῦ),⁵⁹ as well as Christ's. Both persons are mentioned in the nearby context, especially v.19 ("that I live to God; I am crucified in Christ"). Moreover, as

⁵⁴ So NET 860: "The construction 'of God and Christ' appears to be motivated as a more explicit affirmation of the deity of Christ (following as it apparently does the Granville Sharp rule). Although Paul certainly has an elevated Christology, explicit 'God-talk' with reference to Jesus does not normal appear until the later books."

⁵⁵ See generally Nigel Turner, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek: Syntax* (vol. 3; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1963), 181: "The art. may be carried over from the first noun to the other(s), especially if they are regarded as a unified whole and the gender and number are the same. . . . [However,] the repetition of the art. was not strictly necessary to ensure that the items be considered separately." See also Bakker, *Noun Phrase*, 177-178: "the different entities are depicted as one whole."

⁵⁶ So Wallace, *Granville Sharp's Canon*, 237, esp. n.7: "Since they [scil. proper names] do not require an article to be definite, one cannot conclude that the article 'carries over' to the proper name in the sense of referential identity."

⁵⁷ John Bligh, *Galatians: A Discussion of St Paul's Epistle* (Householder Commentaries 1; London: St Paul Publications, 1969), 215, argues in favor of two persons because Gal 2:20-21 corresponds to 1:4-5 where Jesus Christ gave himself according to the will of God the Father. Note also the dual reference to God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ in 1:3.

⁵⁸ Pace Bart D. Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture: The Effect of Early Christological Controversies on the Text of the New Testament* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 86-87; NET 860; perhaps also BETZ 125 n.104. Wallace, *Granville Sharp's Canon*, 237 abandons *sub silentio* his prior position in NET 860. His statement of the Granville-Sharp rule explicitly excludes proper names from its scope (Daniel B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics: An Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament* [Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1996], 271-272), and he concedes that Christ is a proper name in the epistles (Wallace, *Granville Sharp's Canon*, 252 n.52).

⁵⁹ Howard Eshbaugh, "Textual Variants and Theology: A Study of the Galatians Text of Papyrus 46." *JSNT* 3 (1979): 60-72 at 67.

explained above, the articulation of ἐν πίστει ... τῆ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ implicitly contrasts Paul's own faithfulness (subjective) with that of God and Christ.

Weighing the intrinsic probabilities between the first two readings is complicated by the lack of exact parallels for both wordings in Paul. Both “faith of God and Christ” and “faith of the Son of God” are found only here in Paul,⁶⁰ and both genitive phrases after “faith” are uniquely formulated in the undisputed letters of Paul, though analogous formulations are attested for both τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ⁶¹ and τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ.⁶² Metzger's denial that “Paul nowhere else expressly speaks of God as the object of a Christian's faith”⁶³ not only begs the question that the genitive is objective but is also too narrowly drawn to be fully cogent. For example, Paul expressly talks of the Thessalonians' faith in God at 1 Thess 1:8 (ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν ἡ πρὸς τὸν θεόν). As another example, in Rom 4:23-24, Paul refers to his contemporary Christians as “those believing in the one who raised our Lord Jesus from the dead” (τοῖς πιστεύουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐγείραντα Ἰησοῦν τὸν κύριον ἐκ νεκρῶν). Even within Galatians itself, God is the object of the faith of Abraham, who functions as a model for gentile Christians (Gal 3:6, 8-9; see also Rom 4:3, 11-12).⁶⁴ Moreover, the Christology of the reading τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ is not too high for

⁶⁰ Noted by Eshbaugh, “Textual Variants,” 67.

⁶¹ Though Raymond E. Brown, *Jesus, God and Man: Modern Biblical Reflections* (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1967), 11, argues that “[t]he phrase *tu theou kai Christou* is never found elsewhere in the Pauline writings, and so is suspect,” various fuller phraseologies are found throughout the Pauline corpus (Rom 1:7; 1 Cor 1:3; 2 Cor 1:2; Gal 1:3; Phil 1:2; 1 Thess 1:2; Phlm 3; cf. Eph 1:2, 6:23; 2 Thess 2; 1 Tim 1:2, 5:21; 2 Tim 1:2, 4:1; Tit 1:4, 2:13).

⁶² Farahian, *Le “je” paulinien*, 234 n.10 properly calls into question Metzger's appeal to “the customary Pauline expression τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ” (METZGER 524, followed by MATERA 96). Metzger's claim works only at a conceptual level—as stated above, Paul prefers other formulations to express divine filiation.

⁶³ METZGER 524. Also BETZ 125 n.104; BURTON 139 (“The apostle never speaks of God expressly as the object of a Christian's faith.”); BUSCEMI 196 (“mai altrove in Paulo Dio è oggetto della fede”); Ehrman, *Orthodox Corruption*, 86; LONGENECKER 94; Pedro Mendoza Magallón, «Estar crucificado juntamente con Cristo»: el nuevo status del creyente en Cristo. *Estudio exegético-teológico de Gal 2,15-21 y Rom 6,5-11* (Tesi Gregoriana Serie Teologica 122; Rome: Editrice Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 2005), 94 n.185; Kazimeirz Romaniuk, *L'amour du Père et du Fils dans la sotériologie de saint Paul* (Analecta biblica 15; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1961), 31.

⁶⁴ See Campbell, *Deliverance*, 873.

Paul,⁶⁵ because the lack of the article before Christ does not necessarily equate God and Christ in this construction. Indeed, having both God and Christ in focus fits the context very well, with the two of them together being mentioned in both v.19 and v.21,⁶⁶ while there is little intrinsic reason for Paul to write “Son of God.”⁶⁷ Furthermore, the τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ reading lends itself better to a subjective genitive reading, which also fits the context very well.⁶⁸

Transcriptionally, the τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ reading is unobjectionable to scribes,⁶⁹ so textual critics have found it necessary to posit a two-stage error scenario in which τοῦ υἱοῦ was omitted by accident to read the very difficult τοῦ θεοῦ (“faith in/of God who ... gave himself up for me”), and then was later corrected by adding καὶ Χριστοῦ.⁷⁰ On the other hand, an anti-Patrippassionist scribe could well have misread the τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ as a single person, which would suggest the passibility of God in this context, and fixed the reading to avoid that implication.⁷¹

⁶⁵ Pace Ehrman, *Orthodox Corruption*, 86-87; NET 860; perhaps BETZ 125 n.104.

⁶⁶ WEISS 9: “Aber das του θεου και χριστου (Lchm. Treg. txt. nach BDFG d. e. g.) ist nicht nur offenbar die schwierigere Lesart, sondern wird auch durch v. 21 bestätigt wo deutlich vorausgesetzt ist, dass vorher von beiden geredet war.”

⁶⁷ Pace Romaniuk, *L’amour*, 32, who argues that the clause “I am crucified with Christ” indicates that Paul only had the Son in view. Contradicting this argument is the immediately preceding clause in v.19, ἵνα θεῷ ζήσω, “so that I may live to God,” which also puts the Father in view. At any rate, Romaniuk does not explain why Paul wrote “Son of God” instead of merely “Christ.”

⁶⁸ So Norbert Baumert, *Der weg des Trauens: Übersetzung und Auslegung des Briefes an die Galater und des Briefes an die Philipper* (Würzburg: Echter, 2009), 50.

⁶⁹ Peter M. Head, “Galatians 2:20: ‘I live by faith in God and Christ ...’,” *Evangelical Textual Criticism* (March 15, 2006), online: <http://evangelicaltextualcriticism.blogspot.com/2006/03/galatians-220-i-live-by-faith-in-god.html>; cf. Ehrman, *Orthodox Corruption*, 86; LIGHTFOOT 119.

⁷⁰ METZGER 524; MEYER 54. Also Ehrman, *Orthodox Corruption*, 86.

⁷¹ WEISS 1896:9 calls “God and Christ” the apparently more difficult reading (“offenbar die schwierigere Lesart”) but does not explain why. On the other hand, Eshbaugh, “Textual Variants,” 67 suggests the “Son of God” reading “shows a higher, more formalized Christology.” Fee, *Pauline Christology*, 511-512 deduces the Christology of Gal 2:20 from Paul’s use of *Son of God*: “the very fact that in this case he identifies Christ as ‘the Son of God’ suggests that what overwhelms Paul about such love is not simply Christ’s death on his behalf [but] that the preexistent, and therefore divine, Son of God is the one who by incarnation as well as crucifixion ‘died for me.’ Contrarily, Brown, *Jesus*, 11 sees the “Son of God” as “the less developed reading from a theological viewpoint,” apparently if the phrase “God and Christ” is understood as equating the two persons.

Accordingly, the intrinsic probabilities suggest that “God and Christ” fits the context better than “Son of God,” and the transcriptional probabilities also favor the “God and Christ” reading. For these reasons, the “God and Christ” reading, τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ, ought to be adopted for a critical text of Galatians.

Gal 5:17b . . . ἵνα μὴ ᾗ ἐάν θέλητε ταῦτα ποιῆτε.

Var.	Western branch			Eastern branch		EDS.
ᾗ ἐάν		B ^C	Ⲛ ×1175	A 1241S		SCC SBL NA S BW WH T L ^T
ᾗ ἄν				C ^C	Ψ 1611 Byz	RP
ὁ ἄν	D* F G					
ἄν		B*				
ἄ				C*	1739 Chrys	L ^M
?	Marc d b ×vg	P46	33	P		

Not noted in the NA27 apparatus, this variation unit is fragmented along the basic branches of the textual transmission of Galatians. Nevertheless, B and the Western branch agree with each other by reading ἄν, against the rest of the tradition which reads ἐάν when it is attested. The only witness to omit the relative pronoun ἄ is B*, but this omission is probably due to parablepsis from the *alpha* of ἄ to the *alpha* of (ἐ)άν (and B was corrected to read ᾗ ἐάν);⁷² thus, B*'s ἄν actually fails to provide substantial support for either ἄν or ἐάν when the relative pronoun is included. With B* out of the picture, the two basic readings are ᾗ ἐάν of the Eastern branch plus Ⲛ (and B^C) and ὁ ἄν of the Western branch. The external evidence thus favors the reading ᾗ ἐάν.

Originally a combination of εἰ and ἄν, the particle ἐάν was used in classical Greek as a conditional marker with the meaning “if,” but by Hellenistic times it came to be frequently

⁷² WEISS 63.

used after relative pronouns.⁷³ Since Galatians was written in Hellenistic Greek, this use of ἕάν after a relative pronoun is intrinsically suitable, but classically trained scribes may have been motivated to change the reading to a more classical ἄν.⁷⁴ Furthermore, the singular relative pronoun of the Greek-Latin diglots is intrinsically unsuitable due to the number mismatch with its resumptive pronoun ταῦτα. Thus, the internal evidence too favors the reading ἕάν.

Gal 6:2 Ἀλλήλων τὰ βάρη βαστάζετε καὶ οὕτως ἀναπληρώσατε τὸν νόμον τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

Var.	Western branch			Eastern branch		EDS.
ἀναπληρώσατε	Marc F G d b xvg	(P46 ἀπο-) B				SCC SBL NA BW T ^M L ^T
ἀναπληρώσατε	D		Ⲛ 33	A C 1241S	1739 Ψ Chrys 1611 Byz	RP S WH T ^T L ^M
?				P		

The external evidence is split between the Western branch and its allies (P46 and B) and the Eastern branch and its allies (Ⲛ 33).⁷⁵ Thus, the internal evidence must be determinative. The difference between the two readings lies in the inflection of the verb. The Western branch’s verb ἀναπληρώσατε is in future indicative: “Bear each other’s burdens and thus **you will fulfill** the law of Christ,” while the Eastern branch has an aorist imperative ἀναπληρώσατε: “Bear each other’s burdens and thus **fulfill** the law of Christ.” The future indicative is a better fit to the context because it gives a promised consequence of the earlier

⁷³ BDAG “ἕάν,” 267-268; BDF 57 § 107; LSJ “ἕάν,” 465.

⁷⁴ Cf. the discussion in ZIMMER³ 301-305.

⁷⁵ METZGER 530 favors the future indicative reading of P46, B, and G because of its “early and diverse external diversification,” but this is in tension with the more usual low regard for B-Western agreements by rational eclecticists.

imperative,⁷⁶ while the aorist imperative appears to be a scribal harmonization to the mood of the preceding verb.⁷⁷

3.2.2 Inner Branch **b**

The following fifteen variation units occur along inner branch **b** where P46 and B are in agreement against the readings of their nearest stemmatic relatives, i.e., the Western branch, **ℵ**, and 33:

Gal 1:12 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐγὼ παρὰ ἀνθρώπου παρέλαβον αὐτὸ **οὐδέ** ἐδιδάχθην, ἀλλὰ δι’ ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

Var.	Western branch			Eastern branch		EDS.
οὐδέ	D* F G		ℵ 33 ×1175	A P 1241S	1739 Ψ Chrys	SCC WH ^M T L
οὔτε		P46 B			1611 Byz	SBL NA RP S BW WH ^T
?	Marc d b ×vg			C		

The οὔτε reading is only found in the P46-B cluster, and the Harklean (including the Greek 1611) and Byzantine groups.⁷⁸ Ordinarily, the external evidence strongly favors οὐδέ, being found in both the Western and Eastern branches along with **ℵ** and 33. The lack of genealogical coherence for the οὔτε readings suggests that it arose on separate occasions and is therefore secondary, unless it appears that it is much more likely that scribes would have changed οὔτε into οὐδέ than the reverse. This assessment, then, requires an examination of the internal evidence.

⁷⁶ LONGENECKER 275.

⁷⁷ BUSCEMI 568; MATERA 214; METZGER 530; MEYER 319; MUSSNER 399 n.23; ROHDE 260; SIEFFERT 333 n.**; WEISS 49. It is conceivable, however, that the harmonization could go in the other direction, for the preceding βαστάζετε, being a present imperative, ends with the same letters as the future: -ετε. BURTON 330 has a different argument against the future form: “The fut. is probably due to the natural tendency to convert the second imperative into a promissory apodosis,” but without any evidence of this “natural tendency.”

⁷⁸ So ZAHN 52 n.52. BURTON 40, to the contrary, weighs the external evidence against οὐδέ because it is Western, but this does not account for the reading in **ℵ** 33 A P 1241S 1739 and Ψ.

The distinction between οὐδέ and οὔτε in this context is fairly subtle. When these negative conjunctions follow a negative particle (as here, the οὐ in the adverbial οὐδέ γάρ), οὐδέ adds another negative thought while οὔτε subdivides the earlier negative thought.⁷⁹ Thus, the reading οὐδέ ἐδιδάχθην implies that Paul was also denying that he been taught the gospel by a human at an occasion separate from his receiving of the gospel (οὐδέ . . . παρέλαβον).⁸⁰ After all, Paul is about to admit that he spent a fortnight in Jerusalem with Cephas three years after his call (v.18), and this denial of being taught with οὐδέ to indicate a separate negative thought allows him preemptively to deny being taught the gospel even then. As for the reading οὔτε ἐδιδάχθην, this usage is rare in Greek because οὔτε is usually found paired with at least one other οὔτε,⁸¹ so the construction οὐ(δέ) . . . οὔτε . . . tends to suggest that the second negative element is an afterthought.⁸² This reading would suggest that Paul re-characterized his initial reception of the gospel as not involving teaching and implies no denial of being taught at another occasion.

Intrinsically, the separate denial of the οὐδέ ἐδιδάχθην reading better fits Paul's defensiveness about his apostleship. For example, in 1:1 Paul carefully laid out that he was an apostle not from any group of people nor by anybody (Παῦλος ἀπόστολος οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων οὐδέ δι' ἀνθρώπου).⁸³ Then again, οὔτε could be the harder reading. After all, it is a rare construction in ancient Greek,⁸⁴ and a scribe, not noticing that the οὐ in οὐδέ substituted for an

⁷⁹ BDF 231 § 445(2); WINER 509.

⁸⁰ ZAHN 52.

⁸¹ SMYTH 661 § 2941. Elsewhere in Paul, οὔτε is always paired with at least one other οὔτε: Rom 8:38-39 (10 times); 1 Cor 3:7, 6:9-10 (7 times), 8:8, 11:11; Gal 5:6, 6:15; 1 Thess 2:5-6 (4 times). ZIMMER¹ 487 concludes from this that an unpaired οὔτε is non-Pauline, but the rarity of the expression makes such a conclusion precarious.

⁸² DENNISTON 509-510; WINER 513.

⁸³ Cf. LONGENECKER 23, who connects 1:12 with 1:1 though he does not see any difference in meaning between οὐδέ and οὔτε here (20 n.b).

⁸⁴ BURTON 40 ("unusual"); LIGHTFOOT 80 ("less regular").

initial οὔτε, may have assimilated οὔτε to the preceding οὐδέ.⁸⁵ On the other hand, dissimilation can also occur, and these conjunctions are often interchanged among the manuscripts,⁸⁶ due to their similarity of sound⁸⁷ or perhaps because a scribe did not realize that οὐδέ ἐδιδάχθην referred to a separate incident at which Paul could have learned about the gospel. At any rate, the internal evidence does not seem decisive enough to overturn the excellent external evidence for οὐδέ.

Gal 1:15 Ὅτε δὲ εὐδόκησεν ὁ θεός με ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου καὶ καλέσας διὰ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ **16** ἀποκαλύψαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐμοί, .
..

Var.	Western branch			Eastern branch		EDS.
ὁ θεός	D d		ⲛ 33 ×1175	A P 1241S	1739 Ψ Chrys Byz	SCC NA ^T RP S WH ^T T ^T L ^T
-	F G b ×vg	P46 B			1611	SBL NA ^M BW WH ^M T ^M L ^M
?	Marc			C		

Although the shorter reading without ὁ θεός (“God”) is classified here as a P46-B cluster reading, it is also found in some members of the Western branch (F G b ×vg), so it could have also been classified as belonging to the basic Western/Eastern opposition, with the longer reading of D and d being a secondary development. The longer reading is also found in the

⁸⁵ WEISS 61: “Die Emendatoren übersahen, dass sich dasselbe [οὔτε] an das in ουδε liegende ου anschliesst, wenn sie nicht einfach nach diesem conformirten.” So also MATERA 52-53. Within the Byzantine tradition, there are some examples of assimilating οὔτε to οὐδέ here (69 205-209 2147).

⁸⁶ BDAG “οὔτε,” 740. For example, the scribe of P75 created a singular reading of οὐδέ ... οὔτε from an original οὔτε ... οὔτε at John 8:19 (ROYSE 680 n.344). Examples of changes from οὐδέ to οὔτε include Rom 8:7 (L), 1 Cor 3:2 (L al), 5:1 (88), 11:14 (1175), 15:50 (33); Gal 2:3 (F G), 3:28 (Ψ 323 796 943). Examples of changes from οὔτε to οὐδέ include 1 Cor 3:7 (A C), 1 Cor 6:9-10 (D).

⁸⁷ The devoicing of the stop in οὐδέ to οὔτε could have been triggered by the preceding word αὐτό. Such devoicing of consonants is also a characteristic of the Greek speech in Egypt at this time, see generally Francis T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* (vol. 1: Phonology; Milan Goliardica, 1976).

Eastern branch, and the basic **Σ** and 33. Though textual critics have viewed the balance of the external evidence as tilting in favor of the inclusion of “God,”⁸⁸ it is necessary to consider which reading the internal evidence supports.

With the shorter reading, the participial clause ὁ ἀφορίσας με . . . καὶ καλέσας . . . is the subject of the verb εὐδόκησεν: “the one who set me apart . . . and called [me] . . . was pleased.” The unnamed agent is clearly God, as evident in the complementary infinitive clause ἀποκαλύψαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ (“to reveal his son”), and the longer reading makes this explicit.⁸⁹ With the longer reading, ὁ θεός is the explicit subject of the verb, while the participial clause is in apposition functioning like a relative clause: “God, who set me apart . . . and called [me] . . . , was pleased to reveal his son in me.” In either case, Gal 1:15 states implicitly or explicitly that God is the one who set apart and called Paul.

Intrinsically, it is true that Paul often omits θεός with substantivized participles that refer to God.⁹⁰ But not always so. In many cases, Paul explicitly mentions God when there is a contrast with another entity.⁹¹ For Gal 1:15, the contrast was already signaled in v.10, where Paul rhetorically asks if he is trying to appeal to people or to God (ἄρτι γὰρ ἀνθρώπους πείθω ἢ τὸν θεόν;). Verse 15, then, answers the question—it was God who was pleased (εὐδόκησεν ὁ

⁸⁸ So METZGER 521 (majority of the committee); ZAHN 60. Conceded by BUSCEMI 106. The longer reading is also found in Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 5.12.5: *Cum autem placuit Deo, qui me ex utero matris meae segregavit* (W. Wigan Harvey, *Sancti Irenaei episcopi Lugdunensis: libros quinque adversus haereses* [2 vols.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1857], 2:354).

⁸⁹ BETZ 69-70; BURTON 51.

⁹⁰ LIGHTFOOT 82. For example, Gal 1:6 ἀπὸ τοῦ καλέσαντος (“from the one who called”), 2:8 ὁ γὰρ ἐνεργήσας Πέτρῳ (“the one who worked in Peter”—perhaps the holy spirit, however), 3:5 ὁ οὖν ἐπιχορηγῶν . . . καὶ ἐνεργῶν (“the one who supplies . . . and works”), 5:8 οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ καλοῦντος ὑμᾶς (“not from the one calling you;); Rom 8:11 ὁ ἐγείρας Χριστὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν (“the one who raised Christ from the dead”); Phil 1:6 ὁ ἐναρξάμενος ἐν ὑμῖν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν (“the one who began a good work in you”); and 1 Thess 5:24 πιστὸς ὁ καλῶν ὑμᾶς (“faithful is one who calls you”).

⁹¹ See Rom 8:33 θεὸς ὁ δικαιοῦν (“It is God who justifies”—in contrast with the one who accuses), 9:22 θέλων ὁ θεὸς ἐνδείξασθαι (“God wanting to demonstrate”—in contrast with the mere human of v.20); 1 Cor 3:7 ἀλλ’ ὁ ἀυξάνων θεός (“but the one who grows is God”—in contrast with Paul who planted and Apollos who watered); 2 Cor 4:6 ὁ θεὸς ὁ εἰπὼν (“God, the one who said”—in contrast with the god of this age, v.4); and Phil 2:13 θεὸς γὰρ ὁ ἐνεργῶν ἐν ὑμῖν (“for it is God who works in you”—in contrast with Paul).

θεός), and the appositional participial clauses elaborate that answer by stating actions that can be done by God, not Paul's contemporaries.

Transcriptionally, the shorter reading has usually been valued, except in cases where accidental omission by skipping between similar letters is apparent.⁹² In this case, the omission of ὁ θεός occasioned by skipping between the two masculine singular nominative articles (ὁ) is certainly feasible.⁹³ Royse, on the other hand, has argued that, for early variants the *longer* reading ought to be preferred unless it appears to be a harmonization or a grammatical improvement.⁹⁴ Neither reason is applicable to Gal 1:15. The longer reading does not appear to be a harmonization,⁹⁵ and adding an explicit subject does not improve the grammar.⁹⁶

Furthermore, the lack of genealogical coherence plays an important role in assessing the transcriptional probabilities. The witnesses for the shorter and longer readings are not close genealogical relatives, so the issue becomes deciding which is more likely to account for this genealogical incoherence. Is it more likely for two unrelated groups to add the same exact words in the same exact place coincidentally (i.e., D and **N**, 33, Easterns adding ὁ θεός after εὐδόκησεν), or for two unrelated groups to omit the same words independently (i.e., F-G and P46-B)? Since it is generally easier to agree accidentally on what to omit rather than on what

⁹² METZGER 13*: "In general the shorter reading is to be preferred, except where (a) Parablepsis arising from homoeoarcton or homoeoteleuton may have occurred (i.e., where the eye of the copyist may have inadvertently passed from one word to another having a similar sequence of letters) . . ."

⁹³ Pace WEISS 83, who claims that there is no apparent accidental reason for the omission: "da hier an einen blossen Schreibfehler nicht zu denken ist." LÉGASSE 91 n.3 raises the possibility of an intentional omission to avoid duplication with the participle ὁ ἀφορίσας or by assimilation to the various participial parallels where Paul does not name God explicitly.

⁹⁴ ROYSE 735.

⁹⁵ The possible parallel to 1 Cor 1:21 εὐδόκησεν ὁ θεός is too remote and contextually too dissimilar to plausibly prompt a harmonization, though it corroborates that the expression belongs to Paul's thinking and style.

⁹⁶ Contrary to many critics who feel that adding an explicit subject for a verb is a reason to reject the longer reading: BETZ 70 n.132; BURTON 51-52; BUSCEMI 106; LIGHTFOOT 82; LONGENECKER 26 n.a; MATERA 59; METZGER 521-522 (minority view of Bruce Metzger and Allen Wikgren); MEYER 11; MUSSNER 81; NET 859-860; SIEFFERT 60 n.**.

to add in its exact wording, the balance of probabilities favors coincidental omission over addition.

In summary, the longer reading is intrinsically suitable for Paul, and the omission could have been occasioned by the repetition of the masculine singular article (ὁ). As a result, the internal evidence favors of the longer reading, which corroborates, not overturns, the views of textual critics as to the weight of the external evidence.

Gal 1:19 ἕτερον δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων **οὐκ εἶδον** εἰ μὴ Ἰάκωβον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ κυρίου.

Var.	Western branch			Eastern branch		EDS.
οὐκ εἶδον			Ⲛ 33 ×1175	A P 1241S	1739 Ψ Chrys 1611 Byz	SCC SBL NA RP S BW WH T L
οὐχ εἶδον		P46 B				
εἶδον οὐδένα	D F G d (b) ×vg					
?	Marc			C		

This variation unit is actually a three-way split among the Western branch, the P46-B cluster, and the Eastern branch with its Ⲛ and 33 allies.

All three readings deny that Paul saw any apostle other than Cephas and James the brother of the Lord, but their emphases vary. The least emphatic is the simple negative οὐκ εἶδον of the Eastern branch and its allies. As for P46-B, its form of negative οὐχ may be the result of confusion over whether εἶδον begins with an aspirate,⁹⁷ or an elided form of οὐχί (i.e. οὐχ' εἶδον),⁹⁸ which is a strengthened form of the negative and thus serves to heighten Paul's denial of not seeing any other apostle. As for the Western branch reading, the use of the

⁹⁷ So WEISS 60. BDF 10 § 14 gives various examples of οὐχ with the verb ἰδεῖν. If this is the case, then the P46-B reading is merely an orthographic variant of οὐκ εἶδον.

⁹⁸ Cf. the reading οὐχ Ἰουδαϊκῶς at Gal 2:14 in Ⲛ* A C 33 1175 1241S for οὐχὶ Ἰουδαϊκῶς in Ⲛ^c B Ψ.

negative pronoun οὐδένα (“no one”) also serves to strengthen Paul’s denial about not seeing any other apostle.⁹⁹

Accordingly, the reading that best explains the origin of the others is the simple negative οὐκ εἶδον, which the Western branch and the P46-B strengthened in different ways.

Gal 2:13 12 . . . [Κηφᾶς] ὑπέστελλεν καὶ ἀφώριζεν ἑαυτὸν φοβούμενος τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς. 13 καὶ συνυπεκρίθησαν αὐτῷ **καὶ** οἱ λοιποὶ Ἰουδαῖοι, ὥστε καὶ Βαρναβᾶς συναπήχθη αὐτῶν τῇ ὑποκρίσει.

Var.	Western branch			Eastern branch		EDS.
καί	D F G d b		Ⲛ 33 ×1175	A C P 1241S	Ψ Chrys 1611 Byz	SCC SBL NA ^T RP S WH ^T T L
-	×vg	P46 B			1739	NA ^M BW WH ^M
?	Marc					

The omission of the adverbial καί (“too”) is found in a few unrelated witnesses, vg, P46-B, and 1739. Thus, the genealogical coherence of the external evidence is on the side of the inclusion of καί.

Without the adverb, the first clause of Gal 2:13 states that “the rest of the Jews pretended to agree with him [i.e., Cephas].”¹⁰⁰ The reference to the “rest of the Jews” is to be compared with the reference to those of the circumcision party (τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς) at the end of v.12, suggesting two sets of Jews: one who advocated circumcision for gentiles (v.12) and another who did not (v.13). At any rate, the first clause of v.13 has the latter group pretending to go along with the former group and Cephas. Paul’s suggestion of pretence implies that he

⁹⁹ Cf. BETZ 77 n.201, who considers this an “attempt[] to clarify the text.”

¹⁰⁰ J. H. Moulton and G. Milligan, *Vocabulary of the Greek Testament* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1930; repr. Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1997), “συνυποκρίνομαι,” 615-616, recommend the translation “pretended to agree with” based on Polybius, *Hist.* 3.92.5: Φάβιος . . . συνυπεκρίνετο τοῖς προθύμωσ καὶ φιλοκινδύνωσ διακειμένωσ. BDAG “συνυποκρίνομαι,” 976-977, has “to join in playing a part or pretending, join in pretense/hypocrisy.”

thought they knew better but masked their true feelings. If the adverbial *καί* is read in v.13, then it would emphasize a parallelism between the rest of the Jews and the circumcision party plus Cephas.¹⁰¹ This parallelism thus implies that both the circumcision party and Cephas also recognized that withdrawing table fellowship from gentile Christians was “not walking rightly in the truth of the gospel” (v.14).

Intrinsically, the inclusion of the adverbial *καί* fits Paul’s context better, for it underscores Paul’s stance that there is no excuse for their behavior because everyone recognizes what “the truth of the gospel” is. When they do not behave properly, even if out of fear (v.13), it is just a pretence on their part. Transcriptionally, though the addition of *καί* is possibly an assimilation to the following adverbial *καί* before *Βαρναβᾶς*,¹⁰² it is nonetheless difficult to explain why isolated scribes should independently insert the same adverbial *καί* before *οἱ λοιποὶ Ἰουδαῖοι*.¹⁰³ Admittedly, the internal evidence for including *καί* does not seem particularly decisive, but it agrees with the genealogical coherence of the external evidence in its favor.

¹⁰¹ See Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, 99-101, on the two functions of the non-conjunctive *καί*, non-contiguous parallelism (“too, also”) and confirmation (“even”). The adverbial *καί* before *Βαρναβᾶς*, on the other hand, indicates confirmation: “so that even Barnabas got caught up in their pretence.”

¹⁰² So WEISS 113.

¹⁰³ BURTON 109; LONGENECKER 63 n.d. BUSCEMI 182 suggests that it might have been omitted because it seemed superfluous, especially with an adverbial *καί* in the following clause. ZAHN 115 n.46 puts forward the views that the adverbial *καί* implies that Cephas too was a hypocrite.

Gal 2:16 εἰδότες δὲ ὅτι οὐ δικαιούται ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἔργων νόμου διὰ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς **Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν** ἐπιστεύσαμεν,

Var.	Western branch			Eastern branch		EDS.
Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν	D F G d b xvg		ⲛ	A C P	Ψ Byz	SCC SBL NA RP S WH ^T T L
Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν		P46 B	33 x1175	1241S	1739 1611	BW WH ^M
Ἰησοῦν					Chrys	
?	Marc					

Here, the opposition is between P46-B and the Western branch, while the Eastern branch is divided at every level. Internal evidence must decide this reading. Intrinsically, Paul has a tendency to prefer the order Christ Jesus except in genitives,¹⁰⁴ and transcriptionally, the order of Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν appears to be an assimilation to the order of Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ in the preceding clause.¹⁰⁵ These considerations together suggest that Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν is the authorial reading.

Gal 3:7 6 Καθὼς Ἀβραὰμ ἐπίστευσεν τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνη · 7 γινώσκετε ἄρα ὅτι οἱ ἐκ πίστεως, οὗτοι **υἱοὶ εἰσιν** Ἀβραάμ.

Var.	Western branch			Eastern branch		EDS.
υἱοὶ εἰσιν		P46 B	ⲛ	P 1241S	Ψ Chrys	SCC SBL NA BW WH T ^T L ^T
εἰσιν υἱοὶ	D F G d b xvg		33 x1175	A C	1739 1611 Byz	RP S T ^M L ^M
?	Marc					

This is another opposition of P46-B against the Western branch, while the Eastern branch is split. As a result, internal evidence must decide the variant.

¹⁰⁴ BURTON 122-122.

¹⁰⁵ B also transposes Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ of the preceding clause.

The transposition of εἶσιν and υἱοί hardly affects the sense, but the emphasis is different. Both readings mean “these are Abraham’s sons.” On the one hand, the reading with the discontinuous noun phrase οὗτοι υἱοί εἶσιν Ἀβραάμ features the rhetorical figure of hyperbaton,¹⁰⁶ which serves to emphasize the first element, “sons.”¹⁰⁷ On the other hand, the word order of οὗτοι εἶσιν υἱοὶ Ἀβραάμ keeps the noun phrase υἱοὶ Ἀβραάμ together and does not emphasize “sons.” In light of the context, the emphasis on “sons” is a better fit intrinsically, because it anticipates Paul’s point about the Galatians being sons in Christ Jesus (3:26).¹⁰⁸

Transcriptionally, though the hyperbaton of οὗτοι υἱοί εἶσιν Ἀβραάμ lends a more sophisticated air to the clause, οὗτοι εἶσιν υἱοὶ Ἀβραάμ seems to be the easier reading because it is the unmarked word order and it keeps the noun phrase together.¹⁰⁹ Furthermore, the transposition of οὗτοι υἱοί εἶσιν to οὗτοι εἶσιν υἱοὶ could be accidental. Specifically, the υἱοί of the οὗτοι υἱοί εἶσιν reading is susceptible to dropping out by parablepsis occasioned by the common ending in -οι, yielding οὗτοι εἶσιν, which can be fixed by adding the omitted υἱοὶ after the εἶσιν.

Thus, both the intrinsic and transcriptional probabilities favor the word order υἱοί εἶσιν.

¹⁰⁶ Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, 57-60 under the term “discontinuous constituent”; SMYTH 679 § 3028 as “hyperbaton.”

¹⁰⁷ BUSCEMI 256; SIEFFERT 174.

¹⁰⁸ BUSCEMI 249; MATERA 118.

¹⁰⁹ LONGENECKER 108 n.b.; SIEFFERT 173 n.**: “jene Stellung ist, als die regelmässiger, Korrektur”; ZIMMER 2 329.

Gal 3:21a ὁ οὖν νόμος κατὰ τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ; μὴ γένοιτο. . . .

Var.	Western branch			Eastern branch		EDS.
τοῦ θεοῦ	D (F G -τοῦ) b xvg		Ⲛ 33 ×1175	A C 1241S	1739 Ψ Chrys 1611 Byz	SCC SBL NA ^T RP S WH ^T T L ^T
-	d	P46 B				NA ^M BW WH ^M L ^M
?	Marc			P		

The external evidence for the omission of τοῦ θεοῦ (“of God”) is limited to the Old Latin d and to the common ancestor of P46 and B. Since the Old Latin d is distantly related to P46-B and its closest relatives include the phrase, its agreement with P46-B is most likely coincidental. In other words, the inclusion of this phrase is strongly supported by the genealogical coherence of the external evidence and ought to be adopted for the critical text of Galatians, unless internal evidence can show that P46-B has managed to preserve the earliest form of the text.

The noun phrase τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ (“the promises of God”) is a fully articulated construction in which the head noun precedes the modifier. According to recent research on this construction, the first article indicates that the referent of the noun can be identified from the noun alone, while the second article means the modifier either confirms the identification of the noun or specifies a subset of the entities identified by the noun.¹¹⁰ For the particular noun phrase in Gal 3:21, the modifier phrase τοῦ θεοῦ should not be strictly necessary to identify what τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν refers to. And this is the case. The head noun refers back to the promises (αἱ ἐπαγγελίαι) that were spoken to Abraham in v.16. Because of this, the modifier is not essential to understanding the flow of Paul’s argument.

¹¹⁰ Bakker, *Noun Phrase*, 289-290.

Nevertheless, the modifier phrase τοῦ θεοῦ has a function of its own. It is confirmatory. It allows Paul's recipients to be sure that the identification with the promises spoken to Abraham in v.16 is correct. Although the passive ἐρρέθησαν ("were said") in v.16 allowed Paul to omit the actual agent of the speaking (i.e. God), those familiar with Genesis would know that it was God who said those promises to Abraham about his offspring (e.g. Gen 13:14-17, 17:3-8; cf. 24:7-8). Mentioning in v.21 that the promises were God's allows the recipients to confirm that it was the promises in these passages that Paul had in mind. The specification of τοῦ θεοῦ also fosters the cohesion of Paul's argument. In v.19 Paul states that the Law (i.e. the Torah) was ordained by angels through the hand of a mediator (i.e., Moses). In v.20, Paul makes a distinction between the mediator and God. Then v.21 launches into the rhetorical question: "So is the Law against the promises [of God]?" The modifier phrase τοῦ θεοῦ is what provides the connecting link between the mention of God in v.20 and the promises spoken in v.16. Without the modifier phrase "of God," the connection between the promises of v.16 and God in v.20 would not be so clear.

As for the intrinsic probabilities, the modifier phrase τοῦ θεοῦ is admittedly not necessary for the sense of the argument, for the argument can be made without it.¹¹¹ Yet this is to be expected for a post-nominal modifier whose head noun has an article—it is not strictly necessary to identify what the noun refers to. The mere fact that a phrase appears superfluous is not sufficient to hold that an author did not write it, because all writing has material not strictly necessary to convey the propositional meaning of the content.¹¹² What the modifier

¹¹¹ Indeed, some critics hold that the terseness is in accordance with Paul's style, who often refers to God's promises without a modifier: BURTON 193; LONGENECKER 143; METZGER 524.

¹¹² Paul Maas, *Textual Criticism* (trans. Barbara Flower; Oxford: Clarendon, 1958), 14-15: "[Interpolations] are particularly dangerous, as it is often very difficult to prove that a text based on them has been deformed (whereas

phrase does do, however, is make the argument cohesive and clear. It connects the unity of God in v.20 to his promises in v.16. Since the modifier phrase τοῦ θεοῦ is eminently suitable for its context, the intrinsic probabilities lean toward its inclusion.

The primary argument for omitting the words τοῦ θεοῦ is the text-critical canon of preferring the short reading.¹¹³ For example, Bruce Metzger suggests that “the words τοῦ θεοῦ may be a natural addition made by copyists who recalled such passages as Ro 4.20 or 2 Cor 1.20.”¹¹⁴ Yet the parallels at Rom 4:20 (εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ θεοῦ) and 2 Cor 1:20 (ὅσαι γὰρ ἐπαγγελίαι θεοῦ) are physically remote and literarily inexact. In fact, these parallels are conceptual and within the orbit of Paul’s thinking, a fact that bolsters the intrinsic probabilities for the longer reading.¹¹⁵ Another problem with the shorter reading canon is that, in the earliest period of transmission (to which the common ancestor of P46 and B certainly belongs), there was a tendency to make small omissions, often accidentally.¹¹⁶ In fact, the coherence of the external evidence suggests that accidental omission occurred once, if not twice. The phrase is missing in the Old Latin d, when its closest relatives include it. The phrase is included in such diverse and distantly related texts as the Western branch, the basic **Σ** and 33, and the Eastern

scribal blunders normally produce obvious nonsense); and in texts where such an interpolation has been demonstrated much becomes suspect simply because it appears to be superfluous. And it is so easy simply to cut out what could easily be dispensed with! But there is undoubtedly superfluous (or at least not demonstrably indispensable) matter in every original. So very thorny problems arise.”

¹¹³ E.g. METZGER 13*: “In general the shorter reading is to be preferred,” with exceptions for accidental omissions and material that looks superfluous, harsh, or impious to scribes. WEISS 90 sees no reason why τοῦ θεοῦ should have dropped out and argues that it was added to emphasize even more the impossibility of a conflict between the law and the promise, but SIEFFERT 218 n.* counters this suggestion by arguing that “of God” was deleted to avoid the idea that promises are opposed to the Law as if the reason was that the Law did not also come from God.

¹¹⁴ METZGER 525; so also BUSCEMI 317; LÉGASSE 261 n.6; ZAHN 178 n. 43. MUSSNER 250 n.31 also suggests an influence from Gal 3:18 δι’ ἐπαγγελίας κεχάρισται ὁ θεός, though here the promise is singular, not plural.

¹¹⁵ BETZ 173 n.95.

¹¹⁶ ROYSE 703-736. For a fuller treatment of this canon, see the above discussion about this at Gal 1:15.

branch, so that multiple independent additions of the same words seems progressively unlikely.¹¹⁷

Therefore, with the strong intrinsic probabilities for inclusion and the weak transcriptional probabilities against it, the internal evidence agrees with the coherence of the external evidence that Gal 3:21 should read τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ.

Gal 3:21b ὄντως ἐκ νόμου ἂν ἦν ἡ δικαιοσύνη

Var.	Western branch			Eastern branch		EDS.
ἐκ νόμου	D F G d b *vg		Ⲙ 33	A C 1241S	1739 Ψ Chrys 1611 Byz	SCC SBL NA RP S BW WHT L
ἐν νόμῳ		P46 B				
?	Marc			P		

Instead of ἐκ νόμου (“of the Law”), P46 and B read the phrase ἐν νόμῳ (“by the Law”) against every other witness. Transcriptionally, this appears to be a scribal harmonization in reminiscence of the same prepositional phrase with the cognate verb in Gal 3:11 ὅτι δὲ ἐν νόμῳ οὐδεὶς δικαιῶνται παρὰ τῷ θεῷ,¹¹⁸ though there is an intervening example of ἐκ νόμου at v.18 εἰ γὰρ ἐκ νόμου ἡ κληρονομία, albeit with “inheritance” rather than with “righteousness.” This indicates that the ἐν νόμῳ reading is secondary.

¹¹⁷ LONGENECKER 143; MEYER 129; NET 860-861. More reluctantly, BURTON 193; BUSCEMI 317; METZGER 526. MEYER 129 also suggests the omission of τοῦ θεοῦ was a harmonization to v.16, which lacks τοῦ θεοῦ.

¹¹⁸ BURTON 194; WEISS 56.

Gal 3:24 ὥστε ὁ νόμος παιδαγωγὸς ἡμῶν **γέγονεν** εἰς Χριστόν, ἵνα ἐκ πίστεως δικαιοθῶμεν.

Var.	Western branch			Eastern branch		EDS.
γέγονεν	D F G		Ⲣ 33	A C 1241S	1739 Ψ Chrys 1611 Byz	SCC SBL NA RP S BW WH T L
ἔγένετο		P46 B				
?	Marc d b ×vg			P		

This is an exclusively shared reading between P46 and B. The change from the perfect tense γέγονεν to the more common aorist tense ἐγένετο appears to foster a temporal sense for εἰς Χριστόν (“until Christ”), rather than as a goal (“about Christ”).¹¹⁹ There is a similar change in B from the perfect γέγονα to the aorist ἐγενόμην in 1 Cor 13:11.¹²⁰ Transcriptionally, then, the change to the aorist is the easier reading and therefore secondary.

Gal 4:23 ἀλλ’ ὁ **μέν** ἐκ τῆς παιδίσκης κατὰ σάρκα γεγέννηται, ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐλευθέρας δι’ ἐπαγγελίας.

Var.	Western branch			Eastern branch		EDS.
μέν	D F G d b		Ⲣ 33 ×1175	A C 1241S	1739 Ψ Chrys 1611 Byz	SCC SBL NA RP S WH ^T T L ^T
-	×vg	P46 B				BW WH ^M T ^M L ^M
?	Marc ¹²¹			P		

¹¹⁹ So BUSCEMI 318. Cf. BETZ 178.

¹²⁰ WEISS 43. Unfortunately, P46 is lacunose in 1 Cor 13:11, so it is not clear whether this change had happened in the common ancestor of P46 and B.

¹²¹ There is no Latin word corresponding to μέν in Tertullian, Marc. 5.4.8, *sed qui ex ancilla carnaliter natus est, qui vero ex libera per repromissionem*, while other Old Latin witnesses read *quidem* for μέν. On the one hand, John J. Clabeaux, *A Lost Edition of the Letters of Paul: A Reassessment of the Text of the Pauline Corpus Attested by Marcion* (CBQMS 21; Washington, D.C.: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1989), 86, takes this lack in Tertullian as evidence that Marcion’s Greek text also lacked the particle. On the other hand, Ulrich Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos: Rekonstruktion und historische Einordnung der marcionitischen Paulusbriefausgabe* (ANTT 25; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995), 20, discounts the evidentiary value of Tertullian for this and other cases of “textual trivia” due to Tertullian’s tendency for omission.

The particle μέν has the discourse function of marking its clause as less important than the corresponding δέ clause.¹²² Intrinsically, this reading fits Paul’s argument well because it highlights the positive member of the allegory. Transcriptionally, the omission of this little word, even if it was accidental,¹²³ has the effect of foregrounding the first clause, perhaps to strengthen the force of ἀλλά.¹²⁴ On balance, therefore, the internal evidence weakly favors the inclusion of μέν.

Gal 5:26 μὴ γινώμεθα κενόδοξοι, ἀλλήλους προκαλούμενοι, **ἀλλήλοις** φθονοῦντες.

Var.	Western branch			Eastern branch		EDS.
ἀλλήλοις	D F		Ⲛ 33 ×1175	A C	1739 Ψ Chrys 1611 Byz	SCC SBL NA RP S BW WH ^T T ^T L ^M
ἀλλήλους	G	P46 B		P 1241S	Byz ^{pt}	WH ^M T ^M L ^T
?	Marc d b ×vg					

This variation unit features an agreement between P46 and B against their closest relatives, though the accusative ἀλλήλους later acquired many scattered supporters, especially in the Byzantine text.¹²⁵ Intrinsically, φθονέω takes a dative object, though the accusative is

¹²² Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, 170.

¹²³ BURTON 253.

¹²⁴ Clabeaux, *Lost Edition*, 86, strongly argues in favor of the μέν-less reading as original on the grounds of its attestation in P46-B, the Vulgate, and (he contends) Marcion, and on the grounds that the shorter reading is also the harder reading due to a “*horror asyndeti*.” Clabeaux’s argument about avoiding asyndeton overlooks the presence of the conjunction ἀλλά. For an assessment of Clabeaux’s text-critical judgment, see Gordon D. Fee, review of John J. Clabeaux, *A Lost Edition of the Letters of Paul: A Reassessment of the Text of the Pauline Corpus Attested by Marcion*, *CBQ* 53 (1991): 320.

¹²⁵ Byzantine manuscripts with the accusative ἀλλήλους include: 1 6 69 104 131 209 330 460 489 517 614 618 796 910 927 999 1242 1243 1245 1315-1573 1319 1424 1646 1734 1738 1827 1837 1881 1891 2125 2147 2400 2464.

occasionally attested, especially in later Greek.¹²⁶ The transcriptional evidence is more clear, as the accusative form is an ostensible harmonization to the preceding accusative ἀλλήλους.¹²⁷

Gal 6:4 τὸ δὲ ἔργον ἑαυτοῦ δοκιμαζέτω **ἕκαστος**, . . . **5** ἕκαστος γὰρ τὸ ἴδιον φορτίον βαστάσει.

Var.	Western branch			Eastern branch		EDS.
ἕκαστος	D F G d b xvg		Ⲛ 33	A C 1241S	1739 Ψ Chrys 1611 Byz	SCC SBL NA RP S BW WH ^T T L
-		P46 B				WH ^M
?	Marc			P		

The omission of the pronoun ἕκαστος (“each”), found only in P46 B, has the effect of making the commandment τὸ ἔργον ἑαυτοῦ δοκιμαζέτω (“let him examine his own work”) apply to the person in the previous verse who is self-deceived about his importance, rather than to each Galatian. Despite the superficial suitability of this reading, the reference to ἕκαστος in the following γὰρ-clause shows that Paul had shifted the topic to each person.¹²⁸ As a result, the omission is probably inadvertent.¹²⁹ Thus, the internal evidence favors the inclusion of ἕκαστος.

¹²⁶ BDAG “φθονέω,” 1054; BDF 84 § 152(1). Conceded by LIGHTFOOT 214, who nonetheless opts for the accusative on the basis of external attestation and its lack of grammaticality as the harder reading (cf. BUSCEMI 529).

¹²⁷ So BURTON 324; MEYER 318; WEISS 27-28.

¹²⁸ LONGENECKER 277.

¹²⁹ BURTON 332. WEISS 92 thinks the omission occurred out of pure negligence (“auf reiner Nachlässigkeit”).

Gal 6:11 ἴδετε **πηλίκοις** ὑμῖν γράμμασιν ἔγραψα τῇ ἐμῇ χειρὶ.

Var.	Western branch			Eastern branch		EDS.
πηλίκοις	D F G d b ×vg		Ϻ	A C 1241S	1739 Ψ Chrys 1611 Byz	SCC SBL NA RP S BW WH ^T T L
ήλίκοις		P46 B	33			WH ^M
?	Marc			P		

These two related correlative pronouns differ by a single letter. Instead of the interrogative correlative pronoun **πηλίκοις** used for an indirect question (“See how large letters I have written to you in my own hand”), P46 and B have an exclamatory correlative **ήλίκοις** (“See what large letters . . .”).¹³⁰ The latter is more classical and may thus represent an Atticism,¹³¹ but this change could also be due to an inadvertent omission of a letter.¹³² In either case, the internal evidence, especially the transcriptional probabilities, are against the reading of P46, B, and 33.

Gal 6:12 μόνον ἵνα τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ **Χριστοῦ** μὴ διώκωνται.

Var.	Western branch			Eastern branch		EDS.
Χριστοῦ	D F G d b ×vg		Ϻ 33	A C 1241S	1739 Ψ Chrys 1611 Byz	SCC SBL NA RP S WH ^T T L
Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ		P46 B	×1175			BW WH ^M
?	Marc			P		

The internal evidence is against the longer reading. Intrinsically, the genitive **Χριστοῦ** Ἰησοῦ is somewhat less common in Paul than Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.¹³³ Transcriptionally, the full phrase **Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ** appears to be an assimilation to v.14 ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν

¹³⁰ See BDF 159-160 § 304.

¹³¹ BUSCEMI 597.

¹³² WEISS 27 suggests that this omission is a near-haplography of ΠΗ.

¹³³ BURTON 358-359.

Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.¹³⁴ The longer reading also has a semantic effect that suits the later theological interests of the proto-Orthodox; specifically, the addition of “Jesus” to the “cross of Christ” underscores that the human Jesus really did die on the cross as Christ, and is therefore anti-Separationist in effect.¹³⁵ For these reasons, the longer reading appears secondary.

Gal 6:13 οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ **περιτεμνόμενοι** αὐτοὶ νόμον φυλάσσουσιν ἀλλὰ θέλουσιν ὑμᾶς περιτέμνεσθαι, ἵνα ἐν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ σαρκὶ καυχῶνται.

Var.	Western branch			Eastern branch		EDS.
περιτεμνόμενοι	Marc D ×vg		Ⲛ 33	A C 1241S	1739 Chrys 1611 Byz ^{pt136}	SCC SBL NA S WH ^T T ^T L ^M
περιτετημμένοι	F G d b	P46 B	×1175		Ψ Byz ^{pt137}	RP BW WH ^M T ^M L ^T
?				P		

Though the Western and Eastern branches are split, P46 and B stand in opposition to Ⲛ and 33 as to the tense of the participle. The present participle περιτεμνόμενοι (“for not even those who are getting circumcised themselves keep the Law”) is notoriously obscure.¹³⁸ Does it refer to the circumcision party,¹³⁹ or does it refer to converted proselytes?¹⁴⁰ By contrast, the perfect participle περιτετημμένοι (“for not even those who have been circumcised themselves keep the Law”) is less ambiguous as it refers to those already circumcised, i.e., Judaizers (or proselytes to Judaism) who were pressuring the Galatian gentiles to get circumcised.¹⁴¹ For this

¹³⁴ Pace WEISS 88, who claims the addition lacks an analogy.

¹³⁵ See Bart D. Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture: The Effect of Early Christological Controversies on the Text of the New Testament* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 154, 175 nn.159 and 162.

¹³⁶ K 075 131 323 460 547 876 910 945 1242 1243 1315 1424 1448 1836 1874 1982 2125 2147.

¹³⁷ L 056 1 ×6 69 205 209 223 226 330 440 489 517 614 618 796 927 999 1022 ×1175 1270 1319 1352 1573 1646 1734 1735 1738 1780 1799 1827 1854 1891 1960 2138 2400 2401 2412 2423 2815 2892.

¹³⁸ BETZ 316-317.

¹³⁹ So LONGENECKER 292 as meaning “those who belong to the circumcision.”

¹⁴⁰ So LIGHTFOOT 223.

¹⁴¹ BURTON 353; LIGHTFOOT 223.

reason, the present participle is the harder reading, and hence it is favored by the internal evidence.¹⁴²

3.2.3 Inner Branch c

The inner branch c oppositions refer to those textual variants where the Eastern branch agrees among its members against **ℵ**, 33, P46, B, and the Western branch. For this inquiry, the Eastern branch includes two sub-branches: one with A, C, P, and 1241S; and another with 1739, Ψ, the Harklean group, and the Byzantine text. There are eight such oppositions, as follows:

Gal 1:11 Γνωρίζω **δέ** ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τὸ εὐαγγελισθὲν ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν κατὰ ἄνθρωπον ·

Var.	Western branch			Eastern branch		EDS.
δέ	b	P46	ℵ ^{*2}	A 1241S	1739 Ψ 1611 Byz	SCC RP WH ^M L
γάρ	D* F G d xvg	B	ℵ ¹ 33 x1175			SBL NA S BW WH ^T T
-				P	Chrys	
?	Marc			C		

The external evidence is equally divided, with the Eastern branch reading **δέ**, and the Western branch reading **γάρ**. Also divided is each of the early groups. B disagrees with P46, and **ℵ**^{*} disagrees with 33.¹⁴³ With such an even balance of the external evidence, this variation unit must be decided by internal evidence.

¹⁴² WEISS 52, however, considers the present participle to be a harmonization to the present infinitive περιτέμνεσθαι later in the verse.

¹⁴³ Moisés Silva, *Interpreting Galatians* (2d ed.; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker, 2001), 44-45, argues that the first corrector of **ℵ**¹ may have been contemporaneous with the original hand (**ℵ**^{*}) and therefore of equal weight. So also ZIMMER 1 485.

Some critics have tried to resolve the issue by appealing to general transcriptional probabilities. They claim that it is more likely, as a general matter, for scribes to change the blander δέ to γάρ than the reverse.¹⁴⁴ There is very little evidence, however, to support this claimed tendency.¹⁴⁵ Within the textual transmission of Galatians, there are only sporadic changes between δέ and γάρ in either direction.¹⁴⁶ Among the six early papyri studied by Royse, there are very few singular readings involving a change between δέ and γάρ, specifically, just two changes in each direction.¹⁴⁷ As a result, the evaluation of the internal evidence must carefully consider the particular context of Gal 1:11.

Apart from the conjunction, there are three features within v.11 that suggest that this verse begins a major section in the letter.¹⁴⁸ First, there is the disclosure formula (or meta-comment), γνωρίζω ὑμῖν (“I am letting you know”), which calls attention to what follows. Second, there is the attention-getting vocative, ἀδελφοί (“fellow Christians”). Third, there is the prolepsis of the subordinate clause’s subject, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τὸ εὐαγγελισθὲν ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ (“the gospel preached by me”), which is raised into the independent clause in order to establish it as the topic of the succeeding discourse. Elsewhere in Paul, a similar set of features also signals

¹⁴⁴ NET 493 n.11; Zuntz, *Text*, 203-204.

¹⁴⁵ In Moisés Silva’s study collating ten manuscripts against the Nestle-Aland text in Galatians and Philippians, he concludes that γάρ was changed to δέ in five verses (Gal 1:11, 4:25c, 5:17b, 6:5, and Phil 1:19), while δέ was changed to γάρ at Gal 3:20 and 4:18. Moisés Silva, “Text and Language in the Pauline Corpus: With Special Reference to the Use of Conjunctions in Galatians,” *Neot* 24 (1990): 273-281 at 277; see also Silva, *Interpreting*, 46-47.

¹⁴⁶ From δέ to γάρ: 3:8 (1881 pesh Chrys), 3:20 (33), 3:23 (489-927), 4:13 (pesh), 4:18 (33 104), 5:19 (pesh). From γάρ to δέ: 2:6 (pesh), 3:18 (pesh), 4:24 (pesh), 4:25b, 5:5 (88 1175 1245), 5:13 (F G b 1243 2138 Chrys hark-1611-1505-2495), 5:17 (2138 1611-1505-2495), 5:18 (Eastern branch), 6:5 (Ψ 1 33 440 1315).

¹⁴⁷ For P45, from δέ to γάρ at Luke 11:11 (ROYSE 171). For P46, from γάρ to δέ at Rom 12:20 (ROYSE 320). For P47, none (ROYSE 385, only change in conjunction is from ἵνα to ὅτι at Rev 14:13). For P66, from δέ to γάρ at John 9:28 (ROYSE 528). For P72, none (ROYSE 598, only change in conjunction is from διότι to ὅτι at 1 Pet 1:12). For P75, from γάρ to δέ at John 5:13 (ROYSE 680). Thus, there are two changes from δέ to γάρ, and two changes from γάρ to δέ. Much more common among the papyri, however, is the change from δέ to τε.

¹⁴⁸ Stephen H. Levinsohn, “Los rasgos discursivos comparativos aplicados a la traducción de Gálatas” (2009), 21; online at http://www.recursosteologicos.org/Documents/Galatas_traducccion_discursivo.pdf. Accessed June 1, 2010. These features are also noted by BUSCEMI 79-81.

the beginning of a new major section, for example, 1 Cor 15:1 Γνωρίζω δὲ ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὃ εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν (“I am letting you know, fellow Christians, about the gospel which we preached to you”) and 2 Cor 8:1 Γνωρίζομεν δὲ ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν δεδομένην ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Μακεδονίας (“We are letting you know, fellow Christians, about God’s grace that has been given among the churches of Macedonia”).¹⁴⁹ Thus, all these features combine to indicate that a new section of the letter begins here, having the theme of Paul’s gospel.¹⁵⁰

The conjunction δέ has two fundamental usages, adversative and connective,¹⁵¹ and both of these reflect a basic function to mark some kind of a shift or mid-to-low level discontinuity in the discourse.¹⁵² As a marker of discontinuity, δέ is an appropriate particle to signal the beginning of a major section of the letter.¹⁵³ Intrinsically, this is an excellent fit for the overarching structure of the letter, but there is a loose end brought about by this reading. If v.11 begins a new section, then v.10 ends a section¹⁵⁴ with its statement that if Paul were still pleasing people, he would not be a slave of Christ. The logic of Paul’s statement is not

¹⁴⁹ Though these examples do not strictly involve prolepsis, they do establish the object of γνωρίζω as the topic for the succeeding discourse.

¹⁵⁰ BUSCEMI 79; BURTON 35; LÉGASSE 75; LONGENECKER 20-22; ROHDE 49; ZAHN 53. James D. Hester, “The Rhetorical Structure of Galatians 1:11-2:14,” *JBL* 103 (1984): 223-233 at 226, identifies vv.11-12 as the *stasis*, the basic issue of the case, before beginning the *narratio* proper at v.13. Others, however, identify the beginning of a major section at v.10, including Robert G. Hall, “The Rhetorical Outline for Galatians: A Reconsideration,” *JBL* 106 (1987): 277-287 at 284-285; MARTYN 136; MUSSNER 62.

¹⁵¹ E.g., BDAG “δέ,” 213: “one of the most common Gk. particles, used to connect one clause to another, either to express contrast or simple continuation.”

¹⁵² See especially Stephanie L. Black, *Sentence Conjunctions in the Gospel of Matthew: καί, δέ, τότε, γάρ, οὖν and Asyndeton in Narrative Discourse* (JSNTSS 216; STG 9; London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 142-178. See also Randall Buth, “On Levinsohn’s ‘Development Units,’” *START* 5 (October 1981), 53-56; Stephen H. Levinsohn, “Some Constraints on Discourse Development in the Pastoral Epistles,” in Stanley E. Porter and Jeffrey T. Reed, eds., *Discourse Analysis and the New Testament: Approaches and Results* (JSNTSS 170; STG 4; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 316-333 at 320-325; Steven E. Runge, *A Discourse Grammar of the Greek New Testament: A Practical Introduction for Teaching & Exegesis* (Lexham Bible Reference Series; Bellingham, Wash.: Logos Research Systems, 2010), 42-52 at 46.

¹⁵³ LONGENECKER 22. Curiously, MATERA 52 argues that δέ has the effect of “providing a closer connection with the previous verse” than γάρ; the basis for this claim, however, is not explained.

¹⁵⁴ BUSCEMI 75 distinguishes between Gal 1:6-10 as the *exordium* and 1:11-2:21 as the *narratio*.

completely self-evident, but presumably it would mean that as Christ's slave, he would be pleasing Christ instead of other people. At any rate, the discontinuity signaled by the particle *δέ* suggests that the explanation for v.10 is not to be found directly in v.11. Verse 10 is left hanging in its immediate context.

As for the conjunction *γάρ*, exegetes have struggled to account for its use in v.11. The usual sense of *γάρ* is that it explains, clarifies, or strengthens the previous point.¹⁵⁵ Weiss, for example, holds that the conjunction *γάρ* is indispensable for clarifying the otherwise obscure statement of Paul in v.10 that he "would not be Christ's slave."¹⁵⁶ This interpretation, however, closely couples v.11 to v.10 such that it is difficult to see v.11 as starting a new section. Accordingly, some exegetes suggest that the *γάρ* in v.11 actually attaches to v.9 (or vv.6-9), skipping v.10 as a parenthesis,¹⁵⁷ but this function is more appropriate for a resumptive *δέ*. Others understand the *γάρ* in v.11 as an inferential, a function more appropriate for *οὖν*.¹⁵⁸ These unusual senses proposed for *γάρ* in v.11 ought to be taken as a sign for what it is, namely, that the usual explanatory sense of *γάρ* does not fit the larger structure of the letter well, however appropriate this explanatory sense may seem for connecting v.10 directly to v.11.

Putting these considerations together, the case for *δέ* over *γάρ* is compelling.¹⁵⁹

Intrinsically, the particle *δέ* is an eminently suitable conjunction for the beginning of a major

¹⁵⁵ BDAG "γάρ," 189-190. So also Black, *Sentence Conjunctions*, 254-281; Levinsohn, "Constraints," 319-320; Runge, *Discourse Grammar*, 69-73.

¹⁵⁶ WEISS 67. So also LÉGASSE 76; MARTYN 141: "Paul's freedom from the need to please his audience, his new identity as the slave of Christ, has its ground in the gospel itself."; MUSSNER 65 n.110; Silva, *Interpreting*, 48-49.

¹⁵⁷ BURTON 35; cf. ZAHN 53.

¹⁵⁸ MARTYN 141. So also Hester, "Rhetorical Structure," 225 n.11: "*Gar* in 1:11 does have the sense of connection but also acts subtly inferentially, i.e., it could be translated, 'so I want you to know.'" For the instances of *γάρ* in vv.12-13, Hester takes these particles with their usual strengthening or explanatory meaning.

¹⁵⁹ LONGENECKER 20-22. So also EADIE 33; LIGHTFOOT 79-80; NET 493 n.11; Zuntz, *Text*, 203-204.

section in Paul’s epistle.¹⁶⁰ This conjunction also comfortably fits Paul’s style in similar examples at 1 Cor 15:1 and 2 Cor 8:1.¹⁶¹ That these examples occur in other epistles makes it unlikely that the δέ reading is scribal assimilation to such distant parallels.¹⁶² After all, harmonization is much more common to *local* parallels,¹⁶³ and the local context abounds with γάρ (vv.10, 12-13).¹⁶⁴ Furthermore, the obscurity of v.10 causes the δέ in v.11 to become the harder reading for scribes. It is the obscurity of v.10 that needed clarification, and changing the conjunction to γάρ enabled scribes to clarify why Paul would be Christ’s slave, namely, that the gospel preached by him did not come from anybody else.¹⁶⁵ Yet this clarification is a local, superficial change—at the expense of the structure of the letter, a global consideration scribes are less likely to appreciate. In other words, the discontinuity between v.10 and v.11 signaled by the δέ is the harder reading that prompted scribes to make the connection between these two verses clearer.

¹⁶⁰ EADIE 33; LONGENECKER 22.

¹⁶¹ LONGENECKER 22. So also LIGHTFOOT 80: “more after the Apostle’s manner”; Zuntz, *Text*, 204: “These, however, are for once genuine parallels.”

¹⁶² Pace METZGER 521; ROHDE 50; SIEFFERT 52 n.**; ZAHN 53; ZIMMER ¹ 486. So also Silva, *Interpreting*, 47, who recognizes that the argument could go the other way.

¹⁶³ ROYSE 737: “Further sharpening of the generally accepted principle that scribes tend to harmonize may prove useful, for it seems evident that the major influence on our scribes was the immediate context.”

¹⁶⁴ MEYER 11. On the contrary, ROHDE 50 claims that the fourfold use of γάρ in vv.10-13 inspired scribes to replace the one in v.11, but assimilation—not dissimilation—is more common among the scribes. Similarly SIEFFERT 52 n.**; ZIMMER ¹ 486.

¹⁶⁵ Neither LIGHTFOOT 80 (“the latter [γάρ] would seem to be the obvious connecting particle to transcribers”) nor Zuntz, *Text*, 204 (“The superficial appropriateness of γάρ is here so striking”), explain their reasoning, but Silva, *Interpreting*, 48, no fan of the reading δέ, helpfully lays out their implicit argument.

Gal 2:12 11 Ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν Κηφᾶς εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν, κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῷ ἀντέστην, ὅτι κατεγνωσμένος ἦν. **12** πρὸ τοῦ γὰρ ἐλθεῖν **τινας** ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου μετὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν συνήσθιεν · ὅτε δὲ **ἦλθεν**, ὑπέστελλεν καὶ ἀφώριζεν ἑαυτὸν φοβούμενος τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς.

Var.	Western branch			Eastern branch		EDS.
τινας . . . ἦλθεν	D* F G	B	Ⲛ 33			SCC T ^r L
τινα . . . ἦλθεν	d	P46				
τινας . . . ἦλθον	b xvg		x1175	A C 1241S	1739 Ψ Chrys 1611 Byz	SBL NA RP S BW WH T ^m
?	Marc			P		

The external evidence for ἦλθεν (“he came”) is found in all early branches of the text except for the Eastern branch, which has the plural ἦλθον (“they came”). Indeed, some opponents of the ἦλθεν reading have conceded that it goes back to the archetype, if not the autograph itself.¹⁶⁶ Given the strength of the external evidence, the internal evidence would have to be in favor of the ἦλθον to prevail.

The ἦλθεν reading is difficult and stylistically clumsy.¹⁶⁷ The subject of ἦλθεν does not pick up the subject of πρὸ τοῦ ἐλθεῖν τινας (“before the coming of certain people”) as its antecedent, due to the mismatch in number. Rather, the subject of ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν has to go further back to v.11 and refer to Cephas,¹⁶⁸ as must the immediately preceding συνήσθιεν and the following ὑπέστελλεν and ἀφώριζεν. Thus the ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν of v.12 is resumptive of ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν Κηφᾶς in v.11.¹⁶⁹ On the other hand, both alternative readings τινα . . . ἦλθεν (P46) and

¹⁶⁶ HORT App.121: “an unusually well attested Western reading . . . or a primitive error”; LIGHTFOOT 112: “it may possibly be due to an error of the original amanuensis”; ZIMMER¹ 493.

¹⁶⁷ F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Galatians: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1982), 130, notes regarding the singular verb: “this would be intolerably awkward; the verb here rather catches up the preceding ἐλθεῖν.”

¹⁶⁸ James D. Hester, “The Use and Influence of Rhetoric in Galatians 2:1-14,” TZ 42 (1986): 386-408 at 403; Andreas Wechsler, *Geschichtsbild und Apostelstreit: Eine forschungsgeschichtliche und exegetische Studie über den antiochenischen Zwischenfall (Gal 2,11-14)* (BYNT 62; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1991), 316.

¹⁶⁹ A less likely possibility, as Origen apparently understood it, is that the singular subject of ἦλθεν refers to the last mentioned individual, James. Origen, *Contra Celsum* 2.1 ὅτι Πέτρος ἔτι φοβούμενος τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, παυσάμενος τοῦ

τινας . . . ἦλθον (Eastern) are easier on the surface. The finite verb ἦλθεν or ἦλθον refers back to the ἐλθεῖν τινα or ἐλθεῖν τινας, respectively.¹⁷⁰ With the P46 reading, ἐλθεῖν τινα . . . ἦλθεν, the incident involves the coming of a certain person from James,¹⁷¹ while the plural reading, ἐλθεῖν τινας . . . ἦλθον, refers to certain people coming from James. In either case, the subject of the following verbs switches back to Peter, who began to withdraw and separate himself.

Intrinsically, the ἦλθεν reading (with ἐλθεῖν τινας) is admittedly awkward, but not impossibly so.¹⁷² In fact, the reading ἦλθεν makes sense upon further consideration. Paul's account of the Antioch incident begins with a statement that when Cephas came (ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν Κηφᾶς) to Antioch, he confronted him. After giving background information in v.12a that Cephas used to eat with gentiles before the coming of people from James, Paul restarts the account by repeating the triggering phrase ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν in v.12. On this reading, only the arrival of Cephas triggered the incident, which is what Paul claimed in v.11. With the ἦλθον reading, on the other hand, there are two separate triggering events for the Antioch incident. Paul stated in v.11 that "when Cephas came to Antioch, I opposed him to his face," but in v.12, Cephas had already been there for an unspecified amount of time eating with gentiles.¹⁷³ As a result, it is not until the coming of people from James that Cephas began to withdraw and thus

μετὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν συνεσθίειν, ἐλθόντος Ἰακώβου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφώριζεν ἑαυτὸν ("that Peter, still being afraid of the Jews and having stopped from eating together with the Gentiles, when James came to him, he separated himself"). Also Tasker, *The Greek New Testament*, 438, who understands the singular verb to refer to a subsequent arrival by James.

¹⁷⁰ It is grammatically possible that ἦλθον here means "I [*scil.* Paul] came," but this reading conflicts with both v.11 (when Cephas came) and v.12 (when some from James came).

¹⁷¹ MATERA 85 speculates that P46's reading may be in reference to the agitator of Gal 5:10.

¹⁷² Pace HORT 224: "unquestionably wrong," App.121: "It cannot in any case be genuine"; LIGHTFOOT 112: "it can scarcely have been the word intended by St Paul"; METZGER 523-524: "the sense of the passage seems to demand the plural ἦλθον." None of these explain why the reading is wrong beyond their bare assertion.

¹⁷³ The imperfect συνήθειεν suggests a customary activity over many meals (e.g. BETZ 447).

provoked Paul's opposition. This goes against Paul's claim in v.11 that he confronted Cephas when he came to Antioch.¹⁷⁴ By contrast, the ἦλθεν reading is consistent: according to both v.11 and v.12b, the incident happened when Cephas came.

Transcriptionally, either reading could be explained as a scribal harmonization. On the one hand, scribes could have found the singular ἦλθεν in v.12 difficult, because it appears to go back to the preceding infinitive πρὸ τοῦ γὰρ ἐλθεῖν τινὰς with its plural subject. Readings τινὰ . . . ἦλθεν and τινὰς . . . ἦλθον would thus reflect two different attempts to fix the difficulty—by harmonizing the first or the second element, respectively.¹⁷⁵ On the other hand, if the plural ἦλθον were original, scribes could have been motivated to assimilate it either to the singular of the adjoining verbs συνήσθιεν, ὑπέστελλεν, and ἀφώριζεν,¹⁷⁶ or to the phrasing of ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν Κηφᾶς of v.11.¹⁷⁷ Accordingly, the intrinsic probabilities favor the reading ἦλθεν and the transcriptional probabilities by themselves are not decisive enough to overcome the intrinsic probabilities. This finding is consistent with the external evidence.

Though the textual difference is merely that of a single letter, this variant has significant ramifications for Paul's biography. The reading with the singular ἦλθεν results in a markedly different understanding of the incident. What triggered the incident was not the coming of people from James (that happened earlier) but the coming of Cephas himself, just as Gal 2:11 explicitly states. Instead of being intimidated at Antioch into changing his mind, Cephas came to Antioch with no intention of eating with the gentiles. This is what Paul found

¹⁷⁴ Hester, "Use and Influence," 403-404: "It makes little sense for Paul to say in 2:11 that he opposed Peter when he came to Antioch if in fact the confrontation occurred after he had been there awhile."

¹⁷⁵ Pace Tasker, *Greek New Testament*, 438, who asserts that "the choice of variants is between the singular in both places and the plural in both places, and that the reference is to a single occasion."

¹⁷⁶ METZGER 523-524.

¹⁷⁷ HORT App.121; LIGHTFOOT 112; MATERA 86; METZGER 523-524; MEYER 53; WEISS 37.

objectionable. After all, Paul had been in Antioch for some time after the meeting in Jerusalem before Cephas arrived (v.11). During this time, it is reasonable to suppose that Paul with his colleague Barnabas had been eating with the gentile Christians. All along, Paul thought he had an understanding with Cephas, James, and John back in Jerusalem that—with their acknowledgment of his gospel to the uncircumcision—his uncircumcised gentiles would be welcomed into the community (v.9). The issue of table fellowship had already come up in Antioch when those from James came while Cephas was still eating with the gentiles there (v.12a), so Paul believed the meeting in Jerusalem must have resolved that issue. When Cephas came to Antioch, however, he refused to engage in table fellowship with Paul’s gentiles but withdrew and separated himself (v.12b). To make matters worse, even Barnabas went along with Cephas (v.13). Paul had to object, immediately. His apostolic mission of bringing the gospel to the gentiles was at stake.

Gal 4:3 οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὅτε ἦμεν νήπιοι, ὑπὸ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου ἦμεθα
δεδουλωμένοι ·

Var.	Western branch			Eastern branch		EDS.
ἦμεθα	D* F G	P46	Ⲛ 33 ×1175			SCC SBL NA S BW WH T ^M
ἦμεν		B		A C 1241S	1739 Ψ Chrys 1611 Byz	RP T ^T L
?	Marc d b ×vg			P		

The evidence for the first person plural imperfect active ἦμεν is confined to the Eastern branch plus B. Its usual allies Ⲛ and 33, however, agree with the Western branch and P46 in having the middle form ἦμεθα. In Hellenistic Greek, the verb “to be” is in the process of

changing from active forms as in classical Greek into middle forms as in Modern Greek.¹⁷⁸ Thus, the middle form ἡμεθα is not out of place for the Hellenistic Greek of Galatians.¹⁷⁹

The transcriptional probabilities, moreover, are against ἡμεν. First, the active ἡμεν is the more classical form, and so the middle ἡμεθα would be the harder reading for later, educated scribes.¹⁸⁰ Second, the presence of the active ἡμεν earlier in the verse could well have triggered scribes to harmonize the more unusual middle to the earlier active.¹⁸¹ Because B is not closely related to the Eastern branch, the genealogical coherence of their agreement ought to be viewed as coincidental scribal improvements of the text.

Gal 4:19a τέκνα μου, οὐς πάλιν ὠδίνω ἄχρις οὗ μορφωθῆ Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν ·

Var.	Western branch			Eastern branch		EDS.
τέκνα	D* F G d	B	ℵ*		1739	SCC SBL NA BW WH ^M T L ^T
τεκνία	b ×vg		ℵ ^C 33 ×1175	A C 1241S	Ψ Chrys 1611 Byz	RP S WH ^T L ^M
?	Marc	P46		P		

The external evidence favors τέκνα (“children”) because it includes the Western branch, B, ℵ*, and 1739, while the diminutive τεκνία (“little children”) is mostly an Eastern branch phenomenon.¹⁸² Intrinsically, τέκνα is in accordance with Pauline usage elsewhere,¹⁸³

¹⁷⁸ BDF 49 § 98; LONGENECKER 100 n.a.

¹⁷⁹ The alternation between ἡμεν and ἡμεθα in Gal 4:3 is curious. A possible reason, admittedly speculative, is that it helps to give the pluperfect periphrastic ἡμεθα δεδουλωμένοι a more passive feel; compare with the non-passive Acts 20:8 οὗ ἡμεν συνηγμένοι (“where we had gathered”).

¹⁸⁰ BURTON 216; BUSCEMI 365; SIEFFERT 265 n.*; ZIMMER³ 294-295.

¹⁸¹ WEISS 38: “In Gal. 4, 3 ist das ημεθα (Tisch. WH. Treg. a. R.) in ABCEKLP dem unmittelbar vorhergehenden ημεν conformirt.” So also LONGENECKER 100 n.a.; SIEFFERT 265 n.*.

¹⁸² Those who argue that the external attestation supports τέκνα include BURTON 249; BUSCEMI 413; and even by those against it on internal grounds: LIGHTFOOT 178; LONGENECKER 195.

¹⁸³ E.g., Rom 8:16, 17, 9:7, 8; 1 Cor 4:14, 7:14; 2 Cor 6:13, 12:14; Gal 4:28, 31; Phil 2:15; 1 Thess 2:7, 11; Phlm 10 cf. Eph 2:3, 5:1, 8, 6:1, 4; Col 3:20, 21. LIGHTFOOT 178, however, points out that this evidence is weaker than it appears because only Eph 6:1 and Col 3:20 (both disputed Paulines) have vocatives like Gal 4:19.

while τεκνία is only found elsewhere in the New Testament among the Johannine writings.¹⁸⁴

Transcriptionally, scribes may have modified τέκνα to the diminutive τεκνία in order to aggrandize Paul or to have a more superficial fit with Paul’s birthing imagery (ὠδίνω “I am groaning in labor”),¹⁸⁵ perhaps under the influence of the Johannine usage.¹⁸⁶ To be sure, τεκνία lends a more affectionate tone to the verse,¹⁸⁷ but this does not explain why scribes would remove the power of the expression by changing τεκνία to τέκνα. These considerations all point in favor of reading τέκνα in Gal 4:19.

Gal 4:28 Ὑμεῖς δέ, ἀδελφοί, κατὰ Ἰσαὰκ ἐπαγγελίας τέκνα ἐστέ.

Var.	Western branch			Eastern branch	EDS.
ὕμεῖς ... ἐστέ	D* F G d b	P46 B	33 ×1175		1739 SCC SBL NA S BW WH ^M T ^T L
ἡμεῖς ... ἐσμέν	×vg		Ⲭ	A C P 1241S	Chrys 1611 Ψ Byz RP WH ^T T ^M
?	Marc				

With support from the Western branch, P46 and B, 33, and 1739, the external evidence favors the second person plural ὑμεῖς ... ἐστέ (“you are”) over the first person plural ἡμεῖς ... ἐσμέν (“we are”), supported by Ⲭ and the Eastern branch. Nevertheless, the internal evidence must be checked to see if it overturns the external evidence.

¹⁸⁴ John 13:33; 1 John 2:1, 12, 28, 3:7, 18, 4:4, 5:21. The lack of Pauline examples of τεκνία in comparison to τέκνα is decisive for BETZ 233 n.146; SCHLIER 151 n.4.

¹⁸⁵ ZAHN 221-222 n.20. So also ROHDE 189 n.88.

¹⁸⁶ WEISS 14. So also LÉGASSE 334 n.1, who suggests that τεκνία was probably influenced (“vraisemblablement influencée”) by the Johannine writings. On the contrary, LONGENECKER 195 suggests that τεκνία is the harder reading because “an early scribe might have wanted to conform it to Paul’s usual practice” (so also Zimmer, *Exegetische Probleme*, 202), but, given the relative infrequency of a vocative τέκνα in Paul compared with that of the vocative τεκνία in the Johannine writings, it seems more likely that scribes would change the vocative to the more common New Testament form.

¹⁸⁷ LIGHTFOOT 178, who states that “the diminutive, expressing both the tenderness of the Apostle and the feebleness of his converts, is more forcible.” So also LONGENECKER 195; SIEFFERT 273.

The second person plural reading is the harder reading because it might appear to scribes that Paul has implicitly excluded himself from this statement: “But you, fellow Christians, are children of the promise according to Isaac.” Despite this apparent exclusion of Paul, the second plural forms are appropriate because it strongly assures the gentile Galatians that they are children of Abraham.¹⁸⁸ Moreover, the conclusion in v.31 explicitly includes Paul: “Therefore, fellow Christians, we are not children of the slave girl but of the free woman.” With the textual possibility of Paul being excluded from Isaac’s promise in v.28,¹⁸⁹ scribes would have been inclined to harmonize v.29 to the local context of v.31, as well as v.26 (“the free woman, who is our mother”).¹⁹⁰ As a result, the internal evidence does not overturn but rather corroborates the external evidence in favor of the second person plural forms.

Gal 4:30 . . . οὐ γὰρ μὴ **κληρονομῆση** ὁ υἱὸς τῆς παιδίσκης μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς ἐλευθέρως.

Var.	Western branch			Eastern branch		EDS.
κληρονομῆση	(F G -μή)			A C	1739 Ψ Chrys 1611 Byz	SCC RP S L ^M
κληρονομῆσει	D	(P46 -μή) B	Ⲙ 33 ×1175	1241S	Byz ^{pt191}	SBL NA BW WH T L ^T
?	Marc d b ×vg			P		

¹⁸⁸ BETZ 249 n. 105; BURTON 265; LÉGASSE 361; LONGENECKER 216.

¹⁸⁹ Similarly, MARTYN 443 suggests that the original distinction of ethnicity between gentile and Jew was reinterpreted by this variant reading as a Christian-Jew distinction.

¹⁹⁰ BETZ 249 n. 105; BURTON 265; BUSCEMI 450; EADIE 371; LÉGASSE 361 n.4; LIGHTFOOT 183; MATERA 171; METZGER 528; MUSSNER 328-329 n.60; NET 500 n.4; ROHDE 202 n.74; SIEFFERT 293 n.*; WEISS 25; ZAHN 240 n.52. Zuntz, *Text*, 107 n.2, notes that this internal argument was so strong that even textual critics before the discovery of P46 and 1739 had already adopted the ὑμεῖς . . . ἐστέ reading despite the ordinarily suspect B-Western agreement.

¹⁹¹ The future indicative is found in the following Byzantine witnesses: 075 ×6 69 ×88 205 209 330 460 489 517 618 927 ×1175 1245 1319 1646 1734 1735 1738 1780 1836 ×1837 1874 2138 2400 2423 ×2464.

The aorist subjunctive κληρονομήση enjoys much support from the Eastern branch, as well as the Western Greek-Latin diglot F and G. The future indicative κληρονομήσει has the support of the basic witnesses P46, B, **Σ**, and 33, as well as D and 1241S in the Western and Eastern branches, respectively. On balance, therefore, the external evidence appears to favor κληρονομήσει,¹⁹² but the internal evidence may tell a different story.

With the coalescence of ει and η to the same sound starting in the second century,¹⁹³ the difference between these two variant readings throughout much of the transmission history may have merely been orthographic. Further obliterating the distinction between these forms is that both the future indicative and the aorist subjunctive denote a strong denial with οὐ μή.¹⁹⁴ Because of the closeness in pronunciation and meaning of these different spellings, manuscripts can vary in their spelling without affecting the pronunciation or meaning. In fact, there are many such variants between these verb forms throughout the New Testament; among grammatically unambiguous forms, there is only one case of the future (Matt 16:22) but numerous cases of the aorist.¹⁹⁵ This evidence suggests that the usual Koine usage at the time the New Testament was written was to employ the aorist subjunctive.¹⁹⁶ In other words, this general pattern of usage suggests that the intrinsic probabilities back the aorist subjunctive.

¹⁹² Scholars who found the external evidence decisive, mainly on the strength of P46, **Σ**, B, and D, include: BUSCEMI 450; SIEFFERT 295 n.*.

¹⁹³ Allen, *Vox Graeca*, 74.

¹⁹⁴ SMYTH 626 § 2755; BDF 184 § 365.

¹⁹⁵ BDF 184 § 365(1)-(3).

¹⁹⁶ So also WINER 528. Note that BUSCEMI 451 suggests that this is a transcriptional reason why scribes would have preferred the aorist subjunctive.

Transcriptionally, the fact that Gal 4:30 is a quotation of Gen 21:10 is relevant. There the Septuagintal text reads οὐ γὰρ κληρονομῆσει,¹⁹⁷ without μή and with the future indicative.¹⁹⁸ Agreement with the Septuagint is not necessarily a sign of originality,¹⁹⁹ especially when there are other indications that Paul is adapting the Old Testament text, as he has here.²⁰⁰ However, scribes are more likely to change Old Testament quotations toward the Septuagint than away from it.²⁰¹ This tendency is most evident in P46, whose omission of μή and use of the future have both conformed the text to the Septuagint. In addition, dozens of Byzantine manuscripts also feature the harmonization of the verb. Since the aorist subjunctive is the non-Septuagintal form, transcriptional considerations also favor the aorist subjunctive.²⁰²

¹⁹⁷ Alfred Rahlfs and Robert Hanhart, eds., *Septuaginta* (rev. ed., Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2006), 1:28.

¹⁹⁸ Note, however, the Codex Alexandrinus includes the μή.

¹⁹⁹ Pace LIGHTFOOT 184.

²⁰⁰ Paul adds μή (also attested in the fifth century Codex Alexandrinus) and changes τοῦ υἱοῦ μου Ἰσαάκ to τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς ἐλευθέρως.

²⁰¹ Bruce M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament, its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration* (3d ed.; New York: Oxford University Press), 197-198: "Frequently Old Testament quotations are enlarged from the Old Testament context, or are made to conform more closely to the Septuagint wording." Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament: An Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism* (2d ed.; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1989), 290: "Quotations from the Old Testament which differ from the text of the Septuagint popular in the Church were often corrected to agree with it."

But note the warning of Aland and Aland, *Text*, 281: "Neither should the commonly accepted rule of thumb that variants agreeing with parallel passages or with the Septuagint in Old Testament quotations are secondary be applied in a purely mechanical way."

²⁰² So MEYER 214.

Gal 5:17a 16 Λέγω δέ, πνεύματι περιπατεῖτε καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν σαρκὸς οὐ μὴ τελέσητε. 17 ἡ γὰρ σὰρξ ἐπιθυμεῖ κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα κατὰ τῆς σαρκός, ταῦτα γὰρ ἀλλήλοις ἀντίκειται, ἵνα μὴ ἂ ἐὰν θέλητε ταῦτα ποιήτε.

Var.	Western branch			Eastern branch		EDS.
γάρ	D* F G d b ×vg	P46 B	Ⲙ 33			SCC SBL NA BW WH T L
δέ			×1175	A C P 1241S	1739 Ψ Chrys 1611 Byz	RP S
?	Marc					

The reading δέ is confined to the Eastern branch; the other early branches and witnesses of the text (Western, P46-B, Ⲙ, and 33) all bear witness to γάρ. Though some scholars consider this external evidence to support γάρ decisively,²⁰³ the internal evidence must nonetheless be considered.

This passage begins with Paul telling the Galatians to “walk in the spirit and in no way satisfy the desire of the flesh” (5:16). Supporting this statement, as indicated by the conjunctive particle γάρ, are two oppositions: “for the flesh desires against the spirit and the spirit against the flesh” (v.17a-b). These antimonies are then followed by the statement that “these things are opposed to each other so that you do not do whatever you desire” (v.17c-d).²⁰⁴ The role of the conjunctive particles γάρ and δέ in v.17c is to indicate how this clause is to relate to the previous statement. On the one hand, if the particle is γάρ, then the purpose of the clause is to explain or clarify why they desire against each other,²⁰⁵ namely, that they are so generally opposed to each other as to make doing what one wants impossible.²⁰⁶ On the other

²⁰³ So BETZ 279 n.73; BUSCEMI 527; MUSSNER 376 n.16. Perhaps also LONGENECKER 238 n.e.

²⁰⁴ The ἵνα clause is probably result rather than purpose (MARTYN 494), but LONGENECKER 246 takes it as the purpose of the personified flesh and spirit not to let people do whatever they want.

²⁰⁵ The discourse marker γάρ signals that the previous point is to be strengthened, supported, or confirmed by the current discourse unit. See, e.g., BDAG “γάρ,” 189-190; Black, *Sentence Conjunctions*, 254-281; Levinsohn, “Constraints,” 319-320; Runge, *Discourse Grammar*, 69-73.

²⁰⁶ Levinsohn, “Los rasgos,” 69.

hand, if $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ is read, then it would mark a discontinuity between v.17c and v.17a-b.²⁰⁷ Although v.17c is not adverse to v.17a-b, there are two other possible analyses. One possibility is that v.17c is broader in scope than v.17a-b, so the discontinuity marked by the particle would be a shift from the specific (i.e., desiring against each other) to the general (i.e., being opposed to each other).²⁰⁸ Another possibility is that v.17c-d presents a consequence of Paul's advice in v.16; with this understanding, the $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ signals a shift resuming the main line of discourse in v.16 and marking v.17a-b to be a parenthesis.²⁰⁹

Intrinsically, both particles fit the context tolerably well. Transcriptionally, however, the assimilation from $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ to $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ could well have been prompted by the panoply of $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ particles in the immediate context (vv.16, 17 [immediately preceding], 18, and 19) and the apparent difficulty of having a consequence (v.17d) in what should be a confirmatory statement.²¹⁰ Thus, the internal evidence is at least consistent with, if not supportive of, the external evidence in favor of $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$.

²⁰⁷ See Black, *Sentence Conjunctions*, 142-178; Buth, "Levinsohn's," 53-56; Levinsohn, "Constraints," 320-325; Runge, *Discourse Grammar of the Greek New Testament*, 46.

²⁰⁸ Black, *Sentence Conjunctions*, 165, has an example of $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ in Matt 27:16 marking a shift in the other direction, from the general (Pilate's custom) to the specific (Barabbas).

²⁰⁹ ZAHN 262.

²¹⁰ ZAHN 262: "Da das Neue, was hiezu v.17b hinzubringt, vor allem in dem Absichtssatz liegt, dieser aber nicht eine Bestätigung, sondern eher eine Folge der Aussage von v.16 enthält, so begreift es sich daß man das vorzüglich bezeugte $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ teils durch $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ (..) teils durch $\omicron\upsilon\nu$ (..) teils durch $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\iota$ (..) ersetzte."

Gal 5:21 19 φανερά δέ ἐστὶν τὰ ἔργα τῆς σαρκός, ἅτινά ἐστὶν . . . 21 φθόνοι, μέθαι, κῶμοι καὶ τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις . . .

Var.	Western branch			Eastern branch		EDS.
φθόνοι	(Marc)	P46 B	Ⲙ 33	P		SCC SBL NA S ^M WH T ^M L ^M
φθόνοι φόνοι	D F G d b (×vg <i>homicidia</i>)		×1175	A C 1241S	1739 Ψ Chrys 1611 Byz	RP S ^T BW T ^T L ^T
?						

The external evidence is split. The Western and Eastern branches include the word φθόνοι (“murders”) after the similar-sounding φθόνοι (“envies”), while the basic witnesses, P46-B, Ⲙ, and 33 lack the word. As tempting as Marcion’s attestation for the lack of φόνοι may seem, it is best not to put much if any weight upon his testimony here due to Epiphanius’s inconsistency in quoting Marcion.²¹¹ Then again, Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 5.11.1, quoting Gal 5:21 as including *invidiae, ebrietates, comissiones* (φθόνοι, μέθαι, κῶμοι),²¹² is an early witness to a form of the text without φόνοι. Though the external evidence is split, the earliest evidence slightly favors the lack of the word φόνοι,²¹³ but the internal evidence has to be consulted.

In this case, the usual text-critical canon of preferring the shorter reading is hardly applicable,²¹⁴ because it could easily have arisen by accident since the two words φθόνοι and

²¹¹ Though Schmid, *Marcion*, 318, prints the sequence φθόνοι, μέθαι, κῶμοι, derived from Epiphanius, *Pan.* 42.12.3, for his reconstructed text of Marcion’s Galatians, he also put these words in italics, indicating that they are unsecure readings. The problem is another citation of the same passage by Epiphanius, *Pan.* 42.11.8, in which two of the words are quoted in the singular instead of the plural and, more importantly, φθόνοι is replaced by φόνοι. Thus, while Epiphanius provides no evidence for the inclusion of *both* φθόνοι *and* φόνοι in his text of Marcion, it is unclear which word was actually present in his source. Thus, Schmid is skeptical that the nature of Epiphanius’s quotation is exact enough to be useful for inferring such “textual trivia” (192).

²¹² Harvey, *Sancti Irenaei*, 2:348.

²¹³ Most critics, however, consider this external evidence to be strong grounds for omission, including: BURTON 304; BUSCEMI 528; METZGER 529; SIEFFERT 325 n.*; ZAHN 265 n.98.

²¹⁴ In fact, ROYSE 703–736 argues that little omissions were so common among the papyri that in many cases the *longer* reading ought to be preferred unless the longer reading appears late, appears to be a harmonization, or appears to be a grammatical improvement (735). The first two of these grounds arguably apply to Gal 5:21.

φόνοι have the same ending in -όνοι.²¹⁵ After writing any of the letters ονοι in φθόνοι, a scribe could have leapt to the same letters in φόνοι and accidentally deleted the word φόνοι.²¹⁶ Conversely, the addition of φόνοι could have arisen from harmonization to Rom 1:29 φθόνου φόνου ἔριδος δόλου,²¹⁷ though the parallel is distant and non-verbatim,²¹⁸ and it provides evidence that the collocation of φθόνοι and φόνοι was on Paul’s mind.²¹⁹ Another possibility is harmonization to a wordplay popular in antiquity between these two words, for instance, Euripides, *Tro.* 768-769 (εἶτα δὲ Φθόνου Φόνου τε Θανάτου).²²⁰

Nevertheless, if Paul had been thinking of φόνοι when he wrote this list of the deeds of the flesh, it seems odd that Paul included it next to sins of overindulgence in v.21 (e.g., μέθαι, κῶμαι “drunkenness, carousing”) rather than sins of discord in v.20 (e.g., ἔχθραι, ἔρις “enmities, discord”) as he did with φθόνου φόνου ἔριδος in Rom 1:29.²²¹ On the other hand, the strength of the sin φόνοι (“murders”) is so strong that a scribe may have thought the list was incomplete without it, and added the terrible sin. A similar motive seems to have been in effect for those witnesses who add μοιχεία (“adultery”) before πορνεία (“fornication”) in v.19.

Accordingly, the internal evidence is frustratingly inconclusive, though to some extent it points against the inclusion of φόνοι in the text. With the external evidence also slightly

²¹⁵ Cf. The first exception in Metzger 13* against preferring the shorter reading: “Parablepsis arising from homoeoarcton or homoeoteleuton may have occurred (i.e., where the eye of the copyist may have inadvertently passed from one work to another having a similar sequence of letters).”

²¹⁶ Among those who include φόνοι: EADIE 419; LIGHTFOOT 212 (bracketed); MEYER 283; WEISS 125. This point is often conceded by proponents of the shorter reading, including: BUSCEMI 528; LÉGASSE 427 n. 5; METZGER 529.

²¹⁷ BETZ 284 n.119; BUSCEMI 528; METZGER 529; ROHDE 243; SIEFFERT 325 n.*. LONGENECKER 248 n.d and ZAHN 265 n.98 also suggest Mark 7:21 or Matt 15:19 for a source, neither of which has φόνοι but not φθόνοι, however.

²¹⁸ WEISS 125.

²¹⁹ LIGHTFOOT 212.

²²⁰ BETZ 284 n.119. WINER 659 notes that paronomasia is common in Paul.

²²¹ MUSSNER 383 n.60 argues that φόνοι ought to have been associated with ζῆλος in the lists, but all his examples (1 Macc 8:16, *T. Sim.* 4.5, 1 *Clem* 3.2, 4.7, 5.2) involve φθόνοι instead of φόνοι. LÉGASSE 427 n. 5 also found it incredible that there would be “assassins” in the Galatian communities.

favoring the omission of φόνοι, it seems that the least objectionable conclusion is that the earliest form of Gal 5:21 lacked this word.

3.2.4 Inner Branch *d*

The Western branch diverges from its closest relatives along inner branch *d* in about seventy places. Virtually all of the differences are secondary, and they are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5. For purposes of orienting the stemma, however, it suffices to examine the earliest attested stage of the Western branch, namely, the most recent common ancestor of Marcion and the Greek-Latin diglots D, F, and G. There are seven such variation units to consider:

Gal 2:9 καὶ γνόντες τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσάν μοι, **Ἰάκωβος καὶ Κηφᾶς** καὶ Ἰωάννης, οἱ δοκοῦντες στυλοὶ εἶναι,

Var.	Western branch			Eastern branch		EDS.
Ἰάκωβος καὶ Κηφᾶς	xvg	B	Ⲛ 33	C 1241S	1739 Ψ Chrys 1611 Byz	SCC SBL NA RP S BW WH T L
Ἰάκωβος καὶ Πέτρος		P46				
Ἰάκωβος				A		
Πέτρος καὶ Ἰάκωβος	Marc D F G d b					
?				P		

The Western branch places the name “Peter” first, followed by James and John, while all the other witnesses place James first, and—with the exception of P46—use the name “Cephas” instead of Peter. Thus, there are two subvariants to be considered.

The internal evidence strongly favors the name “Cephas.” Intrinsically, it is Paul’s typical usage (with the exception of Gal 2:7-8), and the Aramaic name is the harder reading

since the Greek name “Peter” was more familiar.²²² In addition, the presence of the name “Peter” in vv.7-8 probably prompted the harmonization of the name at v.9.²²³

The internal evidence also favors the James-first order. It is the more difficult reading as it gives James the pride of place instead of Peter.²²⁴ In addition, the Peter-first order could be a harmonization to 1:18-19, where Cephas/Peter is mentioned before James in a chronological context.

Gal 3:14 ἵνα εἰς τὰ ἔθνη ἡ εὐλογία τοῦ Ἀβραάμ γένηται ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ἵνα τὴν **ἐπαγγελίαν** τοῦ πνεύματος λάβωμεν διὰ τῆς πίστεως.

Var.	Western branch			Eastern branch		EDS.
ἐπαγγελίαν	×vg	B	Ⲛ 33	A C 1241S	1739 Ψ Chrys 1611 Byz	SCC SBL NA RP S BW WH T L
εὐλογίαν	Marc ²²⁵ D* F G d b	P46		×88	489 927	
?				P		

The reading εὐλογίαν is found not only in the Western branch, but also in P46, the mixed Alexandrian 88, and the Byzantine 489 and 927. The lack of genealogical coherence for this reading suggests that it arose independently several times. Indeed, it appears to be a harmonization to the local context. Gal 3:14 is the first appearance of the word ἐπαγγελία (“promise”) in the letter and the context up to this point concerns the blessing (εὐλογία) of

²²² Burton 59, 95; BUSCEMI 126; METZGER 522.

²²³ ROYSE 298 n.561.

²²⁴ BUSCEMI 151; LIGHTFOOT 109; METZGER 523.

²²⁵ Marcion’s text as quoted by Tertullian, *Marc.5.3.11*, is fairly divergent but at any rate supports the blessing variant: *accepims igitur benedictionem spiritualem per fidem* (Schmid, *Marcion*, 123).

Abraham.²²⁶ The unexpected appearance of “promise” probably induced scribes to assimilate it to εὐλογία in the immediately preceding clause.²²⁷

Gal 4:6 Ὅτι δὲ ἐστε **υἱοί**, ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν κράζον· ἀββα ὁ πατήρ.

Var.	Western branch			Eastern branch		EDS.
υἱοί	×vg	P46 B	Ⲭ 33	A C P 1241S	1739 Ψ Chrys 1611 Byz	SCC SBL NA RP S BW WH T L
υἱοὶ θεοῦ	Marc D F G d b					
?						

The addition of θεοῦ is exclusively found within the Western branch. Intrinsicly, the genitive θεοῦ is certainly appropriate for the context, because that relationship, being sons of God, is on Paul’s mind back in 3:26. Nevertheless, since the concept was on Paul’s mind, it is not necessary to express it explicitly; it can be assumed. Transcriptionally, the genitive θεοῦ appears to be an assimilation to 3:26 πάντες γὰρ υἱοὶ θεοῦ ἐστε.²²⁸ Thus, the shorter reading ought to be favored as the harder reading.

²²⁶ Clabeaux, *Lost Edition*, 104, further supports the ἐπαγγελίαν reading as an instance of Paul’s style of using “bridge words” to shift topics from one point to another. For examples of such “bridge words,” Clabeaux, *Lost Edition*, 104 n.53, cites σοφία in 1 Cor 1:17 and τὸ ἀσθενές in 1 Cor 1:25.

²²⁷ METZGER 525.

²²⁸ METZGER 526.

Gal 4:8 Ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν οὐκ εἰδότες θεὸν ἐδουλεύσατε τοῖς φύσει μὴ οὖσιν θεοῖς ·

Var.	Western branch			Eastern branch		EDS.
ἐδουλεύσατε τοῖς ... θεοῖς		P46 B	Ⲛ 33	A C 1241S	1739 Ψ Chrys 1611 Byz	SCC SBL NA RP S BW WH T L
τοῖς ... θεοῖς ἐδουλεύσατε	D F G d b ×vg					
τοῖς ... θεοῖς δουλεύετε	Marc ²²⁹					
?				P		

The reading with the verb at the end of the clause is found only in Western witnesses. By placing the verb at the end, this word order is more highly marked and serves to emphasize the fact that they were enslaved to false gods. Yet, intrinsically, the point of the passage has more to do with the Galatians' enslavement rather than the nature of those to whom they were enslaved.²³⁰ Transcriptionally, the more emphatic reading seems to be superficially the easier reading, as it heightens the anti-pagan force of the verse, but it is also conceivable that the transposition could have been due an accidental skip of the verb, followed by an in-line correction at the end of the clause.

²²⁹ Tertullian, *Marc.* 5.4.5: *si ergo his, qui 'in natura sunt' dei, servitis.* Schmid, *Marcion*, 116, suggests that the omission of μή is due to a corruption of τοῖς μὴ φύσει into τοῖς τῆ φύσει.

²³⁰ Indeed, commentators struggle to account for Paul's attitude toward pagan gods here; e.g. BETZ 215-215; LONGENECKER 179-180.

Gal 5:14a ὁ γὰρ πᾶς νόμος **ἐν ἐνὶ λόγῳ** πεπλήρωται, ἐν τῷ · ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν.

Var.	Western branch			Eastern branch		EDS.
ἐν ἐνὶ λόγῳ	×vg	P46 B	Ⲛ 33	A C 1241S	1739 Ψ Chrys 1611 Byz	SCC SBL NA RP S BW WH T L
ἐν ὑμῖν ἐν ἐνὶ λόγῳ	D* F G d b					
ἐν ὑμῖν	Marc ²³¹					
?				P		

The Western branch includes the phrase ἐν ὑμῖν (“among you”), so that Paul states that the whole Law has been fulfilled among the Galatians. The internal evidence does not provide much guidance on deciding this variant. The shorter reading could easily be the result of a leap from one ἐν to the next, and the prepositional phrase ἐν ὑμῖν makes the statement more contingent to the historical situation of the Galatians. On the other hand, the longer reading seems to be motivated by its context (e.g. v.13 ὑμεῖς γὰρ ἐπ’ ἐλευθερίᾳ ἐκλήθητε, “for you were called to freedom”) to strengthen the point by specifying that the law has already been fulfilled among the gentile Galatians.²³² On balance, the shorter reading seems preferable.

²³¹ Schmid, *Marcion*, 130-131 and 182, citing Tertullian, *Marc.* 5.4.12: *tota enim, inquit, lex ‘in vobis’ adimpleta est: diliges proximum tuum tamquam te*, and Eriphanius, *Pan.* 42.11.8, 42.12.3 ὁ γὰρ πᾶς νόμος ὑμῖν πεπλήρωται · ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον ὡς σεαυτόν, respectively. Schmid proposes that the phrase ἐν ὑμῖν is possibly a mechanical corruption of ἐν ἐνὶ <λόγῳ>, as is clear in Marcion, which the rest of the Western branch then conflated.

²³² Eshbaugh, “Theological Variants,” 187.

Gal 5:14b ὁ γὰρ πᾶς νόμος ἐν ἐνὶ λόγῳ πεπλήρωται, **ἐν τῷ** · ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν.

Var.	Western branch			Eastern branch		EDS.
ἐν τῷ		P46 B	Ⲣ 33	A C 1241S	1739 Ψ Chrys 1611 Byz	SCC SBL NA RP S BW WH T L
-	Marc ²³³ D* F G d b xvg					
?				P		

The lack of the introductory signal for the quotation from Lev 19:18 is found only in the Western branch; all the other branches include ἐν τῷ. With the introductory signal in apposition to the term ἐν ἐνὶ λόγῳ, the Levitical injunction supports Paul’s point that the Law has been fulfilled in a single statement (ἐν ἐνὶ λόγῳ). Without the introductory signal, the scriptural quotation is not clear, and it may appear to be a separate command.

Intrinsically, the words ἐν τῷ fit the context because they define the “single statement” as Lev 19:18. Transcriptionally, the omission of ἐν τῷ here is paralleled by a similar omission of the same phrase at Rom 13:8, where B, P46, F, and G, but not D, omit the signal. On balance, the probabilities seem to favor the inclusion of the words.

²³³ Schmid, *Marcion*, 130-131 and 182, citing Tertullian, *Marc.* 5.4.12: *tota enim, inquit, lex ‘in vobis’ adimpleta est: diliges proximum tuum tamquam te*, and Eriphanius, *Pan.* 42.11.8, 42.12.3 ὁ γὰρ πᾶς νόμος ὑμῖν πεπλήρωται · ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον ὡς σεαυτόν, respectively.

Gal 5:24 οἱ δὲ τοῦ **Χριστοῦ** τὴν σάρκα ἐσταύρωσαν σὺν τοῖς παθήμασιν καὶ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις.

Var.	Western branch			Eastern branch		EDS.
Χριστοῦ	Marc D F G d b xvg	P46		P	Chrys1611 Byz	SCC SBL NA ^M RPL ^M
Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ		B	(ℵ* κυρίου χ. ι.) 33 ×1175	A C 1241S	1739 Ψ	NA ^T S BW WH T L ^T
?						

The external evidence for adding Ἰησοῦ (“Jesus”) comprises the earliest members of the Eastern branch, its usual allies **ℵ** and 33, and B, while the external evidence against it comprises the Western branch, P46, plus the Byzantines. This evidence is about evenly balanced,²³⁴ so internal grounds ought to play a large role in deciding this variation unit.

The interpretation of this phrase appears fairly straightforward. The shorter reading of τοῦ Χριστοῦ means “those who are of Christ” (or “those who belong to Christ”), and 1 Cor 15:23 has the same expression οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ. The addition of Ἰησοῦ should just mean “those who are of / belong to Christ Jesus.”²³⁵ Despite the intelligibility of the longer reading, it has three different features that make it anomalous for Paul. First, nowhere else in the undisputed letters of Paul is an article found before Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ,²³⁶ though the article τοῦ may be

²³⁴ Scholars are split over how to evaluate the external evidence. Some critics prefer the longer reading, presumably on the agreement of B, **ℵ**, 33, etc.: BUSCEMI 528; LÉGASSE 437 n.2; LONGENECKER 298 n.f; MATERA 204; MUSSNER 391 n.108. Indeed, BURTON 319 condemns the support for the shorter reading as “some Western authorities,” but this was before the publication of P46.

On the other hand, Zuntz, *Text*, 158, holds that “Western witnesses joined by P⁴⁶ . . . are more often right than wrong,” while NET 861 goes further and prefers the shorter reading on “the strength of the alignment of **ℵ**⁴⁶ with the Western and Byzantine text-types.”

²³⁵ Pace BURTON 319, who parses the noun phrase differently as “the titular τοῦ χριστοῦ, the Christ, with Ἰησοῦ in apposition.” Thus, he understands it as “they that belong to Christ, Jesus.”

²³⁶ BURTON 319; METZGER 529. The possible exceptions to the rule occurs in the disputed Paulines Ephesians and Colossians: Eph 3:1 τοῦ Χριστοῦ [Ἰησοῦ], where the omission of Ἰησοῦ is attested by **ℵ*** D*FG (365) pc sa^{ms} against P46 **ℵ**¹ AB(C)D¹Ψ 33 1739 Byz lat sy sa^{ms} bo; Eph 3:11 ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, where P46 reads ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ; Col 2:6 τὸν Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν.

necessary for the genitive phrase to be substantivized by the nominative plural article οἱ.²³⁷ Second, Paul regularly uses the bare Christ for the idea of belonging to Christ: Gal 3:29 εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς Χριστοῦ; 1 Cor 1:12 ἐγὼ δὲ Χριστοῦ; 3:23 ὑμεῖς δὲ Χριστοῦ; 15:23 οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ; 2 Cor 10:7 Χριστοῦ εἶναι.²³⁸ Third, Paul has a strong preference for the order Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ in the genitive,²³⁹ though there are some exceptions.²⁴⁰ Because the longer reading is not merely anomalous in Paul, but anomalous in three different ways, the intrinsic probabilities are on the side of the shorter reading.

Transcriptionally, evidence within the transmission of Galatians shows that scribes both expanded and contracted these expressions. Sometimes they add Jesus to Christ,²⁴¹ but sometimes they delete Jesus from Jesus Christ or Christ Jesus.²⁴² Granted, the tendency to expand is somewhat stronger than to contract, but it is hard to see scribal tendencies in Galatians as conclusive. Lightfoot argues that “the omission in others [*scil.* manuscripts] is easily accounted for by the unusual order ὁ Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς,”²⁴³ but this does not explain why scribes did not address the “unusual order” by transposition rather than deletion.

Given the intrinsically anomalous nature of the phrase τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ and no compelling transcriptional reason to delete Ἰησοῦ, the preponderance of the evidence is against the longer reading.

²³⁷ SCHLIER 193 n.1.

²³⁸ BETZ 289 n.168; SCHLIER 193 n.1. See also the interpretation of Gal 1:6 on similar lines above.

²³⁹ In the undisputed Paulines: Rom 1:4, 6, 7, 8; 2:16, 3:22; 5:1, 11, 15, 17, 21; 7:25; 15:6, 30; 16:25, 27; 1 Cor 1:2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10; 6:11; 15:57; 2 Cor 1:2, 3; 8:9; 12:13; Gal 1:1, 3, 12; 2:16; 3:22; 6:14, 18; Phil 1:2, 11, 19; 2:21; 4:25; 1 Thess 1:3; 5:9, 23, 28; Phlm 3, 25.

²⁴⁰ In the undisputed Paulines: Rom 1:1; 15:16; 1 Cor 1:1; 2 Cor 1:1; Phil 1:1, 6, 8; 3:8, 12; Phlm 1, 9.

²⁴¹ E.g., Gal 2:6 hark; Gal 3:24 D*-F-G-b-d-f 88 1175-1319-1573 1735; Gal 3:27a 209 618; Gal 3:27b 1739-6; Gal 3:29 D*-F-G-d; Gal 4:7 6-1646 223 323 489-927 hark-1611-1505-2495 1837 2147 2400 pesh; Gal 6:12 P46-B 69 1175 1242.

²⁴² E.g., Gal 2:4 Marc; Gal 2:16 517 547 1827 2401 Chrys; Gal 3:22 33 1424; Gal 3:28 1241S 1245; Gal 5:6 B; Gal 6:17 P Ψ 075 1175 1854 2464 Marc.

²⁴³ LIGHTFOOT 213.

3.3 Orienting the Stemma

The cladistic procedure discussed in Chapter 2 produces an unoriented stemma that expresses the relative genealogical relationships of the witnesses without, however, identifying a starting point, or base, for the stemma. Based on the analysis of the internal evidence of the readings in Chapter 3, the stemma can be oriented so that the base of the stemma is identified at the point with the greatest number of authorial readings. Table 4 sets forth the readings for the Western branch, for the P46-B cluster, for **⌘**, for 33 and ×1175,²⁴⁴ and for the Eastern branch. In this table, those readings determined to be authorial rather than scribal are indicated in **bold**, while scribal readings are in *italics*. Furthermore, if a branch or cluster is divided as to its reading, that split is marked with a dagger (†). At the bottom of the table are the counts of the authorial readings for each branch, cluster, or inter-branch node in the stemma.

²⁴⁴ The mixed manuscript 1175 is considered a witness for 33's ancestor only when it differs from the Byzantine text.

Table 4: Authorial Readings in Opposing Branches within the Stemma of Galatians

Gal	Western		P46 B		ℵ	33 (×1175)		Eastern
1:3	κυρίου ἡμῶν	1	κυρίου ἡμῶν	1	πατρός ἡμῶν	κυρίου ἡμῶν	0	†πατρός ἡμῶν
1:11	γάρ	1	†δέ	1	δέ	γάρ	1	δέ
1:12	οὐδέ	1	οὔτε	1	οὐδέ	οὐδέ	1	οὐδέ
1:15	†[ὁ θεός]	1	-	1	ὁ θεός	ὁ θεός	1	ὁ θεός
1:17	ἀνήλθον	1	†[ἀπ.]ἦλθον	1	ἀνήλθον	ἀνήλθον	0	ἀνήλθον
1:18	ἔτη τρία	1	ἔτη τρία	1	τρία ἔτη	τρία ἔτη	0	†τρία ἔτη
1:19	εἶδον οὐδένα	0	οὐχ εἶδον	1	οὐκ εἶδον	οὐκ εἶδον	1	οὐκ εἶδον
2:9	Πέτρος καὶ Ἰάκ.	1	†Ἰάκ. καὶ Κηφᾶς	1	Ἰάκ. καὶ Κηφᾶς	Ἰάκ. καὶ Κηφᾶς	1	Ἰάκ. καὶ Κηφᾶς
2:12	ἦλθεν	1	ἦλθεν	1	ἦλθεν	ἦλθεν	1	ἦλθον
2:13	καί	1	-	1	καί	καί	1	καί
2:16	Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν	1	Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν	1	Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν	Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν	1	†Χριστὸν Ἰησ.
2:20	θεοῦ καὶ Χρ.	1	θεοῦ καὶ Χρ.	1	υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ	υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ	0	υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ
3:7	εἰσιν υἱοί	1	υἱοί εἰσιν	1	υἱοί εἰσιν	εἰσιν υἱοί	1	†υἱοί εἰσιν
3:14	εὐλογίαν	1	†ἐπαγγελίαν	1	ἐπαγγελίαν	ἐπαγγελίαν	1	ἐπαγγελίαν
3:21a	τοῦ θεοῦ	1	-	1	τοῦ θεοῦ	τοῦ θεοῦ	1	τοῦ θεοῦ
3:21b	ἐκ νόμου	1	ἐν νόμῳ	1	ἐκ νόμου	ἐκ νόμου	1	ἐκ νόμου
3:24	γέγονεν	1	ἐγένετο	1	γέγονεν	γέγονεν	1	γέγονεν
4:3	ἡμεθα	1	†ἡμεθα	1	ἡμεν	ἡμεν	0	ἡμεν
4:6	υἱοὶ θεοῦ	1	υἱοί	1	υἱοί	υἱοί	1	υἱοί
4:8	τοῖς ... θεοῖς ἐδ.	1	ἐδ. τοῖς ... θεοῖς	1	ἐδ. τοῖς ... θεοῖς	ἐδ. τοῖς ... θεοῖς	1	ἐδ. τοῖς ... θεοῖς
4:19	τέκνα	1	τέκνα	1	τέκνα	τεκνία	0	τεκνία
4:23	μέν	1	-	1	μέν	μέν	1	μέν
4:28	ὕμεις ... ἐστέ	1	ὕμεις ... ἐστέ	1	ἡμεῖς ... ἐσμέν	ὕμεις ... ἐστέ	0	ἡμεῖς ... ἐσμέν
4:30	†κληρονομία	0	κληρονομήσει	0	κληρονομήσει	κληρονομήσει	0	†κληρονομία
5:14a	†ἐν ὑμῖν ἐν ἐνὶ λ.	1	ἐν ἐνὶ λόγῳ	1	ἐν ἐνὶ λόγῳ	ἐν ἐνὶ λόγῳ	1	ἐν ἐνὶ λόγῳ
5:14b	-	1	ἐν τῷ	1	ἐν τῷ	ἐν τῷ	1	ἐν τῷ
5:17a	γάρ	1	γάρ	1	γάρ	γάρ	1	δέ
5:17b	ὁ ἄν	0	ἄν	1	ἃ ἕάν	ἃ ἕάν	1	†ἃ [ἐ]ἄν
5:21	φθόνοι φόνοι	1	φθόνοι	1	φθόνοι	φθόνοι	1	φθόνοι φόνοι
5:24	Χριστοῦ	1	†Χρ. [Ἰησ.]	1	κυρ. Χριστ. Ἰησ.	Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ	0	†Χρ. [Ἰησ.]
5:26	†ἀλλήλοις	1	ἀλλήλους	1	ἀλλήλοις	ἀλλήλοις	1	†ἀλλήλοις
6:2	ἀναπληρώσατε	1	ἀναπληρώσατε	1	ἀναπληρώσατε	ἀναπληρώσατε	0	ἀναπληρώσατε
6:4	ἕκαστος	1	-	1	ἕκαστος	ἕκαστος	1	ἕκαστος
6:11	πηλίκους	1	ἠλίκους	1	πηλίκους	πηλίκους	1	πηλίκους
6:12	Χριστοῦ	1	Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ	1	Χριστοῦ	Χριστοῦ	1	Χριστοῦ
6:13	†περιπετηνόμενοι	1	περιπετημένοι	1	περιπετηνόμενοι	περιπετηνόμενοι	1	περιπετηνόμενοι
Total	25	33	20	35	26	26	26	25

As can be seen from the table, these nodes in the stemma have different counts of authorial readings. In particular, out of the thirty-six variation units, ℵ has the authorial reading in 26 cases, while the ancestor of 33 and ×1175 also has 26. The Eastern branch has 25

authorial readings, and the node in between these three parts of the stemma has 26 authorial readings. As for the Western branch, it has 25 authorial readings, while the P46-B cluster has 20 authorial readings. The node between the Western branch and the P46-B cluster has 33 authorial readings, while the link on the stemma connecting the Eastern and Western brands has 35 authorial readings on either side.

Consequently, these counts of authorial readings can be mapped onto the unoriented stemma, as shown in FIG. 19:

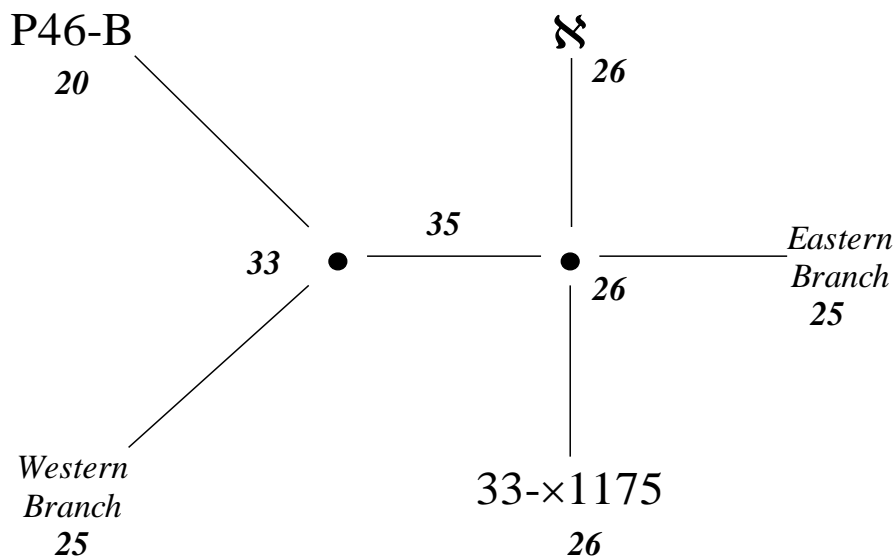


FIG. 19 Unoriented Stemma with Counts of Authorial Readings

The portion of the unoriented stemma with the highest authorial reading count (35) is the branch between where the Western and Eastern branches join the stemma. This branch separates the Western branch and its allies, P46 and B, from the Eastern branch and its allies ⌘ and 33. This branch also lies in the area indicated by Hort as belonging to his “neutral” text. By contrast, the node that is between the two oldest witnesses, Marcion and P46, has an authorial reading count of 33, two less than that of the central branch. This result suggests that, while

the age of the witnesses is an important consideration in terms of external evidence, it is not strictly determinative of the best readings. As for the node that is the closest to the Nestle-Aland text, that has 26 authorial readings, nine less than the central branch. This result suggests that the Nestle-Aland bears some room for improvement.

Accordingly, when the stemma is oriented at the central branch, the resulting oriented stemma appears as shown in FIG. 20, as follows:

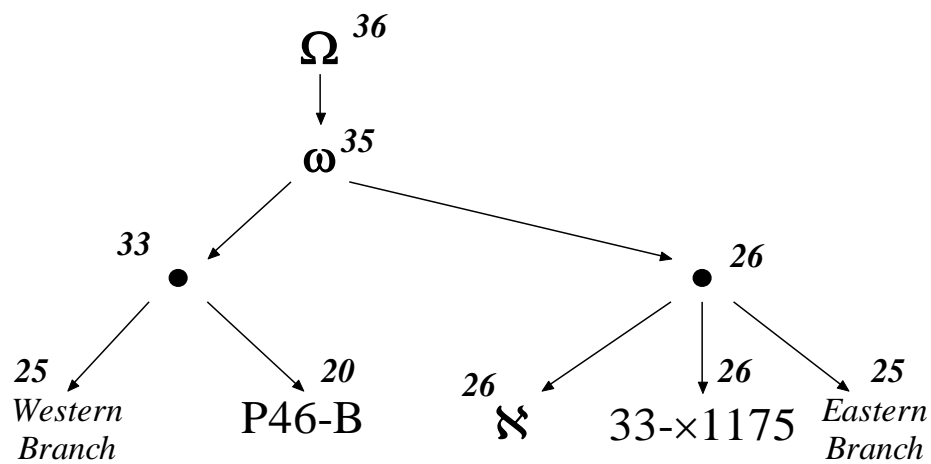


FIG. 20 An Oriented Stemma of Galatians Based on Authorial Reading Counts

The difference of one reading between the assumed autograph Ω and the stemmatic archetype ω means that no portion of the stemma, however, has authorial readings in all 36 variation units. The reason for this is that the reading of Gal 4:30 determined to be authorial, $\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\eta}\sigma\eta$, is found in only the Western and Eastern branches. The basic witnesses, P46, B, \aleph , and 33, however, all read $\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\iota$ in conformance with the reading of the Septuagintal text. The lack of genealogical coherence for this variation unit suggests at least two possibilities. One possibility is that harmonization to the LXX was so common that it affected all the basic witnesses, but somehow left the Western and Eastern branch unscathed. The other is that this study's judgment about the secondary nature of the reading that parallels the LXX is

wrong in this case, and that what Paul wrote was the future indicative κληρονομήσει, the form of his scriptural source.

On this stemma, there are two differences between the stemmatic archetype ω and the common ancestor of the Western branch and the cluster P46-B. One of the differences occurs in Gal 1:19, where the Western branch reading εἶδον οὐδένα and the P46-B cluster reading οὐχ' εἶδον were both seen as independent efforts to strengthen Paul's denial. It is also possible that the P46-B cluster reading is merely an orthographic variant and, despite its spelling, actually represents the authorial οὐχ' εἶδον. Another difference between the stemmatic archetype ω and the Western/P46-B common ancestor is the textual change between ἐάν and ἄν in Gal 5:17b. This could well be an accidental coincidence. In fact, the ἄν reading is that of the original hand of B and it was corrected to read ἄν ἐάν. Thus, if this reading is indeed coincidental, then there is no remaining textual evidence within Galatians to group the Western branch and the P46-B cluster together. In other words, the data may well support the alternative stemma shown in FIG. 21:

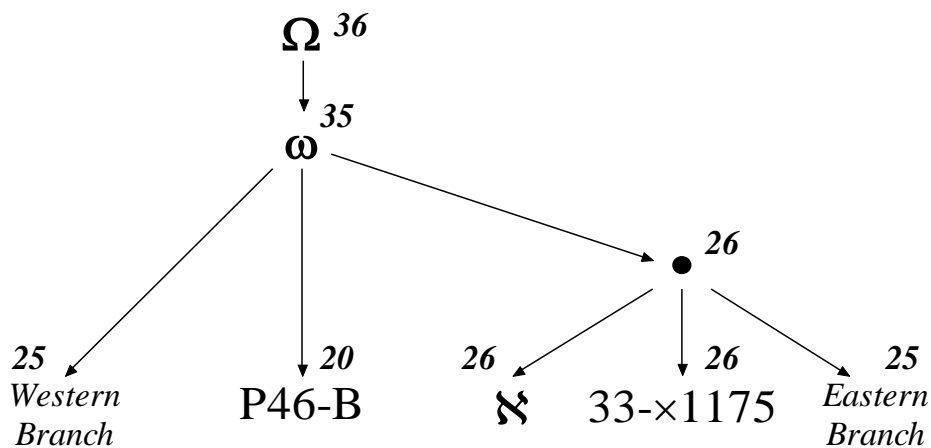


FIG. 21 An Alternative Oriented Stemma of Galatians

Nevertheless, it is more prudent to adopt the oriented stemma of FIG. 20 for the text of Galatians in the *Corpus Paulinum*, because it is less fragile than the stemma of FIG. 21 to the presence of the shared errors between P46-B and the Western branch in other books of the Pauline corpus, as well as less sensitive to differing assessments of the internal evidence within Galatians. For example, if further analysis of the internal evidence of Gal 2:20 turns out to favor the “son of God” reading, rather than the “God and Christ” reading, then the stemma of FIG. 20 would still stand (albeit with changed authorial counts), while the stemma of FIG. 21 would no longer represent the best choice of base for the stemma.

This orientation of the stemma does not automatically establish the critical text of Galatians. In stemmatic terms, only the *recensio* step has been performed. The next step is to examine the textual variants near the base of the stemma and select the readings that appear best based on internal evidence. Even if the text is supported by the earliest variant carriers at the base of the stemma, the text must be examined for primitive errors that may require conjecture to fix. This next step is performed in Chapter 4.

4. Examining and Establishing the Text of Galatians

4.1 *Introduction*

A critical text is a scholarly construct that presents the textual critic's understanding of the text and its history. That is, the critical text is designed, in the studied opinion of the textual critic, to explain the state of the surviving textual evidence better than its alternatives. The state of the surviving textual evidence includes both the pattern of readings distributed among the external evidence and the generation of scribal variants as indicated by the internal evidence. A critical text should be considered a provisional text, which represents the best explanation of the current state and understanding of the textual evidence. As new evidence or superior interpretations of the evidence arise, however, the critical text should be updated in light of those new developments.

This study has enabled the external evidence to be interpreted genealogically. That is, it groups the various witnesses to the text in the form of a stemma based on their genealogical history as inferred from their patterns of readings. In order to avoid the circularity between the reconstruction of a text and the reconstruction of the history of the text, the construction of the stemma is split into two stages. The first stage determines the shape and linkage pattern of a stemma—but not its orientation—based on the pattern of textual changes among the witnesses to the text. That stage, which uses external evidence and hence does not need internal evidence or a reconstructed text to produce its result, was performed in Chapter 2. The second stage, performed in Chapter 3, oriented the stemma based on the examination of thirty-six variants in four sets of opposing witnesses in accordance with the internal evidence

of their readings. Based on this examination, the stemma of Galatians was oriented so that there are two basic divisions in the history of the text. On one side, there is the Western branch and the P46-B cluster, while on the other side there is the Eastern branch with **Σ** and 33 as its allies. At this point, only those well-behaved variants where the opposing sets of witnesses line up neatly were considered in Chapter 3. This chapter, by contrast, examines those variation units where the witnesses are less well-mannered in their distribution.

In order to identify which additional variation units need to be examined to establish the text, the bracketed readings in the Nestle-Aland 27th edition were considered first. Bracketed and marginal readings have long been employed in editions of the New Testament in order to signal the editors' doubts about the wording of particular places in the text. There has been some concern lately, however, that brackets have been overused, so this study adopts the editorial philosophy of the recent SBL edition of the New Testament that "one of an editor's duties is to make choices, particularly in the 'hard cases,' so as to offer some degree of guidance to those making use of the resulting text."¹ As a result, one of the goals of this study is to reassess each of the bracketed readings in the Nestle-Aland 27th edition.

There are eight such bracketed readings in Galatians, as follows: Gal 1:6 ἐν χάριτι [Χριστοῦ], 1:8 εὐαγγελίζεται [ὑμῖν], 1:15 εὐδόκησεν [ὁ θεός], 2:6 [ὁ] θεός, 2:13 [καὶ] οἱ λοιποὶ Ἰουδαῖοι, 2:16 εἰδότες [δὲ] ὅτι, 3:21 κατὰ τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν [τοῦ θεοῦ], 5:7 [τῆ] ἀληθείᾳ, and 5:24 οἱ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ [Ἰησοῦ]. Of these eight readings, three have been already treated in Chapter 3 (Gal 1:15, 2:13, and 5:24). The remaining five all involve places where P46 and B are split, with P46 agreeing against B with another witness and with B agreeing against P46 with still another

¹ Michael W. Holmes, *The Greek New Testament: SBL Edition* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010), xv n.16.

witness. This result suggests that P46-B splits, where neither witness is singular, are good candidates for examination.

In fact, there are thirty-five such supported P46-B split variation units in Galatians. Most variants against the Nestle-Aland text can be cursorily resolved. For example, seven appear to be harmonizations,² three involve orthographic or morphological issues,³ five appear to be the easier reading,⁴ and two pertain to scribal habits of P46.⁵ Four such variants were already discussed in Chapter 3,⁶ and three will be discussed in Chapter 5.⁷ This leaves eleven P46-B split variation units to be reassessed in detail for this chapter: 1:4 περί, 1:6 [Χριστοῦ], 1:8 εὐαγγελίζεται [ἡμῖν], 2:6 [ὁ], 2:16a [δέ], 3:21 ἦν ἄν, 4:18 ζηλοῦσθε, 4:19 ἄχρις, 4:25 τὸ γὰρ Σινᾶ, 5:7 [τῆ], and 6:10 ἔχωμεν.

In addition, there are four readings where **Σ** and 33 agree with each other against the Eastern branch. These readings are found at Gal 3:3 ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, 4:18 ζηλοῦσθε, 6:9 θερίσωμεν, and 6:10 ἔχωμεν. Two of these are also P46-B split variants (4:18 and 6:10), so there are two additional variation units to reassess. Consequently, a total of thirteen variation units are reexamined in detail for this chapter.

² Gal 1:16 εὐαγγελίσωμαι, 2:7 εἰδότες, 2:8 ἐνέργησεν, 2:16b Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ, 4:23a γεγένηται, 5:10a δέ, and 6:7b ταῦτα.

³ Gal 2:8 κάμοί, 5:10 φρονήσητε, and 6:12 διώκονται.

⁴ Gal 3:19b ἄν, 4:9 δουλεῦσαι, 4:23b τῆς, 5:12 ἀποκόψωνται, and 6:7a ἄν.

⁵ Gal 5:5 ἐκδεχόμεθα and 5:25 *omit* καί.

⁶ Gal 1:11 γάρ, 2:9 Πέτρῳ, 3:14 εὐλογίαν, and 5:24 Ἰησοῦ.

⁷ Gal 3:19a πράξεων, 4:31 ἄρα, and 5:17 ἀντίκειται ἀλλήλοις.

4.2 Examination of Variation Units with Early, Split Support

Gal 1:4 τοῦ δόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν,

Var.	Western branch			Eastern branch		EDS.
περί	D F G	P46	Ⲛ	A	Ψ 1611 Byz	SCC RP S WH ^M T L
ὑπέρ		B	33 ×1775	P 1241S	1739 Chrys Byz ^{pt}	SBL NA BW WH ^T
?	Marc d b ×vg			C		

The attestation for the two prepositions is fractured among the witnesses. Every branch and cluster, except for the Western branch, is divided about evenly between περί and ὑπέρ. Thus, if external evidence has any weight at all, there is a slight presumption in favor of περί because the Western branch is unified as to that reading.

The difference in meaning between περί and ὑπέρ in this context is at best subtle.⁸ Normally, ὑπέρ means “on behalf of” and περί means “concerning,” but the first clause of the verse can equally be translated as “[Christ] who gave himself for our sins” with either preposition.⁹ Pauline usage evidences a semantic overlap for these prepositions,¹⁰ and Paul attests to this meaning with this particular noun for both prepositions: Rom 8:3, περί ἁμαρτίας

⁸ BETZ 42 n.55. LIGHTFOOT 73, however, endeavors a syntactic distinction: “Generally it may be said that περί is *things*, ὑπέρ of *persons*, . . . but exceptions are very numerous.”

⁹ When used with ἁμαρτία, BDAG offers nearly identical glosses for these prepositions: compare “to take away, to atone for” (BDAG “περί, 1g” 798) with “in order to atone for (the) sins or to remove them” (BDAG “ὑπέρ, A1b” 1030).

¹⁰ BURTON 13; LONGENECKER 8. Although MATERA 39 argues that “the preposition [ὑπέρ] functions as a technical term when the Apostle speaks of Christ’s death on our behalf,” all of his examples except for 1 Cor 15:3 (viz. Rom 5:6, 7, 8; 14:15; 1 Cor 1:13; 15:3; 2 Cor 5:14, 15; Gal 2:20; 3:13) involve the preposition ὑπέρ with a personal object, not with the abstract noun sin. For an alleged “technical term,” such distinctions are crucial.

(“for sin”),¹¹ and 1 Cor 15:3, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν (“for our sins”). Indeed, concerning the phrase, “for (our) sins,” New Testament usage is varied even within a single author.¹²

There is little internal guidance for this variant. As for intrinsic probabilities, the parallel with 1 Cor 15:3, ὃ καὶ παρέλαβον, ὅτι Χριστὸς ἀπέθανεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν κατὰ τὰς γραφὰς (“what I also received, that Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures”) demonstrates that ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν occurs in a Pauline text, but the wording may only be pre-Pauline, as Paul explicitly stated. Indeed, Gal 1:4 does not reproduce the traditional formula of 1 Cor exactly: apart from the preposition, it differs over whether to say ἀπέθανεν (“died”) or δόντος ἑαυτὸν (“gave himself”). Thus, the phraseology of 1 Cor 15:3 could be the traditional formulation, and Gal 1:4 the Pauline adaptation of it. This means 1 Cor 15:3 is not strong *intrinsic* evidence of Paul’s stylistic preference.

The transcriptional probabilities are also hard to discern because the interchange between περί and ὑπέρ was common among the manuscripts.¹³ On the one hand, the ὑπέρ variant in Galatians could be a harmonization to the preposition in the established form of 1 Cor 15:3. On the other hand, Bernhard Weiss argued that a scribe may have been scandalized by the ὑπέρ variant, thinking that the text said that Christ gave himself on behalf of sin, and

¹¹ BDAG “περί, 1g” 798, but T. C. G. Thornton, “The Meaning of καὶ περί ἁμαρτίας in Romans viii. 3,” *JTS* 22 (1971): 515-517 proposes “on the charge of sin” or “on the grounds of sin,” instead. See also 1 Pet 3:18 περί ἁμαρτιῶν ἔπαθεν; 1 John 2:2 περί τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν.

¹² Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians: A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians* (Hermeneia; James W. Leitch, trans.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975), 253 n.48, compares Heb 10:12 ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν with 10:26 περί ἁμαρτιῶν.

¹³ Breytenbach, *Versöhnung: Eine Studie zur paulinischen Soteriologie* (WMANT 60; Neukirchen-Vluzn: Neukirchener, 1989), 197, points to variations between these two prepositions in the LXX and in the textual transmission of Gal 1:4 and 1 Thess 5:10. See also LONGENECKER 8: “And this same interchangeability of prepositions appears in the extant Koine Greek materials outside the NT.” Bortone, *Greek Prepositions: From Antiquity to the Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 231, points out that περί was being phased out, even in its non-spatial sense, during the medieval period, while ὑπέρ remained in use.

changed the preposition to περί.¹⁴ The lack of textual variation, however, in the preposition ὑπέρ in the 1 Cor 15:3 parallel weakens this argument.¹⁵ Though Colwell rightly warns that scribal behavior in one passage cannot be easily generalized to another passage,¹⁶ this warning does not overcome the difficulty that Weiss's proposal about the scribal motivation behind the change in preposition is uncorroborated, especially where it would be most expected.

In sum, both the external evidence and the internal evidence tilt slightly in favor of the preposition περί.

¹⁴ WEISS 56. Weiss's suggestion that the preposition was modified to περί on the analogy of Rom 8:3, however, is strained and unnecessary, because the interchange between these prepositions was already common in antiquity even without a specific Pauline model.

¹⁵ Swanson, *New Testament Greek Manuscripts: 1 Corinthians* (Wheaton: Ill.: Tyndale House, 2003), 239.

¹⁶ Earnest Cadman Colwell, "Hort Redivivus: A Plea and a Program" in *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (NTTS 9; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1969), 148-171 at 160: "But the knowledge gained from one of these compendia cannot be transferred to another, nor can the knowledge gained from one period be generalized for another, nor can the treatment of one part of the New Testament be generalized for the entire canon" (emphasis original).

Gal 1:6 Θαυμάζω ὅτι οὕτως ταχέως μετατίθεσθε ἀπὸ τοῦ καλέσαντος ὑμᾶς ἐν χάριτι **Χριστοῦ** εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον,

Var.	Western branch			Eastern branch		EDS.
Χριστοῦ	×vg	B	Ⲛ 33 ×1175	A P	1739 Ψ Chrys 1611 Byz	SCC SBL NA ^T RP S BW WH T L
Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ	D d			1241S		
-	F* G b	P46 ^{vid 17}				NA ^M
?	Marc ¹⁸			C		

Both the Western branch and the P46-B group are split as to the addition or omission of the genitive Χριστοῦ, while the Eastern branch and Ⲛ 33 are solid support for the longer reading. P46's apparent support for the shorter reading may not be significant since P46 has a tendency for accidental omission.¹⁹ As a result, the divided support for the shorter reading in P46^{vid} and FG does not seem sufficient to offset the weight of the coherent support for the longer reading in the rest of the tradition.²⁰

The exegesis of the shorter reading ἐν χάριτι is straightforward. The anarthrous noun “grace” has a qualitative effect,²¹ and, with the preposition, the expression as a whole acquires

¹⁷ P46 has a lacuna from where the word χάριτι should be until the end of the line. Comfort, *Early Manuscripts*, 150, argued that the gap may have been large enough to accommodate the *nomen sacrum* χϛ, but this is not apparent to me from the high-resolution photograph of the sheet, and, in any case, this reconstruction of the lacuna was later abandoned *sub silentio* by Philip W. Comfort and David P. Barrett, *The Text of the Earliest New Testament Greek Manuscripts: New and Complete Transcriptions with Photographs* (2d ed.; Wheaton, Ill.: Tyndale House, 2001), 313.

¹⁸ Against the indication in UBS4 that Marcion omitted the genitive Χριστοῦ, Ulrich Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos: Rekonstruktion und historische Einordnung der marcionitischen Paulusbriefausgabe* (ANTT 25; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995), 64-65, argues well that Tertullian's quoting style does not permit us to determine if Marcion had included or omitted the word.

¹⁹ ROYSE 357 states that P46's tendency for accidental omission has to be taken in account. Note, however, that his survey shows P46's omission of proper names to be fairly rare among its singular or near-singular omissions (278, listing only three examples at Rom 15:17b [Ἰησοῦ]; 1 Cor 9:9 [Μωϋσέως], 15:45 [Ἀδάμ]).

²⁰ METZGER 520 cautions that the shorter “reading is supported by only part of the Western tradition.”

²¹ BURTON 21: “The absence of the article before χάριτι has the effect, and is doubtless due to the intention, of giving the word qualitative rather than individualizing force.”; LIGHTFOOT 76.

an adverbial force: “with grace” or “graciously.”²² As a result, the shorter text would have Paul say: “from the one who called you with grace (or graciously).” Though this reading does not specify the agent of the calling, Paul is explicit elsewhere that it is God the Father who does the calling.²³

On the other hand, the longer reading has a number of possible exegetical options, though none of them are as straightforward as the shorter reading. The most common option is to construe Χριστοῦ as a genitive of possession with the immediately preceding noun χάριτι, thus “Christ’s grace.” This creates a slight complication in that the prepositional phrase ἐν χάριτι Χριστοῦ occurs nowhere else in Paul,²⁴ and scholars have wrestled over the question whether it could be instrumental (“called by/with Christ’s grace”) or locative (“in Christ’s grace”). Neither one of these possibilities, however, is fully satisfactory. The instrumental possibility conflicts with the possessor of the grace in Paul’s own call later in 1:15-16, εὐδόκησεν ὁ ἀφορίσας . . . καὶ καλέσας διὰ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ ἀποκαλύψαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐμοί (“the one who set me apart . . . and called by his grace was pleased to reveal his son in me”).²⁵ Less problematic might be a locative construal if ἀπὸ τοῦ καλέσαντος ὑμᾶς ἐν χάριτι is taken to refer to calling the Galatians to a destination state of grace, as “from the one who

²² BDAG “ἐν” 11, 330. BETZ 48 prefers a locative meaning to “designate the Galatians’ present state of salvation” (so also MARTYN 109), though, if that were meant, εἰς would have been more appropriate. Other translations render it as “by grace” (e.g. NET).

²³ See especially Rom 8:30, 9:12, 24; 1 Cor 1:9, 7:15, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22ab, 24; Gal 1:15; 1 Thess 2:12, 4:7, 5:24; cf. also 2 Thess 2:14. The instances of Gal 5:8 and 13 do not specify the agent of the calling.

²⁴ A much longer, stereotyped formulation, ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου (ἡμῶν) Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (“the grace of [our] Lord Jesus Christ”), occurs in Paul’s subscriptions (2 Cor 13:13; Gal 6:18; Phil 4:23; 1 Thess 5:28; 2 Thess 3:18; Phlm 25; cf. Rom 16:20 ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ), as well as in 2 Cor 8:9 γινώσκετε γὰρ τὴν χάριν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (“for you know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ”).

²⁵ Pace LONGENECKER 15, who argues that “just as in the letter’s salutation God and Christ are presented as completely at one in mankind’s salvation, so in these texts they are presented interchangeably as the source of redemptive grace.”

called you *to be in Christ's grace*,"²⁶ although the preposition εἰς would have been better suited for this meaning and Paul elsewhere uses the preposition ἐν to refer to the pre-call condition, e.g., 1 Cor 7:18, ἐν ἀκροβυστίᾳ κέκληταί τις, μὴ περιτεμνέσθω ("if anyone is called in [a state of] uncircumcision, let him not get circumcised").²⁷

Another possibility is to regard Χριστοῦ as an exegetical genitive or, similarly, as a genitive of content: "the grace that is (or contains) Christ."²⁸ Although the idea that Christ could be a grace or a benefaction has been suggested by some scholars,²⁹ this notion is hard to square with how Paul is using the preposition ἐν in this context. If Christ is equated with grace in this exegetical possibility, then the preposition ἐν would be locative as if it read ἐν Χριστῷ,³⁰ yet Paul's usual usage elsewhere would not suggest that this grace is the destination, which the construct requires, but the state within which one is called.

A different syntactic option with the longer reading is to construe Χριστοῦ as the object of the preposition ἀπό with the participial phrase καλέσαντος ὑμᾶς ἐν χάριτι in the first attributive position, such that the text would mean "from Christ, who called you graciously."³¹ This option, however, is unlikely, because there is no explicit corroboration elsewhere in Paul

²⁶ See BETZ 48, "ἐν ('in') should not be taken as the 'means by which' but as a definition of the situation before God enjoyed by those who were called" (footnotes omitted). So also MARTYN 109.

²⁷ DE BOER 40 n.53, argues that Paul sometimes uses ἐν to mean "into" when used with καλέω, but the example do not prove the point. First Corinthians 7:15 is no exception, for ἐν δέ εἰρήνῃ κέκληκεν ὑμᾶς ὁ θεός ("God has called you in peace") refers to the peacefulness of the marriage at the time when a person is called to Christ. In 1 Thessalonians 4:7 οὐ γὰρ ἐκάλεσον ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ ἀκαθαρτίᾳ ἀλλ' ἐν ἀγιασμῷ, the preposition ἐπὶ refers to destination, while the ἐν could be instrumental. Rom 5:2 lacks the word "call" but uses stand, for which the term "into" is inappropriate.

²⁸ BETZ 48: "it refers to the grace of God which Christ represents."

²⁹ For notions of "grace" in its Greco-Roman context, see generally, James R. Harrison, *Paul's Language of Grace in its Graeco-Roman Context* (WUNT 2.172; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003); Stephan Joubert, *Paul as Benefactor: Reciprocity, Strategy and Theological Reflection in Paul's Collection* (WUNT 2.124; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000).

³⁰ SO DE BOER 40: " . "

³¹ ZAHN 43. This interpretation is discussed as a possibility by BURTON 19.

of making Christ the subject of calling,³² while there are a dozen places in the undisputed letters of Paul where God (“the Father”) is one who calls.³³

Still another possibility is to construe the genitive Χριστοῦ as the complement of the participle καλέσαντος; “from the one who called you with grace *to be of Christ*.” In this case, ἐν χάριτι becomes an adverbial prepositional phrase describing the manner of God’s calling the Galatians: “with grace” or “graciously.” The hyperbaton of this construction, by putting Χριστοῦ at the end of the clause, confers additional emphasis on belonging to Christ.³⁴ That Paul considers the Galatians to be “of Christ” is attested elsewhere in the letter, e.g., 3:29 εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς Χριστοῦ, “if you are of Christ,” and 5:24 οἱ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, “those of Christ.”³⁵ Moreover, Rom 1:6 uses this genitive complementary construction with the adjectival cognate: ἔστε καὶ ὑμεῖς κλητοὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, “you too are called to be of Jesus Christ.” This reading also fits the context because it contrasts being “of Christ” with that of turning to another gospel, which is not really a gospel at all (vv.6-7).

The internal evidence does not overturn the presumption in favor of the longer reading based on the external evidence. Stylistically, the shorter reading is unproblematically Pauline because the absolute χάριτι is well attested (Rom 11:6; 1 Cor 10:30; 2 Cor 8:7 19; cf. Eph 2:5 8; Col 3:16, 4:6, 2 Thess 2:16).³⁶ For the longer reading, on the other hand, it is also Pauline to

³² So BETZ 48; BURTON 19; LIGHTFOOT 76; LONGENECKER 15; MATERA 45. ROHDE 39 grants that Rom 1:6 κλητοὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ might be (“wohl ist”) an example if the genitive is subjective, but, as he notes, the possessive genitive is the better understanding.

³³ BURTON 20, citing Rom 4:17, 8:30, 9:11, 14, 11:29; 1 Cor 1:9, 26, 7:15, 17; Gal 1:15; Phil 3:14; 1 Thess 2:12, 4:7, and 5:24.

³⁴ ΣΜΥΤΗ 679 § 3028: “In prose hyperbaton is less common than in poetry, but even in prose it is frequent, especially when it secures emphasis on an important idea by placing it at the beginning or end of a sentence.”

³⁵ On the justification for reading Gal 5:24 as Χριστοῦ rather than Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ see the discussion below for that variation unit.

³⁶ For χάριτι θεοῦ, a genitive with God rather than Christ, cf. 1 Cor 1:4 with τοῦ, 15:10; and 2 Cor 1:2. Another example is Rom 3:24 τῆ αὐτοῦ [*scil.* θεοῦ] χάριτι, “by his [*scil.* God’s] grace,” with God being mentioned explicitly at the end of v.23.

understand Χριστοῦ as a complement of καλέσαντος (Rom 1:6), rather than as an otherwise unattested simple phrase ἐν χάριτι Χριστοῦ.³⁷

Many critics have contended that the transcriptional probabilities favor the shorter reading here, arguing that word Χριστοῦ is a natural expansion of the text.³⁸ With the dispute over the value of this criterion, occasioned by Royse’s study of scribal habits among the six earliest and most substantial papyri,³⁹ however, it is prudent not to rely on this text-critical canon. Genealogical coherence plays a role, too. If the shorter reading were the earlier form of the text, it is difficult to account for why scribes would have independently hit upon the same solution of supplementing the absolute χάριτι with Χριστοῦ to make the term more explicit.⁴⁰ Indeed, the very naturalness of this supposed supplement is dubious in light of v.15, where it is the grace of God—not Christ’s—by which Paul was called. Conversely, it is conceivable that the word Χριστοῦ could have been omitted by accident (cf. P46) or out of a misreading of the complementary genitive either with the participle τοῦ καλέσαντος,⁴¹ or as one of possession in such a way that would seem to contradict v.15.⁴²

³⁷ Note also in this connection that Rom 5:15 refers to Christ’s grace much more verbosely: ἐν χάριτι τῆ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (“by the grace of the one person Jesus Christ”). In this verse Paul also has ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ (“the grace of God”).

³⁸ MARTYN 109; Tasker, *Greek New Testament*, 438; cf. METZGER 520, who argues that “the absence of any genitive qualifying ἐν χάριτι . . . has the appearance of being the original reading, which copyists supplemented”

³⁹ ROYSE 703-736. None of Royse’s exceptions for preferring the *longer* reading (lateness, harmonization, or grammatical improvement) apply here.

⁴⁰ The argument of NET 859 that “it is difficult to explain how this particular reading could have arisen from the simple χάριτι, in light of Paul’s normal idioms,” somewhat inartfully suggests a confusion between transcriptional probabilities (“arisen from”) and intrinsic probabilities (“Paul’s normal idioms”). It is better to point out that the context would not suggest (e.g. as by harmonization) adding Χριστοῦ.

⁴¹ MEYER 11.

⁴² Indeed difficulties with the “grace of Christ” interpretation have led scholars to reject Χριστοῦ, e.g., LÉGASSE 61 n.6; MUSSNER 55.

The reading, therefore, that best explains the textual evidence is the longer reading with Χριστοῦ, with the understanding that it is a genitive complement to ὑμᾶς in a double object construction with καλέσαντος, “called you to be of Christ.”

Gal 1:8 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐὰν ἡμεῖς ἢ ἄγγελος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ **ὑμῖν εὐαγγελίζηται** παρ’ ὃ εὐηγγελισάμεθα ὑμῖν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

Var.	Western branch			Eastern branch		EDS.
ὑμῖν εὐαγγ.		B	×1175		1739	SCC S BW T ^M
εὐαγγ. ὑμῖν	(D ὑμᾶς) d ×vg		33	A P (1241S ἡμῖν)	Chrys 1611 Byz	SBL NA ^T WH ^T RP T ^T L
εὐαγγ.	F G b		Ⲛ		Ψ	NA ^M WH ^M T ^M
?	Marc ⁴³	P46		C		

This variation unit pertains to the presence and position of the pronoun ὑμῖν (“to you”).⁴⁴ No reading has the unambiguous support of any branch, and the branches are divided as to whether or where the pronoun is read. Furthermore, the lacuna in P46 makes it difficult to weigh the strength of B, but B’s reading is shared by P51^{vid}, so there is early support for this variant.⁴⁵ Though the presence of the pronoun is better attested than its lack,⁴⁶ all of these

⁴³ Schmid, *Marcion*, 74, does not view Marcion as a witness for the presence or omission of the pronoun ὑμῖν (“to you”). Tertullian, *Marc.* 5.2.5, cites Marcion’s text as follows: “et ideo, dices, subtextuit: licet angelus de caelo aliter evangelizaverit, anathema sit.” Rather than strictly reconstructing a Greek text for Marcion with a term such as ἄλλως (“otherwise”), Schmid considers the Latin *aliter* to be an Old Latin translation variant of the relative clause παρ’ ὃ εὐηγγελισάμεθα ὑμῖν, which Tertullian incorporated into his citation of Marcion. Given the looseness of Tertullian’s citation, Schmid places no weight on the apparent omission of the pronoun ὑμῖν (“to you”), and reconstructed Marcion’s text of Gal 1:8 as ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐὰν ἡμεῖς ἢ ἄγγελος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ εὐαγγελίσηται (ὑμῖν παρ’ ὃ εὐηγγελισάμεθα ὑμῖν), ἀνάθεμα ἔστω (Schmid 315), in which the parenthesis indicates that the source material is too deficient to establish its contents.

⁴⁴ There is also variation in the form of this verb, which this section does not address.

⁴⁵ Comfort, *Early Manuscripts*, 150 emphasizes the weight of P51^{vid} and B over Ⲛ.

⁴⁶ BURTON 26; BUSCEMI 45.

variants could potentially reflect the earliest form of the text, so the decision will have to be made on internal grounds.

The difference in meaning between the presence and absence of the pronoun ὑμῖν concerns the scope of the anathema. When the pronoun is present in the text, Paul's anathema relates to what he "or an angel from heaven" might preach to the Galatians, the referent of ὑμῖν. As it is written, the anathema is on its literal terms geographically and historically contingent to the situation in Galatia. Paul's own feelings may not have been so contingent, but the words are. For example, Paul may well have felt that if a heavenly angel preached contrary to (or in addition to) what he preached to the Corinthians, that angel too would be anathematized, but Gal 1:8 with an explicit pronoun ὑμῖν, "to you, the Galatians," does not express that thought. As a result, the absence of the pronoun makes the condemnation broader in geographic scope and less contingent on the historical occasion of Paul's letter to the Galatians.

As for the position of the pronoun, few exegetes have had anything at all to say about it, except that Weiss contends that the placement of ὑμῖν before the verb is unusual.⁴⁷ Weiss is right on this point. The most common place for such a pronominal object is immediately following the verb.⁴⁸ This common position is, in fact, the word order of καὶ ἐὰν ... ἄγγελος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ **εὐαγγελίζηται ὑμῖν** παρ' ὃ εὐηγγελισάμεθα ὑμῖν ("even if . . . an angel from heaven might preach to you besides what we preached to you"). The subject ἄγγελος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ comes before the verb to introduce the heavenly angel as a new discourse topic. In particular,

⁴⁷ WEISS 96: "das ungewöhnlich gestellte ὑμῖν."

⁴⁸ Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, 29: "The default position for 'unemphatic' pronominal constituents is immediately following the verb."

even this hypothetical angel would be anathematized if it preaches anything besides what Paul preached to the Galatians.

There are two main reasons for placing a pronominal object before the verb. If the pronoun itself is emphatic, it is placed first in the sentence, but no variant reading of v.8 has this placement for the pronoun. Another reason is that the pronoun follows an element fronted before the verb for emphasis, especially to highlight the element as the most informative part of the sentence.⁴⁹ This is in fact the word order of the variant reading: καὶ ἐὰν ... ἄγγελος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ **ὕμῶν εὐαγγελίζεται** παρ' ὃ εὐηγγελισάμεθα ὑμῖν, where the preverbal constituent is ἄγγελος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ. According to this word order, the angel from heaven is the most important part of the sentence because it is an unpredictable participant in Paul's argument.⁵⁰ The rest of the conditional clause, other than the heavenly angel, is presupposed, background material. In other words, the predicate of the conditional clause, ὑμῖν εὐαγγελίζεται παρ' ὃ εὐηγγελισάμεθα ὑμῖν ("preaches to you besides what we preached to you") has to be already in view earlier in the context. In this case, that context is v. 7 τινές εἰσιν οἱ ταρασσόντες ὑμᾶς καὶ θέλοντες μεταστρέψαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ ("there are some who are disturbing you and wishing to distort the gospel of Christ"). In sum, the preverbal placement of the pronoun adds to the contextually-dependent meaning of v.8 in two ways: first, it emphasizes the unexpected heavenly angel as new and important to Paul's line of

⁴⁹ Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, 39: "A change in the position of *pronominal constituents* often occurs when a focal constituent precedes the verb." Note that Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, 42, calls the new information of the sentence the "focus," and the words that instantiate the focus are the "focal constituent." See also BDF 248, § 472: "Any emphasis on an element in the sentence causes that element in the sentence to be moved forward."

⁵⁰ Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, 42: "Focal constituents, in contrast, typically are the most important piece of new information in the comment about the propositional topic. As a result, focal constituents are often *anarthrous*." Thus, the fact that the subject ἄγγελος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ is anarthrous helps to confirm that it is "new" and therefore focal.

Another indication that the angel is new and unexpected is the adverbial καὶ ("even") before ἐὰν; e.g. BURTON 26: "the καὶ is intensive, marking the extreme nature of the supposition"; so also LONGENECKER 16.

thought, and, second, it signals that preaching besides what Paul preached to the Galatians is a distortion of the gospel of Christ.

The intrinsic probabilities pertain to how suitable the readings are to the author's context and style. Of the three variant readings, the one most integrated into Paul's argumentative context is the one with the preverbal placement of the pronoun. Not only is this reading historically contingent with its inclusion of the pronoun, but it is also contextually contingent because the context is necessary to supply what Paul presupposed by his reference to preaching besides what he had preached. As for the postverbal placement of the pronoun, it too is historically contingent on what was preached to the Galatians, but it is less integrated into the context. Here, it introduces a hypothetical heavenly angel into the discourse, though with no special emphasis, and predicates a behavior upon it that Paul found objectionable, but without implying a necessary connection between preaching against Paul's preaching and the troublemakers of v.7. As for the reading without the pronoun, it is less contingent on the occasion of Paul's letter and more suitable for a statement of a general principle. The first reading fits Paul's context the best, while the other, progressively more decontextualized readings suit the needs of later readers of Paul, who are no longer part of Paul's context.

These intrinsic grounds go hand-in-hand with the transcriptional considerations. Later readers and writers of the text are more likely to prefer the more generalized forms of the statement for their theological needs, even though these more generalized forms are less suitable for Paul's own context. Some critics have argued that the variation in the placement of the pronoun suggests that it is secondary,⁵¹ but this argument does not explain why scribes

⁵¹ *NET* 493 n.6 ("the fact that it floats suggests its inauthenticity"), 859. Also mentioned by *LIGHTFOOT* 77; *METZGER* 521; *ZIMMER* 1 484.

would want to make Paul's anathema more specific rather than more universal. Indeed, the omission of the pronoun generalizes Paul's anathema beyond a specific application to the Galatians.⁵² To the extent that harmonization could have affected the placement of the pronoun, that harmonization could go in either direction; scribes could have been tempted to assimilate either to v.8b, after the verb (παρ' ὃ εὐηγγελισάμεθα ὑμῖν)⁵³ or to v.9b (εἴ τις ὑμᾶς εὐαγγελίζεται)⁵⁴ before the verb.

In conclusion, the reading with the strongest intrinsic and transcriptional probabilities is with the preverbal placement for the pronoun: καὶ ἐὰν ... ἄγγελος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ **ὑμῖν** εὐαγγελίζεται παρ' ὃ εὐηγγελισάμεθα ὑμῖν. This finding fits with the external evidence, and so it should be adopted for a critical text of Galatians.⁵⁵

Gal 2:6 Ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δοκούντων εἶναί τι, — ὁποῖοί ποτε ἦσαν οὐδέν μοι διαφέρει ·
 πρόσωπον **ὁ θεός** ἀνθρώπου οὐ λαμβάνει — ἐμοὶ γὰρ οἱ δοκῶντες
 οὐδὲν προσανέθεντο,

Var.	Western branch			Eastern branch		EDS.
ὁ θεός		P46	Ⲛ 33 ×1175	A P 1241S	(Ψ Chrys) ⁵⁶	SCC NA ^T S WH ^T
θεός	(D F G) ⁵⁷	B		C	1739 1611 Byz	SBL NA ^M RP BW WH ^M T L
?	Marc d b ×vg					

The Eastern branch is split as to the presence or absence of the article before God, but its closest basic allies **Ⲛ** and 33 include it. P46 and B are split, with P46 agreeing with **Ⲛ** and 33

⁵² BUSCEMI 45; LÉGASSE 65 n.3; METZGER 521; MATERA 47. But NET 859 argue for a motivation of clarification without addressing that such a clarification would limit the scope of Paul's anathema.

⁵³ WEISS 96.

⁵⁴ LÉGASSE 65 n.3.

⁵⁵ LONGENECKER 16 prints this reading (against the critical text), perhaps on the strength of P51^{vid} and B (13 n.b).

⁵⁶ Ψ and Chrys have the word order πρόσωπον ἀνθρώπου ὁ θεός.

⁵⁷ D F G have the word order θεός ἀνθρώπου πρόσωπον.

on its inclusion, and B agreeing with the Western branch on its omission. B and the Western branch, however, do not agree on the position of the word θεός. If the external evidence leans in any direction, it would appear to be in favor of the agreement between P46, **8**, and 33 in support of the article. The lack of clarity in the external evidence, however, means that this variation unit needs to be decided by internal evidence.

The expression λαμβάνειν πρόσωπον ἀνθρώπου (literally, “to accept a person’s appearance [or face]”) is an idiom that means to show favoritism or partiality to somebody.⁵⁸ With or without the article before God, the statement πρόσωπον [ὁ] θεὸς ἀνθρώπου οὐ λαμβάνει means “God does not show partiality to anybody.” The nuance of πρόσωπον as “outward appearance” is not entirely missing, because the immediate context refers to “those who seem to be something” (τῶν δοκούντων εἶναί τι) and “whatever they once were” (ὅποιοί ποτε ἦσαν). Though the meaning of the statement seems clear enough with or without the article, the article does have an effect on where the emphasis lies within the statement.

With the article before God, the emphasis is expected to be on the first word of the clause,⁵⁹ πρόσωπον (“appearance”).⁶⁰ After talking earlier in the verse about those with a good reputation (i.e., those who seem to be something) and about “whatever they once were,” the emphasis on πρόσωπον (“appearance”) suggests that it is not their appearance or reputation that is important to God but something else. This contrast is left implied in Gal 2:6, but in 2 Cor 5:12 a similar contrast is explicit, between outward appearances and the heart (τοὺς ἐν

⁵⁸ BDAG “πρόσωπον 1bα,” 888.

⁵⁹ See BDF 248, § 472: “Any emphasis on an element in the sentence causes that element in the sentence to be moved forward.”

⁶⁰ As applied to Gal 2:6, Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, 61: “If the articular reading is followed, it is more likely that πρόσωπον ἀνθρώπου is preposed for focus. Ὁ θεός is then a supportive constituent (sec. 3.8.1). Πρόσωπον ἀνθρώπου is discontinuous because it is the ‘face’ of a person that relates back to ‘what they actually were’ in v. 6b (Archea & Nida 1975:35) rather than the phrase πρόσωπον ἀνθρώπου as a whole.”

προσώπῳ καυχωμένους καὶ μὴ ἐν καρδίᾳ).⁶¹ The idiom is found—also with an articular God—in Rom 2:11 οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν προσωποληψία παρὰ τῷ θεῷ (“for there this no partiality with God”). This statement is in a context that everyone who does good (παντὶ τῷ ἐργαζομένῳ τὸ ἀγαθόν) will be honored—both Jews and Greeks—where the emphasis on impartiality helps to confirm that ethnicity does not matter. Likewise in Gal. 2:6 the emphasis on “appearance” serves to support Paul’s statement that whatever those of repute used to be does not matter to him.⁶²

Without the article, commentators have long noticed that the emphasis falls on God, though they differ as to the reason why. Ernest de Witt Burton, for example, argues that “the use of θεός without the article . . . employed with qualitative force with emphasis upon the divine attributes, especially in contrast with man, is an established use.”⁶³ Stephen H. Levinsohn, as another example, points out: “If an anarthrous substantive has a unique referent and is activated [i.e. mentioned in context], then its referent is prominent.”⁶⁴ Levinsohn illustrates this point with Gal 2:19 ἐγὼ γὰρ διὰ νόμου νόμῳ ἀπέθανον, ἵνα θεῷ ζήσω (“for through the Law I died to the Law, so that I live for God”). Here, both νόμῳ (“Law” i.e., “Torah”) and θεῷ (“God”) are activated, unique referents without the article, and they are both prominent because they are part of a double contrast construction: dying to the Law versus living for God. The word order of the Western branch, where θεός is at the beginning of the clause, makes this word even more prominent. So, in Gal 2:6 with an anarthrous God being

⁶¹ So David M. Hay, “Paul’s Indifference to Authority,” *JBL* 88 (1969): 36–44 at 42.

⁶² Hay, “Paul’s Indifference,” 41, arguing that this statement “is meant to be a kind of OT proof text to support the preceding clause: Paul’s indifference to the Jerusalem chiefs is grounded on God’s [impartially].” Unfortunately, Hay does not address the text-critical issue.

⁶³ BURTON 89. So also EADIE 120; LIGHTFOOT 108; MEYER 89; WEISS 71.

⁶⁴ Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, 162. This principle is applied to Gal 2:6 specifically at Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, 61: “If anarthrous θεός is read in Gal. 2:6c, then πρόσωπον ἀνθρώπου precedes the negated verb because it is a point of departure (marking a shift from ‘what they actually were’ in v. 6b). In turn, θεός precedes the verb because it is a focused constituent (“the emphatic θεός”—Eadie 1869:120) that is not negated (it occurs before the negative particle).”

prominent, the contrast is along the lines of “God does not show partiality (but some people do).” Indeed, the fact that anarthrous references to God lend prominence to God makes the lack of the article especially common in other quasi-proverbial statements.⁶⁵ For example, θεός lacks the article in Gal 6:7 Μὴ πλανᾶσθε, θεὸς οὐ μωκτηρίζεται (“Don’t be misled, God is not mocked”), where the emphasis on God is appropriate. As another example, θεός is anarthrous in 1 Thess 2:5 θεὸς μάρτυς (“God [is my] witness”), another case of appropriate prominence on God in the statement.

Accordingly, with regard to the internal evidence, the presence of the article appears to be the harder reading. Gal 2:6 looks like a proverbial statement, and proverbial statements with God often omit the article before it in order to lend more prominence to God. While it seems likely that scribes would want to enhance references to God in their exemplars (here, by omitting the article), the opposite change is harder to understand. On the other hand, the articular ὁ θεός in v.6 fits the author’s context better because it supports Paul’s statement that those of high repute do not matter to him.⁶⁶ For these reasons, the critical text should include the article before θεός.

⁶⁵ BETZ 95 calls λαμβάνει a “proverbial present.”

⁶⁶ BUSCEMI 150 claims that the article better conforms to Paul’s style, but does not explain how; cf. BURTON 89: “the N. T. writers and Paul in particular rarely use θεός as subject without the article.” So also ZIMMER ¹ 491-492, who further suggests that the article was omitted as a harmonization to the anarthrous ἀνθρώπου, but SIEFFERT 108 n.* argues that scribes are relatively more likely to add the article than to remove it.

Gal 2:16 15 Ἡμεῖς φύσει Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἀμαρτωλοὶ · 16 εἰδότες **δέ** ὅτι οὐ δικαιούται ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἔργων νόμου ἐὰν μὴ διὰ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐπιστεύσαμεν ἵνα δικαιωθῶμεν ἐκ πίστεως Χριστοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων νόμου, . . .

Var.	Western branch			Eastern branch		EDS.
δέ	D* F G d b xvg	B	ⲛ	C 1241S	Chrys	SCC SBL NA ^T S BW WH T L
-		P46	33 x1175	A P	1739 Ψ 1611 Byz	NA ^M RP
?	Marc					

Except for the Western branch, which supports the inclusion of the conjunction **δέ**, the external evidence is divided in every group. Even among the Byzantine witnesses, which by and large omit the conjunction, there are many manuscripts that include the **δέ**.⁶⁷ The evidence of P46 is not definite, however, because it has a noticeable tendency to omit conjunctions and particles.⁶⁸ These considerations suggest that the external evidence tilts, if anywhere, toward inclusion of the conjunction.

Commentators have been divided about whether Gal 2:15 continues Paul’s discourse to Peter in v.14 or whether it opens a new section of the letter.⁶⁹ Either possibility may seem to fit with the asyndeton of v.15, which tends to signal either a large discontinuity such as a change in topic for the argument (cf. the asyndeton at 1:6) or a close connection to the previous statement.⁷⁰ The connection between v.14 and v.15, however, does not appear to be especially close, because v.15 does not seem to answer the question Paul posed to Cephas in v.14 (“If you

⁶⁷ Among those collated for this study: L 075 223 330 1319 1573 1646 1734 1827 2138 2147 2400 2892.

⁶⁸ ROYSE 270-298, esp. 297: “it is clear that the scribe of \mathfrak{P}^{46} omits conjunctions, articles, and pronouns—whose omissions usually results at worst in asyndeton or lack of clarity—, much more often than he omits nouns and verbs.” ROYSE 271 documents 55 examples where P46’s omission of a conjunction or particle resulted in a singular (or a near singular “asterisked”) reading.

⁶⁹ BETZ 113, especially n.6.

⁷⁰ See generally Black, *Sentence Conjunctions*, 179-217, esp. 216-217; Levinsohn, “Constraints,” 330-333; Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, 118-119; Runge, *Discourse Grammar*, 36.

live like a gentile, how can you compel the gentiles to obey Jewish law?),⁷¹ and the topic switches from the second person singular to first person plural.⁷² Therefore, it is best to treat v.15 as the beginning of a new section of the letter.⁷³

If the conjunction δέ is included in the text, it signals a shift in Paul's argument.⁷⁴ In this case, the shift would be a movement from Paul's and Cephas's natural identity as Jews to their common trust in Christ Jesus.⁷⁵ With the discontinuity marked by δέ, the instances of the first person nominative plural pronoun ἡμεῖς ("we") in v.15 and v.16b should then be the explicit subjects of their respective clauses.⁷⁶ In other words, v.15 is a standalone verbless copula clause: "We are Jews by nature and not sinners from the gentiles."⁷⁷

If the conjunction δέ is not to be included in 2:16a, the syntax is messier and there are a couple of viable exegetical options. One option is that the participial phrase introduced by εἰδότες begins a new sentence: "We are naturally Jews and not sinners from the gentiles. Knowing that a person is not made right . . . , we too believed" The option is similar to that with the reading δέ, except that asyndeton rather than δέ separates v.15 and v.16. The use of

⁷¹ If Gal 2:15 is an answer to that question, it would appear to say: "You cannot do either, because you (and I) are natural Jews and they are gentile sinners (i.e., non-observers of the Torah)." This answer seems to take for granted a strong ethnic distinction that is belied elsewhere in Paul (e.g. Gal 3:28).

⁷² Levinsohn, "Los rasgos," 36.

⁷³ LONGENECKER 80-81; ZAHN 120. Indeed, BETZ 114 identifies vv.15-21 as the epistle's *propositio*, which sums up the preceding statement of facts (1:12-2:14) and sets up the arguments that follow (3:1-4:31).

⁷⁴ Black, *Sentence Conjunctions*, 142-178; Buth, "Levinsohn's," 53-56; Levinsohn, "Constraints," 320-325; Runge, *Discourse Grammar of the Greek New Testament*, 46.

⁷⁵ BETZ 115 n.29 takes the contrast as between φύσει ("by birth") and εἰδότες ("knowing"); BUSCEMI 206-207 construes the contrast as between a Jewish-Christian position and Paul's Christian position. SCHLIER 52 cleverly expresses the contrast as between a *Jewish-Christian* and a *Jewish-Christian*.

⁷⁶ Curiously, LONGENECKER 83 analyzes δέ "simply as a connective without contrast," coordinating the participial clause with the nominal appositions. Without explanation, so also BURTON 119. This would be an odd use of δέ, however, which ordinarily coordinates larger discourse units.

⁷⁷ LIGHTFOOT 114; MARTYN 256; SCHLIER 51; SIEFFERT 141, pointing to 2 Cor 10:7 ὅτι καθὼς αὐτὸς Χριστοῦ, 11:6 εἰ δὲ καὶ ἰδιώτης τῷ λόγῳ ἀλλ' οὐ τῇ γνώσει, Phil 3:15 ὅσοι οὖν τέλειοι. Conversely, ZAHN 120-121 is troubled by the lack of an explicit copula, so he takes v.15 instead as a proleptic nominal in apposition to a renewed explicit subject καὶ ἡμεῖς; so also BETZ 113; LÉGASSE 167; LONGENECKER 81; MATERA 92 (bracketing "[but]"); MUSSNER 133; ROHDE 100. This is an old debate, in the nineteenth century, EADIE 161-162 cites a half-dozen scholars on each side.

asyndeton is somewhat unusual here; it does not seem to signal the beginning of a new section, but, on the contrary, a fairly close connection to the preceding statement.⁷⁸ Under this reading, the adverbial καί before ἡμεῖς (“we too”) seems to indicate that those “sinners from the gentiles” are those who also knew that a person is not made right except through the faithfulness of Jesus Christ. That is, they are Antiochene gentile Christians, the people with whom Cephas did not want share a meal.

Another option is that the participial phrase with εἰδότες goes with the previous clause in v.15, and the following clause unobjectionably begins with a conjunctive καί: “We are naturally Jews . . . And we believed . . .” With this option, it is unclear whether the participial phrase construes with the subject of v.15, ἡμεῖς (“We are naturally Jews . . . who know . . .”), or the nearest masculine nominative plural, ἁμαρτωλοί (“We are . . . not gentile sinners who know . . .”). Neither possibility seems viable, for the first would seem to exclude gentile Christians from that knowledge of how someone is made right, while the second would seem to exclude Paul, who is naturally a Jew, from that knowledge.

Still another option is that there is one long clause, with v.15 setting forth a proleptic subject and resumed by καὶ ὑμεῖς in v.16b, with v.16a interposing a participial phrase introduced by εἰδότες: “We [who are] Jews by nature and not sinners from the gentiles, knowing that a person is not made right . . ., we too believed . . .”⁷⁹ The option leaves it somewhat ambiguous whether the participle phrase is to be construed backwards or forwards, but construing it forwards with καὶ ὑμεῖς avoids the problems of the previous option. What

⁷⁸ Cf. Douglas A. Campbell, *The Deliverance of God: An Apocalyptic Rereading of Justification in Paul* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2009), 1144 n.19: “The δέ . . . might have been prompted by a desire to distance the material in 2:16 from the Jewish identifications of 2:15, which can be read as a separate sentence.”

⁷⁹ E.g., LÉGASSE 167; MATERA 92 (bracketing “[but]”).

makes this third option problematical, however, is that the clause contains two explicit pronominal subjects, ἡμεῖς in v.15 and καὶ ἡμεῖς in v.16. Ordinarily, one explicit pronominal subject is remarkable but having two of the same is surprising.⁸⁰

Among these three options for the asyndeton reading, the least awkward is the first one, where v.15 is an independent clause, and v.16 follows as its own sentence. This, in fact, is very similar to the reading with the conjunction δέ, except that δέ makes the connection between v.15 and v.16 explicit.⁸¹ Paul's argument shifts from one point (about ethnicity) to another (about a belief or trust common to Christians). The conjunction δέ fits Paul's argument better than the asyndeton, but both variants are acceptable to the context.

Transcriptionally, the change can happen in either direction, and, given the distribution of the different variant readings in all but the Western branch, changes in both directions have probably occurred. On the one hand, the asyndeton at v.16 may have been perceived as hard, and δέ is the natural conjunction to supply. On the other hand, scribes may have found the καὶ ἡμεῖς after the participial clause confusing and misinterpreted the καὶ conjunctively as the start of a new sentence, leaving the participial clause high and dry—a problem they could fix by omitting the δέ.⁸² Another factor is that the omission of the conjunction may have been occasioned by the start of a lection.⁸³ Finally, in the earliest period of the transmission, the omission of particles and conjunctions was fairly frequent, as in the case of P46.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ More idiomatic (and Pauline) would be to use καὶ αὐτοί as in Rom 8:23; cf. ZAHN 120 n.56.

⁸¹ BUSCEMI 195, however, finds the conjunction δέ abrupt and disturbing the flow of the argument: “il δέ in fatti è inatteso e turba la linearità del dettato.”

⁸² MEYER 54; SIEFFERT 142 n.**.

⁸³ SIEFFERT 142 n.**.

⁸⁴ ROYSE 721.

All in all, the internal evidence, especially the transcriptional probabilities, is not decisive, though the conjunction appears to be the better intrinsic fit. Coupled with the external evidence favoring δέ, the balance of the textual evidence tilts ever so slightly to the inclusion of the conjunction.

Gal 3:3 οὕτως ἀνόητοί ἐστε, ἐναρξάμενοι πνεύματι νῦν σαρκὶ **ἐπιτελείσθε;**

Var.	Western branch			Eastern branch		EDS.
ἐπιτελείσθε	d b xvg	P46 B		A C	1739 Ψ Chrys 1611 Byz	SCC SBL NA RP S BW WH T L
ἐπιτελείσθαι	D* F G		Ⲛ 33 ×1175	1241S		
?	Marc			P		

Not noted in the NA27 apparatus, the infinitive ἐπιτελεῖσθαι is attested both in the otherwise reliable Ⲛ 33 and the Greek witnesses of the Western branch.⁸⁵ Nevertheless, the external evidence generally favors the indicative ἐπιτελείσθε. Thus, the infinitive ἐπιτελεῖσθαι would need compelling internal evidence to overturn the indicative ἐπιτελείσθε.

Though these variants were pronounced identically after the second century,⁸⁶ they have different meanings and interact with the clause in different ways. On the one hand, the indicative ἐπιτελείσθε creates its own separate clause and the verse as a whole can be rendered, “Are you so senseless? After getting started in the spirit, are you now getting finished in the flesh?” On the other hand, the infinitive ἐπιτελεῖσθαι is a complement to the adjective

⁸⁵ The Latin witnesses read *coeperitis*, which corresponds to the indicative ἐπιτελείσθε.

⁸⁶ W. Sidney Allen, *Vox Graeca: The Pronunciation of Classical Greek* (3d ed.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 79.

άνότητοι,⁸⁷ and the verse would mean: “Are you, who got started in the spirit, so senseless as to get finished now in the flesh?”

The infinitive ἐπιτελεῖσθαι is the smoother reading because it avoids the asyndeton of the indicative ἐπιτελεῖσθε.⁸⁸ Thus, the internal evidence favors the harsher reading and thereby agrees with the external evidence that the indicative ἐπιτελεῖσθε should be adopted as the reading of the critical text.

Gal 3:21 . . . εἰ γὰρ ἐδόθη νόμος ὁ δυνάμενος ζωοποιῆσαι, ὄντως **ἐκ νόμου ἂν ἦν** ἡ δικαιοσύνη ·

Var.	Western branch			Eastern branch		EDS.
ἐκ νόμου ἂν ἦν		(B) ⁸⁹		A C 1241S		SCC SBL NA BW T L
ἐκ νόμου ἦν ἂν		(P46)	Ⲛ 33 ×1175		1739 (Ψ* -ἦν)	S WH ^M
ἂν ἐκ νόμου ἦν					Chrys 1611 Byz	RP
ἐκ νόμου ἦν	D*					WH ^M
ἐκ νόμου	F G d					
?	Marc b ×vg			P		

The external evidence for the position of the particle ἂν is fractured across the witnesses. Although Ⲛ and 33 support the order ἦν ἂν, both the Eastern branch and the P46-B group are split between the orders ἂν ἦν and ἦν ἂν,⁹⁰ and the Western branch cannot resolve

⁸⁷ The use of a complementary infinitive for άνότητος is attested, for example, in Plato, *Republic* 336e, and *Gorgias*, 514e.

⁸⁸ Cf. MATERA 112-113, who felt it necessary to add an infinitive complement to his translation “to render the Greek more clearly,” as follows: “Are you so foolish [as to think] that having begun with the Spirit you are now made perfect by the flesh?”

⁸⁹ Instead of ἐκ νόμου, the related P46 and B read the phrase ἐν νόμῳ (“by the Law”). This sub-variant is discussed in Chapter 3.

⁹⁰ WEISS 135 denigrates the external evidence in favor of ἦν ἂν as “nur nach Ⲛ und 6 Min.,” but this judgment was made before the publication of the very good witnesses P46 and 1739.

the choice because that branch omits at least the particle ἄν.⁹¹ Nevertheless, it seems more likely that the particle would be omitted if the Western branch exemplar had read ἦν ἄν rather than ἄν ἦν, because the former merely requires a simple skip from the first *nu* to the second. These considerations suggest that the order ἦν ἄν has the strongest external evidence in its favor, but internal evidence is what has to decide which variant belongs to the critical text.

The Greek particle ἄν does not have an English translation, and this variation unit concerns the position of this untranslatable particle. Because of this, it might seem that there is no exegetical significance to the placement of ἄν, but the position of the Greek particles is driven by prosodic concerns, particularly in the placement of phrase and colon boundaries. Thus, particles can serve as indirect evidence for “punctuation after the fact.”⁹²

According to the foundational research of Wackernagel and Fraenkel,⁹³ the predominant position for the particle ἄν is second in its clause or colon.⁹⁴ Indeed, this is the most common position in the New Testament and other first century literature such as

⁹¹ It is unclear whether the omission of both ἄν ἦν by F G should count as support for the omission of just ἄν in D; see WEISS 104: “Woher WH. Gal. 3, 21 das ἄν, das in D neben (wo nicht gar nach, vgl. ⚡) ἦν aus Schreiberversehen ausfiel, einklammern, ist garnicht abzusehen, da FG, in denen das ἄν ἦν fehlt, nicht einmal mit dafür zeugen.” ZAHN 178 n.43, however, takes the omission of ἄν to be original and more forceful; so also SCHLIER 121 n.2.

⁹² Helma Dik, *Word Order in Ancient Greek: A Pragmatic Account of Word Order Variation in Herodotus* (ASCP 5; Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1995), 35.

⁹³ Jacob Wackernagel, “Über ein Gesetz der indogermanischen Wortstellung” in Jacob Wackernagel, *Kleine Schriften* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1953), 1-104; Eduard Fraenkel, “Kolon und Satz: Beobachtungen zur Gliederung des antiken Satz, I” in Eduard Fraenkel, *Kleine Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie* (vol. 1; Raccolta di studi e testi 95; Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1964), 73-92; idem, “Kolon und Satz: Beobachtungen zur Gliederung des antiken Satz, II” in Fraenkel, *Kleine Beiträge*, 93-130. For a treatment, informed by recent developments in functional linguistics, see David Michael Goldstein, “Wackernagel’s Law in Fifth-Century Greek” (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2010).

⁹⁴ Because of this principle, arguments of this variant based on the position of ἄν with respect to the verb are invalid. These include BURTON 194, who regards the preverbal placement of ἄν as more Pauline, and SIEFFERT 218 n.*, who considers the placement of ἄν after the verb anomalous (and dubiously the harder reading) because nowhere else in Paul does this particle follows the verb (“bei Paulus nirgends sonst ἄν auf das Verbum folgt”).

Josephus and Epictetus.⁹⁵ It must also be kept in mind that the notion of the “second position” is qualified in that ἄν is not found after phonologically light words such as articles, prepositions, and other proclitics. For example, in Rom 9:29 the particle ἄν is found in the syntactically third position ὡς Σόδομα ἄν ἐγενήθημεν, since the word ὡς is too phonologically light to host the particle.⁹⁶ Another important qualification is that particularly emphatic constituents of a clause can be preposed before the verb and placed in a colon of their own; when this preposing happens, the particle ἄν is in second position of the colon containing the verb. For example, in Gal 1:10 Χριστοῦ δοῦλος οὐκ ἄν ἦμην (“I would not be a slave of Christ”), the predicate nominate noun phrase Χριστοῦ δοῦλος is fronted into its own colon to confer emphasis, but the particle ἄν is placed in the second position of the colon with the verb. With these principles in mind, let us examine the various readings.

The Byzantine reading, ὄντως ἄν ἐκ νόμου ἦν ἡ δικαιοσύνη (“righteousness would really be from the law”), is the most straightforward exegetically. The particle ἄν is in the classic Wackernagel position and unambiguously defines the apodosis to begin with the word ὄντως. Externally, on the other hand, the support for this reading is late and appears to be an improvement in clarity over the other attested positions for ἄν.

The reading of B and a subgroup of Alexandrians, which is adopted into the Nestle-Aland text, places the particle after ἐκ νόμου, as ὄντως ἐκ νόμου ἄν ἦν ἡ δικαιοσύνη, which means that the prepositional phrase goes into the apodosis. More importantly, this placement

⁹⁵ Based on my examination of ἄν in the TLG database. Of course, a large number of these cases involve ἄν after the relative pronoun ὅς and similar words. But, even in an apodosis, we have clear examples such as 1 Cor 2:8 (οὐκ ἄν τὸν κύριον τῆς δόξης ἐσταύρωσαν) and 11:31 (οὐκ ἄν ἐκρινόμεθα).

⁹⁶ Other New Testament examples include John 4:10 καὶ ἔδωκεν ἄν σοι ὕδωρ ζῶν (because of the light καί) and John 15:19 ὁ κόσμος ἄν τὸ ἴδιον ἐφίλει (because of the light ὁ). Multiple light words can coalesce together around one heavier word to host the particle, as in John 8:19 καὶ τὸν πατέρα μου ἄν ἴδείτε.

indicates that the adverb ὄντως belongs in a different colon, because it is too phonologically heavy to be phrased with ἐκ νόμου. This placement confers a strong emphasis on the word ὄντως, which can be paraphrased in English as follows: “For if a law was given that could give life, it would really be true that righteousness is from the law.” B’s closest relative P46, on the other hand, reverses the order of the verb and the particle: ὄντως ἐκ νόμου ἦν ἄν ἡ δικαιοσύνη. In this reading, the particle is placed after the verb, indicating that the phrase ὄντως ἐκ νόμου belongs to its own colon and as a whole would be emphatic: “For if a law was given that could give life, then it would really be from the law [as opposed to somewhere else] that righteousness comes.”

Intrinsically, the reading ὄντως ἐκ νόμου ἄν ἦν ἡ δικαιοσύνη, with its strong focus on ὄντως, fits the context well as an implied denial of the teaching of Paul’s opponents that righteousness comes from the Torah.⁹⁷ Transcriptionally, the ἄν ἦν reading is the most unusual and hence the mostly likely to be changed. These internal considerations favor ἄν ἦν as the authorial reading.

⁹⁷ E.g. BETZ 174.

Gal 4:18 καλὸν δὲ **ζηλοῦσθαι** ἐν καλῶ πάντοτε καὶ μὴ μόνον ἐν τῷ παρεῖναί με πρὸς ὑμᾶς.

Var.	Western branch			Eastern branch		EDS.
ζηλοῦσθαι			×1175	A C 1241S	1739	SCC SBL NA S BW WH T ^T L
τὸ ζηλοῦσθαι	D F G (d est aemulari)				Chrys 1611 Byz	RP
ζηλοῦσθε	(b ×vg aemulamini)	B	Ⲛ 33			T ^M
?	Marc	P46		P	Ψ	

The weight of the external evidence favors the infinitive ζηλοῦσθαι, being found in both the Western and Eastern branches, though the Western and Byzantine texts add an article. The apparent support by the Latin reading *aemulamini* for the reading ζηλοῦσθε is deceptive, because this Latin verb is deponent while the proper Greek equivalent is active, not passive.⁹⁸ Thus, the Latin *bonum autem aemulamini* bears the sense of “but [you] strive after the good,” a meaning that the Greek does not have.⁹⁹

These homonyms, at least from the second century on,¹⁰⁰ have different senses. The infinitive ζηλοῦσθαι is the complement of καλόν (ἔστιν), with the meaning: “but it is good to be sought after always in a good way.” By contrast, the indicative ζηλοῦσθε is harder to construe, but the most satisfactory analysis is to take the adjective καλόν as an accusative of respect and render the clause as “but you are being properly sought after always in a good way.” The indicative reading, however, does not fit the context because of the tension with v.17 ζηλοῦσιν ὑμᾶς οὐ καλῶς (“they are seeking after you, not properly”) and the redundancy of ἐν καλῶ in

⁹⁸ Neither BDAG “ζηλόω,” 427, nor LSJM “ζηλώω,” 755, admit a middle sense for this verb. So also BURTON 247; LONGENECKER 194; Friedrich Zimmer, *Exegetische Probleme des Hebräer- und Galaterbriefs* (Neutestamentliche Studien 1; Hilburghausen: Gadow, 1882), 193-194.

⁹⁹ ZAHN 220-221, who also points out that this meaning would also need an article, as in τὸ κάλον.

¹⁰⁰ Allen, *Vox Graeca*, 79.

v.18. Transcriptionally, the indicative ζηλοῦσθε is a common orthographic mistake among scribes.¹⁰¹ Thus, the internal evidence also favors the infinitive ζηλοῦσθαι.

Gal 4:19b τέκνα μου, οὗς πάλιν ὠδίνω ἄχρις οὗ μορφωθῆ Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν ·

Var.	Western branch			Eastern branch	EDS.
ἄχρις	D F G		Ⲭ ^c 33 ×1175	A C 1241S	Ψ Chrys 1611 Byz SCC (RP ἄχρι) L
μέχρις		B	Ⲭ*		1739 SBL NA S BW WH T
?	Marc d b ×vg	P46		P	

This variation unit is not noted in the NA27 apparatus. The external evidence in favor of ἄχρις is more genealogically coherent than that of the NA27 reading, μέχρις, despite its presence in the highly-regarded Ⲭ, B, and 1739.¹⁰² These etymologically related prepositions have the same meaning: “until when,”¹⁰³ which makes the internal evidence harder to evaluate than usual. The conjunction ἄχρι(ς) οὗ is paralleled elsewhere in Paul (Rom 11:25; 1 Cor 11:26, 15:25; and Gal 3:19), while μέχρις οὗ would be its only occurrence in Paul,¹⁰⁴ suggesting that ἄχρις οὗ is more Pauline than μέχρις οὗ—but the mere handful of occurrences is too small to be definitive. It is also unlikely that the ἄχρις οὗ reading is a scribal harmonization to the Gal 3:19 parallel, ἄχρις οὗ ἔλθῃ τὸ σπέρμα, because the context is too far and too dissimilar to trigger the harmonization. These factors suggest, weakly, that Gal 4:19 ought to read ἄχρις οὗ.

¹⁰¹ BUSCEMI 413; EADIE 349; LIGHTFOOT 177-178; LONGENECKER 188 n.f.; ROHDE 188. BUSCEMI 413 also thinks that ζηλοῦσθε is the easier reading because it would be a direct exhortation.

¹⁰² WEISS 59 prefers μέχρις οὗ on the strength of his favorite B plus Ⲭ, noting that only Lachmann adopted ἄχρις οὗ; so also SCHLIER 217. ZAHN 222 mildly favors ἄχρις but without explanation.

¹⁰³ See BDAG “ἄχρι,” 106; “μέχρι,” 664; Alfio Marcello Buscemi, *L'uso delle preposizioni nella lettera ai Galati* (Analecta [Studium Biblicum Franciscanum] 17; Jerusalem: Franciscan, 1987), 105, 107. Andrew L. Sihler, *New Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 441, § 409.6, notes that the initial syllables με- and ἄ- both derive from different vocalized forms (*ablaut*) of the initial element in μετά, while the -χρις element is related to χεῖρ.

¹⁰⁴ In fact, the only other occurrence of μέχρις οὗ in the New Testament is at Mark 13:30. In fact, Zimmer, *Exegetische Probleme*, 208 n.*, claims that, since μέχρις οὗ is unstable in Mark 13:30, it is likewise unstable in Gal 4:19.

Gal 4:25 24 ἄτινά ἐστιν ἀλληγορούμενα · αὐταὶ γὰρ εἰσιν δύο διαθήκαι, μία μὲν ἀπὸ ὄρους Σινᾶ εἰς δουλείαν γεννώσα, ἥτις ἐστὶν Ἀγάρ. 25 ¶ τὸ γὰρ Σινᾶ ὄρος ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ · ¶ συστοιχεῖ δὲ τῇ νῦν Ἱερουσαλήμ, δουλεύει γὰρ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς.

Var.	Western branch			Eastern branch		EDS.
<i>omit v.25a</i>						SCC ^T Schott <i>cj</i>
γὰρ	D-Vorlage F G b xvg		ⲛ	C 1241S	(1739 -ἐστίν)	SCC ^M WH ^M T ^M L ^T
γὰρ Ἀγάρ	(d -Σινᾶ)		33	P	Ψ Chrys 1611 Byz	RP S T ^T
δὲ Ἀγάρ	D	B	x1175	A		SBL NA BW WH ^T L ^M
δὲ		P46				T ^M
?	Marc ¹⁰⁵					

The external evidence is all over the map, but the reading τὸ γὰρ Σινᾶ enjoys plurality support among the early witnesses and branches. The evidence for the NA27 reading τὸ δὲ Ἀγάρ Σινᾶ is less weighty than it appears, because the reading in D is secondary within its own tradition and therefore not a witness to the earliest reading. H. J. Vogels has called attention to the fact that, though D is usually arranged with a sense unit per line, the present text departed from the arrangement by breaking 4:25a in an unusual location: *Ἡτις ἐστὶν ἀγὰρ τὸ δε/Ἀγὰρ σείνα ὄρος ἐστὶν.*¹⁰⁶ The words τὸ δε at the end of the line are not paralleled in the corresponding Latin column of d. Moreover, the Latin on the following sense-line also reads *enim*, which corresponds to the Greek γὰρ. This evidence suggests that the τὸ δε at the end of the line had been added there in D's exemplar, and the word γὰρ had been deleted. Vogels concludes that D's exemplar originally agreed with F and G's reading τὸ γὰρ Σινᾶ. P46's

¹⁰⁵ Marcion's text here is highly divergent and it has nothing corresponding to this clause. See Schmid, *Marcion*, 317-318.

¹⁰⁶ H. J. Vogels, "Der Codex Claromontanus der paulinischen Briefe," in H. G. Wood, ed., *Amicitiae Corolla: A Volume of Essays Presented to James Rendel Harris, D. Litt., on the Occasion of his Eightieth Birthday* (London: University of London Press, 1933), 274-299 at 294. So also Karl TH. Schäfer, "Der griechisch-lateinische Text des Galaterbriefes in der Handschriftengruppe D E F G," in Carl Feckes, ed., *Scientia Sacra* (Cologne: Bachem, 1935), 41-70, at 62-63.

singular reading τὸ δὲ Σινᾶ could support either early reading,¹⁰⁷ but it seems best that P46 should be used to support the attestation of the more substantive sub-variant, the omission of Ἀγάρ, rather than the conjunction.¹⁰⁸

There are two exegetical issues in this clause: the meaning of the particles δέ and γάρ, and the inclusion or omission of the name Ἀγάρ. As for δέ, it does not coordinate with the μὲν in the preceding verse, μία μὲν ἀπὸ ὄρους Σινᾶ, εἰς δουλείαν γεννώσα, ἣτις ἐστὶν Ἀγάρ (“one [covenant] indeed is from Mount Sinai, born into slavery, such is Hagar”), because the resulting μὲν . . . δέ construction entails that the δέ clause refers to the other covenant, which Gal 4:25a does not.¹⁰⁹ The conjunction δέ is not used adversatively, because the information given in v. 25a does not contrast with that in v. 24; rather, v. 25a gives more information, so the conjunction δέ is best considered connective (e.g., “now” or “and”).¹¹⁰ As for γάρ, it is more specific about the function of Gal 4:25a; it is causal, giving the reason why the covenant from Mount Sinai is Hagar.¹¹¹

Without the name Ἀγάρ, the clause means “Sinai is a mountain in Arabia,” because the noun ὄρος (“mountain”) functions as a predicate to Σινᾶ (“Sinai”) in hyperbaton with its attributive preposition phrase ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ positioned after the copula.¹¹² With the name

¹⁰⁷ ROYSE 320 n.682, though Royse mistakenly thinks that P46’s τὸ δὲ Σεινᾶ is not singular here due to misplaced reliance on Tischendorf (and Tregelles) for the claim that 33*^{vid} also read τὸ δὲ Σινᾶ. Based on my inspection of the photograph available online at the NT.VMR, however, no such reading is apparent for 33.

¹⁰⁸ Pace METZGER 527.

¹⁰⁹ In fact, it is only much later at v. 26 that Paul gets to expounding the other covenant: ἡ δὲ ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ ἐλευθέρᾳ ἐστὶν, ἣτις ἐστὶν μήτηρ ἡμῶν (“but the Jerusalem above is free, such is our mother”), and even here it does not present a precisely parallel construction to the μὲν clause. MUSSNER 320, argues that the structure of Paul’s argument is as if he wrote: ἑτέρα δὲ εἰς ἐλευθερίαν γεννώσα, ἣτις ἐστὶν Σαρά· συστοιχεῖ δὲ τῇ ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἣτις ἐστὶν ἐλευθέρᾳ καὶ μήτηρ ἡμῶν (“but the other is born into freedom, such is Sarah; now she corresponds to the Jerusalem above, such is the free woman and our mother”).

¹¹⁰ BETZ 244; LÉGASSE 356 n.1; LONGENECKER 198 n.d; MARTYN 438, and Herman Ridderbos, *The Epistle of Paul to the Churches of Galatia* (NICNT; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1953), 178 n.9.

¹¹¹ Michael G. Steinhauser, “Gal 4,25a: Evidence of Targumic Tradition in Gal 4,21-31?” *Bib* 70 (1989): 234-240 at 234.

¹¹² LÉGASSE 356; LONGENECKER 198 n.e; and MARTYN 437.

Ἄγάρ, on the other hand, there are two additional exegetical issues. First, the use of the neuter article τό before the feminine Ἄγάρ is a quotative usage of the neuter article,¹¹³ or perhaps a reference to the name (i.e., τὸ ὄνομα) Hagar, rather than to the woman.¹¹⁴ Second, the inclusion of the name means that there are three nominative nouns in a linking clause that normally takes two: Ἄγάρ (“Hagar”), Σινᾶ (“Sinai”), and ὄρος (“mountain”). At least one of them must be an attributive noun (i.e., used adjectivally) or a noun in apposition. Even though the word order Σινᾶ ὄρος for Mount Sinai is odd,¹¹⁵ the least problematic of these options is to take “Sinai” as attributive, so Σινᾶ ὄρος should mean “the Sinai mountain” (or “Mount Sinai”), and the whole clause means, “this ‘Hagar’ is the Sinai mountain in Arabia.”¹¹⁶

Analysis of the transcriptional probabilities is complicated by the fact that there is no simple, single path between the two earliest attested readings, τὸ γὰρ Σινᾶ and τὸ δὲ Ἄγὰρ Σινᾶ. In particular any scenario involving an initial accidental change must posit additional stages of scribal modification to reach the other early reading. For example, if τὸ γὰρ Σινᾶ was the earliest reading, then one would have to suppose that a scribe changed the γὰρ to Ἄγάρ and then supplied a conjunction such as δὲ or γάρ to avoid the resulting asyndeton.¹¹⁷ Alternatively,

¹¹³ BDF 140 at § 267(1). So also MARTYN 437 n.132; MATERA 1992:170; and Gerhard Sellin, “Hagar und Sara. Religionsgeschichtliche Hintergründe der Schriftallegorese Gal 4,21-31” in Ulrich Mell and Ulrich B. Müller, eds., *Das Urchristentum in seiner literarischen Geschichte: Festschrift für Jürgen Becker zum 65. Geburtstag* (BZNW 100; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1999), 59-84 at 74.

¹¹⁴ BETZ 244 n.65; and LÉGASSE, 354 n.5.

¹¹⁵ The word order of the LXX is consistently ὄρος Σινᾶ (Exod 19:11, 16, 18, 20, 23; 24:46; 31:18; 34:2, 2, 32; Lev 7:38; 25:1; 26:46; 27:34; Num 3:1; 28:6; 2 Esd 19:13; cf. Acts 7:30, 38),¹¹⁵ and, in fact, Paul had just used the usual order in the preceding verse (μία μὲν ἀπὸ ὄρους Σινᾶ: “one from mount Sinai”). See G. I. Davies, “Hagar, El-Heğra and the Location of Mount Sinai,” *VT* 22 (1972): 152-163 at 159 n.4; James D. G. Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians* (BNTC; London: Black, 1993), 250; Susan M. Elliott, “Choose Your Mother, Choose Your Master: Galatians 4:21-5:1 in the Shadow of the Anatolian Mother of the Gods,” *JBL* 118 (1999): 661-683 at 668; and LÉGASSE 355.

¹¹⁶ BETZ 244; Bruce, *Galatians*, 219; Udo Borse, *Der Brief an die Galater* (RNT; Regensburg: Pustet, 1984), 168-170; BURTON 258; LONGENECKER 198; MARTYN 432, 437; MATERA 167, 169; and Albrecht Oepke, *Der Brief des Paulus an die Galater* (THKNT 9; 2d ed.; Berlin: Evangelische, 1957), 109.

¹¹⁷ LIGHTFOOT 193 (footnote omitted): “By the negligence or confusion of a scribe τὸ Ἄγὰρ might easily be substituted for τὸ γάρ, the word Ἄγὰρ occurring in the immediate context. As a next step a connecting particle must be

if τὸ δὲ Ἄγαρ Σινᾶ was the original reading, then one would have to suppose that δέ first changed to γάρ and the resulting γὰρ Ἄγαρ was simplified, perhaps by parablepsis.¹¹⁸ Either multi-stage scenario seems equally convoluted. The lack of Ἄγαρ seems to be the harder reading for a later scribe, and adding it would couple the parenthetical note of Gal 4:25a more closely to the immediate context.¹¹⁹

As for the intrinsic probabilities, the attested readings hardly have anything to commend themselves as fitting the context of Paul's allegorical argument. The longer reading with Hagar is redundant at best and contradictory at worst. In v.24, Paul had already identified Hagar with the Sinai covenant, but the longer reading of v.25a redefines Hagar with Mount Sinai itself. Moreover, the new geographic information of Mount Sinai being in Arabia is superfluous if Paul's intention was to re-identify Hagar in his allegory. The shorter reading, without Hagar, on the other hand, does convey the new information about the Arabian location without disturbing the allegory by any redefinition of Hagar's role in it.¹²⁰

Yet the shorter reading, locating Mount Sinai in Arabia, also has its problems. One difficulty with the Hagar-less reading is the third clause of v.25: δουλεύει γὰρ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς ("for she is enslaved with her children"). This clause needs to pick up Hagar, not Sinai, as

supplied; and δὲ or γὰρ was inserted according to the caprice or judgment of the transcriber, thus producing the second and third readings."

¹¹⁸ METZGER 527: "After γάρ had replaced δέ in some witnesses, the juxtaposition of γὰρ Ἄγαρ led to the accidental omission sometimes of γάρ and sometimes of Ἄγαρ." So also MEYER 213.

¹¹⁹ Pace MATERA 170 (quoting C. K. Barrett). BETZ 245 (apparently followed by LONGENECKER 198 n.e) calls the inclusion of Hagar the harder reading under the assumption that Paul must have been referring to some Arabic term; this argument falters, however, on the ground that the canon of *lectio difficilior* looks at what is more difficult to the scribe, which Betz himself concedes was not ("The name Hagar itself can easily be interpreted as a later insertion, trying to help the argument by connecting more visibly Sinai with Jerusalem.").

¹²⁰ See Allen Kerkeslager, "Jewish Pilgrimage and Jewish Identity in Hellenistic and Early Roman Egypt" in *Pilgrimage and Holy Space in Late Antique Egypt* (ed. David Frankfurter; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 99-225 at 184.

its subject, and so the back-reference to Hagar would have to skip over v.25a all the way to the end of v.24: ἥτις ἐστὶν Ἀγάρ (“which is Hagar”).¹²¹ Moreover, the short reading is also unsuitable on intrinsic grounds, because it is merely a bald geographic statement that does hardly anything to advance Paul’s argument.¹²²

The note about Arabia is not merely logically superfluous but structurally superfluous as well. As the following chart shows, Paul structures the elements of his allegory in the form of a chiasm:

²⁴ ἅτινά ἐστιν ἀλληγορούμενα · αὐταὶ γὰρ εἰσὶν δύο διαθήκαι,

A	μία μὲν ἀπο ὄρους Σινᾶ
B	εἰς δουλείαν γεννώσα,
Γ	ἥτις ἐστὶν Ἀγάρ · ²⁵ [τὸ γὰρ Σινᾶ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ ·]
Δ	συστοιχεῖ δὲ τῇ νῦν Ἱερουσαλήμ,
E	δουλεύει γὰρ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς.
Δ´	²⁶ ἡ δὲ ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ
Γ´	ἐλευθέρα ἐστίν,
B´	ἥτις ἐστὶν μήτηρ ἡμῶν ·
A´	²⁷ γέγραπται γὰρ · Isa 54:1 about Zion

In particular, the mountain elements A line up: Sinai (v.24c) and the quotation of Isa 54:1 about Zion (v.27). The motherhood elements B line up too: one gives birth into slavery (v.24d) and the other is our mother (v.26c). The women Γ also line up: Hagar (v.24e) and the free woman (v.26b). Finally, the two Jerusalems line up as elements Δ: the present Jerusalem (v.25b) and the Jerusalem above (v.26a). The central element E is the point of the allegory:

¹²¹ This consideration was decisive for MARTYN 438, who concluded that the presence of Hagar was necessary.

¹²² Especially Charles Kingsley Barrett, “The Allegory of Abraham, Sarah, and Hagar in the Argument of Galatians” in *Rechtfertigung: Festschrift für Ernst Käsemann zum 70. Geburtstag* (ed. Johannes Friedrich et al.; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1976), 1-16 at 12.

those who reckon their descent from the Sinai covenant are enslaved. In this tight structure, the note about Arabia sticks out like a sore thumb. It has no corresponding element.

These considerations raise the possibility that some or all of the v.25a parenthesis is a marginal note that was interpolated into the text of Galatians, as some textual critics have contended.¹²³ In particular, Heinrich Schott conjectured in 1834 that the entire clause τὸ γὰρ [Ἄγαρ] Σινᾶ ὄρος ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ must have been a geographic gloss that crept into the text, because it impeded and retarded Paul's argument.¹²⁴ In favor of Schott's proposal, the resulting text without the clause does indeed read smoothly without detriment to Paul's allegorical argument. The great classical textual critic Paul Maas, however, warns us that interpolations are "often very difficult to prove."¹²⁵ In particular, an interpolation should not be suspected merely for being superfluous, since "there is undoubtedly superfluous (or at least not demonstrably indispensable) matter in every original."¹²⁶ In the case of Gal 4:25, the

¹²³ Heinrich Schott, *Epistolae Pauli ad Thessalonicenses et Galatas* (Commentarii in Epistolas Novi Testamenti 1; Leipzig: Barth, 1834), 533; Carl Holsten, *Das Evangelium des Paulus* (vol. 1; Berlin: Reimer, 1880), 171-172; and S. A. Naber, "ΥΠΕΡ ΤΑ ΕΣΚΑΜΜΕΝΑ," *Mnemosyne* n.s. 6 (1878): 85-104 at 102.

The first to propose a conjectural emendation was Richard Bentley, *Epistola ad Joannem Millium* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962), photogr. repr. of Alexander Dyce, ed., *The Works of Richard Bentley, D.D.* (vol. 2; London: Macpherson, 1836), 361-365, found the mention of Hagar in the received text too difficult for the context because it set up the anomalous, double identification of Mount Sinai with Hagar, so he proposed to strike the sentence fragment Σινᾶ ὄρος ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ ("Sinai is a mountain in Arabia") from the text with some adjustment in the syntax of the resulting sentence, as follows: Τῇ δὲ Ἄγαρ συστοιχεῖ ἡ νῦν Ἱερουσαλήμ, δουλεῖ γὰρ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς ("But to Hagar, corresponds the present Jerusalem, for she is enslaved with her children").

As another example, J. C. O'Neill, "For this Hagar is Mount Sinai in Arabia' (Galatians 4.25)," in Steve Moyise, ed., *The Old Testament in the New Testament: Essays in Honour of J.L. North* (JSNTSS 189; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 210-219, adopted P46's singular reading of 4:25a without Hagar to avoid the identification with Mount Sinai, but he then found himself exegetically compelled to add an explicit reference to Hagar in the subsequent clauses of v.25 by adopting a singular reading from D* for the second clause and conjecturally emending the γὰρ following δουλεῖ to Ἄγαρ in the third clause of v.25. As a result, O'Neill's text of v.25 read as follows: τὸ δὲ Σινᾶ ὄρος ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ. συστοιχοῦσα τῇ νῦν Ἱερουσαλήμ δουλεῖ Ἄγαρ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς. Unfortunately for O'Neill's rather complicated and implausible proposal, the resulting asyndeton between v.25a and v.25b is fairly harsh, and yet his text still does not account for the presence of Arabia in v.25a.

¹²⁴ Schott, *Galatas*, 533: "satis commode tamen abest, impediens quodammodo et retardans argumentationem Paulinam." Indeed, Schott, not Bentley, deserves the credit in the apparatus of the Nestle-Aland 27th edition for the conjecture, though Bentley deserves recognition for identifying the passage as difficult.

¹²⁵ Paul Maas, *Textual Criticism* (trans. Barbara Flower; Oxford: Clarendon, 1958), 14.

¹²⁶ Maas, *Textual Criticism*, 14-15.

parenthetical comment about Sinai being a mountain in Arabia is undoubtedly superfluous: it does not contribute to the allegorical argument and in fact complicates it. The Arabian note also spoils the tight chiasm that Paul has constructed.

These are internal arguments, but there is also external evidence that v.25a once stood outside the main text. Allen Kerkeslager has called attention to the overlooked textual variant following Gal 4:25a.¹²⁷ Although Alexandrian and Byzantine witnesses read συστοιχεῖ δὲ (“but it corresponds”) after the geographic note, the Western witnesses read the feminine nominative participle ἡ συστοιχοῦσα instead. The closest feminine nominative antecedent for this participle is not in v.25a at all, but at the end of v.24—the feminine Hagar. The longer reading of v.25a with “Hagar” would not supply the proper antecedent, because that instance of “Hagar” is actually neuter, taking the neuter article τό. On transcriptional grounds, it is difficult to see why a scribe would modify the συστοιχεῖ δὲ in v.25b to the participle ἡ συστοιχοῦσα, when the entirety of the clause v.25a stands between the participle and its antecedent. Yet, if v.25a stood not in the main text but in the margin,¹²⁸ the connection between v.24 and the Western variant in v.25b is very smooth indeed: μία μὲν ἀπὸ ὄρους Σινᾶ, εἰς δουλείαν γεννώσα, ἣτις ἐστὶν Ἄγαρ [. . .] ἡ συστοιχοῦσα τῇ νῦν Ἰερουσαλήμ, . . . (“one [covenant is] indeed from Mount Sinai, giving birth into slavery, which is Hagar [. . .] corresponding to the present Jerusalem”).¹²⁹ The attestation of the geographic note of v.25a within all the witnesses of Galatians means that this marginal note mostly likely had been

¹²⁷ Kerkeslager, “Jewish Pilgrimage,” 184-185.

¹²⁸ Since all the Western witnesses have some version of v.25a, it is better to conclude that it stood somewhere in their common ancestor, rather than they acquired the note independently by contamination. A marginal note is the best place for this text to stand.

¹²⁹ Kerkeslager, “Jewish Pilgrimage,” 184-185, considers the Western reading of the participle to be original, but its smoothness suggests transcriptionally that it was a scribal improvement. Kerkeslager’s intrinsic argument for a μέν . . . δέ falls short because, even with his reading, Paul must have abandoned it.

present in the archetype of the textual transmission of Galatians, which was perhaps the original edition of Paul's letter collection.

If Gal 4:25a is a marginal note as the evidence suggests, was it written by Paul or a later glossator? The previous arguments against the presence of the note in the main text do not controvert the view that this could be Paul's own marginal note. After all, its semantic and structural superfluity is to be expected, even for an authorial note. Despite the intriguing possibility that the archetypal letter collection might have managed to preserve Paul's own notes on his epistles, there are two countervailing considerations. First, Michael W. Holmes has proposed that some variant readings in P46 and other early witnesses are evidence of an early commentary of Paul's letters in the form of marginal notes in an early second-century edition of the Pauline corpus.¹³⁰ That Gal 4:24a appears to be another marginal comment giving additional information about a step in the allegory fits well with this proposed later context.

Second, although lexicographers have called attention to Paul's only other mention of Arabia in Gal 1:17,¹³¹ no one seems to have noticed the way Paul thinks of Arabia in Gal 1 conflicts with its use in Gal 4. In Gal 1:15-16, Paul told the Galatians in defense of his apostolic ministry that God was pleased to reveal his son in him so he would proclaim Christ among the Gentiles. As a result of this experience, Paul did not visit Jerusalem to confer with the apostles before him, but he immediately went to Arabia (v.17). Thus, in Paul's mind, Arabia is coded as Gentile territory. Yet in the allegory of Sarah and Hagar, "Arabia" does not function as Gentile territory. Quite the contrary—according to the geographic note, Arabia functions as the

¹³⁰ Michael W. Holmes, "The Text of \mathfrak{P}^{46} : Evidence of the Earliest 'Commentary' on Romans?" in Tobias Nicklas, ed., *New Testament Manuscripts: Their Text and Their World* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 189-206.

¹³¹ E.g., Udo Borse, "Αραβία," *Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament* (Horst Balz & Gerhard Schneider, eds.; vol. 1; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1990), 149; and N. T. Wright, "Paul, Arabia, and Elijah (Galatians 1:17)," *JBL* 115 (1996): 683-692 at 686.

location of Mount Sinai where the law was promulgated. Furthermore, in 1:17, Arabia is distinct from the present-day Jerusalem, while in 4:25 it is said to correspond (via the location of Mount Sinai) to the present-day Jerusalem.

Therefore, the textual evidence indicates that the earliest form of the marginal note on the text of Gal 4:25 reads τὸ γὰρ Σινᾶ ὄρος ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ (“for Sinai is a mountain in Arabia”). Critical editions should reflect that wording. If Paul wrote the marginal note, critical editions ought to show that fact by putting the note in the margin where its author intended it. If, however, Paul did not write the note, as the balance of probabilities suggest, then it ought to be relegated to the apparatus with the notation “Schott *cj ex Bentley*,” giving proper credit both to the scholar who identified the emendation and to the one who saw the difficulty. In either case, the note on the text does not belong in the main text of a critical edition.

Gal 5:7 Ἐτρέχετε καλῶς · τίς ὑμᾶς ἐνέκοψεν **τῇ** ἀληθείᾳ μὴ πείθεσθαι;

Var.	Western branch			Eastern branch		EDS.
τῇ	D F G	P46	Ⲣ ² 33 ×1175	A 1241S	1739 Ψ Chrys 1611 Byz	SCC SBL NA ^T RP S ^T L
-		B	Ⲣ*	C		NA ^M S ^M BW WH T
?	Marc d b xvg			P		

There is genealogically coherent external support for the article τῇ before ἀληθείᾳ,¹³² and where the omission is attested, it is against the testimony of the witness’s closest relative: B

¹³² Pace BURTON 282, SIEFFERT 305 n.***, and ZAHN 252, who adopt the anarthrous reading on the strength of Ⲣ*AB, all before the discovery of P46.

against P46,¹³³ **Σ*** against 33, and C against A. The fact that the lack of the article is attested by scattered unrelated witnesses suggests that it has been coincidentally omitted multiple times.

The article on τῆ ἀληθείᾳ signals that it should be identifiable to the readers. The previous mentions of “truth” are in 2:5 and 14, where it is called the “truth of the gospel.”¹³⁴ Though the prior context is considerably removed from the present context, the Gal 2 passage had been primed to some extent in the previous sentence with its use of ἐτρέχετε καλῶς (“you were running well”), which recalls 2:2 μὴ πῶς εἰς κενὸν τρέχω (“lest I somehow run in vain”). The primary emphasis of the question falls on the interrogative, of course, but there is a secondary emphasis on the final verb μὴ πείθεσθαι (“to not obey”).¹³⁵ With this emphasis, Paul is expressing some surprise that the Galatians have stopped obeying the truth.

Without the article, the previous discussion of the truth of the gospel in Gal 2:5 and 14 allows for ἀληθείᾳ to have a definite force even without the article.¹³⁶ If this is the case, omitting the article before an identifiable noun makes the referent of the noun more prominent, especially when it is preposed before the verb,¹³⁷ as is the case here.¹³⁸ With this understanding of ἀληθείᾳ, the anarthrous reading would serve to emphasize the truth which

¹³³ According to ROYSE 268, 273, P46 tends to omit articles (36 times) twice as often as when it adds them (15 times). This preference tends to strengthen P46’s testimony for the presence of the article here.

¹³⁴ BETZ 265 n.111; BURTON 282; LONGENECKER 230; MATERA 183. There is an intervening reference to Paul’s speaking the truth in 4:16 ὥστε ἐχθρὸς ὑμῶν γέγονα ἀληθεύων ὑμῖν; (“Have I become your enemy by telling you the truth?”), but its content is only implicit; it could also be the truth of the gospel.

¹³⁵ Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, 286. BUSCEMI 519 proposes that τῆ ἀληθείᾳ has been raised by prolepsis from the infinitive μὴ πείθεσθαι to the main clause; this analysis is possible because the use of the dative has been attested (in contemporary papyri) with the verb of the main clause, ἐγκόπτω. Thus, under Buscemi’s analysis, the sentence would mean, “Who blocked your way to the truth so that you not obey it?” As the dative is more common with πείθω than ἐγκόπτω, it seems better, as with most commentators, to construe τῆ ἀληθείᾳ with πείθεσθαι as: “Who blocked you from obeying the truth?”

¹³⁶ LONGENECKER 230.

¹³⁷ See Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, 163-164: “once a concept like law or faith has been activated, further anarthrous references to the concept may well have ‘definite’ force if the reference occurs in a potentially focal position in the clause or sentence.”

¹³⁸ Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, 286.

the Galatians are blocked from obeying. It is also possible to interpret the anarthrous ἀληθεία qualitatively: “who blocked you from obeying truth?”—as if, perhaps, the Galatians were blocked from obeying more than merely the truth of the gospel.¹³⁹

As for the internal evidence, the articulated reading τῆ ἀληθεία appears to be the harder reading. The article suggests that it is anaphoric but its closest prior reference is back in chapter 2, despite some priming of the back-reference.¹⁴⁰ Moreover, the lack of the article would be easier for scribes because a bare ἀληθεία tends to generalize Paul’s accusation against the Galatians,¹⁴¹ either by making ἀληθεία qualitative or by giving it additional prominence.¹⁴² These internal reasons confirm that the article τῆ belongs in the critical text.

Gal 6:9 τὸ δὲ καλὸν ποιῶντες μὴ ἐγκακῶμεν, καιρῶ γὰρ ἰδίῳ **θερίσομεν** μὴ ἐκλυόμενοι.

Var.	Western branch			Eastern branch		EDS.
θερίσομεν	Marc D d b xvg	B		A	1739 Chrys 1611 Byz ^{pt}	SCC SBL NA RP S BW WH T L
θερίσωμεν	F G		Ⲛ 33 ×1175	C 1241S	Ψ Byz ^{pt}	
?		P46		P		

This variation unit is not noted in the NA27 apparatus. Both Western and Eastern branches are split—as well as the basic witnesses B, and Ⲛ 33—between the future θερίσομεν and the subjunctive θερίσωμεν. Some of the later variation may merely be orthographic as

¹³⁹ BURTON 282.

¹⁴⁰ LONGENECKER 221 n.f. suggests that the article was added by scribe to conform to the use of the article there before ἀληθεία in Gal 2:5, 14.

¹⁴¹ Pace Zahn 242, who asserts that the anarthrous reading is better because it fits the following generalized statements better, but this is an acknowledgement that the anarthrous reading is the easier reading.

¹⁴² Curiously, BURTON 282 claims that “some scribe, recognizing that the reference was to the truth of the gospel, stumbled at the qualitateness of the expression, but it is not clear how that should be a stumbling block.

Greek had started losing the length distinction between ο and ω in the second century.¹⁴³

Though the future θερίσομεν is slightly favored over the subjunctive θερίσωμεν on external grounds,¹⁴⁴ it is necessary to consider the internal evidence.

The future θερίσομεν nicely fits the context in that it provides support (γάρ) for the preceding exhortation:¹⁴⁵ “But while we are doing good let us not get discouraged, for **we will reap** (θερίσομεν) at our own time if we do not give up.” The fit for hortatory subjunctive θερίσωμεν, on the other hand, is more superficial as it continues Paul’s exhortations: “But while we are doing good let us not get discouraged, for **let us reap** at our time if we do not give up.” Transcriptionally, scribes would be likely to harmonize the tense of the verb to the preceding hortatory subjunctive ἐγκακῶμεν.¹⁴⁶ Thus, the internal evidence also favors the future θερίσομεν.

Gal 6:10 ἼΑρα οὖν ὡς καιρὸν **ἔχομεν**, ἐργαζώμεθα τὸ ἀγαθὸν πρὸς πάντας, μάλιστα δὲ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκειοὺς τῆς πίστεως.

Var.	Western branch			Eastern branch		EDS.
ἔχομεν	Marc D F G d b xvg	P46	×1175	A C 1241S	1739 Ψ Chrys 1611 Byz	SCC SBL NA RP S BW T L
ἔχωμεν		B	Ⲛ 33			WH
?				P		

The external evidence favors the indicative ἔχομεν, despite the fact that the subjunctive ἔχωμεν is found in otherwise highly regarded witnesses B, Ⲛ, and 33.¹⁴⁷ This

¹⁴³ Allen, *Vox Graeca*, 94.

¹⁴⁴ ZIMMER³ 305.

¹⁴⁵ E.g., LONGENECKER 281-282.

¹⁴⁶ Though the harmonization could conceivably go the other way to the ἔχομεν following in v.10.

¹⁴⁷ Pace BETZ 310 n.187, who evaluates the external evidence as “almost equally divided between the two possibilities”; LONGENECKER 268 n.f (“equally strong attestation”).

variation may merely be orthographic, however, for the vowels ο and ω have had the same pronunciation throughout almost all of the transmission history of the text.¹⁴⁸ In this case, the difference in spelling reflects a difference in mood, between the indicative ἔχομεν (“as we have an opportunity”) and the subjunctive ἔχωμεν (“in order that we have an opportunity”).¹⁴⁹ Even though both readings make good sense in the context,¹⁵⁰ transcriptionally the form ἔχωμεν appears to be a harmonization to the following subjunctive ἐργαζώμεθα (“let us keep accomplishing”).¹⁵¹ Thus, the external and transcriptional criteria point in the same direction, in favor of the indicative ἔχομεν.

¹⁴⁸ Allen, *Vox Graeca*, 94 (starting from the second century).

¹⁴⁹ Cf. the differences in meaning of ὡς depending on the mood of the verb in BDAG “ὡς,” 1103-1106, esp. 8b (“while, when, as long as” with present indicative) and 9a (“with a view to, in order to” with subjunctive). There is an exegetical tendency to minimize the semantic differences among the variant readings, however, leading some scholars to propose implausible interpretations. For example, BURTON 345 interprets the subjunctive in the clause as “as therefore we have opportunity” but this sense seems to require the particle ἄν (BDAG, “ὡς” 8c, 1106), which is missing here. SCHLIER 205, based on a suggestion now found in BDF 238 § 455(2), (3), interprets this ὡς with the subjunctive as a variant of ἔω; thus, the clause would mean “as long as [solange als] we have an opportunity.” So also BETZ 310 n.187; LÉGASSE 467 n.1; LONGENECKER 282.

¹⁵⁰ MUSSNER 407 n.17, however, argues that Paul would not have used the subjunctive here without ἄν; so also ZIMMER³ 306.

¹⁵¹ So SCHLIER 345 n.**; and WEISS 45. BURTON 345, however, with his own understanding of ὡς, argues to the contrary: “The rarity of ὡς with the subjunctive without ἄν probably led to the change to the easier indicative.”

4.3 A Critical Text of Galatians

ΠΡΟΣ ΓΑΛΑΤΟΥΣ*

1 Παῦλος ἀπόστολος οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπου ἀλλὰ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν, ² καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ πάντες ἀδελφοὶ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Γαλατίας, ³ χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ⁴ τοῦ δόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, ὅπως ἐξέλθῃται ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος πονηροῦ κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς ἡμῶν, ⁵ ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.

⁶ Θαυμάζω ὅτι οὕτως ταχέως μετατίθεσθε ἀπὸ τοῦ καλέσαντος ὑμᾶς ἐν χάριτι Ὁ Χριστοῦ εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον, ⁷ ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο, εἰ μὴ τινὲς εἰσὶν οἱ ταράσσοντες ὑμᾶς καὶ θέλοντες μεταστρέψαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ. ⁸ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐὰν ἡμεῖς ἢ ἄγγελος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ὑμῖν εὐαγγελίζηται παρ' ὃ εὐηγγελισάμεθα ὑμῖν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. ⁹ ὡς προειρήκαμεν καὶ ἄρτι πάλιν λέγω· εἴ τις ὑμᾶς εὐαγγελίζεται παρ' ὃ παρελάβετε, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. ¹⁰ Ἄρτι γὰρ ἀνθρώπους πείθω ἢ τὸν θεόν; ἢ ζητῶ ἀνθρώποις ἀρέ-

σκειν; εἰ ἔτι ἀνθρώποις ἤρεσκον, Χριστοῦ δοῦλος οὐκ ἂν ἦμην.

¹¹ Γνωρίζω ἄρα ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τὸ εὐαγγελισθὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν κατὰ ἄνθρωπον· ¹² οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐγὼ παρὰ ἀνθρώπου παρέλαβον αὐτὸ ἢ οὐδὲ ἐδιδάχθην, ἀλλὰ δι' ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. ¹³ Ἠκούσατε γὰρ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀναστροφὴν ποτε ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαϊσμῷ, ὅτι καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἐδίωκον τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐπόρθουν αὐτήν, ¹⁴ καὶ προέκοπτον ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαϊσμῷ ὑπὲρ πολλοὺς συνηλικιώτας ἐν τῷ γένει μου, περισσοτέρως ζηλωτῆς ὑπάρχων τῶν πατρικῶν μου παραδόσεων. ¹⁵ Ὅτε δὲ εὐδόκησεν ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἀφορίσας με ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου καὶ καλέσας διὰ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ ¹⁶ ἀποκαλύψαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐμοί, ἵνα εὐαγγελίζωμαι αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, εὐθέως οὐ προσανεθέμην σαρκὶ καὶ αἵματι ¹⁷ οὐδὲ ἠπῆλθον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πρὸς τοὺς πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἀποστόλους, ἀλλὰ ἠπῆλθον εἰς Ἀραβίαν καὶ πάλιν ὑπέστρεψα εἰς Δαμασκόν. ¹⁸ Ἐπειτα μετὰ ἕξτεθ τρία² ἀνῆλθον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἰστορήσαι Κηφᾶν καὶ ἐπέμεινα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡμέρας δεκαπέντε, ¹⁹ ἕτερον δὲ τῶν ἀποστό-

* MSS = Marc D F G d b v g; P46 B; N 33 ×1175; A C P 1241S, 1739 Chrys hark 1611 Ψ Byz cf. NA

1:3 ῥ Rom 1:3, 1 Cor 1:3, 2 Cor 1:2, etc.) ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου b; N 33; A P 1241S, Ψ NA | καὶ κυρίου Chrys | txt D F G d v g; P46 B; 1739 hark 1611 Byz ×1175

1:4 ῥ 1 Cor 15:3) ὑπὲρ B; 33 ×1175; P 1241S, Chrys NA | txt D F G; P46; N; A, 1739 hark 1611 Ψ Byz

1:6 ὁ p 1:15) F* G b; P46^{vid} | [Χριστοῦ] NA | txt B; N 33 ×1175; A P, 1739 Ψ Chrys 1611 Byz (D d; 1241S, hark Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ), v g

1:8 ῥ εὐαγγ. ὑμῖν (D ὑμᾶς) d v g; 33; A P (1241S ἡμῖν), Chrys hark 1611 Byz | εὐαγγ. [ὑμῖν] NA | εὐαγγ. F G b; N; Ψ | txt B; ×1175; 1739

1:11 ῥ γάρ D* F G d v g; B; N¹ 33 ×1175 NA | - P, Chrys | txt b; P46; N²; A 1241S, 1739 Ψ hark 1611 Byz

1:12 οὔτε P46 B; hark 1611 Byz NA | txt D* F G; N 33 ×1175; A P 1241S, 1739 Ψ Chrys

1:15 ῥ F G b v g; P46 B; 1611 | [ὁ θεός] NA | txt D d; N 33 ×1175; A P 1241S, 1739 Ψ Chrys hark Byz

1:17 ῥ p 1:18, 2:1) ἀνῆλθον N 33 ×1175; A C P 1241S, 1739 Ψ Chrys hark 1611 Byz NA | ἦλθον P46; (d b v g veni) | txt D F G; B

1:18 ῥ p 2:1) N 33; A P 1241S, 1739 | txt D F G d b v g; P46 B; ×1175; Ψ Chrys hark 1611 Byz

λων (οὐκ εἶδον) εἰ μὴ Ἰάκωβον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ κυρίου. ²⁰ ἃ δὲ γράφω ὑμῖν, ἰδοὺ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ ὅτι οὐ ψεύδομαι.

²¹ Ἐπειτα ἦλθον εἰς τὰ κλίματα τῆς Συρίας καὶ τῆς Κιλικίας· ²² ἤμην δὲ ἀγνοοῦμενος τῷ προσώπῳ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Ἰουδαίας ταῖς ἐν Χριστῷ. ²³ μόνον δὲ ἀκούοντες ἦσαν ὅτι ὁ διώκων ἡμᾶς ποτε νῦν εὐαγγελίζεται τὴν πίστιν ἣν ποτε ἐπόρθει, ²⁴ καὶ ἐδόξαζον ἐν ἐμοὶ τὸν θεόν.

² Ἐπειτα διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν πάλιν ἀνέβην εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα μετὰ Βαρναβᾶ συμπαραλαβὼν καὶ Τίτον· ² ἀνέβην δὲ κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν· καὶ ἀνεθέμην αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὃ κηρύσσω ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, κατ' ἰδίαν δὲ τοῖς δοκοῦσιν, μὴ πως εἰς κενὸν τρέχω ἢ ἔδραμον. ³ ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Τίτος ὁ σὺν ἐμοί, Ἑλλήν ὢν, ἠναγκάσθη περιτμηθῆναι· ⁴ διὰ δὲ τοὺς παρεισάκτους ψευδαδέλφους, οἵτινες παρεισῆλθον κατασκοπήσαι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἡμῶν ἣν ἔχομεν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ἵνα ἡμᾶς καταδουλώσουσιν, ⁵ οἷς οὐδὲ πρὸς ὥραν εἴξαμεν τῇ ὑποταγῇ, ἵνα ἡ ἀλήθεια τοῦ εὐαγγελίου διαμείνη πρὸς ὑμᾶς. ⁶ Ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δοκούντων εἶναι τι, — ὁποῖοί ποτε ἦσαν οὐδὲν μοι διαφέρει· πρόσωπον ὃ θεὸς ἀνθρώπου οὐ λαμβάνει — ἐμοὶ γὰρ οἱ δοκούντες οὐδὲν προσανέθεντο, ⁷ ἀλλὰ τούναντίον ἰδόντες ὅτι πεπίστευμαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς ἀκροβυστίας καθὼς Πέτρος τῆς περιτομῆς, ⁸ ὁ γὰρ ἐνεργήσας Πέτρῳ εἰς ἀποστολὴν τῆς περιτομῆς ἐνήργησεν καὶ ἐμοὶ εἰς τὰ ἔθνη, ⁹ καὶ γνόντες τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσάν μοι, Ἰάκωβος καὶ Κηφᾶς καὶ Ἰωάννης, οἱ δοκούντες στῦλοι εἶναι, δεξιὰς ἔδωκαν ἐμοὶ

καὶ Βαρναβᾶ κοινωνίας, ἵνα ἡμεῖς εἰς τὰ ἔθνη, αὐτοὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν περιτομὴν· ¹⁰ μόνον ἑτῶν πτωχῶν ἵνα μνημονεύωμεν¹, ὃ καὶ ἐσπούδασα αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι.

¹¹ Ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν Κηφᾶς εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν, κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῷ ἀντέστην, ὅτι κατεγνωσμένος ἦν. ¹² πρὸ τοῦ γὰρ ἐλθεῖν ἄτινας ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου μετὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν συνήσθιεν· ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν, ὑπέστελλεν καὶ ἀφώριζεν ἑαυτὸν φοβούμενος τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς. ¹³ καὶ συνυπεκρίθησαν αὐτῷ ὁ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Ἰουδαῖοι, ὥστε καὶ Βαρναβᾶς συναπήχθη αὐτῶν τῇ ὑποκρίσει. ¹⁴ ἀλλ' ὅτε εἶδον ὅτι οὐκ ὀρθοδοοῦσιν πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, εἶπον τῷ Κηφᾶ ἔμπροσθεν πάντων· εἰ σὺ Ἰουδαῖος ὑπάρχων ἐθνικῶς καὶ οὐχὶ Ἰουδαϊκῶς ζῆς, πῶς τὰ ἔθνη ἀναγκάζεις ἰουδαΐζειν; ¹⁵ Ἡμεῖς φύσει Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἀμαρτωλοὶ· ¹⁶ εἰδότες ὅδε ὅτι οὐ δικαιοῦται ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἔργων νόμου ἐὰν μὴ διὰ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς ἑαυτοὺς Ἰησοῦν ἐπιστεύσαμεν, ἵνα δικαιωθῶμεν ἐκ πίστεως Χριστοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων νόμου, ὅτι ἐξ ἔργων νόμου οὐ δικαιωθήσεται πᾶσα σὰρξ. ¹⁷ εἰ δὲ ζητοῦντες δικαιωθῆναι ἐν Χριστῷ εὐρέθημεν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀμαρτωλοὶ, ἄρα Χριστὸς ἀμαρτίας διάκονος; μὴ γένοιτο. ¹⁸ εἰ γὰρ ἃ κατέλυσα ταῦτα πάλιν οἰκοδομῶ, παραβάτην ἑμαυτὸν συνιστάνω. ¹⁹ ἐγὼ γὰρ διὰ νόμου νόμῳ ἀπέθανον, ἵνα θεῷ ζήσω. Χριστῷ συνεσταύρωμαι· ²⁰ ζῶ δὲ οὐκέτι ἐγώ, ζῆ δὲ ἐν ἐμοὶ Χριστός· ὃ δὲ νῦν ζῶ ἐν

1:19 ¹ εἶδον οὐδένα D* F G (b) d ×vg | οὐχ' εἶδον P46 B | txt **N** 33 ×1175; A P 1241S, 1739 Ψ Chrys hark 1611 Byz

2:6 ^o (D F G θεὸς ἀνθρ. πρ.); B; C, 1739 1611 Byz | txt P46; **N** 33 ×1175; A P 1241S (Ψ Chrys πρ. ἀνθρ. ὁ θεός) | [ὁ] **NA**

2:9 ¹ Πέτρος καὶ Ἰάκωβος Marc D F G d b | Ἰάκ. καὶ Πέτρος P46 | txt B; **N** 33; ×vg, C 1241S, 1739 Ψ Chrys hark 1611 Byz

2:10 ¹ 3 1 2 4 D F G d b ×vg; hark | 3 4 1 2 Marc | txt B; **N** 33; A C 1241S, 1739 Chrys 1611 Byz

2:12 ¹ ρ ἦλθεν) τινα P46 d

2:12 ¹ ρ τινας) ἦλθον b ×vg; ×1175; A C 1241S, 1739 Ψ Chrys hark 1611 Byz **NA** | txt D* F G d; P46 B; **N** 33

2:13 ^o ×vg; P46 B; 1739 | [καί] **NA**

2:16 ^o P46; 33 ×1175; A P, 1739 Ψ hark 1611 Byz | [δέ] **NA** | txt D* F G d b ×vg; B; **N**; C 1241S, Chrys

2:16 ¹ P46 B; 33 ×1175, 1241S, 1739 hark 1611 | Χριστόν Chrys | txt D F G d b ×vg; **N**; A C P, Ψ Byz

σαρκί, ἐν πίστει ζῶ τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀγαπήσαντός με καὶ παραδόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ. ²¹ Οὐκ ἀθετῶ τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ· εἰ γὰρ διὰ νόμου δικαιοσύνη, ἄρα Χριστὸς δωρεὰν ἀπέθανεν.

³ Ὡ ἀνόητοι Γαλάται, τίς ὑμᾶς ἐβάσκανεν, οἷς κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς προεγράφη ἐσταυρωμένος; ² τοῦτο μόνον θέλω μαθεῖν ἀφ' ὑμῶν· ἐξ ἔργων νόμου τὸ πνεῦμα ἐλάβετε ἢ ἐξ ἀκοῆς πίστεως; ³ οὕτως ἀνόητοί ἐστε, ἐναρξάμενοι πνεύματι νῦν σαρκί ἔπιτελεῖσθε; ⁴ τοσαῦτα ἐπάθετε εἰκῆ; εἰ γε καὶ εἰκῆ. ⁵ ὁ οὖν ἐπιχορηγῶν ὑμῖν τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἐνεργῶν δυνάμεις ἐν ὑμῖν, ἐξ ἔργων νόμου ἢ ἐξ ἀκοῆς πίστεως;

⁶ Καθὼς Ἀβραὰμ ἐπίστευσεν τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην· ⁷ γινώσκετε ἄρα ὅτι οἱ ἐκ πίστεως, οὗτοι υἱοὶ εἰσὶν Ἀβραάμ. ⁸ προῖδοῦσα δὲ ἡ γραφή ὅτι ἐκ πίστεως δικαιοὶ τὰ ἔθνη ὁ θεός, προευηγγελίσατο τῷ Ἀβραάμ ὅτι ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν σοὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη· ⁹ ὥστε οἱ ἐκ πίστεως εὐλογοῦνται σὺν τῷ πιστῷ Ἀβραάμ.

¹⁰ Ὅσοι γὰρ ἐξ ἔργων νόμου εἰσιν, ὑπὸ κατάραν εἰσίν· γέγραπται γὰρ ὅτι ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὃς οὐκ ἐμμένει πᾶσιν τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ ποιῆσαι αὐτά. ¹¹ ὅτι δὲ ἐν νόμῳ οὐδεὶς δικαιούται παρὰ τῷ θεῷ δῆλον, ὅτι ὁ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται· ¹² ὁ δὲ νόμος οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ πίστεως, ἀλλ' ὁ ποιήσας αὐτὰ ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς. ¹³ Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξηγόρασεν ἐκ τῆς κατάρας τοῦ νόμου γενόμενος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατάρα, ὅτι γέγραπται· ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὁ κρεμάμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου, ¹⁴ ἵνα εἰς τὰ ἔθνη ἡ εὐλογία τοῦ Ἀβραάμ γένηται ἐν Χριστῷ

Ἰησοῦ, ἵνα τὴν ἑπαγγελίαν τοῦ πνεύματος λάβωμεν διὰ τῆς πίστεως.

¹⁵ Ἀδελφοί, κατὰ ἄνθρωπον λέγω· ὅμως ἀνθρώπου κεκυρωμένην διαθήκην οὐδεὶς ἀθετεῖ ἢ ἐπιδιατάσσεται. ¹⁶ τῷ δὲ Ἀβραάμ ἐρρέθησαν αἱ ἐπαγγελίαι καὶ τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ, οὐ λέγει· καὶ τοῖς σπέρμασιν, ὡς ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἀλλ' ὡς ἐφ' ἑνός· καὶ τῷ σπέρματί σου, ὃς ἐστὶν Χριστός. ¹⁷ τοῦτο δὲ λέγω· διαθήκην προκεκυρωμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ μετὰ τετρακόσια καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη γεγωνὸς νόμος οὐκ ἀκυροῖ εἰς τὸ καταργῆσαι τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν. ¹⁸ εἰ γὰρ ἐκ νόμου ἡ κληρονομία, οὐκέτι ἐξ ἐπαγγελίας· τῷ δὲ Ἀβραάμ δι' ἐπαγγελίας κεχάρισται ὁ θεός.

¹⁹ Τί οὖν ὁ νόμος; τῶν παραβάσεων χάριν προσετέθη, ἄχρις οὗ ἔλθῃ τὸ σπέρμα ᾧ ἐπήγγελται, διαταγὴς δι' ἀγγέλων ἐν χειρὶ μεσίτου. ²⁰ ὁ δὲ μεσίτης ἑνός οὐκ ἔστιν, ὁ δὲ θεὸς εἷς ἐστὶν. ²¹ ὁ οὖν νόμος κατὰ τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ; μὴ γένοιτο. εἰ γὰρ ἐδόθη νόμος ὁ δυνάμενος ζωοποιῆσαι, ὄντως ἐκ νόμου ἂν ἦν ἡ δικαιοσύνη· ²² ἀλλὰ συνέκλεισεν ἡ γραφή τὰ πάντα ὑπὸ ἁμαρτίαν, ἵνα ἡ ἐπαγγελία ἐκ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ δοθῇ τοῖς πιστεύουσιν.

²³ Πρὸ τοῦ δὲ ἐλθεῖν τὴν πίστιν ὑπὸ νόμον ἐφρουρούμεθα συγκλειόμενοι εἰς τὴν μέλλουσαν πίστιν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι, ²⁴ ὥστε ὁ νόμος παιδαγωγὸς ἡμῶν γέγονεν εἰς Χριστόν, ἵνα ἐκ πίστεως δικαιωθῶμεν· ²⁵ ἐλθούσης δὲ τῆς πίστεως οὐκέτι ὑπὸ παιδαγωγόν ἐσμεν. ²⁶ Πάντες γὰρ υἱοὶ θεοῦ ἐστε διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ· ²⁷ ὅσοι γὰρ εἰς Χριστόν ἐβαπτίσθητε, Χριστὸν ἐνεδύσασθε. ²⁸ οὐκ ἔνι Ἰουδαῖος οὐδὲ Ἕλληνας, οὐκ ἔνι δοῦλος οὐδὲ ἐλεύθε-

2:20 ¹ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ xvg; **N** 33 ×1175; A C 1241S; 1739 Ψ Chrys hark 1611 Byz **NA** | τοῦ θεοῦ 330 | τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ b | txt D* F G d; P46 B

3:3 ¹ ex itac.) ἐπιτελεῖσθαι D* F G; **N** 33 ×1175; 1241S | txt d b xvg; P46 B; A C, 1739 Ψ Chrys hark 1611 Byz

3:7 ¹ D F G d b xvg; 33 ×1175; A C, 1739 hark 1611 Byz | txt P46 B; **N**; P 1241S, Ψ Chrys

3:14 ¹ p) εὐλογίαν Marc D* F G d b; P46

3:21 ¹ d; P46 B | [τοῦ θεοῦ] **NA**

3:21 ¹ ἐκ νόμου ἦν ἂν (ἐν νόμῳ P46); **N** 33 ×1175; 1739 Ψ^c | ἂν ἐκ νόμου ἦν Chrys 1611 Byz | ἐκ νόμου ἦν D* | ἐκ νόμου F G d | txt (ἐν νόμῳ B); A C 1241S

3:24 ¹ ἐγένετο P46 B

ρος, οὐκ ἔνι ἄρσεν καὶ θήλυ· πάντες γὰρ ὑμεῖς εἰς ἔστε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. ²⁹ εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς Χριστοῦ, ἄρα τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ σπέρμα ἐστέ, κατ' ἐπαγγελίαν κληρονόμοι.

⁴ Λέγω δέ, ἐφ' ὅσον χρόνον ὁ κληρονόμος νήπιός ἐστιν, οὐδὲν διαφέρει δούλου κύριος πάντων ὢν, ² ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ ἐπιτρόπους ἐστὶν καὶ οἰκονόμους ἄχρι τῆς προθεσμίας τοῦ πατρός. ³ οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὅτε ἤμεν νήπιοι, ὑπὸ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου ἤμεθα δεδουλωμένοι· ⁴ ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ χρόνου, ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, γενόμενον ἐκ γυναικός, γενόμενον ὑπὸ νόμον, ⁵ ἵνα τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον ἐξαγοράσῃ, ἵνα τὴν υἰοθεσίαν ἀπολάβωμεν. ⁶ Ὅτι δὲ ἐστε υἱοὶ ^τ, ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν κράζον· ἀββὰ ὁ πατήρ. ⁷ ὥστε οὐκέτι εἶ δοῦλος ἀλλὰ υἱός· εἰ δὲ υἱός, καὶ κληρονόμος διὰ θεοῦ.

⁸ Ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν οὐκ εἰδότες θεὸν ^ε ἐδουλεύσατε τοῖς φύσει μὴ οὖσιν θεοῖς· ⁹ νῦν δὲ γνόντες θεόν, μᾶλλον δὲ γνωσθέντες ὑπὸ θεοῦ, πῶς ἐπιστρέφετε πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀσθενῆ καὶ πτωχὰ στοιχεῖα οἷς πάλιν ἄνωθεν δουλεύειν θέλετε; ¹⁰ ἡμέρας παρατηρεῖσθε καὶ μῆνας· καὶ καιροὺς καὶ ἑνιαυτούς, ¹¹ φοβοῦμαι ὑμᾶς μή πως εἰκῆ κεκοπίακα εἰς ὑμᾶς.

¹² Γίνεσθε ὡς ἐγώ, ὅτι καὶ γὰρ ὡς ὑμεῖς, ἀδελφοί, δέομαι ὑμῶν. οὐδὲν με ἡδικήσατε· ¹³ οἶδατε δὲ ὅτι δι' ἀσθένειαν τῆς σαρκὸς εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν τὸ πρότερον, ¹⁴ καὶ τὸν πειρασμὸν ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ σαρκί μου οὐκ ἐξουθενήσατε οὐδὲ ἐξεπτύσατε, ἀλλὰ ὡς ἄγγελον θεοῦ ἐδέξασθέ με, ὡς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν. ¹⁵ ποῦ οὖν ὁ μακαρισμὸς ὑμῶν; μαρτυρῶ γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι εἰ δυνατὸν τοὺς

4:3 ^τ ἢ ἡμεν B; A C 1241S, 1739 Ψ Chrys 1611 Byz | txt D* F G; P46; **N** 33 ×1175

4:6 ^τ θεοῦ Marc D F G d b

4:8 ^ε 2-6 1 (Marc 2 τῆ 3 5 6 δουλεύετε) D (F G 4 3) d b ×vg

4:10 ^ε 3 4 1 2 D F G d b | txt Marc ×vg; P46 B; **N** 33 ×1175; A C 1241S, 1739 Ψ Chrys hark 1611 Byz

ὀφθαλμοὺς ὑμῶν ἐξορύξαντες ἐδώκατέ μοι. ¹⁶ ὥστε ἐχθρὸς ὑμῶν γέγονα ἀληθεύων ὑμῖν; ¹⁷ ζηλοῦσιν ὑμᾶς οὐ καλῶς, ἀλλὰ ἐκκλεῖσαι ὑμᾶς θέλουσιν, ἵνα αὐτοὺς ζηλοῦτε· ¹⁸ καλὸν δὲ ζῆλοῦσθαι ἐν καλῶ πάντοτε καὶ μὴ μόνον ἐν τῷ παρεῖναί με πρὸς ὑμᾶς. ¹⁹ τέκνα μου, οὐς πάλιν ὠδίνω ἄχρις οὗ μορφωθῆ Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν· ²⁰ ἤθελον δὲ παρεῖναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἄρτι καὶ ἀλλάξαι τὴν φωνήν μου, ὅτι ἀποροῦμαι ἐν ὑμῖν.

²¹ Λέγετέ μοι, οἱ ὑπὸ νόμον θέλοντες εἶναι, τὸν νόμον οὐκ ἀκούετε; ²² γέγραπται γὰρ ὅτι Ἀβραὰμ δύο υἱοὺς ἔσχεν, ἕνα ἐκ τῆς παιδίσκης καὶ ἕνα ἐκ τῆς ἐλευθέρης. ²³ ἀλλ' ὁ ὁμὲν ἐκ τῆς παιδίσκης κατὰ σάρκα γεγέννηται, ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐλευθέρης δι' ἐπαγγελίας. ²⁴ ἅτινά ἐστιν ἀλληγορούμενα· αὐτὰ γὰρ εἰσὶν δύο διαθήκαι, μία μὲν ἀπὸ ὄρους Σινᾶ εἰς δουλείαν γεννώσα, ἣτις ἐστὶν Ἀγάρ. ²⁵ ^τ συστοιχεῖ δὲ τῇ νῦν Ἱερουσαλήμ, δουλεύει γὰρ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς. ²⁶ ἡ δὲ ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ ἐλευθέρα ἐστίν, ἣτις ἐστὶν μήτηρ ἡμῶν· ²⁷ γέγραπται γὰρ· εὐφράνθητι, στεῖρα ἢ οὐ τίκτουσα, ῥήξον καὶ βόησον, ἢ οὐκ ὠδίνουσα· ὅτι πολλὰ τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἐρήμου μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἐχούσης τὸν ἄνδρα.

²⁸ Ὑμεῖς δέ, ἀδελφοί, κατὰ Ἰσαὰκ ἐπαγγελίας τέκνα ἐστέ. ²⁹ ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τότε ὁ κατὰ σάρκα γεννηθεὶς ἐδίωκεν τὸν κατὰ πνεῦμα, οὕτως καὶ νῦν. ³⁰ ἀλλὰ τί λέγει ἡ γραφή; ἔκβαλε τὴν παιδίσκην καὶ τὸν υἱὸν

4:18 ^ε ex itac.) ζηλοῦσθε (b ×vg aemulamini); B; **N** 33

4:19 ^ε τεκνία **N** C 33 ×1175; A C 1241S, Ψ Chrys 1611 Byz | txt D* F G d; B; **N***, 1739

4:19 ^ε μέχρις B; **N***, 1739 **NA**

4:23 ^ο P46 B; Marc ×vg

4:25 ^τ τὸ γὰρ Σινᾶ ὄρος ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ D-Vorlage F G b ×vg; **N**; C 1241S, (1739 -ἐστίν) | τὸ δὲ Σινᾶ etc. P46 | τὸ δὲ Ἀγάρ Σινᾶ etc. D; B; ×1175; A **NA** | τὸ γὰρ Ἀγάρ Σινᾶ etc. (d -Σινᾶ); 33; P, Ψ Chrys (hark ὄρος Σινᾶ) Byz | txt Schott cj ex Bentley

4:28 ^ε ... ^ε p v.31) ἡμεῖς ... ἐσμέν ×vg; **N**; A C P 1241S; Ψ Chrys hark 1611 Byz | txt D* F G d b; P46 B; 33 ×1175; 1739

αὐτῆς · οὐ γὰρ μὴ ἰκληρονομῆσῃ ὁ υἱὸς τῆς παιδίσκης μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς ἐλευθέρας.³¹ διό, ἀδελφοί, οὐκ ἔσμεν παιδίσκης τέκνα ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐλευθέρας. 5 ἰτῆ ἐλευθερίᾳ ἡμᾶς Χριστὸς ἠλευθέρωσεν · στήκετε οὖν καὶ μὴ πάλιν ἰζυγῶ δουλείας ἐνέχεσθε.

2 ἰδε ἐγὼ Παῦλος λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι ἐὰν περιτέμνησθε, Χριστὸς ὑμᾶς οὐδὲν ὠφελήσει. 3 μαρτύρομαι δὲ πάλιν παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ περιτεμνομένῳ ὅτι ὀφειλέτης ἐστὶν ὄλον τὸν νόμον ποιῆσαι. 4 κατηργήθητε ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ, οἵτινες ἐν νόμῳ δικαιοῦσθε, τῆς χάριτος ἐξέπεσατε. 5 ἡμεῖς γὰρ πνεύματι ἐκ πίστεως ἐλπίδα δικαιοσύνης ἀπεκδεχόμεθα. 6 ἐν γὰρ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ οὔτε περιτομὴ τι ἰσχύει οὔτε ἀκροβυστία ἀλλὰ πίστις δι' ἀγάπης ἐνεργουμένη.

7 ἰτρέχετε καλῶς · τίς ὑμᾶς ἐνέκοψεν ὁτῆ ἀληθείᾳ μὴ πείθεσθαι; 8 ἡ πεισμονὴ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ καλοῦντος ὑμᾶς. 9 μικρὰ ζύμη ὄλον τὸ φύραμα ζυμοῖ. 10 ἐγὼ πέποιθα εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐν κυρίῳ ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄλλο φρονήσετε · ὁ δὲ ταράσσω ὑμᾶς βαστάσει τὸ κρίμα, ὅστις ἐὰν ἦ. 11 ἰγὼ δέ, ἀδελφοί, εἰ περιτομὴν ἕτι κηρύσσω, τί ἕτι διώκομαι; ἄρα κατήργηται τὸ σκάνδαλον τοῦ σταυροῦ. 12 ὄφελον καὶ ἀποκόψονται οἱ ἀναστατοῦντες ὑμᾶς.

13 ὄμεῖς γὰρ ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ ἐκλήθητε, ἀδελφοί · μόνον μὴ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν εἰς ἀφορμὴν τῆ σαρκί, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης δουλεύετε ἀλλήλοις. 14 ὁ γὰρ πᾶς νόμος ἰ ἐν ἐνὶ λόγῳ ἰπεπλήρωται, ἰ ἐν τῷ ἰἀγαπή-

σεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτὸν. 15 εἰ δὲ ἀλλήλους δάκνετε καὶ κατεσθίετε, βλέπετε μὴ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἀναλωθῆτε. 16 Λέγω δέ, πνεύματι περιπατεῖτε καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν σαρκὸς οὐ μὴ τελέσητε. 17 ἡ γὰρ σὰρξ ἐπιθυμεῖ κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα κατὰ τῆς σαρκὸς, ταῦτα γὰρ ἀλλήλοις ἀντίκειται, ἰνα μὴ ἰἐὰν ἰθέλητε ταῦτα ποιῆτε. 18 εἰ δὲ πνεύματι ἰἄγεσθε, οὐκ ἔστε ὑπὸ νόμον. 19 φανερὰ δὲ ἐστὶν τὰ ἕργα τῆς σαρκὸς, ἰτινά ἐστὶν ἰπορνεία, ἀκαθαρότης, ἀσέλγεια, 20 εἰδωλολατρία, φαρμακεία, ἕχθραι, ἕρις, ἰζῆλος, θυμοί, ἐριθείαι, διχοστασίαι, αἰρέσεις, 21 φθόνου, ἰμέθαι, κῶμοι καὶ τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις, ἰπρολέγω ὑμῖν, καθὼς ἰπροεῖπον ὅτι οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα πράσσοντες βασιλείαν θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν. 22 ὁ δὲ καρπὸς τοῦ πνεύματος ἐστὶν ἀγάπη χαρὰ εἰρήνη, μακροθυμία χρηστότης ἀγαθωσύνη, πίστις 23 πραύτης ἐγκράτεια · κατὰ τῶν τοιούτων οὐκ ἕστιν νόμος. 24 οἱ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἰτὴν σάρκα ἕσταύρωσαν σὺν τοῖς παθήμασιν καὶ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις. 25 εἰ ζῶμεν πνεύματι, πνεύματι καὶ στοιχῶμεν. 26 μὴ γινώμεθα

4:30 ἰ p Gen 21:20) κληρονομῆσει D; (P46 -μή) B; N 33 ×1175; 1241S NA | txt (F G -μή); A C, 1739 Ψ Chrys 1611 Byz

5:1 ἰ ἦ Marc F G (d b ×vg qua) | ἐπ' Hort cj

5:1 ἰ Marc; ×1175; C P 1241S, 1739 Chrys hark 1611 Byz | txt D* F G d b ×vg; B; N 33; A

5:1 ἰ D F G d b | txt Marc ×vg; B; N 33 ×1175; A C P 1241S, 1739 Ψ Chrys hark 1611 Byz

5:7 ὁ B; N*; C | [τῆ] NA

5:14 ἰ ἐν ὑμῖν Marc D* F G d b

5:14 ἰ πληροῦται D F G d b ×vg; Ψ Chrys 1611 Byz | txt Marc; P46 B; N 33 ×1175; A C 1241S, 1739

5:14 ὁ Marc D* F G d b ×vg

5:17 ἰ p) δέ ×1175; A C P 1241S, 1739 Ψ Chrys hark 1611 Byz | txt D* F G d b ×vg; P46 B; N 33

5:17 ἰ ἂ ἄν C^c, Ψ 1611 Byz | ὁ ἄν D* F G | ἄν B* | ἄ C* 1739 Chrys | txt B^c; N ×1175; A 1241S

5:19 ἰ μοιχείᾳ D (μοιχείᾳ F G d b); Ψ (ἰ Chrys) hark 1611 Byz | txt Marc ×vg; B; N 33 ×1175; A C P 1241S, 1739

5:20 ἰ p) ζῆλοι Marc (F G ζήλους) b ×vg; N ×1175; C 1241S, Ψ Chrys hark 1611 Byz | txt D* d; B; 33; P, 1739

5:21 ἰ p Rom 1:29?) φόνου D F G d b ×vg; ×1175; A C 1241S, 1739 Ψ Chrys hark 1611 Byz | txt (Marc); P46 B; N 33; P

5:21 ἰ προεῖρηκα D F G | txt Marc; P46 B; (N* εἶπον) 33 ×1175; A C 1241S, (1739 προεῖπομεν) Ψ Chrys hark 1611 Byz

5:24 ἰ Ἰησοῦ B; (N* κυρίου χ. ι.) 33 ×1175; A C 1241S, 1739 Ψ | [Ἰησοῦ] NA | txt Marc D F G d b ×vg; P46; P, Chrys hark 1611 Byz

κενόδοξοι, ἀλλήλους προκαλούμενοι, ἡ ἀλλήλοις φθονοῦντες.

6 Ἀδελφοί, ἐὰν καὶ προλημφθῆ ἄνθρωπος ἐν τινι παραπτώματι, ὑμεῖς οἱ πνευματικοὶ καταρτίζετε τὸν τοιοῦτον ἐν πνεύματι πραΰτητος, σκοπῶν σεαυτὸν μὴ καὶ σὺ πειρασθῆς. **2** Ἀλλήλων τὰ βάρη βαστάζετε καὶ οὕτως ἡ ἀναπληρώσετε τὸν νόμον τοῦ Χριστοῦ. **3** εἰ γὰρ δοκεῖ τις εἶναι τι μηδὲν ὦν, φρεναπατᾶ ἑαυτόν. **4** τὸ δὲ ἔργον ἑαυτοῦ δοκιμαζέτω ὅστος, καὶ τότε εἰς ἑαυτὸν μόνον τὸ καύχημα ἔξει καὶ οὐκ εἰς τὸν ἕτερον. **5** ὅστος γὰρ τὸ ἴδιον φορτίον βαστάσει.

6 Κοινωνεῖτω δὲ ὁ κατηχούμενος τὸν λόγον τῷ κατηχοῦντι ἐν πᾶσιν ἀγαθοῖς. **7** Μὴ πλανᾶσθε, θεὸς οὐ μκκτηρίζεται. ὁ γὰρ ἐὰν σπεῖρη ἄνθρωπος, τοῦτο καὶ θερίσει. **8** ὅτι ὁ σπείρων εἰς τὴν σάρκα ἑαυτοῦ ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς θερίσει φθοράν, ὁ δὲ σπείρων εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος θερίσει ζωὴν αἰώνιον. **9** τὸ δὲ καλὸν ποιοῦντες μὴ ἐγκακῶμεν, καιρῷ γὰρ ἰδίῳ θερίσομεν μὴ ἐκλυόμενοι. **10** Ἄρα οὖν ὡς καιρὸν ἔχομεν, ἐργαζώμεθα τὸ ἀγαθὸν πρὸς πάντας, μάλιστα δὲ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους τῆς πίστεως.

11 Ἴδετε ἡγήλικους ὑμῖν γράμμασιν ἔγραψα τῇ ἐμῇ χειρὶ. **12** Ὅσοι θέλουσιν εὐπροσωπῆσαι ἐν σαρκί, οὗτοι ἀναγκάζουσιν ὑμᾶς περιτέμνεσθαι, μόνον ἵνα τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἢ μὴ διώκωνται. **13** οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ περιτεμνόμενοι αὐτοὶ νόμον

φυλάσσουσιν ἀλλὰ θέλουσιν ὑμᾶς περιτέμνεσθαι, ἵνα ἐν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ σαρκὶ καυχῆσωνται. **14** Ἐμοὶ δὲ μὴ γένοιτο καυχᾶσθαι εἰ μὴ ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι' οὗ ἔμοι κόσμος ἐσταύρωται καὶ ἐγὼ κόσμῳ. **15** οὔτε γὰρ περιτομὴ τί ἐστίν οὔτε ἀκροβυστία ἀλλὰ καινὴ κτίσις. **16** καὶ ὅσοι τῷ κανόνι τούτῳ στοιχήσουσιν, εἰρήνην ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ ἔλεος καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ τοῦ θεοῦ.

17 Τοῦ λοιποῦ κόπους μοι μηδεὶς παρεχέτω· ἐγὼ γὰρ τὰ στίγματα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματί μου βαστάζω.

18 Ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ὑμῶν, ἀδελφοί· ἀμήν.

5:26 ῥ ἀλλήλους P46 B; G; P 1241S, Byzpt

6:2 ῥ βαστάζετε ἀναπληρώσατε D; **Σ** 33 ×1175; A C 1241S, 1739 Ψ Chrys hark 1611 Byz | txt Marc F G d b ×vg; (P46 ἀπο-) B

6:4 ° P46 B

6:9 ῥ ἐγκακῶμεν θερίσωμεν F G; **Σ** 33 ×1175; C 1241S, Ψ Byz^{pt} | txt Marc D d b ×vg; B; A, 1739 Chrys hark 1611 Byz^{pt}

6:10 ῥ ἐργαζώμεθα ἔχωμεν B; **Σ** 33

6:11 ῥ ἡγήλικους P46 B; 33

6:12 ῥ Ἰησοῦ P46 B; ×1175

6:13 ῥ περιτεμνόμενοι F G d b; P46 B; ×1175; Byz | txt D ×vg; **Σ** 33; A C 1241S, 1739 Chrys hark 1611

6:17 ῥ Χριστοῦ Marc; ×1175; P, Ψ | κυρίου Ἰησοῦ 1739 hark 1611 Byz | κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ d b; **Σ** | κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ D* F G; Chrys | txt ×vg; P46 B; 33; A C 1241S

5. A History of Textual Variation in Galatians

5.1 Introduction

Just as the evidence for reconstructing the critical text of Galatians can be divided into external and internal evidence, the main topics of inquiry for the study of the textual history of Galatians can be divided into external and internal questions. The “external” questions of textual history relate to the origin of the external evidence—how the manuscripts and their groupings came to be and how they are interrelated among each other. The “internal” questions of textual history pertain to the various causes of origin for the variant readings of the text and what these variant readings can tell us about the readers and copyists of the text and their historical situation. Throughout much of the course of the textual criticism of the New Testament, the external questions of textual history have dominated the discussion because they have been felt to be essential for establishing the text. Within the past generation of scholarship, however, the internal questions of textual history have risen to the fore, especially in the light of the “orthodox corruption” approaches of Bart D. Ehrman and others working in this vein. Both aspects of the history of the text are important, so this chapter concerns the internal questions of the textual history, while the following concluding chapter wraps up this study of the text of Galatians by looking at the external questions of the textual history.

With regard to the internal questions of textual history, the variants generated in the course of the transmission of the text are the result of a long and extended process of copying different forms of the text from one or more exemplars. As the differing forms of the text are copied, changes are introduced into the textual traditions, and these textual changes can be

studied to determine what they have to say about the scribes and readers of the texts at different times and places. Even before the introduction of stemmatics to the study of the New Testament text, internal evidence has been used to establish the text, identify which readings are secondary, assess the nature and causes of the textual variants, and determine how these readings function theologically. With a stemmatic history of the text, moreover, the stemma can be used to refine these findings further by investigating whether there is a pattern to this textual variant generally and to these theological effects in particular. For example, if theologically potent variations are clustered together, then it may help to localize a theological controversy in the history of the text and its readers.

Several kinds of theological effects have been fruitfully explored in the textual variation of the New Testament. One of them is Christological, where textual variants affect what the text says about the nature of Jesus Christ. In a seminal study, Bart D. Ehrman has classified the function of Christological variants as anti-adoptionistic (tending to emphasize that Jesus was more than mere man), anti-separationist (tending to emphasize that Jesus and the Christ are the same), anti-docetic (tending to emphasize the humanity of Jesus), and anti-Patrispassionist (tending to emphasize the subordination of the Son to the Father).¹

Another theological effect of textual variation has been labeled as “anti-Judaic,” where variant readings affect what the text says about Jew and Judaism. In Eldon Jay Epp’s study of Anti-Judaic tendencies in the Western text of Acts, he classified anti-Judaic variants based on (a) how they relate Jews to Jesus, (b) Jews to Gentiles, (c) Jews to the apostles.² Epp saw any

¹ Bart D. Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture: The Effect of Early Christological Controversies on the Text of the New Testament* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

² Eldon Jay Epp, *The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis in Acts* (SNTSMS 3; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966).

textual variant as anti-Judaic if its effect made the portrayal of Jews in Acts more negative or made Jesus, the Gentiles, and apostles more positive in comparison to Acts' portrayal of Jews.

Given the size of the textual tradition, this chapter concentrates on two of the most important branches of the text: the Western text and the portion of the Eastern branch that led to the Byzantine text, paying particular attention to possible theological effects in the textual variation.

5.2 The Western Branch and Prototype

The Western branch is one of the oldest branches in the textual transmission of Galatians. As detailed in the stemma depicted by FIG. 22, the Western branch may be defined as the set of witnesses more closely related to the Greek diglots D*, F, and G, than to its closest relative P46-B. This set of witnesses include the Greek diglots by definition, but it also includes the Old Latin versions b and d, as well as mixed representatives D^c, the Vulgate, and the Latin version of Codex Augiensis (F). According to this definition, the text of Marcion is also a member of the Western branch, because it is more closely related to the common ancestor of D*, F, and G (labeled **δ** in FIG. 22) than to P46 or B. Unfortunately, our knowledge of the text of Marcion is fragmentary, known only through quotations by Tertullian, Epiphanius, and other authors,³ so the text of the common ancestor of Marcion and D* is difficult to reconstruct with much precision. Where the testimony on Marcion's text is silent, it is impossible to determine whether a reading that agrees with D*, F, and G but disagrees with P46, B, and **ℵ** was introduced before or after the common ancestor of Marcion and D* was written. Accordingly, this study of the textual variation in the Western branch focuses on the readings of the common ancestor of

³ See generally, Ulrich Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos: Rekonstruktion und historische Einordnung der marcionitischen Paulusbriefausgabe* (ANTT 25; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995).

D*, F, G, and the Latin versions that differ from branches most closely related to it, including the P46-B cluster. The text of this common ancestor is referred to as the Western prototype and it is represented by the siglum δ in the stemma depicted in FIG. 22, as follows:

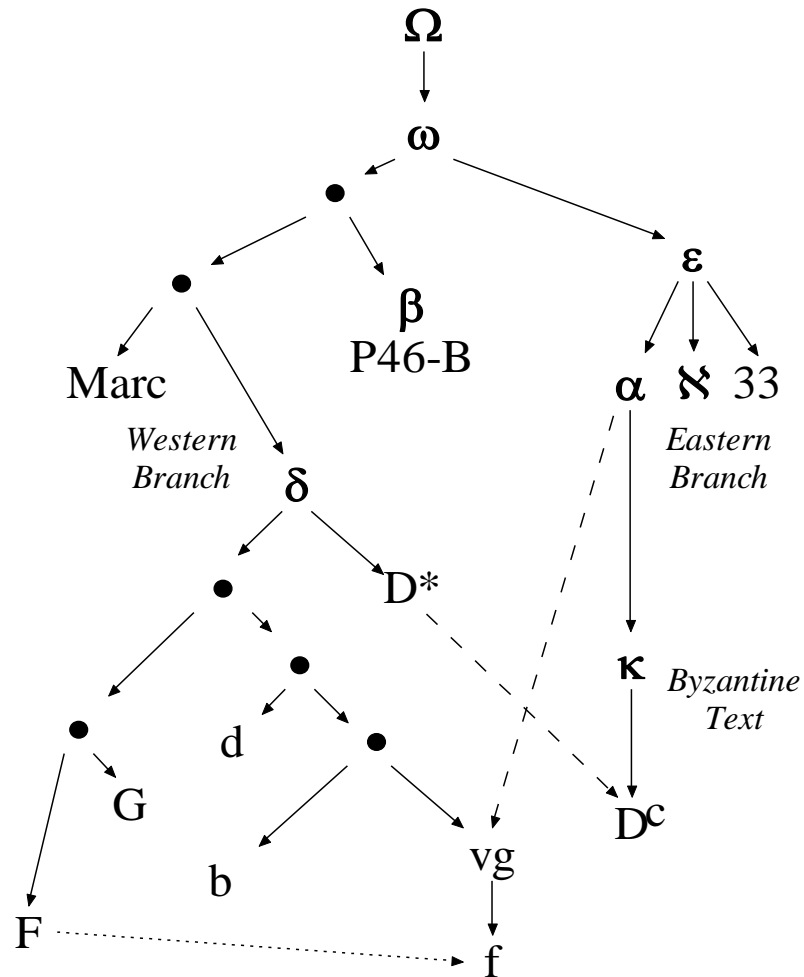


FIG. 22 Stemma of Galatians with Detail on the Western Branch

In accordance with the stemma, the text of the Western prototype δ is determined by the agreement of D* and the joint agreement of F and G, on the one hand, and of Latin versions d, b, and the Vulgate, on the other hand. It should be kept in mind that this determination may both understate and overstate the amount of textual change for this particular hypothetical

ancestor. In addition, it is unclear how many generations of copying separate the creation of the Western prototype **δ** from their common ancestor with Marcion or from its common ancestor with P46 and B. Thus, the changes should not all be attributed to a single scribe, the one who penned the most recent common ancestor of the Greek-Latin diglots, for some of those changes could have been made along the way to the Western prototype **δ**. Nevertheless, the following seventy textual variants have been identified as present within the Western prototype.

Gal 1:4 ὅπως ἐξέληται ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦ ἐνεστώτος αἰῶνος πονηροῦ

τοῦ ἐνεστώτος αἰῶνος πονηροῦ D F G d b xvg; Ψ Chrys (hark) 1611 Byz
τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦ ἐνεστώτος πονηροῦ P46 B, **Ⲛ** 33, A P 1241S, 1739 pesh

The change in the position of the pronoun is found in all the Western witnesses, and it is also attested in the common ancestor of the Byzantine text and the Athos codex Ψ.⁴ This transposition changes the phrase from the syntactically ambiguous τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦ ἐνεστώτος πονηροῦ (either “the age of the present evil one” or, as it is usually taken, “the present age of evil”⁵) to the unambiguous τοῦ ἐνεστώτος αἰῶνος πονηροῦ “the present age of evil.” It is possible that this transposition came from a corrected leap, in which the scribe leapt from one τοῦ to the next and, after writing ἐνεστώτος, added back the omitted word αἰῶνος. Even so, the theological effect is that it forecloses a possible interpretation that the present age is under

⁴ Whether the transposition of the adjective in the Western and Byzantine branches is a coincidence is addressed later in the chapter.

⁵ BURTON 13 states that the position of πονηροῦ in the noun phrase τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦ ἐνεστώτος πονηροῦ “gives it special emphasis,” but the basis for this claim about the predicate position seems dubious, for it would be more emphatic to prepose the adjective before the noun, as if it had read τοῦ πονηροῦ αἰῶνος τοῦ ἐνεστώτος πονηροῦ. See Stéphanie Bakker, “Adjective Ordering in Herodotus: A Pragmatic Explanation” in Rutger Allan and Michel Buijs, eds., *The Language of Literature: Linguistic Approaches to Classical Texts* (ASCP 13; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 188-210 at 195.

the rule of an evil demiurge, such as the one found in Marcionite, Gnostic, and other dualist systems.⁶

Gal 1:8 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐὰν ἡμεῖς ἢ ἄγγελος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ~~ὑμῖν~~ εὐαγγελίζεται ~~ὑμῖν~~ παρ' ὃ εὐηγγελισάμεθα ὑμῖν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

εὐαγγελίζεται ὑμῖν	d xvg; 33, A P (1241S ἡμῖν), Chrys pesh hark 1611 Byz
εὐαγγελίζεται ὑμᾶς	D*
εὐαγγελίζεται	FG b; Σ , Ψ
ὑμῖν εὐαγγελίζεται	B; x1175; 1739

The reading of the Western prototype is difficult to reconstruct because of the instability of the text at this location, and indeed throughout the entire textual history. The accusative ὑμᾶς by D* along with the dative *vobis* in the Old Latin d are indirect testimony for the presence of the dative ὑμῖν in the Western prototype.⁷ As explained in Chapter 4, the movement of the pronoun to after the verb serves to decontextualize the anathema and thereby make it more pertinent to a broader audience. The omission of the pronoun altogether in F, G, and b further helps to remove the historical contingency of the anathema.

⁶ See John Riches, *Galatians Through the Centuries* (BBC; Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2008), 77-78, quoting Jerome, *Comm. Gal.* (PL 26.338) on Gal 1:4, as saying that “the heretics usually take this as an opportunity to assert that there are two creators, one of light and the world to come, another of darkness and the present age.”

⁷ There are two other possibilities. One is that the Western prototype read the accusative ὑμᾶς, which was changed to the dative in the Old Latin d. Since the Vulgate is a mixture of Western and Alexandrian forms of the text, its attestation of the dative *vobis* is problematic because it could have had its origin from the Alexandrian ὑμῖν. Another is that the pronoun was omitted in the prototype, but D and d added one back into the text, albeit in different cases.

Gal 1:11 Γνωρίζω **δέ γάρ** ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τὸ εὐαγγελισθὲν ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ

γάρ	D* F G d ×vg; B ℵ ¹ 33
-	P, Chrys
δέ	b; P46, ℵ [*] , A 1241S, 1739 Ψ pesh hark 1611 Byz

The change in the connective particle from δέ to γάρ appears to give a reason for Paul’s statement that he is Christ’s slave in the preceding v.10.⁸

Gal 1:18 ἔπειτα μετὰ ἕτη τρία ἀνήλθον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἱστορήσαι **Κηφᾶν Πέτρον**

Πέτρον	D F G d b ×vg; P, Ψ Chrys hark 1611 Byz
Κηφᾶς	P46 B, ℵ 33, A 1241S, 1739 ×pesh

This substitution replaces the Aramaic name Cephas with the Greek Peter.⁹ This change is also found in other manuscripts related to the Byzantine text.

Gal 1:19 ἕτερον δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων **οὐκ** εἶδον **οὐδένα** εἰ μὴ Ἰάκωβον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ κυρίου.

εἶδον οὐδένα	D* F G (b <i>neminem vidi</i>) d ×vg
οὐκ εἶδον	(P46 B οὐχ) ℵ 33 ×1175, A P 1241S, 1739 Ψ Chrys pesh hark 1611 Byz

The use of the negative pronoun οὐδένα (“no one”) serves to strengthen Paul’s denial about not seeing any other apostle.¹⁰

⁸ See discussion in Chapter 3.

⁹ BUSCEMI 126; METZGER 522.

¹⁰ Cf. BETZ 77 n.201, who considers this an “attempt[] to clarify the text.”

Gal 1:24 καὶ ἐν ἐμοί ἐδόξαζον ἐν ἐμοί τὸν θεόν.

ἐν ἐμοί ἐδόξαζον D F G b d xvg

ἐδόξαζον ἐν ἐμοί P46 B, **N** 33, A C P 1241S, 1739 Ψ Chrys pesh hark 1611 Byz

Attested only in the Western branch, this transposition of ἐν ἐμοί to a pre-verbal

position serves to emphasize the reference to Paul and thereby lend him more prominence.¹¹

Gal 2:1 ἔπειτα διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν πάλιν ἀνέβην πάλιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα μετὰ Βαρναβᾶ

ἀνέβην πάλιν D F G d b

πάλιν ἀνέβην xvg; P46 B, **N** 33, A C P 1241S, 1739 Ψ (pesh) hark 1611 Byz

This transposition could be the result a corrected leap, from the *nu* of ἐτῶν to the *nu* of

πάλιν, but the movement of the adverb πάλιν to a post-verbal position has the effect of

deemphasizing it.¹²

Gal 2:6 θεός πρόσωπον ~~ὁ~~ θεός ἀνθρώπου οὐ λαμβάνει

θεός πρόσωπον D F G d b xvg; (pesh)

πρόσωπον θεός B, C, 1739 1611 Byz

πρόσωπον ὁ θεός P46, **N** 33, A P 1241S, Ψ Chrys

As discussed in Chapter 4, both the omission of the article and the movement of God to

the beginning of the sentence serve to emphasize God and thereby make a contrast between

God's lack of partiality and human favoritism: "It is God who does not accept a person's

appearance." These changes serve to make the statement more independent of the context.

¹¹ Stephen H. Levinsohn, *Discourse Features of New Testament Greek: A Coursebook on the Information Structure of New Testament Greek* (2d ed.; Dallas: SIL International, 2000), 39. See also BDF 248, § 472: "Any emphasis on an element in the sentence causes that element in the sentence to be moved forward."

¹² BUSCEMI 149 suggests that the transposition was stylistic, meant to break up the accumulation of adverbs and temporal phrases.

Gal 2:8 ὁ γὰρ ἐνεργήσας Πέτρῳ εἰς ἀποστολὴν τῆς περιτομῆς ἐνήργησεν ~~καὶ ἐμοὶ~~
κάμοι εἰς τὰ ἔθνη,

κάμοι	D* F G; P46, 33, A C P 1241S, al ¹³
καὶ ἐμοὶ	B, 8 , 1739 Ψ Chrys pesh hark 1611 Byz

The use of the crasis form κάμοι appears to be a common, independent change, for it is also found in other branches of the textual tradition.

Gal 2:9 καὶ γνόντες τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσάν μοι, **Πέτρος καὶ** Ἰάκωβος ~~καὶ Κηφᾶς~~
καὶ Ἰωάννης, οἱ δοκοῦντες στῦλοι εἶναι,

Πέτρος καὶ Ἰάκωβος	Marc D F G d b
Ἰάκωβος καὶ Πέτρος	P46
Ἰάκωβος καὶ Κηφᾶς	×vg; B, 8 33, C 1241S, 1739 Ψ Chrys pesh hark 1611 Byz

This change replaces the name Cephas with Peter and moves him to the beginning of the list, demoting James to second place.¹⁴ For the Western text of Acts, Eldon Jay Epp has noticed a tendency to increase the prominence of Peter, who like Paul, takes the gospel to the gentiles.¹⁵ Although Peter does not have a mission to the uncircumcised in Galatians (see especially vv.8 and 10), this transposition does lend more prominence to Peter. To the extent that James represents Jewish Christianity, this word order variation at the expense of James could be characterized as having an anti-Judaic effect, but, then again, there were people who viewed Peter as the champion of Jewish Christianity (for example, in the Pseudo-Clementines), so little can be made of the word order in terms of an anti-Judaic effect.¹⁶

¹³ Also 075 69 88 104 223 330 489 927 1175 1319 1448 1573 1799 1837 2400 2892.

¹⁴ METZGER 523, who also suggests that it has the additional effect of “bringing together the familiar pair of names, James and John.”

¹⁵ Epp, *Theological Tendency*, 154. See also Howard Eshbaugh, “Theological Variants in the Western Text of the Pauline Corpus” (Ph.D. diss., Case Western Reserve University, 1975), 145-148.

¹⁶ I am grateful to Joel Marcus for this point.

Gal 2:10 μόνον **ἵνα** τῶν πτωχῶν **ἵνα** μνημονεύωμεν,

ἵνα τῶν πτωχῶν μνημονεύωμεν	D F G d b ×vg; pesh hark
τῶν πτωχῶν ἵνα μνημονεύωμεν	B, ℵ 33, A C 1241S, 1739 Chrys 1611 Byz
ἵνα μνημονεύωμεν τῶν πτωχῶν	Marc ¹⁷

This transposition changes the prolepsis of τῶν πτωχῶν ἵνα to a more typical word order.¹⁸ The apparent Syriac and Latin support for the Western word order is due to the fact that these languages do not have native structures corresponding the Greek syntactic construction.

Gal 2:11 ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν **Κηφᾶς Πέτρος** εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν,

Πέτρος	D F G d; Chrys, hark, 1611, Byz
Κηφᾶς	b ×vg; B, ℵ 33, A C P 1241S, 1739 Ψ pesh

As with Gal 1:18 and 2:9, the Aramaic name Cephas is replaced with the Greek Peter.¹⁹

Gal 2:14 εἶπον τῷ **Κηφᾶ Πέτρῳ** ἔμπροσθεν πάντων ·

Πέτρῳ	D F G b d; Chrys, hark 1611 Byz
Κηφᾶ	×vg; P46 B, ℵ 33, A C P 1241S, 1739 Ψ pesh

As with Gal 1:18, 2:9, and 2:11, this substitution replaces the Aramaic name Cephas with the Greek Peter.²⁰

¹⁷ Schmid, *Marcion*, 316, prints his reconstruction for Gal 2:10 as μόνον τῶν πτωχῶν ἵνα μνημονεύωμεν, with italics indicating an unsecure reading. In fact, the evidence from Tertullian, *Marc.* 5.3.6 is *tantum ut meminissent egenorum*, which means that, if any order is indicated, it would be μόνον ἵνα μνημονεύωμεν τῶν πτωχῶν.

¹⁸ According to David Michael Goldstein, “Wackernagel’s Law in Fifth-Century Greek” (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2010), 76-79 only strong topics are allowed to be fronted before complementizers like ἵνα. Thus, the difference may be pragmatic: μόνον τῶν πτωχῶν ἵνα μνημονεύωμεν can be paraphrased as “as for the poor, only that we remember them,” while μόνον ἵνα τῶν πτωχῶν μνημονεύωμεν would be “only that it is the poor that we should remember.” The latter implies a contrast of the poor with some other group of people.

¹⁹ METZGER 523.

²⁰ METZGER 524.

Gal 3:1 . . . , οἷς κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς προεγράφη ἐν ὑμῖν
ἐσταυρωμένος;

ἐν ὑμῖν D F G d b; Chrys hark 1611 Byz
- ×vg; B, **Σ** 33, A C 1241S, 1739 Ψ

The verb προεγράφη can have either a temporal sense (“portrayed previously”) or a locative sense (“portrayed publicly”).²¹ The addition of the prepositional phrase ἐν ὑμῖν (“among you”) makes sure that the clause carries a locative meaning, namely, that Jesus was visually and publicly portrayed among the Galatians.” As such, this addition can be seen as clarifying an ambiguity in the text.²² This addition’s presence in the precursor to the Byzantine text is discussed later in this chapter.

Gal 3:2 τοῦτο μόνον ~~θέλω~~ μαθεῖν θέλω ἀφ’ ὑμῶν ·

μόνον μαθεῖν θέλω ἀφ’ ὑμῶν D F G d
μόνον θέλω ἀφ’ ὑμῶν μαθεῖν ×vg
μόνον θέλω μαθεῖν ἀφ’ ὑμῶν b; B, **Σ** 33, A C 1241S, 1739 Ψ Chrys hark 1611 Byz

The word order change affects which verb μόνον modifies. The Western reading applies μόνον to μαθεῖν (“only to learn”), while the previous reading applies μόνον to θέλω (“I only want”). The transposition allows Paul to want other things, such as being with the Galatians (4:20 ἤθελον δὲ παρεῖναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς), and thus this change possibly avoids making Paul sound disingenuous.

²¹ BDAG “προγράφω” 867; Alfio Marcello Buscemi, *L’uso delle preposizioni nella lettera ai Galati* (Analecta [Studium Biblicum Franciscanum] 17; Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1987), 89-90. See also Stephen C. Carlson, “Clement of Alexandria on the ‘Order’ of the Gospels,” *NTS* 47 (2001): 118-125.

²² By contrast, BETZ 131 n.39 argues that the addition of ἐν ὑμῖν enables the verb προεγράφη to be understood in a temporal sense.

Gal 3:7 γινώσκετε ἄρα ὅτι οἱ ἐκ πίστεως, οὗτοι **υἱοί** εἰσιν **υἱοί** Ἀβραάμ.

εἰσιν υἱοί	D F G d b ×vg; 33, A C, 1739 pesh hark 1611 Byz
υἱοί εἰσιν	P46 B, ℵ , P 1241S, Ψ Chrys

As discussed in Chapter 3, this common transposition could be either accidental (a corrected leap) or done to give the clause a more typical word order.

Gal 3:10 ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὃς οὐκ ἐμμένει **ἐν** πᾶσιν τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ

ἐν	D F G d b ×vg; A, Chrys Byz
-	P46 B, ℵ 33, C 1241S, 1739 Ψ hark pesh

The addition of the preposition ἐν appears to be a minor harmonization to the Septuagintal text of Deut 27:26 ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ἄνθρωπος, ὃς οὐκ ἐμμένει ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς λόγοις τοῦ νόμου τούτου.²³ It also disambiguates the dative πᾶσιν to be locative (as a “dative of rule”) rather than instrumental.

Gal 3:11a ὅτι δὲ ἐν νόμῳ οὐδεὶς δικαιούται παρὰ **τῷ** θεῷ δῆλον,

τῷ	D* F G; 1241S, 1611
-	P46 B, ℵ 33, A C, 1739 Byz

God is a definite, uniquely identifiable entity, so the presence or absence of the article does not change what it refers to, but it does give a clue as to its prominence of θεός in the sentence and, indirectly, as to the structure of the sentence. With the article, the reference to God lacks prominence and it is located in the usual place after the verb in the ὅτι clause for a constituent familiar to the hearer. Indeed, the main emphasis of the clause is on οὐδεὶς instead: “That, in the Law, *no one* is being made right before God is clear.” Without the article, in

²³ BETZ 144 n.60; BUSCEMI 257.

contrast, the reference to God becomes more prominent,²⁴ raising the possibility that it construes with δῆλον rather than with δικαιοῦται.²⁵ Indeed, the clause with δικαιοῦται as the main verb already locates the emphasis on οὐδεὶς: “It is clear with God that, in the Law, *no one* is being made right.” A motive for this change may be to characterize the following quotation from Hab 2:4 as explicitly coming from God, which has an anti-Marcionite theological effect.²⁶ Another possibility is that the omission of the article is a Latinism since Latin lacks both definite and indefinite articles.²⁷

Gal 3:11b ὅτι . . . δῆλον, γέγραπται γάρ ὅτι ὁ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται ·

γέγραπται γάρ D* F G (d *scriptum est*); pesh
 - ×vg; P46 B, **Σ** 33, A C 1241S, 1739 Chrys hark 1611 Byz

Galatians 3:11 has a difficult syntactic ambiguity in how to understand each ὅτι.²⁸ Is the first ὅτι a complement for δῆλον and the second ὅτι causal (“That . . . is clear, because . . .”)? Or, is the first causal and the second ὅτι a complement (“Because . . ., it is clear that . . .”)? The Western addition resolves the ambiguity in favor of the former possibility, by marking the clause following δῆλον as explicitly causal with the particle γάρ.

²⁴ Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, 162: “If an anarthrous substantive has a unique referent and is activated, then its referent is prominent.” As a “Very Important Participant” in Paul’s letters, God is always activated.

²⁵ F and G, however, omit δῆλον, so this interpretive possibility is not available.

²⁶ Unfortunately, Marcion’s text of Galatians is not extant for this verse.

²⁷ See Bonifatius Fischer, “Limitations of Latin in Representing Greek,” in Bruce M. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament: Their Origin, Transmission, and Limitations* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), 362-374 at 366.

²⁸ BURTON 166.

Gal 3:14 ἵνα εἰς τὰ ἔθνη ἡ εὐλογία τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ γένηται ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ἵνα τὴν ~~ἐπαγγελίαν~~ εὐλογίαν τοῦ πνεύματος λάβωμεν διὰ τῆς πίστεως.

εὐλογίαν Marc D* F G d b; P46
ἐπαγγελίαν ×vg; B, **Σ** 33, A C 1241S, 1739 Ψ Chrys pesh hark 1611 Byz

As discussed in Chapter 3, the unexpected appearance of “promise” probably induced scribes to assimilate it to εὐλογίαν in the immediately preceding clause.

Gal 3:16 τῷ ~~δε~~ Ἀβραὰμ ἐρρέθησαν αἱ ἐπαγγελίαι καὶ τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ,

- D* F G d b ×vg; C, Chrys
δέ B, **Σ** 33, A 1241S, 1739 Ψ pesh hark 1611 Byz

The asyndeton of the Western branch creates a closer connection to the preceding verse. The omission of the particle in C and Chrysostom appears to be coincidental.

Gal 3:17 διαθήκην προκεκυρωμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς Χριστόν ὁ . . . νόμος οὐκ ἀκυροῖ

εἰς Χριστόν D F G d; Chrys pesh hark 1611 Byz
- b ×vg; P46 B, **Σ** 33, A C 1241S, 1739 Ψ

There are a number of different options for construing εἰς Χριστόν. Eshbaugh makes two proposals, both of which have theological implications.²⁹ One possibility is that the preposition εἰς is temporal, that is, with the meaning “until”: “a covenant previously (or publicly) ratified by God until Christ.” In this case, the theological effect is anti-Judaic in that the Law was only to last until Christ. Another possibility, actually favored by Eshbaugh, is that the preposition εἰς is agentive, on the grounds that in later Koine Greek εἰς and ἐν have converged and that ἐν can designate an agent. If this possibility is right, then Christ would be the agent through whom God had ratified the covenant, and its theological point would be

²⁹ Eshbaugh, “Theological Variation,” 70-73, esp. 72.

Christ's pre-existence and his "acting in history prior to the incarnation."³⁰ The difficulty with this proposal, however, is that εἰς is a poor way to signal the behavior of an agent; the preposition διὰ would be much more appropriate.

A better option is to construe εἰς as indicating a goal.³¹ Such an understanding is attested for the unprefixated verb in 2 Cor 2:8 παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς κυρῶσαι εἰς αὐτὸν ἀγάπην ("I urge you to ratify/affirm love for him"). In this case, the addition makes it clear that the ratified covenant was for Christ. It had Christ as the goal. This change seems to have been inspired by the exegesis of the previous verse that Christ was Abraham's seed to whom the promises were spoken,³² thereby making Paul's point more explicitly than Paul did. This has the consequence of having the God of Abraham operate in history with a view to Christ, thereby making the connection between the Old Testament God and Christ closer and, as a result, more pointedly anti-Marcionite.³³

There is another theological effect of this textual addition. For example, in a portion of his commentary disputing Jewish views of the Law, Ambrosiaster construes his text of Gal 3:17, *testamentum confirmatum a deo in Christo* ("a testament affirmed by God in Christ"), as teaching that "the blessing of the promise is confirmed only in Christ" (*in solo Christo firmatam benedictionem promissionis docet*). In other words, Ambrosiaster understands his text to affirm explicitly the supersessionist position that Christ exclusively fulfills the promise God spoke to Abraham.³⁴ Thus, the addition is not only anti-Marcionite in effect but also anti-Judaic.

³⁰ Eshbaugh, "Theological Variation," 73.

³¹ See BDAG "εἰς 4cβ," 290.

³² METZGER 525 is somewhat vaguer about the effect: "to introduce into the argument a reference to Χριστός of the preceding verse." So also BURTON 183.

³³ Ehrman, *Orthodox Corruption*, 241. Much of this passage was objectionable to Marcion and omitted by him, including Gal 3:15-17, according to Tertullian, *Marc. 5.4.8* (Schmid, *Marcion*, 316, 318 n.25).

³⁴ See also the discussion in MEISER 149-150.

This insertion also shows up in the precursor to the Byzantine text.

Gal 3:19 Τί οὖν ὁ νόμος; τῶν παραβάσεων χάριν προσέτεθη ἔτεθη, ἄχρῖς οὐ ἔλθη
τὸ σπέρμα ᾧ ἐπήγγελλται, διαταγείς δι' ἀγγέλων ἐν χειρὶ μεσίτου.

τῶν παραβάσεων	χάριν	ἔτεθη	(xvg <i>quid igitur lex? propter transgressiones posita est</i>) ³⁵
τῶν παραδόσεων	χάριν	ἔτεθη	D*
τῶν πράξεων	χάριν	ἔτεθη	(d <i>quid igitur lex? factorum gratia posita est</i>)
τῶν πράξεων		ἔτεθη	F G (b <i>quid igitur lex factorum? posita est</i>)
τῶν πράξεων			P46
τῶν παραβάσεων	χάριν προσέτεθη		B, Σ 33, A C 1241S, 1739 Ψ pesh hark 1611 Byz
προσέτεθη τῶν παραβάσεων	χάριν		Chrys ³⁶

The prototypical Western reading for this verse is difficult to reconstruct. It is

tempting to view the agreement between P46 and F-G-b for πράξεων (“deeds”) as evidence that the noun is a reading inherited by the Western branch, but this would make it hard to account for the reading in D* of παραδόσεων (“traditions”), which appears to be derived visually from παραβάσεων (“transgressions”) as attested elsewhere (B **Σ** 33 etc.; cf. Vulgate). Thus, it seems best to conclude that the earliest Western reading is that of the putative source for D*, while the other attested readings in Western witnesses are later modifications.³⁷

Nevertheless, the change in the verb from προσέτεθη to ἔτεθη is strongly attested in the Western branch. The loss of the prefix changes the meaning of the verb from “added” to “put into place” or “established.” Ernest de Witt Burton argues that this change was made to avoid an “apparent contradiction” with vv.15-17.³⁸ While Burton’s proposed motive seems

³⁵ This is also the reading of Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 1.26.167, who then connects 3:19 with vv.23-24.

³⁶ Instead of τί οὖν ὁ νόμος; “Why, then, the law?”, Chrysostom’s text reads τίνοσ οὖν ἔνεκεν τὸν νόμον ἔδωκε; “On account of what, then, did he give the law?”.

³⁷ It could not have been very late, however, for “deeds” is attested in Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 3.7.2: *Quid ergo lex factorum? posita est, usquequo veniat semen cui promissum est, disposita per angelos in manu Mediatoris.*

³⁸ BURTON 188; so also BUSCEMI 316. Specifically, the contradiction occasioned by προσέτεθη would appear to be with v.15 that no one amends (ἐπιδιατάσσεται) a previously ratified covenant, and with v.17 that the Law cannot void God’s previously ratified covenant so as to invalidate the promise (εἰς τὸ καταργῆσαι τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν). Cf. DE BOER

plausible, this change also has two theological implications. In particular, this change raises the prestige of the Law before Christ by stating that the Law was *established* (not merely added).³⁹ The change heightens a supersessionist reading of the passage, in that the text now implies that, after Christ, the Law is no longer considered to be established.⁴⁰

Gal 3:21 εἰ γὰρ ἐδόθη νόμος ὁ δυνάμενος ζωοποιῆσαι, ὄντως ἐκ νόμου ~~ἄν~~ ἦν ἡ δικαιοσύνη·

- D* F G
 ἄν P46 B, **Ν** 33, A C 1241S, 1739 Chrys 1611 Byz

The position of ἄν is somewhat unusual,⁴¹ but the omission may simply have been a mechanical error by the similarity of the letters between AN and HN.

Gal 3:24 ὥστε ὁ νόμος παιδαγωγὸς ἡμῶν γέγονεν εἰς Χριστόν **Ἰησοῦν**, ἵνα ἐκ πίστεως δικαιωθῆμεν.

Ἰησοῦν D* F G d b
 - ×vg; P46 B, **Ν** 33, A C 1241S, 1739 Ψ Chrys pesh hark 1611 Byz

The addition of Jesus could be a harmonization to Jesus Christ in v.22 or Christ Jesus in v.26. Generally, the addition of “Jesus” to “Christ” has a potentially anti-Separationist function

228-229, who points out that προστίθημι is a near synonym of ἐπιδιατάσσομαι and suggests that the distinction in this context is that it refers to an unauthorized addition.

³⁹ Eshbaugh, “Theological Variants,” 105, arguing instead that the change from προσέτεθη to ἔτεθη was meant to avoid the implications that the Law was an afterthought.

⁴⁰ E.g., Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 3.7.2, who argues that Gal 3:19 features a hyperbaton due to Paul’s rapid writing in the Spirit and that its logical order is really as follows: “What is the law of deeds? Ordained by angels in the hand of the mediator, it was established until the promised seed comes” (*Quid ergo lex factorum? disposita per angelos in manu Mediatoris posita est usquedum veniat semen cui promissum est*). Irenaeus’s focus on the chronological order of events further supports a supersessionist interpretation.

⁴¹ See discussion in Chapter 4 for more details.

in the context of the crucifixion.⁴² Such a theological effect may indeed be present in this context if ἐκ πίστεως is given a Christocentric reference, namely, to Christ's faithfulness even to the point of death at the cross (cf. Gal 2:20).⁴³

Gal 3:29a εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς ~~Χριστοῦ~~ εἰς ἔστε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ,

εἰς ἔστε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ	D*
ἔν ἔστε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ	F G d
<i>omit</i> εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς Χριστοῦ	b
Χριστοῦ	×vg; B, ℵ 33, A C 1241S, 1739 Chrys pesh hark 1611 Byz

This lengthy substitution is clearly an assimilation to the preceding v.28 πάντες γὰρ ὑμεῖς εἰς ἔστε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ,⁴⁴ explaining what it means to belong to Christ.

Gal 3:29b ἄρα οὖν τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ σπέρμα ἐστέ,

ἄρα οὖν	D* F G
ἄρα	B, ℵ 33, A C 1241S, 1739 Ψ Chrys 1611 Byz

The earliest manuscripts lacked accents, so ἀρα could be either ἄρα, a marker of inference, or ἄρα, and interrogative marker.⁴⁵ The addition of the inferential particle οὖν removes this ambiguity.

⁴² See generally Ehrman, *Orthodox Corruption*, 143-155.

⁴³ See generally Douglas A. Campbell, *The Deliverance of God: An Apocalyptic Rereading of Justification in Paul* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2009), 867-875.

⁴⁴ BUSCEMI 346.

⁴⁵ BDAG 127. For those later manuscripts that do write accents, ἄρα is read by 1611 and most Byz, while ἄρα is read by 33 and 1241S, as well as 88 104 460 618 910 1315 1424 1837 1874.

Gal 4:6 Ὅτι δὲ ἐστε υἱοὶ **θεοῦ**, ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν κρᾶζον· ἀββα ὁ πατήρ.

υἱοὶ θεοῦ Marc D F G d b
υἱοί ×vg; P46 B, **Σ** 33, A C P 1241S, 1739 Ψ pesh hark 1611 Byz

As discussed in Chapter 3, the addition of θεοῦ appears to be a local harmonization to

3:26 πάντες γὰρ υἱοὶ θεοῦ ἐστε.

Gal 4:8 Ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν οὐκ εἰδότες θεὸν **ἐδουλεύσατε** τοῖς φύσει μὴ οὐσίῳ θεοῖς **ἐδουλεύσατε**.

τοῖς . . . θεοῖς ἐδουλεύσατε D F G d b ×vg
τοῖς . . . θεοῖς δουλεύετε Marc⁴⁶
ἐδουλεύσατε τοῖς . . . θεοῖς P46 B, **Σ** 33, A C 1241S, 1739 Ψ Chrys pesh hark 1611 Byz

As discussed in Chapter 3, the word order is more highly marked with the verb at the end of the clause, and it serves to emphasize the fact that they were enslaved to false gods. The effect of this change seems to heighten the anti-pagan force of the verse.

Gal 4:9 **νῦν νυνὶ** δὲ γινόντες θεόν . . . πῶς ἐπιστρέφετε πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀσθενῆ καὶ πτωχὰ στοιχεῖα . . .;

νυνὶ D* F G; Ψ
νῦν P46 B, **Σ** 33, A C 1241S, 1739 Chrys pesh hark 1611 Byz

The adverb νυνὶ is a strengthened form of νῦν, and at other locations the manuscripts often vary between them, in either direction.⁴⁷ It seems plausible that the strengthened νυνὶ (“now”) was adopted to heighten the contrast with the τότε (“then”) of the previous sentence.

⁴⁶ Tertullian, *Marc.* 5.4.5: *si ergo his, qui 'in natura sunt' dei, servitis.* Schmid, *Marcion*, 116, suggests that the omission of μὴ is due to a corruption of τοῖς μὴ φύσει into τοῖς τῆ φύσει.

⁴⁷ When used with δέ both adverbs appear within Paul's letters with some frequency: νυνὶ δέ in Rom 3:21; 7:6 (νῦν F G), 17; 15:23, 25 (νῦν F G); 1 Cor 12:18 (νῦν A B D* F G 1611); 13:13; 15:20 (νῦν F G); 2 Cor 8:11, 22 (νῦν Ψ); Phlm 9 (νῦν A), 11; cf. Eph 2:13; Col 1:22 (νῦν D* F G); 3:8; and νῦν δέ in Rom 11:30 (νυνὶ B); 1 Cor 5:11 (νυνὶ **Σ*** C D*); 7:14 (νυνὶ D* F G); 12:20 (νυνὶ F G P 1241S 1611 1739); 14:6 (νυνὶ Byz); Gal 4:9 (νυνὶ D* F G Ψ); Phil 3:18; cf. Eph 5:8 (νυνὶ F G); Col 1:26.

Gal 4:10 ἡμέρας παρατηρεῖσθε καὶ μῆνας ~~καὶ καιροὺς~~ καὶ ἑνιαυτοὺς καὶ καιροῦς,

καὶ ἑνιαυτοὺς καὶ καιροῦς
καὶ καιροῦς καὶ ἑνιαυτοῦς

D F G d b
Marc⁴⁸ ×vg; P46 B, **Σ** 33, A C 1241S,
1739 Ψ Chrys pesh hark 1611 Byz

The attestation by Marcion is evidence that this transposition is a later development in the Western branch. The time references in the earliest form of the text, “days . . . months . . . seasons . . . years,” suggest a connection to the Jewish cultic calendar,⁴⁹ so the transposition of seasons and years might indicate that this connection had been lost in the mind of the scribe of the common ancestor of the Western branch.

Gal 4:13 οἴδατε ~~δέ~~ ὅτι δι’ ἀσθένειαν τῆς σαρκὸς εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν τὸ πρότερον,

- D* F G d b
δέ ×vg; P46 B, **Σ** 33, A C 1241S, 1739 Ψ Chrys pesh hark 1611 Byz⁵⁰

Like the omission in Gal 3:16, the asyndeton created by the omission of δέ creates a closer connection to the preceding verse.

Gal 4:16 ὥστε ἐγώ ἐχθρὸς ὑμῶν γέγονα ἀληθεύων ὑμῖν;

ἐγώ D* F G d b
- ×vg; P46 B, **Σ** 33, A C 1241S, 1739 Ψ Chrys pesh hark 1611 Byz

The presence or absence of the personal pronoun ἐγώ affects the placement of emphasis and hence the implied contrast in the sentence. Without the pronoun, the emphasis falls on the fronted ἐχθρὸς ὑμῶν—“So that I became *an enemy of yours* by telling you the

⁴⁸ Schmid, *Marcion*, 317 and 347, considers this reading secure based on Tertullian, *Marc. 5.4.5: ipse declarat: dies observatis et menses et tempora et annos*, but it should be noted that when Tertullian is less careful he quotes these temporal terms in varying orders (see Schmid, *Marcion*, 102).

⁴⁹ So BURTON 234; LONGENECKER 182.

⁵⁰ Some Byzantine manuscripts omit the particle: 1242 1448 1734 1735.

truth?”—and it contrasts with the Galatians’ prior reception of Paul “like God’s angel” (v.13).

With the pronoun, the emphasis falls on Paul, heightening the contrast between him and his (presumably Judaizing) opponents—“So that *I’m* the one who became your enemy by telling you the truth?” Despite the apparent plausibility that the shorter reading is the result of a leap from one *epsilon* to another, the addition of the pronoun seems more suitable to a later historical context in which the parting of the ways between Christianity and Judaism has carried on to a further extent when it is more salient to pit Paul against the Jews.

Gal 4:17 ἀλλὰ ἐκκλείσαι ὑμᾶς θέλουσιν, ἵνα αὐτοὺς ζηλοῦτε · **ζηλοῦτε δὲ τὰ κρείττω χαρίσματα**

ζηλοῦτε δὲ τὰ κρείττω⁵¹ χαρίσματα D* F G d b
- ×vg; B, **Ⲛ** 33, A C 1241S,
1739 Chrys pesh hark 1611 Byz

This additional phrase, which means “but desire the better gifts,” is a reminiscence of the Western reading of 1 Cor 12:31, ζηλοῦτε δὲ τα χαρίσματα τα κρείσσονα.⁵² The difference in the word order and use of the Attic form κρείττω demonstrates that this addition comes from a common origin rather than from independent incorporations of 1 Cor 12:31 into this context.

⁵¹ This is the standard spelling of the diphthong. D* F G, however, use itacistic spellings with ι instead of ει. The itacistic spelling κρίσσονα for κρείσσονα also occurs for D* F G in 1 Cor 12:31.

⁵² BUSCEMI 413. Instead of κρείσσονα, P46^{vid} B **Ⲛ** 33 read μείζονα.

Gal 4:18abc καλὸν **δέ τὸ** ζηλοῦσθαι ἐν καλῶ πάντοτε καὶ **μὴ οὐ** μόνον ἐν τῷ
παρεῖναί με πρὸς ὑμᾶς.

-	D* F G d b
δέ	×vg; B, Σ , A C 1241S, 1739 Chrys pesh hark 1611 Byz
γάρ	33
τό	D F G; Chrys 1611 Byz
-	B, Σ 33, A C 1241S, 1739
οὐ	D F G
μή	B, Σ 33, A C 1241S, 1739 Chrys 1611 Byz

These three little changes to this verse are collected together. Though unrelated in their functions, their patterned agreement against non-Western witnesses nonetheless demonstrates a common origin. As with Gal 3:16 and 4:13, the deletion of δέ creates an asyndeton. The addition of the article τό is anaphoric,⁵³ referring back to the statement ζηλοῦσιν ὑμᾶς οὐ καλῶς in v.17; it also makes it clear that the following word is an infinitive rather than the homophonous indicative ζηλοῦσθε, which is the actual reading of B, **Σ**, and 33.⁵⁴ Finally, the change from μὴ μόνον to οὐ μόνον makes this negative conform to more common usage.⁵⁵

Gal 4:21 Λέγετέ μοι, οἱ ὑπὸ νόμον θέλοντες εἶναι, τὸν νόμον οὐκ **ἀκούετε**
ἀναγινώσκετε;

ἀναγινώσκετε ⁵⁶	D F G d b ×vg
ἀκούετε	P46 B, Σ 33, A C 1241S, 1739 Chrys pesh hark 1611 Byz

The change from “do you not hear (ἀκούετε) the Law?” to “do you not read (ἀναγινώσκετε) the Law?” is striking. Origen, *Contra Celsum* 2.3.8, quotes the first part of the

⁵³ BDF 205-206 § 399(1).

⁵⁴ For more details, see the discussion in Chapter 3.

⁵⁵ See A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* (4th ed.; New York: Hodder & Stoughton, 1923), 1162.

⁵⁶ Also in 104 and 1175.

sentence as οἱ τὸν νόμον ἀναγινώσκοντες (“those who read the law”) relating to Jews,⁵⁷ which suggests that a reference to people reading the law connotes Jews in early Christianity.

Similarly, this change from hearing the law to reading the law would also make it clear that Paul is addressing Jews or those engaging in Jewish practices. As a result, this change can be seen as part of a number of variants in the Western prototype that are arguably anti-Judaic in effect.⁵⁸

Gal 4:23 ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐλευθέρας ~~δι~~ **διὰ τῆς** ἐπαγγελίας.

διὰ τῆς	D F G; B; 1739 1611 Byz
δι'	P46, Σ 33, A C 1241S, 1739 Ψ Chrys

This is the first occurrence of “promise” since 3:29. As the pattern of manuscript attestation indicates, adding an article to refer back to the promise spoken to Abraham⁵⁹ appears to be a common, independent change.

Gal 4:25 τὸ γὰρ Σινᾶ ὄρος ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ · ~~συστοιχεῖ δὲ~~ **συστοιχοῦσα** τῇ νῦν Ἰερουσαλήμ,

συστοιχοῦσα	D* F G (d <i>quae consonant</i>)
σύστοιχον	(xvg <i>qui [scil. mons] conjunctus est</i>)
συστοιχεῖ δέ	(b <i>conjugitur autem</i>); P46 B, Σ 33, A C P 1241S, 1739 Chrys pesh hark 1611 Byz

This textual variant is significant because it indicates that the first part of the clause about Sinai being a mountain in Arabia did not yet stand in the main text.⁶⁰ Although non-

⁵⁷ Also quoted in the same form in *Contra Celsum* 4.44.24.

⁵⁸ Steven Di Mattei, “Paul’s Allegory of the Two Covenants (Gal 4.21-31) in Light of First-Century Hellenistic Rhetoric and Jewish Hermeneutics,” *NTS* 52 (2006): 102-122 at 102-103 n.2, suspects that the Western reading was influenced by Origen’s usage, but it seems better to view them as independent—and different—attempts to make explicit the Jewish nature of Paul’s opponents.

⁵⁹ BUSCEMI 449.

Western witnesses read *συστοιχεῖ δὲ* (“but it corresponds”) after the geographic note, the Western Greek witnesses read the feminine nominative participle *ἡ συστοιχοῦσα* instead. The closest feminine nominative antecedent for this participle is not in v.25a at all, but the feminine Hagar at the end of v.24: *ἥτις ἐστὶν Ἀγάρ*. This antecedent is too far away from the participle, unless v.25a stood not in the main text but in the margin.⁶¹ At some point after this change, the marginal gloss was inserted into the main text but without patching up the participle. The masculine participle of the Vulgate represents an attempt to make it relate to a closer antecedent, i.e., the masculine *mons* (“mountain”).

Gal 4:27 εὐφράνθητι, στείρα ἢ ~~οὐ~~ *μή* τίκτουσα,

μή	D F G
οὐ	P46 B, Σ 33, A C 1241S, 1739 Chrys 1611 Byz

Except for Hebraisms from the Septuagint (this is a quotation from Isa 54:1), the regular Hellenistic negative with an articular participle is *μή*, not *οὐ*.⁶² Thus, the change in the Western branch from *οὐ* to *μή* is in conformation to the standard idiom.

⁶⁰Allen Kerkeslager, “Jewish Pilgrimage and Jewish Identity in Hellenistic and Early Roman Egypt” in *Pilgrimage and Holy Space in Late Antique Egypt* (ed. David Frankfurter; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 99-225 at 184-185. BUSCEMI 450, on the contrary, merely concedes that v.25a is to be conceived of as a parenthesis and suggests that the participial form was to disambiguate the subject.

⁶¹For more detail, see the discussion in Chapter 3.

⁶²BDF 222-223 § 430(3).

Gal 4:30 οὐ γὰρ μὴ κληρονομίῃ ὁ υἱὸς τῆς παιδίσκης μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ **ἐῆς
ἐλευθέρας μου Ἰσαάκ.**

τοῦ υἱοῦ μου Ἰσαάκ	D* F G d b
τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς ἐλευθέρας	×vg; P46 B, Σ 33, A C P 1241S, 1739 Ψ Chrys pesh hark 1611 Byz

This substitution is a harmonization to the Septuagintal text of Gen 21:10.⁶³

Gal 5:1a **ἐῆ ἡ** ἐλευθερία ἡμῶς Χριστὸς ἡλευθέρωσεν ·

ἡ ἐλευθερία	Marc F G (d b ×vg <i>qua</i>)
τῆ ἐλευθερία	D; B, Σ 33, A C P 1241S, 1739 Ψ
τῆ ἐλευθερία ἡ	Chrys pesh hark 1611 Byz

The agreement between FG-db and Marcion indicates either that the Western prototype featured the substitution of the relative pronoun ἡ for the article τῆ and it was reversed by D, or that it was independently made by both Marcion (as quoted by Tertullian⁶⁴) and the common ancestor of F, G, and the Old Latin witnesses b and d. The asyndeton at Gal 5:1 is ambiguous as to whether there is a close connection between 5:1 and 4:31 or whether 5:1 begins a new section.⁶⁵ The substitution of the relative pronoun ἡ for the article τῆ resolves this ambiguity in favor of the former option by making the connection syntactically close with a relative clause. By contrast, the ambiguity of the asyndeton is resolved in the other direction within the Eastern branch as discussed later in this chapter.

⁶³ BUSCEMI 451 also suggests a harmonization to v.28.

⁶⁴ Tertullian, *Marc* 5.4.9 attests the relative pronoun, *qua libertate Christus nos manumisit*, but Schmid, *Marcion*, 74, thinks that this evidence is also compatible with the presence of the article in Marcion's Greek text, following T. Baarda, "Gal. 5.1a: ἡ ἐλευθερία . . . Over de 'Westerse Tekst' en de Tekst van Marcion" in C. J. den Heyer, ed., *Christologische perspectieven: Exegetische en hermeneutische studies* (Kampen: Kok, 1992), 173-193. Specifically, Baarda argues that Tertullian's use of *manumisit* indicates that he had made an independent translation of his own Greek text and that *qua libertate* can also translate τῆ ἐλευθερία ἡ. Given the ambiguity of Tertullian's Latin, however, it seems best to relate it to the form of its closest relatives in the Western branch rather than to the form of its distant relatives in the Byzantine and Harklean texts.

⁶⁵ See generally Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, 118-119; and Stephanie L. Black, *Sentence Conjunctions in the Gospel of Matthew: καί, δέ, τότε, γάρ, οὖν and Asyndeton in Narrative Discourse* (JSNTSS 216; STG 9; London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 179-217, esp. 216-217.

Gal 5:1b στήκετε οὖν καὶ μὴ πάλιν **δουλείας** ζυγῶ **δουλείας** ἐνέχεσθε.

δουλείας ζυγῶ D F G d b

ζυγῶ δουλείας Marc⁶⁶ xvg; B, **Σ** 33, A C P 1241S, 1739 Ψ Chrys pesh hark 1611 Byz

This transposition gives more prominence to slavery (δουλείας) than to yoke (ζυγῶ).

By emphasizing that the yoke (of the Law, cf. Acts 15:10) is slavery, this reading appears to heighten a perceived anti-Judaic element in the text.

Gal 5:3 μαρτύρομαι δὲ **πάλιν** παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ περιτεμνομένῳ

- D F G d b; 1739 Chrys

πάλιν xvg; P46 B, **Σ** 33, A C, Ψ pesh hark 1611 Byz

This omission appears to be due to an accidental leap from ΠΑ of πάλιν to the ΠΑ of παντί. It has the side-effect of not implying that there was a previous time when Paul warned men undergoing circumcision.

Gal 5:10 ὁ δὲ ταρασσῶν ὑμᾶς βαστάσει τὸ κρίμα, ὅστις **ἐάν ἄν** ᾖ.

ἄν D F G; Ψ Chrys 1611 Byz

ἐάν P46 B, **Σ** 33, A C 1241S, 1739

The change from ἐάν to ἄν is in the direction of using a more classical form for this particle after an indefinite pronoun.⁶⁷ The same change in this particle occurs in v.17.

⁶⁶ Schmid, *Marcion*, 319, prints the words ζυγῶ δουλείας in italics, indicating uncertainty, but Tertullian, *Marc* 5.4.9, attests this order: *et merito nondecebat manumissos rursus iugo servitutis, id est, adstringi.*

⁶⁷ See BDAG “ἐάν,” 267-268; BDF 57 § 107; LSJ “ἐάν,” 465.

Gal 5:11 Ἐγὼ δέ, ἀδελφοί, εἰ περιτομὴν ~~ἔτι~~ κηρύσσω, τί ἔτι διώκομαι;

- D* F G d b; 1739
ἔτι ×vg; P46 B, **Σ** 33, A C 1241S, Ψ Chrys pesh hark 1611 Byz

The omission of ἔτι (“still”) avoids the implication that Paul had once preached circumcision after his call.⁶⁸ Because of its apparent apologetic motive in preserving Paul’s consistency, the same omission in 1739 ought to be considered coincidental rather than genetic.

Gal 5:12 Ὅφελον καὶ ~~ἀποκόψονται~~ ἀποκόψονται οἱ ἀναστατοῦντες ὑμᾶς.

ἀποκόψονται D F G (d b ×vg *abscidantur*); P46
ἀποκόψονται B, **Σ** 33, A C P 1241S, 1739 Ψ Chrys pesh hark 1611 Byz

The particle ὄφελον is construed with the indicative,⁶⁹ so the change from a future indicative ἀποκόψονται to an aorist subjunctive ἀποκόψονται is unusual, if not ungrammatical.⁷⁰ Nevertheless, these forms were pronounced identically by the second century,⁷¹ so this difference may merely be orthographic as far the Western scribes were concerned. Because the Latin versions use a subjunctive form, *abscidantur*, it is tempting to see the ἀποκόψονται spelling in the Greek-Latin diglots as being influenced by the Latin.

⁶⁸ Douglas A. Campbell, “Galatians 5.11: Evidence of an Early Law-observant Mission by Paul?” *NTS* 57 (2011): 325-347.

⁶⁹ BDF 181 § 359(1). BDF 194 § 384 cites this very variant but does not comment on the mood.

⁷⁰ The aorist subjunctive in P46, however, is legitimate because it changes ὄφελον to ἄρα. This suggests that P46’s agreement here is unrelated.

⁷¹ W. Sidney Allen, *Vox Graeca: The Pronunciation of Classical Greek* (3d ed.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 94. Geoffrey Horrocks, *Greek: A History of the Language and its Speakers* (New York: Longman, 1997), 75-76, dates the change even earlier.

Gal 5:13 μόνον μὴ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν εἰς ἀφορμὴν τῇ σαρκί, ἀλλὰ ~~διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης τῇ ἀγάπῃ τοῦ πνεύματος~~ δουλεύετε ἀλλήλοις.

τῇ ἀγάπῃ τοῦ πνεύματος D F G (d b *per caritatem spiritus*)

διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης

P46 B, **Σ** 33, A C 1241S, 1739 Ψ Chrys pesh hark

1611 Byz

This Western form of the text, “by the love of the spirit,” is striking. The only other occurrence of “the love of the Spirit” in Paul’s letters is Rom 15:30 Παρακαλῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ πνεύματος, where the Romans were encouraged to pray on Paul’s behalf as he goes to Jerusalem. In this case, the immediately preceding mention of the flesh (τῇ σαρκί) and the subsequent contrast of the spirit and the flesh in vv.16-26 appears to have induced a scribe to introduce an explicit reference to the spirit.⁷²

Gal 5:14abc ὁ γὰρ πᾶς νόμος ~~ἐν ὑμῖν~~ ἐν ἐνὶ λόγῳ ~~πεπλήρωται~~ πληροῦται, ἐν τῷ ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν.

ἐν ὑμῖν (Marc -ἐν ἐνὶ λόγῳ) D* F G d b

- ×vg; P46 B, **Σ** 33, A C 1241S, 1739 Ψ Chrys pesh hark 1611 Byz

πληροῦται D F G d b ×vg; Ψ Chrys 1611 Byz

πεπλήρωται Marc; P46 B, **Σ** 33, A C 1241S, 1739

- Marc D* F G d b ×vg

ἐν τῷ P46 B, **Σ** 33, A C 1241S, 1739 Ψ Chrys pesh hark 1611 Byz

These three variants are collected together because they occur within a short span of text. Two of these are supported by Marcion and one is not.⁷³ As for the first reading ἐν ὑμῖν,

⁷² BUSCEMI 527.

⁷³ Schmid, *Marcion*, 130-131 and 182, citing Tertullian, *Marc.* 5.4.12: *tota enim, inquit, lex ‘in vobis’ adimpleta est: diliges proximum tuum tamquam te*, and Eriphanius, *Pan.* 42.11.8, 42.12.3 ὁ γὰρ πᾶς νόμος ὑμῖν πεπλήρωται · ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον ὡς σεαυτόν, respectively. Schmid, *Marcion*, 318, prints *πεπλήρωται* in italic to indicate that it is an uncertain

the effect of this change, in light of its context (e.g. v.13 ὑμεῖς γὰρ ἐπ’ ἐλευθερίᾳ ἐκλήθητε), is to make the statement more anti-Judaic, in that the law is specified as being fulfilled among the gentile Galatians.⁷⁴ The third reading, also attested in Marcion, can also be seen as anti-Judaic, because the lack of introductory signal for the quotation means that the positive citation of Lev 19:18 in the Torah is not explicitly marked.⁷⁵ The failure to mark the Levitical love injunction as a quotation opens a hermeneutical space to reinterpret the command, not necessarily as command from the Torah, but from another source such as Jesus (cf. Matt 5:43; Luke 10:27, etc.).

As for the second reading, the perfect tense *πεπλήρωται* is usually taken to be gnomic, but with Paul’s strong focus on Christ it should be construed Christologically, that, the whole law has been fulfilled by Jesus’s love for his neighbor (as by giving himself on the cross cf. Gal 1:4, 2:20).⁷⁶ The substitution of the present tense *πληροῦται* (perhaps prompted by the contemporary sense of the added phrase *ἐν ὑμῖν*) has the effect of reinforcing the gnomic interpretation.

According to the stemma, the fact that two of these anti-Judaic variants are also attested in Marcion suggests that they were already present in the common ancestor of Marcion and the Western branch.

reading, but both Tertullian and Epiphanius have perfect forms: *adimpleta est* and *πεπλήρωται*, respectively (see Schmid, *Marcion*, 182).

⁷⁴ Eshbaugh, “Theological Variants,” 187. Pace Schmid, *Marcion*, 130-131, who disagrees with Harnack’s view that this change is Marcionite and anti-Jewish on the grounds that the inference of “not the Jews” drawn from *ἐν ὑμῖν* is much too subtle (“viel zu subtil”).

⁷⁵ Pace Schmid, *Marcion*, 130-131, who cites the Rom 13:9 parallel to argue that there is no unified tendency (“*einheitliche Tendenz*”) behind the omission.

⁷⁶ MARTYN, 486-491.

Gal 5:15ab εἰ δὲ ἀλλήλους δάκνετε καὶ κατεσθίετε ἀλλήλους, βλέπετε μὴ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἀναλωθῆτε ὑπ' ἀλλήλων.

δάκν. κ. κατ. ἀλλήλους	D F G d b
ἀλλήλους δάκν. κ. κατ.	×vg; P46 B, Σ 33, A C 1241S, 1739 Ψ Chrys pesh hark 1611 Byz

ἀναλωθῆτε ὑπ' ἀλλήλων	D F G d; 1241S
ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἀναλωθῆτε	b ×vg; P46 B, Σ 33, A C, 1739 Ψ Chrys pesh hark 1611 Byz

These two transpositions appear to be related, for they both move the reciprocal pronoun from a marked position before the verb to a more typical position afterwards. These changes move the emphasis from the Galatians (referred to by the reciprocal pronouns) to the actions of the verb. As a result, the verse is less contingent on the original occasion of the letter and more applicable for a general audience.

Gal 5:17 ἵνα μὴ ἂν ὅτι θέλητε ταῦτα ποιῆτε.

ὁ ἄν	D* F G
ἂ ἄν	(d b ×vg <i>quaecumque</i>); C ^c , Ψ 1611 Byz
ἂ ἔάν	B ^c , Σ , A 1241S
ἄν	B*
ἂ	C*, 1739 Chrys

There are two changes here, both attested clearly in the Greek Western witnesses. First, they change the relative pronoun from the plural to the singular, despite its lack of agreement with the plural ταῦτα.⁷⁷ Second, they change the Hellenistic particle ἔάν after a relative pronoun to the classical particle ἄν. This same change also occurs at Gal 6:7, and the substitution of the Hellenistic particle ἔάν in this construction is also found at 5:10.

⁷⁷ Even though Western witnesses are even divided between the singular ὁ (D* F G) and the plural ἂ (d b ×vg), the witnesses in favor of the plural are versional and thus unlikely to convey grammatical irregularities in the Greek. For a fuller discussion of this variant, see Chapter 3.

Gal 5:19 φανερά δέ ἐστὶν τὰ ἔργα τῆς σαρκός, ἅτινά ἐστιν **μοιχεία** πορνεία
ἀκαθαρσία ἀσέλγεια

μοιχεία πορνεία D; Ψ hark 1611 Byz

μοιχεῖαι πορνεῖαι F G d b

πορνεία μοιχεία Chrys pc⁷⁸

πορνεία Marc⁷⁹ xvg; B, **Σ** 33, A C P 1241S, 1739 pesh

The addition of “adultery” (μοιχεία) before “fornication” (πορνεία) reinforces the list of the deeds of the flesh with a serious sexual transgression,⁸⁰ perhaps influenced by their collocation in other vice lists (e.g. Matt 15:19; Mark 7:21-22).⁸¹ The plural form μοιχεῖαι in F G d b is a later development associated with making other entries on the list plural.

Gal 5:21a φθόνοι **φόνοι** μέθαι κῶμοι καὶ τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις,

φόνοι D F G d b (xvg *homicidia*); A C 1241S, 1739 Ψ Chrys pesh hark 1611 Byz

- Marc⁸²; P46 B, **Σ** 33, P pc⁸³

This addition is an unusual Western-Eastern branch agreement against the central, basic members of the stemma. Although it is possible that the word φόνοι (“murders”) could have been accidentally omitted after its rhyme φθόνοι (“envies”) among these basic members,⁸⁴ it is more likely that such a serious offense was added to the list of fleshy deeds in order to strengthen the list, just as with the addition of “adultery” at the beginning of the list (v.19).⁸⁵

⁷⁸ That is, 1270 1319 1573.

⁷⁹ Schmid, *Marcion*, 179, citing Epiphanius, *Pan.* 42.11.8 and 42.12.3.

⁸⁰ BUSCEMI 527.

⁸¹ BETZ 283 n.106; LONGENECKER 248 n.a.

⁸² Schmid, *Marcion*, 192, however, argues that this reading in Marcion is uncertain because of variants in the quotations by Epiphanius.

⁸³ Including 323 876 945.

⁸⁴ Indeed, this probably accounts for the omission in some Byzantine manuscripts.

⁸⁵ See the fuller discussion in Chapter 3.

Gal 5:21b ἃ προλέγω ὑμῖν, καθὼς ~~προεῖπον~~ προεῖρηκα ὅτι . . .

προεῖρηκα	D F G
προεῖπον	Marc ⁸⁶ ; P46 B, (Ν* εἶπον) 33, A C 1241S, (1739 προεῖπομεν) Ψ Chrys pesh hark 1611 Byz

The aorist προεῖπον can have either a temporal sense, “I said beforehand,” or a locative sense, “I said before [the public], i.e., I declare.”⁸⁷ Although the preceding present tense form προλέγω must have the locative, declaratory sense, the force of the aorist προεῖπον is ambiguous. The change to the perfect tense προεῖρηκα (cf. 2 Cor 13:2 προεῖρηκα καὶ προλέγω) buttresses the declaratory sense by implying that what Paul had said is still in effect.

Gal 5:23 πραύτης ἐγκράτεια ἀγνεῖα · κατὰ τῶν τοιούτων οὐκ ἔστιν νόμος.

ἀγνεῖα	D* F G b d
-	×vg; P46 B, Ν 33, A C P 1241S, 1739 Ψ Chrys pesh hark 1611 Byz

Similar to the addition of the vices of adultery and murder to the deeds of the flesh in vv.21 and 23, respectively, this addition appends “chastity” (ἀγνεῖα) to the list of the fruits of the spirit.⁸⁸

Gal 5:25 Εἰ πνεύματι ζῶμεν πνεύματι, πνεύματι καὶ στοιχῶμεν.

πνεύματι ζῶμεν	D F G d
ζῶμεν πνεύματι	b ×vg; P46 B, Ν 33, A C P 1241S, 1739 Ψ Chrys pesh hark 1611 Byz

The position of the words πνεύματι (“by the Spirit”) and ζῶμεν (“we live”) affect the relative prominence and hence the implied contrasts the two constituents have. If πνεύματι is first, then the contrast is with the flesh, as it had been expounded in the contrast of vv.19-21

⁸⁶ Schmid, *Marcion*, 163, citing Epiphanius, *Pan.* 42.11.8 and 42.12.3.

⁸⁷ LSJ “προεῖπον,” 1476, although BDAG “προεῖπον,” 867-868 only gives temporal or prophetic meanings.

⁸⁸ BETZ 288 n.162 notes that it “concludes the list with a religious rather than philosophical concept.”

and vv.22-23: “If it is by the Spirit [rather than by the flesh] we’re living, . . .” If ζῶμεν is first, then the contrast is between mere living (ζῶμεν) and walking in line (στοιχῶμεν).⁸⁹ As both Paul’s argument and the καί before the verb στοιχῶμεν are ascensive, then placing the verb first in the apodosis is more fitting to the context.⁹⁰ Thus, this transposition of the Western appears to be a superficial harmonization to its earlier context or to the same order of the apodosis. It also avoids having the word πνεύματι written twice in a row.

Gal 6:1 σκοπῶν σεαυτὸν μὴ καὶ ~~σύ~~ **αὐτός** πειρασθῆς.

αὐτὸς πειρασθῆς	D*
αὐτὸς πειρασθῆ	F G (d <i>ipse temptetur</i>)
σύ πειρασθῆς	b xvg; P46 B, Σ 33, A C 1241S, 1739 Ψ Chrys pesh hark 1611 Byz

The change of the personal pronoun σύ to an intensive pronoun αὐτός appears to be a harmonization with the preceding σεαυτόν.⁹¹ The apparent mismatch in person in D*’s text was further modified in favor of the third person in the later Western stream of text.

Gal 6:3 εἰ γὰρ δοκεῖ τις εἶναί τι μηδὲν ὄν, **ἑαυτὸν** φρεναπατᾶ ~~ἑαυτόν~~.

ἑαυτὸν φρεναπατᾶ	D F G d b xvg; Ψ pesh hark 1611 Byz
φρεναπατᾶ ἑαυτόν	P46 B, Σ 33, A C 1241S, 1739 Chrys

The fronting of the reflexive pronoun ἑαυτόν emphasizes the *self*-deception of the someone who falsely considers himself important. This emphasis makes the statement more self-contained and appropriate as a proof text.

⁸⁹ The notion of living is also anticipated by the statement of crucifying the flesh in v.24.

⁹⁰ The fronting of πνεύματι in the apodosis provides an emphatic point of departure: “it is with the [same] Spirit that we walk in line.”

⁹¹ A bare intensive αὐτοί is used with second-person plural verbs in Acts 18:15, Rom 15:14, and 1 Thess 3:3.

Gal 6:7 ὁ γὰρ ~~ἐάν~~ ἄν σπείρη ἄνθρωπος, ~~τοῦτο ταῦτα~~ καὶ θερίσει ·

ὁ ἄν	D* F G; B
ἄ ἄν	(d b ×vg <i>quae</i>)
ὁ ἐάν	Ⲛ 33, A C P 1241S, 1739 Ψ Chrys pesh hark 1611 Byz
ἄ ἐάν	P46

ταῦτα	D* F G d b ×vg; P46
τοῦτο	B, Ⲛ 33, A C P 1241S, 1739 Ψ Chrys pesh hark 1611 Byz

The first variant is just like 5:10 and 5:17, where the Hellenistic particle ἐάν after a relative pronoun has been substituted with a more classical ἄν. The second variant changes the singular resumptive pronoun τοῦτο to the plural ταῦτα, creating a lack of number concord with the pendent nominative antecedent.⁹² A similar lack of agreement is apparent at 5:17.

Gal 6:8 ὅτι ὁ σπείρων εἰς τὴν σάρκα ~~ἑαυτοῦ~~ αὐτοῦ, ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ θερίσει φθοράν

σάρκα αὐτοῦ	D* F G; 1241S, Ψ <i>pc</i> ⁹³
σάρκα ἑαυτοῦ	B, Ⲛ 33, A C, 1739 Chrys 1611 Byz

σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ	D* F G d
σαρκὸς -	b ×vg; B, Ⲛ 33, A C P 1241S, 1739 Ψ Chrys pesh hark 1611 Byz

These changes produce a more parallel construction.

Gal 6:11 Ἴδετε πηλίκοις ~~ὑμῖν~~ γράμμασιν ὑμῖν ἔγραψα τῇ ἐμῇ χειρὶ.

γράμμασιν ὑμῖν	D F G d
ἔγραψα ὑμῖν	(b ×vg <i>scripsi vobis</i>)
ὑμῖν γράμμασιν	P46 B, Ⲛ 33, A C 1231S, 1739 Ψ Chrys 1611 Byz

The personal pronoun ὑμῖν appears to have been transposed to keep the phrase πηλίκοις γράμμασιν together or, perhaps, to confer extra emphasis on πηλίκοις (cf. a similar

⁹² BUSCEMI 568.

⁹³ Also 056 075 618 1424 1505-2495 1648 1780 1837 2147 2464 2815.

word order in Matt 25:20 Κύριε, πέντε τάλαντά μοι παρέδωκας, with a strong emphasis on the number of talents).

Gal 6:15 ἐν γὰρ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ οὔτε γὰρ περιτομή τί ἐστίν οὔτε ἀκροβυστία ἀλλὰ καινὴ κτίσις.

ἐν γὰρ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ οὔτε
οὔτε γὰρ

D F G d b xvg; **Σ**, A C 1241S, hark Byz
P46 B, 33, Ψ Chrys pesh 1611

The insertion of the phrase ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, with the adjustment of the position of the particle γάρ, is an apparent harmonization to Gal 5:6 ἐν γὰρ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ οὔτε περιτομή τι ἰσχύει οὔτε ἀκροβυστία.⁹⁴

Gal 6:16a καὶ ὅσοι τῷ κανόνι τούτῳ στοιχήσουσιν στοίχουσιν,

στοίχουσιν D F G; A C, 1739 Chrys
στοιχήσωσιν P46
στοιχήσουσιν B, **Σ** 33, 1241S, Ψ 1611 Byz

The change in tense from the future στοιχήσουσιν to the present στοίχουσιν appears to lend Paul's final benediction more contemporary relevance.⁹⁵

Gal 6:16b εἰρήνη ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ ἔλεος καὶ ἐπι τὸν Ἰσραὴλ τοῦ θεοῦ κυρίου.

κυρίου D F G d
θεοῦ b xvg; P46 B, **Σ** 33, A C 1241S, 1739 Ψ Chrys pesh hark 1611 Byz

Taken out of context, the change from "Israel of God" to "Israel of the Lord" would not be anti-Judaic because Israel's God was routinely called the "Lord." In this particular context,

⁹⁴ BETZ 319 n.77; BUSCEMI 598.

⁹⁵ BUSCEMI 598.

with the addition of “Lord” to Jesus Christ in the following verse, however, this substitution does have an anti-Judaic theological effect of subjugating Israel to the Lord Jesus Christ.

Gal 6:17 ἐγὼ γὰρ τὰ στίγματα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματί μου βαστάζω.

κύριου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ	D* F G; Chrys
κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ	d b; ℵ
κυρίου Ἰησοῦ	1739 hark 1611 Byz
κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ	pesh
Χριστοῦ	Marc, ⁹⁶ P, Ψ
Ἰησοῦ	×vg; P46 B, 33, A C 1241S

The bare use of the name Jesus here was particularly susceptible to expansion among the manuscripts, and the fullest forms are found in the Western branch. A theological effect of these additions is anti-Separationist because it makes it clear that Jesus as Christ the Lord has the marks (στίγματα) of the cross.⁹⁷

5.2.1 Assessment of Scribal Tendencies for the Western Prototype

Seven of these Western textual changes are also found in Marcion (2:9; 3:14; 4:6, 4:8; 5:14a, 14c; and 6:17), but Marcion’s text lacks some later changes of the Western branch (4:10, 5:19, 5:21a, 5:21b, 6:17). These facts suggest that Marcion’s base text came from an early point in the stream of the textual tradition that survived in the Greek-Latin diglots and some Old Latin versions of Galatians.

Many of the textual changes are theological in effect. The epistle of Galatians covers both Christological and Judaic topics, but the textual variation is not evenly distributed. The

⁹⁶ Schmid, *Marcion*, 64-65, cautions that Tertullian’s quoting practice may not absolutely reflect Marcion’s use of Christological titles.

⁹⁷ Ehrman, *Orthodox Corruption*, 162.

largest group of potentially theologically significant changes (not all equally plausible, however) are those which are anti-Judaic in effect (3:17, 3:19, 4:21, 5:1b, 5:14a, 5:14c, 6:16b, less likely also 2:9). The largest group of these changes concern the role of the Torah (ὁ νομὸς) in the text of Galatians, and these changes denigrate it. For example, at 3:17 the addition of the words εἰς Χριστὸν (“for Christ”) implies that only Christ, not the law, was the fulfillment of God’s promise to Abraham. At 3:19, the change of the verb to ἔτεθη (“was established”) implies that the Law was no longer established after Christ. The word order change at 5:1 gives more emphasis to the slavery aspect of the Law. Even when the Law is quoted favorable at Gal 5:14, one textual change makes the Levitical love commandment fulfilled among Gentiles and another change, the loss of the explicit quotation signal ἐν τῷ, divorces its connection with the Torah.

Less common are those variants that anti-Judaic pertaining to Jews as a people, but there are two. At Gal 4:21, the change from those who hear the Law to those who read the Law has been viewed, certainly in the third century, as applying to Jews, who read from the Torah. This change has the effect of applying the negative part of the allegory in vv.21-31 to Jews as a people. Another change occurs at 6:16 where the phrase “Israel of God” is changed to “Israel of the Lord,” which is Jesus Christ in context. This seems to have effect of making Paul’s blessing subjugate the nation of Israel to the Lord Jesus Christ.

Somewhat surprisingly, considering the Christocentric focus of the epistle, there are relatively few Christologically charged textual variants. To be sure, some appear to be anti-Separationist (3:24, and 6:17) and some are anti-Demiurgic (1:4, 3:11a, and 3:17); one is anti-pagan in effect (4:8). Yet these are fairly insignificant compared to the intensity of the anti-Judaic or at least anti-Torah tendencies of the textual variation in the Western branch.

There are other substantive changes to the text. Several changes strengthen the portrayal of Paul in the letter (1:19, 1:24, 3:2, 4:16, 5:11). Peter, too, sees his importance enhanced within the Western text (2:9), and the replacement of the name Cephas by Peter (1:18, 2:9, 2:11, 2:14) may be related to this. Some are additions to the vice and virtue lists (5:19, 5:21a, 5:23). Some decontextualize a verse to broaden its applicability, perhaps for homiletical purposes (1:8, 2:6, 5:15, 6:3). Others simply enhance the contrast already inherent in the text (4:9, 6:11).

Many of the changes foster a smoother, clearer text. Several resolve apparent ambiguities in the text (1:4, 3:1, 3:10, 3:11b, 4:18b, 4:23, 5:1, 5:21b). Some changes avoid unusual or non-classical constructions (2:10, 3:7, 4:18c, 4:27, 5:10, 5:14b, 5:15a, 5:15b, 5:17, 6:7, 6:8). A few attempt to clarify obscure portions of the text (1:11, 4:10, 6:16b). Harmonization is also a frequent textual change, mostly to the immediate context (3:14, 3:29a, 3:29b, 4:6, , 5:13, 5:25, 6:1), but also to the LXX (3:10, 4:30), to another Pauline epistle (4:17 to 1 Cor 12:31), or to another page of Galatians (6:15 to 5:6).

Other changes are hard to classify. Four involve avoidance of the particle $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ (3:16, 4:13, 4:18a, 4:25). Two could be mechanical errors (3:21, 5:3). One orthographic change may have been due to Latin influence (5:12), and another involves crasis (2:8). The effect of the word order change at 2:1 is presently unclear.

5.3 The Eastern Branch and the Road to the Byzantine Text

The Eastern branch is by far the largest branch of the textual tradition of Galatians. It not only includes the vast majority of the medieval manuscripts known as the Byzantine text-

type, it also includes witnesses traditionally identified as “Alexandrian” plus some related to the Syriac versions. As can be seen in the detail of the stemma depicted in FIG. 23, the road to the Byzantine Text begins within the Eastern branch and goes through a long development consisting of a number of different stages. This section traces through the textual development that led to the Byzantine text and assesses what editorial or scribal activities were dominant at each stage of the process.

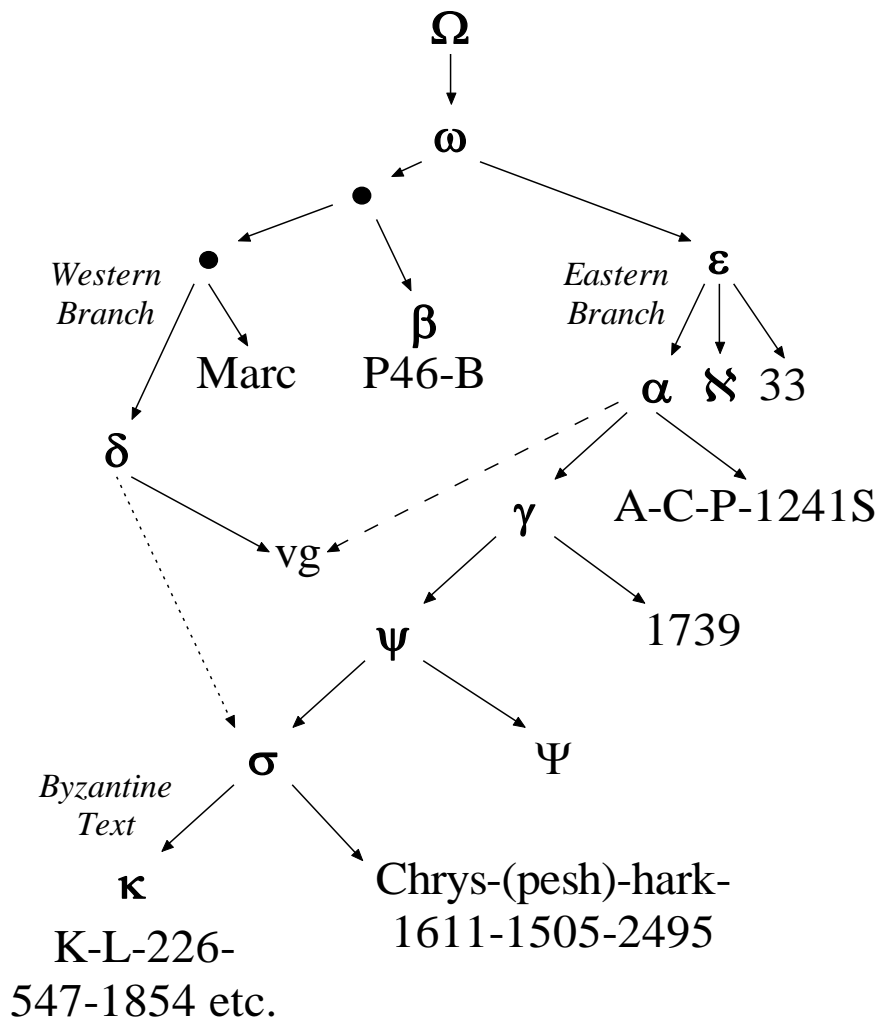


FIG. 23 Stemma of Galatians with Detail on the Rise of the Byzantine Text

5.3.1 Stage α

Stage α is an early stage of the Eastern branch before it diverged into two streams, an “Alexandrian” stream (comprising A C P 1241S and various mixed manuscripts) and a “Syrian” stream (comprising 1739, Ψ, Syriac and Byzantine texts). The leading witnesses for the Alexandrian stream are A and C, while the leading witnesses for the Syrian stream are 1739 and Ψ. Evidence for the readings introduced at stage α lies mainly in the agreement of A and C, on the one hand, and of 1739 and Ψ on the other hand. All of these variation units here at stage α had been discussed in detail back in Chapter 3. Thus, the discussion here is limited to assessing the scribal tendencies of this stage in the development of the text.

Gal 1:3 χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ
Χριστοῦ

ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου A P 1241S, Ψ⁹⁸; **Σ** 33, b

καὶ κυρίου Chrys⁹⁹

καὶ κυρίου ὑμῶν 1739 pesh hark 1611 Byz, *xvg*; P46 B, D F G d

The transposition is an assimilation to the typical Pauline order of Rom 1:3, 1 Cor 1:3, 2

Cor 1:2, etc.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ Including the Byzantine witnesses 056 131 876 1573 1836 1837 2125 2424.

⁹⁹ Also the Byzantine witnesses 547 910 999 1319 1424 1448 1799 1874 1891 2147 2423.

¹⁰⁰ See discussion in Chapter 3.

Gal 1:8 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐὰν ἡμεῖς ἢ ἄγγελος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ~~ὑμῖν~~ εὐαγγελίζεται ~~ὑμῖν~~ παρ' ὃ εὐηγγελισάμεθα ὑμῖν,

εὐαγγ. ὑμῖν A P (1241S ἡμῖν), 1739 Ψ Chrys pesh hark 1611 Byz, *vg; 33, (D ἡμᾶς) d
εὐαγγ. Ψ; **Σ**, F G b
ὑμῖν εὐαγγ. 1739; B *1175

As discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3, this transposition makes the statement less coupled to the context and more appropriate for a standalone proof text.

Gal 1:17 οὐδὲ ~~ἀπῆλθον~~ ~~ἀνῆλθον~~ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πρὸς τοὺς πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἀποστόλους,

ἀνῆλθον A C P 1241S, 1739 Ψ Chrys hard 1611 Byz; **Σ** 33
ἀπῆλθον pesh; B, D F G
ἦλθον (*vg b d *veni*); P46

This substitution is an assimilation to the more usual verb in v.18 with Jerusalem as the destination.¹⁰¹

Gal 1:18 Ἔπειτα μετὰ ~~τρία~~ ἔτη ~~τρία~~ ἀνῆλθον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἱστορῆσαι Κηφᾶν

μετὰ τρία ἔτη A P 1241S, 1739 pesh; **Σ** 33
μετὰ ἔτη τρία Ψ Chrys hark 1611 Byz, *vg; P46 B, D F G d b

This transposition appears to be an assimilation to the numeral-noun order of 2:1 διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν.¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ See discussion in Chapter 3.

¹⁰² See discussion in Chapter 3.

Gal 2:12 πρὸ τοῦ γὰρ ἐλθεῖν τινὰς ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου μετὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν συνήσθιεν · ὅτε δὲ ~~ἦλθεν ἦλθον~~, ὑπέστελλον καὶ ἀφώριζεν ἑαυτὸν

ἦλθον	A C 1241S, 1739 Ψ Chrys pesh hark 1611 Byz, *vg
ἦλθεν	Ⲙ 33, P46 B, D* F G d

As discussed in Chapter 3, this substitution, from the singular ἦλθεν to the plural

ἦλθον, is a harmonization to the preceding ἐλθεῖν τινὰς.

Gal 2:20 ἐν πίστει ζῶ τῇ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ~~καὶ Χριστοῦ~~ τοῦ ἀγαπήσαντός με

τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ	A C 1241S, 1739 Ψ Chrys pesh hark 1611 Byz, *vg; Ⲙ 33
τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ	P46 B, D* F G d (b)

This modification may have been done to avoid a possible Patripassionist

interpretation.

Gal 4:3 ὅτε ἦμεν νήπιοι, ὑπὸ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου ~~ἤμεθα ἦμεν~~ δεδουλωμένοι ·

ἦμεν	A C 1241S, 1739 Ψ Chrys 1611 Byz; B
ἤμεθα	Ⲙ 33, P46 B, D* F G

This is a clear assimilation to the more classical active voice form ἦμεν earlier in the

verse.

Gal 4:19 ~~τέκνα~~ τεκνία μου, οὓς πάλιν ὠδίνω ἄχρις οὗ μορφωθῆ Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν ·

τεκνία	A C 1241S, Ψ Chrys 1611 Byz, *vg; 33 b
τέκνα	1739; Ⲙ, B, D* F G d

As discussed in Chapter 3, this substitution of τέκνα for the diminutive τεκνία, perhaps

inspired by Paul's birthing imagery (ὠδίνω "I am groaning in labor"), has the effect of

aggrandizing Paul.

Gal 4:28 ἡμεῖς ~~ἡμεῖς~~ δέ, ἀδελφοί, κατὰ Ἰσαὰκ ἐπαγγελίας τέκνα ~~ἐστέ ἐσμέν~~.

ἡμεῖς . . . ἐσμέν A C P 1241S, Ψ Chrys pesh hark 1611 Byz, *vg; **ℵ**
ἡμεῖς . . . ἐστέ 1739; 33, P46 B, D* F G d b

This substitution appears to be a harmonization to v. 26 or v. 31 (οὐκ ἐσμέν),¹⁰³ and it has the effect of explicitly including Paul among the children of the promise according to Isaac.

Gal 5:17 ταῦτα γὰρ ~~δέ~~ ἀλλήλοις ἀντίκειται, ἵνα μὴ ἂ ἐὰν θέλητε ταῦτα ποιῆτε.

δέ A C P 1241S, 1739 Ψ Chrys (pesh καί) hark 1611 Byz
γάρ *vg; **ℵ** 33, P46 B, D* F G d b

As discussed in Chapter 3, changing the connective particle avoids having a consequence (the ἵνα-clause) in what appears to be a confirmatory statement (signaled by γάρ).

Gal 5:21 φθόνοι ~~φόνου~~ μέθαι κῶμοι καὶ τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις,

φόνου A C 1241S, 1739 Ψ Chrys pesh hark 1611 Byz, (*vg *homicidia*); D F G d b
- P pc; **ℵ** 33, P46 B

The addition of murders (φόνου) strengthens the vice list.

Gal 5:24 οἱ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ~~Ἰησοῦ~~ τὴν σάρκα ἐσταύρωσαν

Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ A C 1241S, 1739 Ψ; (**ℵ*** κυρίου χ. ι.) 33, B
Χριστοῦ P, Chrys pesh hark 1611 Byz, *vg; P46, D F G d b

The addition of “Jesus” to “Christ” belongs to the earliest stages of the Eastern branch because it is found in the leading members of both Eastern sub-branches (A-C and 1739-Ψ) as well in their closest relatives (**ℵ**, 33 and B). Both expansion and contraction of references to

¹⁰³ METZGER 528.

Christ are found in the tradition; indeed, there are Eastern branch members that omit the “Jesus” (e.g., P, Byz).

Gal 6:2 Ἀλλήλων τὰ βάρη βαστάζετε καὶ οὕτως ~~ἀναπληρώσετε~~ ἀναπληρώσατε
τὸν νόμον τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

ἀναπληρώσατε A C 1241S, 1739 Ψ Chrys hark 1611 Byz; **Ⲛ** 33, D
ἀναπληρώσετε P46 B *pesh, F G b *vg

This change appears to be a scribal harmonization to the imperative mood of the preceding verb βαστάζετε.

Thirteen textual variants have been identified and analyzed for this stage of the transmission of the text. Compared to other places in the tradition, this number of textual variants is fairly low; for example, it is about half of the textual distance between B and its common ancestor with P46. Nevertheless, the scribes who transmitted the text up to this stage are not perfect. They tend to be influenced by textual harmonization or to make improvements in the theological substance of the text.

Textual harmonization appears to be a common source of textual variation at this stage. In particular, at Gal 1:3 the non-standard placement of the pronoun ἡμῶν is harmonized to Rom 1:3. At 1:17 the non-standard verb ἀπῆλθον is harmonized to more common ἀνήλθον in v.18. At 1:18 the numeral-noun word order is assimilated to that of 2:1. At 2:12, the singular ἦλθεν was conformed to the plural under the influence of ἐλθεῖν τινος earlier in the verse. At 4:3, the non-classical middle imperfect ἤμεθα was assimilated to the preceding active form. At 5:17 the change in the connective particle could be a local harmonization, though it could also

have been done to improve the flow of the discourse superficially. At Gal 6:2 the mood of the verb appears to be a harmonization to the mood of the preceding verb.

Some apparent harmonizations also perform other functions. For example, the change in the personal pronoun and corresponding verb from the second-person plural to the first-person plural in 4:28 could well be a harmonization based on v.31, but it could also have been motivated to make Paul's inclusion among the children of the promise explicit. The addition of "Jesus" to "Christ" at 5:24 could have been influenced by similar collocations through the epistle or as part of a scribal tendency to toy with these titles.

Nevertheless, the non-harmonistic changes seem theologically or homiletically motivated. For example, the change in the position of the pronoun at Gal 1:8 makes the statement more suitable for a standalone proof text. At 2:20, the change from "God and Christ" to "Son of God" appears to be theologically motivated (particularly anti-Patristic). Another change, to the diminutive *τεκνία* in 4:19, has the effect of increasing Paul's stature. The addition of murders (*φόνοι*) to the vice list of Gal 5:19-21 appears theologically motivated as it strengthens the list of the deeds of the flesh.

5.3.2 Stage γ

Stage γ relates to state of the text for the common ancestor of 1739 and the Byzantine text. According to the stemma, other descendents of this common ancestor include the Athos Codex Ψ , John Chrysostom's text in his commentary on Galatians, and the Syriac (Peshitta and Harklean) versions.

Gal 1:3 χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς **ἡμῶν** καὶ κυρίου **ἡμῶν** Ἰησοῦ
Χριστοῦ

καὶ κυρίου ὑμῶν 1739 pesh hark 1611 Byz, ×vg; P46 B, D F G d
καὶ κυρίου Chrys¹⁰⁴
ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου A P 1241S, Ψ¹⁰⁵; **ℵ** 33, b

This change reverses the transposition of the pronoun earlier in the Eastern branch.

There are two aspects to this change that suggest this was an intentional correction. First, this transposition goes against the normal transcriptional probabilities of harmonizing the greeting to Paul's standard form. Thus, the change seems unlikely to be an accidental coincidence.

Second, the non-standard word order is found in older forms of the text, including P46 B and the Western branch.

Another possibility is that the transposition of the pronoun to the standard Pauline order is so common that the occurrence in **ℵ**, 33, and A-P-1241S are three independent modifications. In this case, the reading of this stage of the text would not be a correction but a survival of a more primitive reading.

Gal 2:4 κατασκοπήσαι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν . . . ἵνα ἡμᾶς **καταδουλώσουσιν**
καταδουλώσωσιν,

καταδουλώσωσιν 1739; 33, P46, F G b d ×vg
καταδουλώσωνται Ψ 1611 Byz
καταδουλώσουσιν A C 1241S, **ℵ**, P46 B, D

The use of the future indicative after ἵνα is non-classical,¹⁰⁶ so it not surprising to see a variety of unrelated witnesses all modify the form of the verb to the more classical aorist

¹⁰⁴ Also 547 910 999 1319 1424 1448 1799 1874 1891 2147 2423.

¹⁰⁵ Including 056 131 876 1573 1836 1837 2125 2424.

¹⁰⁶ BDF 186-187 § 369(2).

subjunctive. The change in voice from the active to the middle occurs at a later stage on the road to the Byzantine text.

Gal 2:16 εἰδότες **δέ** ὅτι οὐ δικαιοῦται ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἔργων νόμου

δέ	Chrys; C 1241S, ℵ , B, D* F G b d ×vg
-	1739 Ψ pesh hark 1611 Byz; A P, 33, P46

As discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3, the motivation for the omission of the connective particle δέ is difficult to determine. It has the effect of creating a closer connection of this participial phrase to the preceding statement.

Gal 3:13 ~~ὅτι~~ γέγραπται **γάρ**: ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὁ κρεμάμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου,

γέγραπται γάρ	1739 Ψ Chrys pesh hark 1611; ℵ
ὅτι γέγραπται	A C 1241S, 33, P46 B, D* F G

This changes does not affect the sense, for both ὅτι and γάρ are causal conjunctions.

Even so, it does appear to be a harmonization to the γέγραπται γάρ formula, most recently found in v.10.

Gal 4:14 καὶ τὸν πειρασμὸν ὑμῶν **τὸν** ἐν τῇ σαρκί μου οὐκ ἐξουθενήσατε

τόν	1739 Ψ Chrys hark 1611 Byz; C P 1241S
-	A, ℵ 33, P46 B, D* F G

The agreement of 1739-Ψ-Byz with C-P-1241S against A might mean that the addition of the article occurred at an earlier stage and reversed in A, or it could mean that it was added twice independently. Without the article, the association of the prepositional phrase ἐν τῇ σαρκί μου is syntactically ambiguous. On the one hand, it could be construed with the preceding τὸν πειρασμὸν ὑμῶν with the meaning “and you did not disdain your trial in my

flesh.” On the other hand, it could be construed with the following verb οὐκ ἐξουθενήσατε with the meaning “as for your trial, you did not disdain it with my flesh.” Both constructions of the phrase are difficult, but only the former is sensical.¹⁰⁷ The addition of the article resolves this ambiguity in favor of the former possibility.

Gal 5:1 τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ ἡμῶς Χριστὸς ἡμῶς ἠλευθέρωσεν · στήκετε οὖν καὶ μὴ πάλιν ζυγῶ δουλείας ἐνέχεσθε.

Χριστὸς ἡμῶς 1739 Chrys hark 1611 Byz; C P 1241S, Marc
 ἡμῶς Χριστός A, **Ⲛ** 33, B, D* F G d b ×vg

Both modern-day exegetes and late antique scribes have been puzzled about how to understand this clause, and this transposition here is but the beginning of a cascade of changes to make this difficult verse more comprehensible. In particular, the critical text of Gal 5:1 has three features that have hindered the interpretation of this verse: its asyndeton, its dative phrase τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ, and its unusual word order. First, the asyndeton of the sentence is ambiguous as its connection to the discourse; this sentence could be either closely connected to the preceding verse,¹⁰⁸ or it could be the start of a new section of the letter.¹⁰⁹ Second, the dative phrase τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ is difficult to construe, and scholars are conflicted as to whether the dative here signify means,¹¹⁰ manner,¹¹¹ advantage,¹¹² destination,¹¹³ or goal.¹¹⁴ Third, the verb-

¹⁰⁷ LONGENECKER 191 suggests that it means something like, “and though my illness was a temptation for you [to reject me], you did not despise or disdain me,” by taking ἐν τῇ σαρκί μου as a reference to δι’ ἀσθένειαν τῆς σαρκὸς in the previous verse.

¹⁰⁸ Those who connect Gal 5:1 with 4:31 include: DE BOER 290; BONNARD 101; BRUCE 226; LÉGASSE 342-343; MARTYN 468;

¹⁰⁹ Those who consider Gal 5:1 to be the start of a new section include: BETZ 255; BORSE 178; BUSCEMI 493-494; DUNN 261; LONGENECKER 223-224; MATERA 180; MUSSNER 342; ROHDE 212; SCHLIER 163;

¹¹⁰ That is, “by or with freedom.” So BRUCE 226; BURTON 271, “by (bestowing) the freedom (spoken above).”

¹¹¹ This is, “freely,” used intensively. So BONNARD 101-102, “pour la liberté.”

¹¹² That is, “for (the benefit of) freedom.” So BDR 152 § 188 n.1; ROHDE 212, “zur Freiheit.”

¹¹³ That is, “into freedom.” So MARTYN 447, “into the realm of freedom.”

final word order is unusual and highly marked, so it is necessary to account for the position of the various pre-verbal constituents in the sentence.¹¹⁵ All of these possibilities are interrelated and a decision on one issue tends to affect the decision on another.

The word order of Gal 5:1a nicely fits the pragmatic “Topic - Focus - Verb - Remainder” template identified for ancient Greek.¹¹⁶ In this case, τῆ ἐλευθερίᾳ corresponds to the topic—what the sentence is about—and the article here indicates that it is anaphoric, pointing back to the freedom of the previous verse, namely, being a descendent of the free woman. In addition, Χριστός corresponds to the focus—the most informative part of the sentence—and the idea is that Christ, rather than someone or something else, is the one who liberates. The placement of the unemphatic pronoun ἡμᾶς, on the other hand, as a supportive constituent is determined by prosodic concerns, and it gravitates to the so-called Wackernagel “second position,” after the initial, stressed word of its intonation unit or colon.¹¹⁷ Thus, the placement of the pronoun ἡμᾶς suggests that the entire clause is a single intonation unit, and that the purpose of the pre-verbal placement of the topic τῆ ἐλευθερίᾳ is to switch the center of attention from the subject

¹¹⁴ That is, “for freedom, in order to be free.” So BETZ 255-256; BORSE 178, “zur Freiheit”; BUSCEMI 503, “per la libertà”; DE BOER 309 n.443; DUNN 262; LÉGASSE 367, “en vue de l’acquisition de la liberté”; LONGENECKER 224; MATERA 180; MUSSNER 342-343, “als Ziel die Freiheit des Menschen”; SCHLIER 163, “zur Freiheit.”

¹¹⁵ The default word order in Koine Greek is verb first, implying that preverbal elements are significant. See BDF 248 § 472.

¹¹⁶ Helma Dik, *Word Order in Ancient Greek: A Pragmatic Account of Word Order Variation in Herodotus* (ASCP 5; Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1995), 12; Stephen H. Levinsohn, “Self-Instruction Materials on Non-Narrative Discourse” (SIL International, 2008), 43, online: <http://www.sil.org/~levinsohns/NonNarr.pdf>, accessed June 5, 2010; Steven E. Runge, *A Discourse Grammar of the Greek New Testament: A Practical Introduction for Teaching & Exegesis* (Lexham Bible Reference Series; Bellingham, Wash.: Logos Research Systems, 2010), 226-239, esp. 228.

¹¹⁷ Jacob Wackernagel, “Über ein Gesetz der indogermanischen Wortstellung” in Jacob Wackernagel, *Kleine Schriften* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1953), 1-104; Eduard Fraenkel, “Kolon und Satz: Beobachtungen zur Gliederung des antiken Satz, I” in Eduard Fraenkel, *Kleine Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie* (vol. 1; Raccolta di studi e testi 95; Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1964), 73-92; idem, “Kolon und Satz: Beobachtungen zur Gliederung des antiken Satz, II” in Fraenkel, *Kleine Beiträge*, 93-130. For a treatment, informed by recent developments in functional linguistics, see David Michael Goldstein, “Wackernagel’s Law in Fifth-Century Greek” (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2010).

of 4:31 (“us”) to the state of freedom.¹¹⁸ Neither the asyndeton nor the topicalized dative phrase here indicates how strong of a break in the discourse lies between 4:31 and 5:1.

The word order of this transposition is less ambiguous. By placing ἡμᾶς after Χριστός, it marks Χριστός as the first constituent of its intonation unit, and it puts the dative phrase τῆ ἐλευθερίᾳ into its own intonation unit. This change in the prosody of the sentence, signaled by the position of the unemphatic ἡμᾶς, converts the dative phrase into a “strong topic,”¹¹⁹ and it has the effect of announcing a greater discontinuity in the subject of the discourse.¹²⁰ As a result, before the transposition of the pronoun ἡμᾶς, the word order of the sentence was ambiguous on the surface as to where the break in the discourse occurs, either right before or right after 5:1. After the transposition, the word order more clearly indicates that Gal 5:1 begins a new section of the letter. Thus, the transposition has the effect of reducing the ambiguity of this difficult verse, especially in understanding how this verse relates structurally to the rest of the letter.

Gal 5:14 ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς ~~σεαυτὸν~~ ἑαυτὸν.

ἑαυτὸν	1739 Chrys 1611 Byz; 1241S, P46
σεαυτὸν	A C, Ⲛ 33, B, D* F G

The loss of the initial aspirate and doubled consonants in later Greek pronunciation means that these two variants were pronounced the same by the fourth century.¹²¹ Thus, this change could merely be orthographic, a simple haplography of the *sigma*,¹²² or a reflection of

¹¹⁸ Levinsohn, “Self-Instruction Materials,” 49-50.

¹¹⁹ See Goldstein, “Wackernagel’s Law,” 81-82 and 121-122.

¹²⁰ See Goldstein, “Wackernagel’s Law,” 142.

¹²¹ Specifically, both ὡς σεαυτὸν and ὡς ἑαυτὸν would be pronounced as [oseafʹton]. See Allen, *Vox Graeca*, 53; Horrocks, *Greek*, 113.

¹²² BRUCE 239; BUSCEMI 527.

the practice—already begun during Roman times but more common in later Greek—of using forms of *ἑαυτοῦ* for the first and second person reflexive pronouns.¹²³

Gal 6:9 τὸ δὲ καλὸν ποιῶντες μὴ ~~ἐγκακῶμεν~~ ἐκκακῶμεν, καιρῷ γὰρ ἰδίῳ
θερίσομεν μὴ ἐκλυόμενοι.

ἐκκακῶμεν 1739 Ψ Chrys 1611 Byz; C 1241S, (F G ἐκκακήσωμεν)
ἐγκακῶμεν A P, **ℵ** 33, B, D* (>vg d b *deficiamus*)

The semantic difference between *ἐγκακέω* (“lose enthusiasm, be discouraged”) and *ἐκκακέω* (“lose heart”) is about as subtle as their difference in spelling.¹²⁴ The variant reading **μὴ ἐκκακῶμεν** appears to be occasioned by a phonetic or graphic harmonization to **μὴ ἐκλυόμενοι** (“get tired, give out”) in the following clause.¹²⁵

Gal 6:14 εἰ μὴ ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ . . . Χριστοῦ, δι’ οὗ ἐμοὶ κόσμος ἐσταύρωται
καγὼ **τῷ** κόσμῳ.

τῷ 1739 Ψ Chrys 1611 Byz; 1241S
- A C, **ℵ** 33, P46 B, D* F G

The omission of the article for uniquely identifiable referents, such as the world, serves to lend them additional prominence in the sentence.¹²⁶ Without the article on *κόσμῳ*, there are two constituents in the final verbless¹²⁷ clause that could be emphatic: the world or Paul himself, due to the explicit personal pronoun *καγὼ*. If the emphasis falls upon *κόσμῳ* in the clause, then Paul’s relationship to the world would be highlighted twice, first that the world has

¹²³ Robertson, *Grammar*, 688–689. Similarly, BRUCE 239; BUSCEMI 527. See also BDF 35 § 64(1).

¹²⁴ Compare BDAG “ἐγκακέω,” 272–273, with BDAG “ἐκκακέω,” 303. BURTON 344 considers the two forms to be synonymous.

¹²⁵ Pace BUSCEMI 568, who attributes the change to conformation with post-New Testament usage.

¹²⁶ Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, 162–165. So also BURTON 355: “The use of *κόσμος* and *κόσμῳ* without the article gives to both words a qualitative emphasis.”

¹²⁷ Presumably, there is an ellipsis of the verb *ἐσταύρωμαι*.

been crucified to him, and then it was to the world that Paul has been crucified. With the article on κόσμῳ, the information structure of the clause is less ambiguous—the emphasis falls on Paul via the term ἐγώ. Thus, this change has the effect of lending more prominence to Paul and reducing the ambiguity of the clause.

Gal 6:17 ἐγὼ γὰρ τὰ στίγματα τοῦ **κυρίου** Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματί μου βαστάζω.

κυρίου Ἰησοῦ	1739 hark 1611 Byz
κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ	D* F G; Chrys
κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ	Ⲛ; d b
κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ	pesh
Χριστοῦ	Ψ; P, Marc
Ἰησοῦ	A C 1241S, xvg, 33, P46 B

Although the addition of κυρίου is attested in several other witnesses in other branches of the textual transmission, this change appears to be independent of them, perhaps suggested by the use of κύριος (albeit in longer formulae) in vv.14 and 18.¹²⁸ This “edifying expansion”¹²⁹ does not have quite the anti-Separationist theological effect of the Western branch, which adds “Christ” to the text.

Some of the changes made by stage γ relate more to the form of the Greek than its meaning. For example, the change at 2:4 in the mood of the verb after ἵνα is Atticizing, but the change at 5:14 appears to be in the direction of a more vernacular Greek. Hardly affecting the meaning are the harmonizations at Gal 3:12, 6:9, and 6:17.

¹²⁸ BUSCEMI 599.

¹²⁹ METZGER 530.

In at least three cases, the introduced textual variants have the effect of reducing the ambiguity of the text. At Gal 4:14, the placement of the article disambiguates how a prepositional phrase is to be construed; the word order change at Gal 5:1 affects how the asyndeton is to be understood; and the addition of the article at Gal 6:14 unambiguously places the prominence on Paul. More difficult to assess, however, is the omission of the particle $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ in 2:16. This could have been done to have a closer connection to the previous verse, or it could just be accidental.

For Gal 1:3, it is possible that the position of the pronoun could be the result of a correction to an older form of the text, but in the absence of analogous behavior at this stage of the textual transmission, it seems best to view this reading as a survival of an older reading.

Among these eleven textual changes, there is little evidence of intentional interference with the substance of the text. The relative paucity of textual changes and the lack of substantive modifications of the text's meaning even among these changes suggest that the stage that has produced the common ancestor of 1739 and the Byzantine text was carefully copied, with only minimal and usually clarifying editorial intervention into the text.

5.3.3 Stage ψ

Stage ψ relates to the text of the common ancestor of the Athos Codex Ψ and the Byzantine text. Also included here are the text of John Chrysostom and the Syriac versions.

Gal 1:4 ὅπως ἐξέλιται ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος αἰῶνος πονηροῦ

τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος αἰῶνος πονηροῦ Ψ Chrys (hark) 1611 Byz; D F G d b ×vg
τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος πονηροῦ 1739, A P 1241S, **Σ** 33, P46 B ×pesh

As discussed earlier with respect to the Western prototype, this transposition changes the phrase from the syntactically ambiguous τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος πονηροῦ (either “the age of the present evil one” or, more usually, “the present age of evil”) to the unambiguous τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος αἰῶνος πονηροῦ “the present age of evil,” with an anti-Gnostic or Marcionite theological effect of foreclosing a possible interpretation that the present age is under the rule of an evil demiurge. The agreement here with the Western branch of the text could be coincidental or it could reflect an awareness and adoption of the Western reading.

Gal 1:18a Ἔπειτα μετὰ ~~τρία~~ ἔτη τρία ἀνήλθον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα

μετὰ ἔτη τρία Ψ Chrys hark 1611 Byz, ×vg; P46 B, D F G d b
μετὰ τρία ἔτη A P 1241S, 1739 pesh; **Σ** 33

This change reverses the transposition at an earlier stage of the transmission of the text, in assimilation to the numeral-noun order of 2:1 διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν. Although it is possible that this change is itself an independent harmonization to the noun-number order of ἡμέρας δεκαπέντε later in v.18, the fact that this change too agrees with Western witnesses (cf. 1:4) may suggest contamination as a factor for this stage of the transmission.

Gal 1:18b ἱστορήσαι **Κηφᾶν Πέτρον** καὶ ἐπέμεινα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡμέρας δεκαπέντε,

Πέτρον	Ψ Chrys hark 1611 Byz; P,D F G d b ×vg
Κηφᾶς	1739 ×pesh, A 1241S, Σ 33, P46 B

This substitution replaces the Aramaic name Cephas with the more accessible Greek name Peter,¹³⁰ though the occurrences of the name Cephas in Gal 2:11 and 14 are not substituted until the next stage. As with the changes at vv.4 and 18a, this change is also attested among Western witnesses.

Gal 2:4 κατασκοπήσαι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν . . . ἵνα ἡμᾶς **καταδουλώσωσιν**
καταδουλώσωνται,

καταδουλώσωνται	Ψ 1611 Byz
καταδουλώσωσιν	1739; 33, P46, F G b d ×vg
καταδουλώσουσιν	A C 1241S, Σ , P46 B, D

This variant concerns the change in voice from active to middle, the change in mood having occurred at a previous stage of the transmission. The use of the middle voice here suggests that the false brothers who intend to enslave Paul's party are doing so for their own benefit,¹³¹ that is, so that Paul's party would be enslaved to them. This change has the effect of heightening the self-interest of the false brothers and to the extent that they would be identified with Jews, this change is anti-Jewish in character.¹³²

¹³⁰ METZGER 522.

¹³¹ LSJ “καταδουλώω,” 890; also LONGENECKER 52. BUSCEMI 150 understands this change as polemical.

¹³² Pace LONGENECKER 52, who merely sees this as a change to the more common voice for this verb.

Gal 2:18 εἰ γὰρ ἃ κατέλυσα ταῦτα πάλιν οἰκοδομῶ, παραβάτην ἑμαυτὸν **συνιστάνω συνίστημι**.

συνίστημι Ψ Chrys 1611 Byz; 1241S
συνιστάνω 1739, A C, **ℵ** 33, P46 B, D* F G

This change replaces the Hellenistic form συνιστάνω with the classical συνίστημι.¹³³

Gal 3:1 Ὡς ἀνόητοι Γαλάται, τίς ὑμᾶς ἐβάσκανεν **τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μὴ πείθεσθαι**, οἷς κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς προεγράφη ἐσταυρωμένος;

τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μὴ πείθεσθαι Ψ hark 1611 Byz; C 1241S
- Chrys x pesh; 1739, A, **ℵ** 33, B, D* F G b d xvg

The infinitive phrase, “from obeying the truth,” was obtained from a similar question in Gal 5:7 τίς ὑμᾶς ἐνέκοψεν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ με πείθεσθαι (“who blocked you from obeying the truth”) and added to the question of 3:1, “who bewitched you?”¹³⁴ This reading was known as a variant to Jerome,¹³⁵ which suggests that stage Ψ goes back at least to the fourth century.

Gal 3:29 εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς Χριστοῦ, ἄρα τοῦ Ἀβραάμ σπέρμα ἐστέ, **καὶ** κατ' ἐπαγγελίαν κληρονόμοι.

καί Ψ Chrys pesh hark 1611 Byz; 1241S, F G
- 1739, A C, **ℵ** 33, B, D* d b xvg

The addition of καί clarifies the function of the appositional phrase κατ' ἐπαγγελίαν κληρονόμοι as being additive, namely, that those (Galatians) who are of Christ are also heirs according to the promise in addition to being the seed of Abraham. Though this change is also paralleled in two Western witnesses, F and G, it appears to be independently motivated.

¹³³ BURTON 131; BUSCEMI 218; LONGENECKER 91.

¹³⁴ BETZ 131 n.35; BUSCEMI 229; LONGENECKER 99.

¹³⁵ BUSCEMI 229 citing Jerome, *In Gal.* 1.3 (PL 26.373 = CCL 77A.68). See also MEISER 122 n.185.

Gal 4:6 Ὅτι δὲ ἐστε υἱοί, ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς καρδίας ~~ἡμῶν~~ ὑμῶν κράζον· ἀββα ὁ πατήρ.

ὑμῶν Ψ pesh hark 1611 Byz; 33
ἡμῶν 1739, A C P 1241S, **Σ**, P46 B, Marc D* F G d b ×vg

The modification from ἡμῶν to ὑμῶν is a harmonization that reduce the harshness of the shift from the second-person plural in the causal clause (“because you are sons”) to the first-person plural in the main clause (“God sent the spirit of his sons into our hearts crying ‘Abba, Father’”),¹³⁶ despite the implicit exclusion of Paul getting the spirit of God’s son.

Gal 4:7 εἰ δὲ υἱός, καὶ κληρονόμος ~~διὰ~~ θεοῦ διὰ Χριστοῦ.

θεοῦ διὰ Χριστοῦ Chrys pesh hark 1611 1505 2495 Byz; P 1241S, D d
κληρονόμος μὲν θεοῦ, συγκληρονόμος δὲ Χριστοῦ Ψ
διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ 1739^C
διὰ θεοῦ 1739*^{vid}, A C, **Σ** 33, P46 B, F G b ×vg

The full reading for Ψ, ostensibly derived from the same phrase in Rom 8:17,¹³⁷ includes references to both God and Christ, and thus it seems best to assume the existence of a reference to Christ in its exemplar. The motivation for the addition of Christ into this sentence is the apparent difficulty with having God be the agent (διὰ), rather than the source of the inheritance.¹³⁸ This textual change may also have an anti-Judaic effect in denigrating the Law. By specifying that the inheritance is through Christ (rather than through God), it implicitly sets up a contrast with another means opposed to Christ, namely, the Law—a contrast exploited by

¹³⁶ BETZ 210 n.86; BUSCEMI 365; METZGER 526; LONGENECKER 161.

¹³⁷ BUSCEMI 366; METZGER 527.

¹³⁸ BETZ 212 n.99; METZGER 528. BUSCEMI 366 notes that Paul has no problem with naming God as an agent, citing Gal 1:9 and 1 Cor 1:9.

Theodoret of Cyrus as follows: “For not every son is an heir too, but you are both a son and an heir, and you turned out to be both through Christ, not through the Law.”¹³⁹

Gal 4:8 Ἄλλὰ τότε μὲν οὐκ εἰδότες θεὸν ἐδουλεύσατε τοῖς **μὴ** φύσει **μὴ** οὖσιν θεοῖς·

τοῖς μὴ φύσει οὖσιν

Ψ Chrys 1611 Byz; F G

τοῖς τῆ φύσει οὖσιν

Marc¹⁴⁰

τοῖς μὴ οὖσιν

K 1319, d b

τοῖς φύσει μὴ οὖσιν

1739, A C 1241S, **ℵ** 33, P46 B, D

The placement of the negative particle *μή* can be a clue to where the emphasis of the sentence lies, particularly when the negative particle precedes a pre-verbal constituent.¹⁴¹

More specifically, the transposition of the negative *μή* to the beginning of the participial clause has the effect of emphasizing *φύσει* (“by nature”).¹⁴² This change also has the effect of reducing the ambiguity of the pre-verbal negative particle.

Gal 4:14 καὶ τὸν πειρασμὸν **ὑμῶν μου** τὸν ἐν τῇ σαρκί μου οὐκ ἐξουθενήσατε

τὸν πειρασμὸν μου

Ψ Chrys pesh hark 1611 Byz; C, P46

τὸν πειρασμὸν ὑμῶν

1739, A, **ℵ** 33, B, D* F G d b xvg

The small change in the pronoun—from “your” to “my”—has a large effect. Instead of not disdaining *their own* trial with Paul’s flesh (presumably sickness, cf. v. 13), which scribes

¹³⁹ MEISER 195, citing Theodoret, *In Gal.* (PG 82, 488A): «Ὡστε οὐκ ἔτι εἶ δοῦλος, ἀλλὰ υἱός· εἰ δὲ υἱός, καὶ κληρονόμος Θεοῦ διὰ Χριστοῦ.» Οὐ γὰρ πᾶς υἱός καὶ κληρονόμος. Σὺ δὲ καὶ υἱός καὶ κληρονόμος· ἔτυχες δὲ τούτων διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὐ διὰ τοῦ νόμου.

¹⁴⁰ Schmid, *Marcion*, 116, proposes that the Tertullian’s quotation in *Marc.* 5.4.5 of *qui in natura sunt* reflects a corruption of τοῖς μὴ φύσει οὖσιν into τοῖς τῆ φύσει οὖσιν.

¹⁴¹ See generally Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, 48-53.

¹⁴² Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, 49: “One way of specifically bringing a nonverbal constituent into focus while negating it is to place it immediately after the negative particle and before the verb.”

may have found to be obscure,¹⁴³ the Galatians did not disdain *Paul's* trial in his own flesh. This change has the effect of highlighting Paul's suffering for the sake of those he evangelizes.

Gal 4:31 ~~διό ἄρα~~, ἀδελφοί, οὐκ ἐσμὲν παιδίσκης τέκνα ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐλευθέρως.

ἄρα	Chrys 1611 Byz; A C P 1241S
-	Ψ ¹⁴⁴
διό	1739, ⚭ 33, B, Marc ¹⁴⁵ D*

Although διό and ἄρα are both inferential particles, they have somewhat different connotations and they relate to the structure of the discourse in somewhat different ways. According to Stephen H. Levinsohn's analysis of inferential particles, the particle διό constrains the interpretation of its clause as inferential and continuative (like the conjunction καί), while the particle ἄρα constrains the interpretation of its clause as inferential and as a consequence of what was stated earlier.¹⁴⁶ In other words, διό is a more appropriate particle within a section,¹⁴⁷ while ἄρα is more appropriate for concluding the section.¹⁴⁸ With the textual change at 5:1 in the previous stage of the textual transmission to support the interpretation that it begins a new section, the sentence in 4:31 has now become the concluding sentence of its

¹⁴³ BUSCEMI 413; METZGER 527; MUSSNER 307 n.71. Both BETZ 224-225 n.56 and LONGENECKER 191 claim that τὸν πειρασμὸν ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ σαρκί μου is "grammatically awkward," but its grammar and syntax seem straightforward enough (indeed, BUSCEMI 424 analyzes these phrases as proleptic)—it is the meaning of "your trial in my flesh" that is unclear.

¹⁴⁴ The lack of an inferential connective particle in Ψ may be due to an accidental omission of ἄρα due to a leap from the first *alpha* of ἄρα to the initial *alpha* of ἀδελφοί.

¹⁴⁵ Schmid, *Marcion*, 130, is uncertain whether Tertullian, *Marc.* 5.4.8, *propter quod*, reflects διό or ἄρα (οὖν) but favors the former.

¹⁴⁶ Stephen H. Levinsohn, "'Therefore' or 'Wherefore': What's the Difference?" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society for Biblical Literature; San Francisco, November 2011), 3-6; online: <http://www.sil.org/~levinsohns/InferentialsPaper.pdf>, accessed February 6, 2012.

¹⁴⁷ To be sure, BURTON 269 argues that διό may be used for summations, but his examples are not compelling. For example, διό is found at the end of a section at 2 Cor 12:10, but it seems that the actual conclusion begins at v.9 with "Ἠδιστα οὖν μάλλον καυχῆσομαι. His other example, 1 Thess 5:11 does not summarize its section but provides a parenthetic inference at the end of the section.

¹⁴⁸ LONGENECKER 218.

section 4:21-31, making the διό a mismatch for its new place in the discourse.¹⁴⁹ The substitution of ἄρα for διό provides a more suitable inferential particle for this new structure of Galatians, where 5:1 begins, rather than ends, a major section of the letter.

Gal 5:10 ὁ δὲ ταρασσῶν ὑμᾶς βαστάσει τὸ κρίμα, ὅστις ~~ἐάν~~ ἄν ᾖ.

ἄν	Ψ Chrys 1611 Byz; D F G
ἐάν	1739, A C 1241S, ℵ 33, P46 B

The change from ἐάν to ἄν is in the direction of using a more classical form for this particle after an indefinite pronoun.¹⁵⁰ Although the same change occurs in the Western text, it is unnecessary to appeal to contamination for this probably coincidental change.

Gal 5:14 ὁ γὰρ πᾶς νόμος ἐν ἐνὶ λόγῳ ~~πεπλήρωται~~ πληροῦται, ἐν τῷ ἠγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς ἑαυτόν.

πληροῦται	Ψ Chrys 1611 Byz; 1241S, D* F G d b xvg
πεπλήρωται	1739, A C, ℵ 33, P46 B

The change from the perfect tense πεπλήρωται (“has been fulfilled”) to the present πληροῦται (“is being fulfilled”) is also paralleled in the Western text. The perfect tense is ambiguous as to whether it is gnomic or referring to a specific event in the act that has a continuing effect. Though Paul may have intended the latter possibility in Christ’s own fulfillment of the law, those who understood it as gnomic changed tense of the verb to the more appropriate present tense.

¹⁴⁹ The distinctive, inferential particle οὖν in 5:1b is a very appropriate choice to end a discourse section.

¹⁵⁰ See BDAG “ἐάν,” 267-268; BDF 57 § 107; LSJ “ἐάν,” 465.

Gal 5:17a ταῦτα δὲ ἀλλήλοις ἀντίκειται ἀλλήλοις,

ἀντίκειται ἀλλήλοις
ἀλλήλοις ἀντίκειται

Ψ Chrys pesh hark 1611 Byz; **ℵ**, P46
1739, A C P 1241S, 33, B, D* F G d b ×vg

The movement of the reciprocal pronoun ἀλλήλοις to after the verb has the effect of de-emphasizing it. This change may be a consequence of an earlier change in the connective particle. With the mid-to-low level discontinuity signaled by the particle δέ,¹⁵¹ the verb ἀντίκειται appears to introduce a new, distinct point, namely, that the flesh and the spirit are actually in opposition to each other, instead of merely being against (κατά) each other.

Gal 5:17b ἵνα μὴ ἂ ἐάν ἔν ἄν θέλητε ταῦτα ποιῆτε.

ἂ ἄν	Ψ 1611 Byz; C ^c , (d b ×vg <i>quaecumque</i>)
ἄ	Chrys; 1739, C*
ἂ ἐάν	B ^c , ℵ , A 1241S
ἄν	B*
ὁ ἄν	D* F G

Although there are many other readings for this part of the verse, the Hellenistic particle ἐάν after a relative pronoun was substituted with a more classical ἄν as this stage of the transmission of the text.

¹⁵¹ See generally Black, *Sentence Conjunctions*, 142-178.

Gal 5:19 φανερά δέ ἐστὶν τὰ ἔργα τῆς σαρκός, ἅτινά ἐστιν **μοιχεία** πορνεία
ἀκαθαρσία ἀσέλγεια

μοιχεία πορνεία Chrys hark 1611 Byz; D*
μοιχεῖαι πορνεῖαι F G d b
πορνεία μοιχεία Ψ
πορνεία pesh; 1739, A C P 1241S, **ℵ** 33, B, Marc

The addition of adultery (μοιχεία) to a list of the deeds of the flesh serves to strengthen the representation of sexual vices.¹⁵² The fact that this addition is also paralleled in Western witnesses is suggestive of a Western influence on the text at this stage of the transmission.

Gal 5:20ab εἰδωλολατρία φαρμακεία ἔχθραι, ~~ἔρις ἔρεις~~ ζήλος ~~ζήλοι~~ θυμοί,
ἐριθειαι διχοστασῖαι αἰρέσεις

ἔρεις Ψ Chrys Byz^{pt}; C, P, 1241S, **ℵ**, B, D*
ἔρις hark 1611 Byz^{pt}; 1739, A, 33, F G

ζήλοι Ψ Chrys hark 1611 Byz; C 1241S, **ℵ**, Marc b ×vg
ζήλους F G
ζήλος 1739, P, 33, B, D* d

The change from the singular ζήλος (“jealousy”) to the plural ζήλοι (“jealousies”) appears to have been triggered by the following plural θυμοί (“angers”).¹⁵³ This also appears to be the case for the change from the singular ἔρις (“discord”) to the plural ἔρεις (“discords”), though the itacism of the ει diphthong in the plural form, which became to be pronounced identically to the singular, may only indicate that this is an orthographic variant.

¹⁵² See the discussion above on this variant in the Western branch.

¹⁵³ BUSCEMI 528; BURTON 304.

Gal 6:3 εἰ γὰρ δοκεῖ τις εἶναι τι μηδὲν ὄν, ἑαυτὸν φρεναπατᾶ ἑαυτόν.

ἑαυτὸν φρεναπατᾶ	Ψ pesh hark 1611 Byz; D F G d b ×vg
φρεναπατᾶ ἑαυτόν	1739 Chrys, A C 1241S, Σ 33, P46 B

This is another reading that agrees with Western witnesses, in which the fronting of the reflexive pronoun ἑαυτόν emphasizes the self-deception of the one who falsely considers himself important.

Gal 6:12 Ὅσοι θέλουσιν εὐπροσωπῆσαι ἐν σαρκί, οὗτοι ἀναγκάζουσιν ὑμᾶς περιτέμνεσθαι, μόνον ἵνα μὴ τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μὴ διώκωνται.

μὴ τῷ σταυρῷ	Ψ Chrys hark 1611 Byz; F G
μὴ διώκωνται	pesh; 1739, A C 1241S, Σ 33, P46 B, D* d b ×vg

The placement of the negative particle μὴ can be a clue to where the emphasis of the sentence lies.¹⁵⁴ More specifically, when a negative particle precedes a pre-verbal constituent, that constituent is emphasized.¹⁵⁵ Thus, the variant reading with μὴ at the beginning of the clause places the emphasis on the cross of Christ. When the negative particle precedes the verb, on the contrary, it is ambiguous whether the verb or the pre-verbal constituent bears the emphasis.¹⁵⁶ In this case where the variant reading with μὴ is before the final verb διώκωνται, the word order does not specify whether the emphasis falls on the verb or on the cross of Christ. The transposition at this stage in the transmission of the text resolves the ambiguity of the inherited reading in favor of Christ's cross.

¹⁵⁴ See generally Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, 48-53.

¹⁵⁵ Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, 49.

¹⁵⁶ Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, 48.

Gal 6:15 οὔτε γὰρ περιτομή τί ~~ἔστιν~~ **ἰσχύει** οὔτε ἀκροβυστία ἀλλὰ καινή κτίσις.

ἰσχύει	Ψ Chrys hark 1611 Byz; b xvg
ἔστιν	1739, A C 1241S, ℵ 33, P46 B, D* F G d

The substitution of the verb is an apparent harmonization to Gal 5:6 ἐν γὰρ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ οὔτε περιτομή τι ἰσχύει οὔτε ἀκροβυστία.¹⁵⁷ The change of the verb from ἔστιν (“is”) to ἰσχύει (“is in force”) strengthens the statement. Interestingly, Gal 5:6 has been the source of another popular harmonization, namely, the addition of the phrase ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. This addition, in fact, will occur at the next stage of the transmission of the text.

The twenty-one textual changes identified for stage **ψ** affect both the form and the substance of the text. In terms of form, some of the changes reflect a more classical idiom at 2:19 (συνίστημι not συνιστάνω) and both 5:10 and 5:17b (ἄν not ἐάν).¹⁵⁸ Reduction of ambiguity is still a source of textual variation at 1:4 (position of adjective), 3:29 (apposition), 4:8 (position of negative); 6:12 (position of negative). Some textual changes appear to clean up after the effects of earlier changes to text: 4:31 (different inferential particle), 5:17a (word order). Harmonization continues to play a large role, in about a quarter of the variations: 1:18 (word order, to 2:1), 3:1 (to 5:7), 4:6 (grammatical person), 5:20ab (ἔρεις ζῆλοι), and 6:15 (ἰσχύει from 5:6).

In terms of substance, the introduced variants are more common, but their theological effects are diverse. The textual variants at 2:4 and 4:7 are anti-Jewish in effect. Paul’s stature as the suffering apostle is elevated by the change at 4:14. The change at 1:4 could be anti-dualist

¹⁵⁷ BETZ 319 n.77; BUSCEMI 598.

¹⁵⁸ Gal 6:7 still reads ἐάν, however.

(i.e. anti-Marcionite or anti-Gnostic), while the addition of adultery to 5:14 makes the vice list more homiletically useful.

A number of the textual changes at this stage are paralleled in Western witnesses: 1:4 (word order), 1:18a (word order), 1:18b (Peter), 5:14 (πληροῦται); 6:3 (word order). None of these are so striking as to suggest a genetic relationship, and they seem to represent coincidental improvements to the text.

5.3.4 Stage σ

Stage σ relates to the state of the text for the common ancestor of the Byzantine text and the Harklean group (hark 1611 1505 2495). Also included here are the text of John Chrysostom and the Peshitta, which is mixed with older readings however.

Gal 1:10 εἰ γὰρ ἔτι ἀνθρώποις ἤρεσκον, Χριστοῦ δοῦλος οὐκ ἂν ἦμην.

γάρ	Chrys pesh hark 1611 1505 2495 Byz
-	Ψ 1739, A P 1241S, Ⲭ 33, P46 B, D* F G d b xvg

The addition of the connective particle γάρ provides a more explicit indication of the connection between this statement than the asyndeton of the older form of the text.¹⁵⁹ More particularly, it indicates that Paul's being a slave of Christ answers the rhetorical question in v.10b as to whether he is a people-pleaser.

¹⁵⁹ BETZ 56 n.116.

Gal 1:12 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐγὼ παρὰ ἀνθρώπου παρέλαβον αὐτὸ ~~οὐδέ οὔτε~~ ἐδιδάχθην,

οὔτε	pesh hark 1611 1505 2495 Byz; P46 B
οὐδέ	Chrys; Ψ 1739, A P 1241S, ℵ 33, D* F G

There is a difference in nuance between the two readings, and the substitution of οὔτε for οὐδέ tends to indicate that receiving a tradition and being taught are synonyms for the same event.¹⁶⁰

Gal 2:11 Ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν ~~Κηφᾶς Πέτρος~~ εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν, κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῷ ἀντέστην

Πέτρος	Chrys hark 1611 1505 2495 Byz; D F G d
Κηφᾶς	pesh; Ψ 1739, A C P 1241S, ℵ 33, B, b xvg

Here, the Aramaic name Cephas is replaced with the more accessible Greek name Peter, a change also attested among Western witnesses.

Gal 2:14a εἶπον τῷ ~~Κηφᾶ Πέτρῳ~~ ἔμπροσθεν πάντων ·

Πέτρῳ	Chrys hark 1611 1505 2495 Byz; D F G d
Κηφᾶ	pesh; Ψ 1739, A C P 1241S, ℵ 33, B, b xvg

As with the variant at 2:11, the Greek name Peter again replaces the Aramaic name Cephas, a change also attested among Western witnesses.

¹⁶⁰ After a negative particle, οὐδέ adds another negative thought while οὔτε subdivides the earlier negative thought. See the discussion in Chapter 3.

Gal 2:14b εἰ σὺ Ἰουδαῖος ὑπάρχων ἔθνικῶς ζῆς καὶ οὐχὶ Ἰουδαϊκῶς ζῆς,

ἔθνικῶς ζῆς Chrys pesh hark 1611 1505 2495 Byz; D
Ἰουδαϊκῶς ζῆς Ψ 1739, A C P 1241S, **Σ** 33, B, F G

The transposition of the verb ζῆς before the phrase καὶ οὐχὶ Ἰουδαϊκῶς tends to de-emphasize the phrase because it is no longer pre-verbal.¹⁶¹ This has the effect of lending relatively more prominence to ἔθνικῶς, perhaps to underscore that Peter too had been living like a gentile.

Gal 2:14c πῶς τί τὰ ἔθνη ἀναγκάζεις ἰουδαΐζειν;

τί Chrys hark 1611 1505 2495 Byz
πῶς Ψ 1739, A C P 1241S, **Σ** 33, P46 B, D* F G d b xvg

The interrogative πῶς (“how”) has connotations of surprise and disapproval (e.g. Gal 4:9; 1 Cor 15:12).¹⁶² The interrogative τί (“why”), on the other hand, presupposes the truth of the assertion, namely, that Cephas had been pressuring the gentiles at Antioch to be Torah-observant. This substitution slightly strengthens the Judaizing valence of the passage and is therefore slightly more anti-Jewish in effect.

¹⁶¹ Stephen H. Levinsohn, “Los rasgos discursivos comparativos aplicados a la traducción de Gálatas,” 35; online: http://www.recursosteologicos.org/Documents/Galatas_traducion_discursivo.pdf; accessed June 1, 2010.

¹⁶² BDAG “πῶς 1aβ,γ” 901. Also BURTON 114.

Gal 3:1 . . . , οἷς κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς προεγράφη ἐν ὑμῖν
ἔσταυρωμένος;

ἐν ὑμῖν Chrys hark 1611 1505 2495 Byz; D F G d b
- x^pesh; Ψ 1739, A C 1241S, **ℵ** 33, B, x^vg

Also paralleled by Western witnesses, this addition makes the image more vivid: “to whom Jesus Christ was visually portrayed as crucified among you.”¹⁶³

Gal 3:17 διαθήκην προκεκυρωμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς Χριστὸν ὁ . . . νόμος οὐκ
ἀκυροῖ

εἰς Χριστὸν Chrys pesh hark 1611 1505 2495 Byz; D F G d
- x^pesh; 1739 Ψ, A C 1241S, **ℵ** 33, P46 B, b x^vg

This addition is also found among Western witnesses and it clarifies that the previously ratified covenant was for Christ. As discussed earlier, this change is anti-Jewish in effect by enhancing a supersessionist understanding of the text.

Gal 3:21 εἰ γὰρ ἐδόθη νόμος ὁ δυνάμενος ζωοποιῆσαι, ὄντως ἄν ἐκ νόμου ~~ἄν~~ ἦν ἡ
δικαιοσύνη ·

ὄντως ἄν Chrys 1611 1505 2495 Byz
ἐκ νόμου ἄν A C 1241S, B
ἦν ἄν 1739, **ℵ** 33, P46
- Ψ, D* F G

The transposition of the clausal particle ἄν to the second position of the apodosis makes the word order more standard and clarifies that ὄντως indeed does not belong to the protasis.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶³ See the discussion above for the same variant in the Western branch.

¹⁶⁴ See the discussion of this variant in Chapter 3.

Gal 4:15a ποῦ τίς οὖν ὁ μακαρισμὸς ὑμῶν;

τίς Chrys hark 1611 1505 2495 Byz; D d b
ποῦ xresh; Ψ 1739, A C 1241S, **§** 33, P46 B, F G xvg

Paralleled in some Western witnesses (D d b), this is another substitution of an interrogative (see 2:14b), this time from “where” to “what” or “who.” If “who” is meant (that is, “So who is your blessing?”), then the question would presume that Paul is the answer. Thus, this change has the effect of enhancing Paul’s stature.¹⁶⁵

Gal 4:15b μαρτυρῶ γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι εἰ δυνατὸν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὑμῶν ἐξορύξαντες
ἄν ἐδώκατέ μοι.

ἐξορύξαντες ἄν Chrys 1611 1505 2495 Byz
ἐδώκατε ἄν μοι 1241S
- Ψ 1739, A C, **§** 33, P46 B, D F G

The lack of ἄν in a counterfactual statement is non-classical,¹⁶⁶ and this addition adds the particle in the second position of the apodosis.¹⁶⁷

Gal 4:18 καλὸν δὲ τὸ ζηλοῦσθαι ἐν καλῷ πάντοτε καὶ μὴ μόνον ἐν τῷ παρεῖναί
με πρὸς ὑμᾶς.

τό Chrys 1611 1505 2495 Byz; D F G
- 1739, A C 1241S, **§** 33, B

Also attested among Western witnesses, the addition of the article τό makes it clear that the following word is an infinitive rather than the homophonous indicative ζηλοῦσθε,

¹⁶⁵ BURTON 243, however, posits an “unintentional clerical corruption, ΠΟ being converted into ΤΙΣ, and Υ omitted to make sense,” but this sequence of events seems rather far-fetched.

¹⁶⁶ BDF 182 § 360(1). Also BURTON 244.

¹⁶⁷ The placement of ἄν in 1241S implies that ἐξορύξαντες belongs to its own intonation unit as a temporal frame rather than an attendant circumstances participle.

which is the actual reading of B, **Σ**, and 33.¹⁶⁸ As for the function of the article, it is anaphoric,¹⁶⁹ referring back to the statement ζηλοῦσιν ὑμᾶς οὐ καλῶς in v.17.

Gal 5:1 τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ ἧ Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ἠλευθέρωσεν στήκετε οὖν καὶ μὴ πάλιν ζυγῶ δουλείας ἐνέχεσθε.

τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ ἧ	Chrys pesh hark 1611 1505 2495 Byz
τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ	Ψ 1739, A C P 1241S, Σ 33, B, D*
ἧ ἐλευθερίᾳ	Marc ¹⁷⁰ F G (d b ×vg <i>qua</i>)

-	Chrys hark 1611 1505 2495 Byz; P, D d b ×vg
οὖν	×pesh; Ψ 1739, A C 1241S, Σ 33, B, F G

With the addition of the relative pronoun ἧ, the problematic dative τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ can now be construed as a locative with στήκετε as “on the freedom with which Christ freed us, stand and do not be subject again to a yoke of slavery.” It is possible that this reading is a conflation of the Eastern and Western branch readings with just the article and relative pronoun, respectively. In this new syntactic configuration, the inferential particle οὖν is out of place and deleted.

Gal 5:4 κατηγορήθητε ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ,

τοῦ	Chrys 1611 1505 2495 Byz; 1739, A 1241S, 33
-	Ψ, C, Σ , P46 B, D* F G

The lack of coherence in the inclusion of the article before Χριστοῦ, suggests that its addition (or omission) occurred multiple times in the transmission of the text. Indeed, with the recent reference to Christ in v.1, the use of an article here in v.4 to point back to v.1 may seem

¹⁶⁸ For more details, see the discussion in Chapter 3.

¹⁶⁹ BDF 205-206 § 399(1).

¹⁷⁰ For Marcion as a witness to this reading, see the discussion above for the Western branch reading.

natural, particularly if 5:1 was construed as the beginning of a new section of the letter rather than the end of an old section. In other words, the addition of an article here is a clue to how scribes understood the structure of the epistle around 5:1—those that understood 5:1 to start a new section would be motivated to mark this understanding by placing an anaphoric article on Χριστοῦ in v.4.

Gal 5:24 οἱ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ~~Ἰησοῦ~~ τὴν σάρκα ἐσταύρωσαν

Χριστοῦ Chrys pesh hark 1611 Byz; P, P46, D F G d b ×vg
 Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ 1739 Ψ, A C 1241S, (N* κυρίου χ. ι.) 33, B

The deletion of Ἰησοῦ after Χριστοῦ reverses a change earlier in the transmission of the text. Although both expansion and contraction of references to Christ are found in the tradition, it is striking that this deletion is also paralleled among Western witnesses, suggesting some low-level correction of the text by reference to a Western text.

The fifteen textual variants introduced at stage σ show more significant intervention into the text, albeit over fewer variation units than the previous stage. Many of these improve the clarity of the text, such as the use of the name “Peter” (2:11 and 2:14a), the standard placement of the particle ἄν (3:21 and 4:15b), the addition of γάρ at 1:10 to reduce the ambiguity of the asyndeton, and the addition of an article with a homophonous infinitive (4:18). Similarly, the function of the obscure dative of 5:1 is clarified by adding a relative pronoun that makes the dative phrase into a complement of the verb στήκετε. In four places, the text is strengthened to become more forceful or vivid (1:12, 2:14b, 2:14c, 3:1). Two of these changes, at 5:1 and 5:4, belong to a cascade of changes over the infamously obscure 5:1.

Two theological effects among the variant readings are detectable at this stage. First, there is a set of anti-Judaic textual changes (2:14b, 2:14c, and 3:17). Second, there is an attempt to aggrandize Paul's stature (4:15a).

Half of the changes are paralleled in Western witnesses, and at least three are significant, those at 3:1 (addition of ἐν ὑμῖν), 3:17 (addition of εἰς Χριστόν), and 5:24 (omission of Ἰησοῦ, to result in a shorter, more primitive text). These changes, though not numerous enough to affect the stemma, seem unlikely candidates for coincidence and therefore seem to represent a very low level of influence from a Western text. If such a Western influence occurred, then 2:11, 2:14a, 4:15a, and 4:18 may be added to the list.

5.3.5 Stage κ: The Byzantine Text and Prototype

This is the last stage of the transmission of the text until the large diversification into twenty or so apparently independent lineages of the Byzantine text. To keep the citation of evidence manageable, the witness list for the Byzantine text is augmented by [K L 225 547 1854], of which 1854 is the closest to the prototype of the Byzantine text. The ninth century uncials K and L are the oldest witnesses in the Byzantine Branch, though they are not the best representatives of the Byzantine prototype.

Gal 2:6 πρόσωπον ἑ θεὸς ἀνθρώπου οὐ λαμβάνει

πρόσωπον θεὸς ἀνθρώπου	Byz [K L 226 547 1854]; 1611 1505 2495, 1739
πρόσωπον ὁ θεὸς ἀνθρώπου	hark ¹⁷¹ ; A P 1241S, Σ 33, P46
πρόσωπον ἀνθρώπου ὁ θεὸς	Ψ Chrys
ὁ θεὸς γὰρ πρόσωπον ἀνθρώπου	pesh ¹⁷²
θεὸς πρόσωπον ἀνθρώπου	(b <i>xvg deus personam hominis</i>)
θεὸς ἀνθρώπου πρόσωπον	D F G (d <i>deus hominis personam</i>)

It is unclear whether the omission of the article occurs here or a stage or two earlier, since both Ψ and Chrysostom include the article, but it seems best to take its omission in the Byzantine prototype and the Greek Harklean witnesses (1611 1505 2495) as coincidental. As discussed in more detail in Chapter 3, the omission of the article before θεός gives more prominence to God and consequently makes the statement sound more proverbial.

Gal 2:14 εἰ σὺ Ἰουδαῖος ὑπάρχων ἐθνικῶς ζῆς καὶ οὐχὶ οὐκ Ἰουδαϊκῶς,

οὐκ	Byz [L 226 547 1854]; Chrys, 1739, F G (<i>xvg non</i>)
οὐχί	K; Ψ 1505 1611 2495, A C 1241S, Σ 33, B, D*
omit καὶ οὐκ Ἰουδαϊκῶς	P46, d b

In the previous stage, the transposition of the verb ζῆς had the effect of de-emphasizing the phrase καὶ οὐχὶ Ἰουδαϊκῶς. Here, the substitution of the less intensive but more common negative οὐκ for οὐχί completes this transformation.¹⁷³

¹⁷¹ The emphatic form for “God” in Syriac may not be diagnostic of the Greek (definite) article. See P. J. Williams, *Early Syriac Translation Technique and the Textual Criticism of the Greek Gospels* (TS3 2; Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias, 2004), 141-142.

¹⁷² Also the emphatic form for “God.”

¹⁷³ LONGENECKER 63 n.f suggests that the change stemmed from a haplography of the successive *iotas*.

Gal 2:16ab ~~ὅτι~~ διότι ~~ἐξ ἔργων νόμου~~ οὐ δικαιωθήσεται ἐξ ἔργων νόμου πᾶσα σὰρξ.

διότι	Byz [K L 226 547 1854]; Ψ, C P, xvg
ὅτι	pesh hark 1611 1505 2495 1739, A 1241S, Σ 33, P46
B, D* F G b	
ὄς	(d qui)
οὐ δικαιωθήσεται ἐξ ἔργων νόμου	Byz [K L 226 547 1854]
ἐκ ἔργων νόμου οὐ δικαιωθήσεται	pesh hark 1611 1505 2495 1739, A C P 1241S, Σ 33, P46 B, D* F G b d
οὐ δικαιωθήσεται	Ψ

There are two changes here. The first is the substitution of an inferential subordinator διότι for the causal subordinator ὅτι, perhaps under the influence of Rom 3:20 διότι ἐξ ἔργων νόμου οὐ δικαιωθήσεται. This change has the effect of making the appeal to Ps 143:2 a conclusion of this part of Paul's argumentation, rather than a premise. The other change is the transposition of the phrase ἐξ ἔργων νόμου after the verb, which is a partial harmonization to the Greek of Ps 143 [LXX 142]: 2, ὅτι οὐ δικαιωθήσεται ἐνώπιόν σου πᾶς ζῶν.

Gal 3:10a γέγραπται γὰρ ~~ὅτι~~ ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς . . .

-	Byz [K L 226 547 1854]; 1241S, b xvg
ὅτι	1611 1505 2495 Ψ 1739, A C, Σ 33, P46 B, D* F G d

The omission of ὅτι is a harmonization to the standard γέγραπται γὰρ formula (without ὅτι), as found, for example, at 3:13 in the Eastern branch.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁴ BETZ 144 n.59 points out that the γέγραπται γὰρ ὅτι quotation formula is also found at Gal 4:22.

Gal 3:10b ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὃς οὐκ ἐμμένει **ἐν** πᾶσιν τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ

ἐν πᾶσιν	Byz [K L 225 547 1854]; Chrys, A, D F G d b ×vg
πᾶσιν	hark pesh Ψ 1739, C 1241S, Σ 33, P46 B
-	1611* 1505 2495

Also found in Western witnesses, the addition of the preposition ἐν appears to be a minor harmonization to the Septuagintal text of Deut 27:26 ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ἄνθρωπος, ὃς οὐκ ἐμμένει ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς λόγοις τοῦ νόμου τούτου.¹⁷⁵

Gal 3:12 ἀλλ' ὁ ποιήσας αὐτὰ **ἄνθρωπος** ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς.

ἄνθρωπος	Byz [K L 226 547 1854]; 1611 1505 2495
-	hark pesh Ψ 1739, A C 1241S, Σ 33, P46 B, Marc D* F G d b ×vg

The addition of the noun ἄνθρωπος seems to be a harmonization to the quotation in Rom 10:5,¹⁷⁶ or a partial harmonization to the Septuagintal text of Lev 18:5 ἃ ποιήσας ἄνθρωπος ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς.¹⁷⁷

Gal 3:16 τῷ δὲ Ἀβραὰμ **ἐρρέθησαν ἐρρήθησαν** αἱ ἐπαγγελίαι καὶ τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ,

ἐρρήθησαν	Byz ^{pt} [K L 226 547 1854]; 1739
ἐρρέθησαν	Byz ^{pt178} ; 1611 1505 2495 Chrys Ψ, A C 1241S, Σ 33, B, D* F G

This textual change replaces the Koine and late Greek form ἐρρέθησαν with the Attic form ἐρρήθησαν,¹⁷⁹ though many Byzantine manuscripts restore the latter form.

¹⁷⁵ BETZ 144 n.60; BUSCEMI 257.

¹⁷⁶ BUSCEMI 257.

¹⁷⁷ LONGENECKER 108 n.e; cf. BETZ 147 n.92.

¹⁷⁸ Including 056 1 ×88 ×104 131 204 223 330 460 517 876 945 1022 ×1175 1243 1245 1270 1836 ×1837 1874 1960 2125 2138 2400 ×2464 2815.

¹⁷⁹ ZIMMER ² 337-338.

Gal 3:17 ὁ μετὰ **ἔτη** τετρακόσια καὶ τριάκοντα **ἔτη** γεγονὼς νόμος οὐκ ἀκυροῖ

μετὰ ἔτη 430 Byz [K L 223 547 1854]; 1505 1611 2495 Ψ
μετὰ 430 ἔτη pesh hark Chrys 1739, A C 1241S, **ℵ** 33, P46 B, D* F G b d ×vg

The default order for noun phrases is to have the noun before the modifier. This transposition moves ἔτη into the default position before the number, and it has the effect of removing the emphasis put upon the large number. The presence of the same reading in close relatives of the Byzantine branch (that is, the Greek Harkleians and Ψ) may be due to accidental coincidence or low-level contamination.

Gal 4:15 τίς οὖν **ἦν** ὁ μακαρισμὸς ὑμῶν;

τίς οὖν ἦν Byz [K 226 547 1854]; D (*d quae ergo erat*)
τίς οὖν ἐγένετο (*b quae ergo fuit*)
τίς οὖν L¹⁸⁰; Chrys hark 1611 1505 2495
ποῦ οὖν Ψ 1739, A C 1241S, **ℵ** 33, P46 B ×pesh
ποῦ οὖν ἦ F G
ποῦ ἐστὶν οὖν (×vg *ubi est ergo*)

Various witnesses add forms of the verb “to be” to clarify this verbless question in various ways,¹⁸¹ and the choice for the Byzantine prototype was the imperfect ἦν. The variation between ποῦ and τίς occurred at an earlier stage in the transmission.

Gal 4:23 ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐλευθέρως ~~δι~~ **διὰ τῆς** ἐπαγγελίας.

διὰ τῆς Byz [K L 226 547 1854]; 1611 1505 2495, 1739, B, D F G
δι’ Chrys Ψ 1739, A C 1241S, **ℵ** 33, P46

This is the first occurrence of “promise” since 3:29. Adding an article to refer back to the promise of chapter 3 appears to be a common, independent change.

¹⁸⁰ Other Byzantine supporting this reading include: 075 205 330 440 796 876 1022 1319-1573 1780 1827 2138 2344 2400.

¹⁸¹ BURTON 243; BUSCEMI 413; LONGENECKER 188 n.d.

Gal 4:25 συστοιχεῖ δὲ τῇ νῦν Ἱερουσαλήμ, δουλεύει **γὰρ δὲ** μετὰ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς.

δέ	Byz ^{pt} [226 1854]; ¹⁸² 1611 1505 2495
νῦν	Byz ^{pt} [K L 547]; ¹⁸³ Ψ
καί	×pesh, b ×vg
γάρ	hark 1739, A C P 1241S, ℵ 33, P46 B, D* F G d

The disruption in Paul’s allegorical argument due to the note about Sinai being a mountain earlier in the verse means that the appropriate function of the connective particle is no longer plain. This lack of clarity has led to various attempts to improve the connection, apparently by harmonization to other connectives particles (δέ, νῦν) in the context.

Gal 4:26 ἡ δὲ ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ ἐλευθέρα ἐστίν, ἣτις ἐστὶν μήτηρ **πάντων** ἡμῶν ·

πάντων	Byz [K L 226 547 1854]; A, b, ℵ ²
-	Chrys pesh 1611 1505 2495 Ψ 1739, C 1241S, ℵ * 33, P46 B, D F G d ×vg

The addition of πάντων “gives the text a broader, pastoral application.”¹⁸⁴ Of particular interest here is that the phrase ἣτις ἐστὶν μήτηρ πάντων ἡμῶν also occurs in Polycarp, *Phil.* 3.3, in a context referring to Paul’s letters and the faith given to the Philippians, “which is the mother of us all.” Zuntz holds that Polycarp’s proof text had been this interpolated form of Gal 4:26, which managed to survive in the Byzantine text,¹⁸⁵ but it not clear that Gal 4:26 is the text that Polycarp had in mind.¹⁸⁶ After all, Rom 4:16 has a similar notion applied to Sarah’s husband Abraham, καὶ τῷ ἐκ πίστεως Ἀβραάμ, ὃς ἐστὶν πατὴρ πάντων ἡμῶν (“and to one out of the faith

¹⁸² Also 69 223 876 910 1022 1243 1270 1315 1352 1424 1448 1646 1734 1735 1738 1780 1799 1827 1854 1874 1891 1960 1982 2138 2147 2401 2412 2423 2815 2892.

¹⁸³ Also K L 1 131 205 209 323 440 460 489 517 614 618 796 927 945 999 1242 1245 1836 2125.

¹⁸⁴ Günther Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles: A Disquisition upon the Corpus Paulinum* (The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1946; London: Oxford University Press, 1953), 223. So also BUSCEMI 450; METZGER 528.

¹⁸⁵ Zuntz, *Text*, 223. It should be noted that the Latin translation of Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 5.35.2, has the addition: *quae est mater omnium nostrum*.

¹⁸⁶ E.g., Michael W. Holmes, “Polycarp’s *Letter to the Philippians* and the Writings that later formed the New Testament,” in Andrew F. Gregory and Christopher M. Tuckett, eds., *The Reception of the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 187-227 at 209-210.

of Abraham, who is the father of us all”), and Polycarp’s context is about faith, not Jerusalem. Therefore, it seems best to take both the variant reading in Gal 4:26 and in Polycarp as being influenced by Rom 4:16.¹⁸⁷

Gal 5:1 τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ **οὖν** ἧ Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ἠλευθέρωσεν στήκετε καὶ μὴ πάλιν ζυγῶ δουλείας ἐνέχεσθε.

οὖν Byz [K L 226 547 1854]
 - Chrys ×pesh hark 1611 1505 2495 Ψ 1739,
 A C P 1241S, **Ⲛ** 33, B, D F G b ×vg

This addition restores the οὖν that had been deleted after στήκετε in the previous stage and positions the connective particle toward the beginning of the sentence, finally getting rid of the asyndeton. Interestingly, the inferential particle οὖν now connects the verse to the previous section, effectively undoing the earlier attempts to relate it to the following material.

Gal 6:13 οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ ~~περιτεμνόμενοι~~ ~~περιτετυμημένοι~~ αὐτοὶ νόμον φυλάσσουσιν

περιτετυμημένοι Byz^{pt} [L 226 1854];¹⁸⁸ 2495 Ψ, P46 B, F G d b
 περιτεμνόμενοι Byz^{pt} [K 547];¹⁸⁹ 1739 Chrys pesh hark 1611 1505, A C 1241S, **Ⲛ** 33, D ×vg

Even Byzantine manuscripts vary between the perfect and present participles, though the preponderance of the evidence favors the perfect participial reading of for the Byzantine prototype. As noted above in connection with the same change in P46 B, the change in tense of the participle has an anti-Judaic effect in making the referent of the participle more clearly refer to Judaizers, i.e. those who had been circumcised.

¹⁸⁷ BURTON 263 alternatively suggests that Gal 4:26 was influenced by Polycarp, but given the relative popularity of Galatians and Polycarp, this seems unlikely.

¹⁸⁸ Also 056 1 ×6 69 205 209 223 330 440 489 517 614 618 796 927 999 1022 ×1175 1270 1319 1352 1573 1646 1734 1735 1738 1780 1799 1827 1891 1960 2138 2400 2401 2412 2423 2815 2892.

¹⁸⁹ Also 075 131 323 460 876 910 945 1242 1243 1315 1424 1448 1836 1874 1982 2125 2147.

Gal 6:15 ἐν γὰρ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ οὔτε γὰρ περιτομή τί ἰσχύει οὔτε ἀκροβυστία ἀλλὰ
καινὴ κτίσις.

ἐν γὰρ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ οὔτε Byz [K L 226 547 1854];
2495 hark, A C P 1241S, **Ⲛ**, D F G d b xvg
οὔτε γάρ 1611 1505 pesh Chrys Ψ 1739, 33, P46 B

Already helped by the replacement of ἔστιν with ἰσχύει in the previous stage, the harmonization to Gal 5:6 (ἐν γὰρ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ οὔτε περιτομή τί ἰσχύει οὔτε ἀκροβυστία) continues with the insertion of the phrase ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ and the adjustment of the position of the particle γάρ.¹⁹⁰

Of the sixteen changes for the final stage of the transmission of the text to the Byzantine prototype, the most frequent textual change is harmonization. In fact, harmonization is a factor in over half of the introduced variant readings, including 2:16a (to Rom 3:20), 2:16b (to Ps 143:2), 3:10a (to Gal 3:13), 3:10b (to Deut 27:26), 3:12 (to Rom 10:5 or Lev 18:5), 4:23 (to Gal 3:29?), 4:25 (to Gal 4:26), 4:26 (to Rom 4:10), and 6:15 (to Gal 5:6). The large amount of harmonization demonstrates the scribes' deep familiarity with Biblical texts.

Aside from harmonization, many of the changes are cosmetic to make a more smoothly reading text, such as those at 2:14 (more common word), 3:16 (Atticism), 3:17 (default noun-modifier order), and 4:15 (fill in ellipsis). Some of the changes to smooth the text also make it more suitable for pastoral application, including those at 2:6 and 4:26. A possible anti-Jewish theological effect may be discernable in 6:13 in the change of the tense of the participle.

¹⁹⁰ BETZ 319 n.77; BUSCEMI 598.

As opposed to the previous stage, there is little evidence of a Western influence on the text. Though both the changes in 3:10a and 6:13 are paralleled in Western witnesses, they are also found elsewhere and could be independently motivated.

5.4 Conclusions

According to this analysis of over a hundred and twenty textual changes within the two main branches of the transmission of the text of Galatians, some conclusions can be made. First, scribal behavior was not uniform. Each branch of the text has identifiably distinct patterns of scribal behavior. For example, the Western branch has the largest concentration of theologically significant variants, the majority of which were anti-Jewish in effect. This suggests that the Western branch of the text developed within a milieu characterized by a polemic engagement with multiple opponents, especially Jews but also demiurgic and other non-orthodox Christians. As for the Eastern branch, a different set of concerns rose to the fore. There, the strongest influence appears to be the need to clarify the text and reduce its ambiguity. At one step on the road to the Byzantine text, a number of variants also paralleled in Western witnesses were introduced into the text, though not at a level high enough to trigger a reticulating link in the initial construction of the stemma. The final step for the Byzantine text has an unusually large number of harmonizations to rather distant parallels, suggesting that its scribes had a great familiarity with the Christian scriptures.

Despite all these differences, there are some recognizable commonalities in Christian scribal behavior across the centuries and the regions. For example, harmonization to the local context is common in every branch, indicating that scribes were not copying the text as if they were reading it for the first time but a text with which they were familiar. As another example,

there was a tendency to clarify the text, whether to remove its ambiguities or to strengthen its message. This behavior suggests that its scribes desired a useful text. Yet the differences in the scribal behavior demonstrates that the scribes were not only copying a familiar and useful text, but that they were also copying a living text that reflected the scribes' environment.

6. Contrasts and Conclusions

6.1 *An External History of the Text of Galatians*

This is the first study of the text of Galatians to propose a detailed *stemma codicum* of a significant number of the leading manuscripts and versions of Galatians. In all, 92 witnesses were collated and analyzed at 1624 variation units. Given the immense nature of this analytical task, the initial shape of the stemma was constructed with the help of a computer program that implements “cladistic” algorithms devised by computational biologists to classify organisms based on common descent. It should be noted that the use of cladistics for textual criticism is not completely new. Deep philosophical similarities between cladistics and stemmatics have long been recognized, and some manuscript traditions had already been analyzed using cladistics prior to this study. Nevertheless, this study advances the state of the art in computer-assisted stemma construction by proposing and implementing methods to account for significant levels of mixture within the history of the text. These methods too have their theoretical antecedents in the work of textual criticism, but their implementation in a computer program is novel. Accordingly, this chapter describes the external history of the text of Galatians based on the stemma constructed in Chapter 2, oriented in Chapter 3, and examined in Chapter 4.

The textual transmission of Galatian divides into two large textual streams. One of them leads to the “Western” branch. Its members include D, F, G, and the Old Latin witnesses b and d. The text of this branch is the most divergent in the transmission of Galatians, with more harmonizations and theologically significant variation, especially those with an anti-Judaic effect, as described in Chapter 5. Nonetheless, there are numerous, clear *Leitfehler* that indicate

that this branch has a common origin subsequent to the archetype. The Vulgate is also a member of this branch, but it is mixed; about four-fifths of its text is Western. An early relative of this group is Marcion, corroborating the views of other scholars that Marcion's text is an early witness or precursor to the Western branch. Marcion flourished in the mid-second century, so the common ancestor of Marcion and the Western branch must be at least that old. This indicates that the stream that led to the Western text diverged from its closest relatives no later than to the first half of the second century.

An ancient group is the cluster of P46 and B. Its textual transmission is generally strict, and its most common errors are omissions of little words and harmonizations to the local context. P46 has the distinction of being the oldest direct witness to the text of Galatians, in the early part of the third century. Accordingly, the common archetype behind P46 and B must be earlier, somewhere in the second century at the latest. The closest relative to P46-B is the Western branch, which implies that the common ancestor dates back to the beginnings of the second century.

The largest textual stream in Galatians is the one, for want of a better term, that gave rise to the "Eastern" branch.. Though its leading witnesses are not as ancient as those in the Western branch (with Marcion) and the P46-B cluster, its text is independent of those parts of the transmission of the text and must therefore ultimately originate from a manuscript at least as old as the common ancestor of the Western branch and P46-B. The earliest surviving precursors to the Eastern branch are considerably later than this ancestral manuscript, however. Codex Sinaiticus (Ⲛ) is from the mid-fourth century and the Queen of the Cursives 33 is from the ninth century. Despite the lateness of these witnesses, their textual quality is very

good. Except for four arguably orthographic textual variants, the agreements between **Σ** and 33 constitute the earliest stratum of the Eastern branch.

After the stage of the textual tradition supported by **Σ** and 33, the Eastern branch splits into two sub-branches. One sub-branch comprises the fifth-century manuscripts A and C as well as P and 1241s of the Middle Ages. Most of the other members of this sub-branch have been mixed with readings from the Byzantine text that dominated the transmission of the text within the Middle Ages. The other sub-branch is a large collection of witnesses that includes family 1739, the Athos Codex Ψ, a “Syrian” group (comprising the text of John Chrysostom, the Peshitta, and Harklean witnesses), and the Byzantine text proper. As for the common ancestor of the Byzantine text, it has been found to be the result of a long process of transmission within the Eastern branch.¹ There is little evidence that the Byzantine text is the result of a recension aside from a small influx of Western readings into the common ancestor of the Syrian group and the Byzantine text. The apparent use of this sub-stream by Chrysostom and the Peshitta indicate that this text was prevalent in the fourth century, but its leading subgroup, family 1739, has affinities with Origen’s text of Paul, so the source of this sub-branch probably goes back to the early third century.

It must be pointed out that nowhere in this description has been mentioned an “Alexandrian” text. The reason for this omission is that the Alexandrian text—as usually conceived with P46, B, **Σ**, A, C, 33, and 1739—is not a stemmatically coherent text. These witnesses are merely those with a high quality text but there is no special genealogical relationship among them. They do not share a common ancestor below the archetype; in

¹ In this regard, this finding coheres with that of Klaus Wachtel, *Der byzantinische Text der katholischen Briefe: Eine Untersuchung zur Entstehung der Koine des Neuen Testaments* (ANTT 24; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995), for the Catholic Epistles.

fact, their most recent common ancestor is the archetype. Every other surviving witness to the text—whether Western, Byzantine, or something else—is also a descendent of their common ancestor, and hence also a member of their common genealogy.

Although this study is the first to propose a precise history of the text in the form of a stemma, it is important to keep in mind that the text of the Pauline corpus has been investigated before by some of the most prominent textual critics within the field of New Testament textual criticism, namely, Günther Zuntz and F. J. A. Hort. Consequently, the history of the text proposed by this study is also compared and contrasted with the work of these important pioneers.

6.2 Zuntz and Hort

[T]he textual criticism of the New Testament cannot be carried out by statistical methods. . . . None but commensurable entities can be reduced to figures, and no two variants are strictly commensurable. Readings of all shades between good and bad; slips of the pen and intentional alterations; attestation by anything between one and a thousand witnesses: what is their common denominator? Variant readings can fruitfully be compared and grouped on more than one principle, but they cannot reasonably be added up or reduced to percentages like the factor of an arithmetical sum. What is the sum total of, say, an egg plus a grape plus a unicorn?²

So states Günther Zuntz in his second Schweich lecture of the British academy in 1946. This statement neatly articulates an objection to the application of computational techniques to the craft of textual criticism.³ After all, the cladistic method adopted for this study considers all collated textual variants regardless of their nature and tries to minimize the number of accidental coincidences among them under the maximum parsimony principle. The result of

² ZUNTZ 58.

³ See also ZUNTZ 12: “It follows that textual criticism, in our field, still can, and must, use the traditional methods (if adapted to its subject); and that it cannot be carried out mechanically. At every stage the critic has to use his brains. Were it different, we could put the critical slide-rule into the hands of any fool and leave it to him to settle the problems of the New Testament text.” The modern rhetorical equivalent of “slide-rule” is the computer.

this procedure is a stemma that shows the proposed genealogical relationships between the surviving manuscripts. By contrast, Zuntz's own approach to the text of Paul is qualitative, not quantitative. He is skeptical of being able to recover the genealogical history of the text because of the tradition was "beset with contamination."⁴ Rather, Zuntz deploys the metaphor the transmission of the text as a stream, whose readings mix together, and different manuscripts represent different samples from the stream.⁵ Nevertheless, his study remains the most detailed examination of the text of Paul over the past sixty years.⁶ Thus, it would be illuminating to compare and contrast this study with that of Zuntz both in terms of methods and results.

Zuntz's point of entry into his study of the text of the Pauline corpus is an examination of the oldest manuscript of the collection, the then-recently discovered and published Chester Beatty papyrus P46.⁷ This manuscript was unavailable to Westcott and Hort and it cut by half the gap in time—from 250 years to about 125 years—between the archetype of the letter collection and the earliest substantial manuscript.⁸ Accordingly, the first step that Zuntz performs is an examination of the quality of P46 and he finds that P46's text has been "beset with a great number of scribal slips."⁹ Nevertheless, Zuntz also holds that P46 sometimes preserves readings of "outstanding quality."¹⁰ Zuntz bases this conclusion on readings in 1 Cor

⁴ ZUNTZ 9.

⁵ ZUNTZ 264.

⁶ Michael W. Holmes, "The Text of Epistles Sixty Years After: An Assessment of Günther Zuntz's Contribution to Text-Critical Methodology and History," in J. W. Childers and D. C. Parker, eds., *Transmission and Reception: New Testament Text-Critical and Exegetical Studies* (TS3 4; Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias, 2006), 89-113.

⁷ ZUNTZ 17-18.

⁸ ZUNTZ 17.

⁹ ZUNTZ 23.

¹⁰ ZUNTZ 23.

2:4, Heb 12:1, and 1 Cor 14:39,¹¹ as well as various instances where he concludes that P46 correctly has the shorter reading in 1 Corinthians and Hebrews.¹² As a result, Zuntz concludes, “P⁴⁶, indeed, proves to be a uniquely important manuscript. While it is true that it abounds with surface errors, its basic text is of supreme quality.”¹³

In many respects, Zuntz’s study of the scribal habits of P46 has been superseded by the detailed investigation of P46’s singular readings by James R. Royce,¹⁴ but the main point of Zuntz’s (and Royce’s) assessment remains—P46 is a poor copy of an excellent exemplar. This conclusion is corroborated by the present study of the text of Galatians. According to the stemma generated in Chapter 2, P46 diverges from its common ancestor with its closest relative B in almost 100 variation units. By contrast, B itself diverges from that same ancestor in 26 places, which is about a quarter of the number of changes, despite the fact that B was copied more than a hundred years later. Nevertheless, P46’s place in the stemma is very high, near the archetype, which means that the text it inherited is of high quality. As a result, this study corroborates Zuntz’s assessment of P46, both in terms of P46’s scribal character as well as the nature of its source.

Zuntz’s next step is to compare the text of P46 with that of leading witnesses to the text of Paul. The first such witness is Codex Vaticanus (B). Here, Zuntz looks at nine instances, mainly in 1 Corinthians and Hebrews, where P46 and B agree on “definitely spurious” readings,¹⁵ and concludes from them that these “special agreements in error (*Leitfehler*)

¹¹ ZUNTZ 23-31.

¹² ZUNTZ 31-34, paying particular attention to 1 Cor 8:2-3; Heb 2:8; 3:6; 11:4, and 39. Zuntz also examines instances of corruption in P46’s exemplar (34-39).

¹³ ZUNTZ 56. By “basic text,” Zuntz means the text of its exemplar.

¹⁴ James R. Royce, *Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri* (NTTSD 36; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 199-358.

¹⁵ ZUNTZ 61-62. These instances are found at 1 Cor 1:8, 18; 3:12; 7:5; 13:5; Heb 5:1; 7:2; 8:10; and Col 1:12.

demonstrate the close interrelationship between P⁴⁶ and B; . . . these two manuscripts belong to one and the same ancient and narrow branch of the tradition.”¹⁶ The stemma proposed in this study supports Zuntz’s conclusion here. According to the cladistic analysis of Chapter 2, P46 is more closely related to B than to any other witness in this study. Indeed, P46 and B are the only witnesses to share certain striking scribal errors in Galatians (Gal 1:19 οὐχ for οὐκ; 3:21 ἐν νόμῳ for ἐκ νόμου; 3:24 ἐγένετο for γέγονεν; and 6:4 *omit* ἕκαστος), as well as some sub-singular readings (Gal 3:21 *omit* τοῦ θεοῦ with d; 6:11 ἡλίκοις for πηλίκοις with 33). As a result, this study of Galatians confirms the conclusion of a “close interrelationship” between P46 and B from Zuntz’s study elsewhere in Paul.

Zuntz also compared the tenth-century minuscule 1739 with P46 and B.¹⁷ Zuntz first acknowledges that one finds “1739 in frequent agreement with the bulk of the ‘Alexandrians’ as against all the other evidence,” but he then asserts that “wherever the less distinguished members of the ‘Alexandrian’ group oppose its leaders P⁴⁶ B **Σ**, the Athos manuscript [*scil.* 1739] hardly ever joins the former.”¹⁸ With this in mind, Zuntz goes on to examine 1739’s possible relationship with P46 and B specifically. Between 1739 and P46, Zuntz noted four special agreements in error that were singular or sub-singular,¹⁹ and four such special agreements in error between 1739 and B.²⁰ Zuntz also pointed out two more shared special agreements in error among 1739, P46, and B.²¹ Based on this evidence, Zuntz concludes that 1739 is a

¹⁶ ZUNTZ 62.

¹⁷ ZUNTZ 78-84.

¹⁸ ZUNTZ 78.

¹⁹ ZUNTZ 79. Specifically, 1 Cor 15:31; Heb 5:1; 13:5, and 6. Zuntz also argued that P46 and 1739 shared two special agreements in genuine readings at Heb 1:3 and 11:39, but agreements in genuine readings are not evidence of a genetic relationship at any level lower than the archetype.

²⁰ ZUNTZ 79. Specifically, Rom 5:11; 1 Cor 8:8; 13:6; and Gal 4:6.

²¹ ZUNTZ 80. Specifically, at 1 Cor 6:14 and Col 3:15. Zuntz also noted four agreements in what he considered genuine readings but these are not evidence of a special stemmatic relationship.

descendent of an old manuscript that “in turn joins itself to a branch of the tradition which centres on P⁴⁶ B; indeed, it is, or was, even nearer to the papyrus than to codex Vaticanus.”²² In other words, 1739 is an important witness for Zuntz of Paul’s text close to the common ancestor of P46 and B and close to the archetype of the tradition.

Regrettably, Zuntz’s estimation of the relationship between 1739 and P46-B has not been borne out by this study of the text in Galatians. According to the stemma constructed in Chapter 2, 1739 is not closely related to P46-B; rather, it is closely related, on the one hand, to the common ancestor of Ψ and the Byzantine text and, on the other hand, to the secondary Alexandrians A, C, P, and 1241S. This conclusion stands in stark contrast with Zuntz’s assertion that 1739 “hardly ever joins” the secondary Alexandrians. In Galatians, however, there are some striking agreements of 1739 with the secondary Alexandrians against P46, B, and **ℵ**, including Gal 2:12 ἦλθον for ἦλθεν, 4:3 ἡμεν for ἡμεθα; 5:17 δέ for γάρ; and 5:21 *add* φόνοι.²³ Moreover, there are additional agreements between 1739 and the secondary Alexandrians with **ℵ** against P46 and B, including Gal 1:17 ἀνήλθον for ἀπῆλθον, 1:18 μετὰ τρία ἔτη for μετὰ ἔτη τρία, 2:20 τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ for τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ, and 6:2 ἀναπληρώσατε for ἀναπληρώσετε.

Two possibilities come to mind for the differing conclusions about 1739 between Zuntz’s study and this study. One possibility is that Zuntz does not consider the agreements between 1739 and the secondary Alexandrians to have outweighed the agreements between 1739 and P46 and B. Unfortunately, Zuntz does not specify what the few agreements were between 1739 and the secondary Alexandrians that he found, so it is hard to tell whether this

²² ZUNTZ 81.

²³ These are all discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

difference in our conclusions derives from the number of agreements or the weight that Zuntz places upon them. Another possibility is that these two studies focus on different parts of the Pauline corpus, which may have had different textual histories. Zuntz concentrates on 1 Corinthians and Hebrews, while this study focused on Galatians. Since many of the striking agreements occurred in Hebrews, it is possible that the history of the text for Hebrews may differ from that of Galatians, in that 1739 may have had an exemplar for Hebrews that was unrelated to its exemplar for Galatians. A follow-up study on the text of Hebrews could clarify these questions by showing whether the history of the text for these epistles differs from that of Galatians.

The next focus of Zuntz's investigation is the Western text.²⁴ He defines the term "Western" geographically as referring to those witnesses that are found in the Western parts of the Roman Empire. Thus, for Zuntz, Western witnesses comprise D, F, G, Tertullian, the Old Latin d, and non-Vulgate quotations in the Latin Fathers. Recognizing its mixed character, Zuntz also counts the Vulgate as a Western witness except when it supports Alexandrian readings. Based on this definition of "Western," Zuntz then sorts their readings into three sets: **W**, **W+**, and **W ω** . The first set **W** consists of those readings that are exclusively found in Western witnesses. The second set **W+** includes those readings that occur in both Western and non-Western witnesses. The third set **W ω** applies to Western-Byzantine readings.²⁵ With this arrangement of Western readings, Zuntz proceeds to examine them separately.

As for the exclusively Western readings, Zuntz is hardly impressed as to their originality. He notes that "these variants which . . . fail to find non-Western support, are all of

²⁴ ZUNTZ 84-142.

²⁵ ZUNTZ 85. Note that Zuntz's use of the siglum ω for the Byzantine text differs from this study's use of it as standing for the archetype.

them evident errors.”²⁶ Zuntz also attributes many of them to apparent Latinisms. His characterization of the exclusively Western readings is generally borne out by this study, but not his reasons for them. According to the investigation in Chapter 5, only a couple of the Western readings appear to be Latinisms, but many of them functioned to improve the clarity of the text or to heighten the perceived anti-Judaic nature of some parts of Paul’s argument.

Zuntz is considerably more impressed with Western readings that are attested elsewhere, especially in P46 and B. Zuntz concludes that “Western witnesses joined by P⁴⁶ or B or 1739 are more often right than wrong; they are hardly ever wrong when joined by the whole ‘proto-Alexandrian’ group.”²⁷ If anything, this study is even more optimistic about the value of Western readings when they are supported by both P46 and B, including the following: Gal 1:3 κυρίου ἡμῶν (also with 33), 1:17 ἀπῆλθον, 1:18 μετὰ ἔτη τρία, 2:20 θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ, 4:3 ἤμεθα, 4:19 τέκνα (also with **8**), and 6:2 ἀναπληρώσετε.

As for Western-Byzantine readings, Zuntz holds, “Byzantine readings *must* be ancient. They go back to the time before the Chester Beatty papyrus [*i.e.* P46] was written; the time before the emergence of separate Eastern and Western traditions; in short, they reach back into the second century.”²⁸ In light of this study of the text of Galatians, Zuntz’s conclusion is surprising. Although it is true that the Eastern and Western branches of the text developed largely independently of one another, there are still some cases of cross-contamination. The Vulgate, for example, is a mixture of a Western text and an Eastern text, which Zuntz acknowledges.²⁹ Furthermore, according to this study, the Byzantine text is the result of a long

²⁶ ZUNTZ 89.

²⁷ ZUNTZ 158.

²⁸ ZUNTZ 150-151.

²⁹ ZUNTZ 85.

process of transmission within the Eastern branch, whose development can be traced through a number of different intermediate stages. It is only at one stage, between Ψ and the Syrian group, that the bulk of the Western readings found in the Byzantine text but not in its Alexandrian ancestors seems to have entered its textual stream. Although this amount of Western readings was insufficient to trigger an explicit link for contamination in the stemma, these Western readings seem striking enough to call a conclusion of coincidence into question. Rather, the evidence studied here in Galatians suggests that there may have been some low-level of influence from a Western source at a particular stage in the history of the Byzantine text.³⁰

Zuntz's history of the Pauline text differs from that of his predecessor Hort in two key respects. First, Zuntz disagrees with Hort that the Byzantine text is the result of a recension that conflated readings from an Eastern ("Neutral") text and a Western Text.³¹ Rather, Zuntz sees apparent Western readings in the Byzantine text as the independent survival of ancient readings.³² The results of this study suggest that the truth may lie somewhere between them. Although there is insufficient evidence that the Byzantine text was created by a thoroughgoing recension or conflation of Eastern and Western texts, it does appear that several Western readings entered the pre-Byzantine transmission of the text at a particular stage.

³⁰ ZUNTZ 151 ridicules such a notion, however: "Could a Byzantine patriarch in the eighth or ninth century be supposed to have sent envoys to some Greek monastery in Sicily or south Italy in order thence to procure some obsolete manuscripts and from them to intrude a number of Western readings into that sacred text which his authority made prevail among the Orthodox"? Based on this study's stemma, however, the stage at which the Western readings entered the pre-Byzantine is ancestral to the text of Chrysostom and the Peshitta and, therefore, must pre-date the end of the fourth century. It is within this period that Jerome was conflating a Western text with an early Eastern text.

³¹ Zuntz's disagreement with Hort more explicit in his article "The Text of the Epistles" in Günther Zuntz, *Opuscula Selecta: Classica, Hellenistica, Christiana* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1972), 252-268 at 253.

³² ZUNTZ 150-151.

Second, Zuntz and Hort disagree over the value of the Western text. Specifically, Hort had a low opinion of the Western text throughout the New Testament, holding that it was affected by a scribal freedom to paraphrase the text.³³ Even when the Western text agrees with B in Paul, Hort holds that this is the result of contamination from a Western manuscript.³⁴ In other words, B's agreements with Western readings, according to Hort, do not enhance their value, but instead they lessen B's worth as a witness to the authorial text of Paul.³⁵ Zuntz disagrees with this assessment, arguing that Western agreements with B, especially where supported by P46, are ancient, pre-Western readings.³⁶ The results of this study, especially in Chapter 3, support Zuntz over Hort in their dispute. At every place but one in the text of Galatians where P46 and B agree with Western witnesses against Eastern witnesses such as **Ν**, A, C, 33, and 1739, this study concludes that the internal evidence favors the P46-B-Western variant reading.

Despite the difference in attitude toward computational and genealogical approaches to textual criticism between Zuntz and this study, the results are remarkably congruent. Both this study and that of Zuntz divide the textual tradition of Galatians into two main branches, a Western branch and an Eastern Branch. Both studies see the Byzantine text as the result of a process of transmission within the Eastern branch. Both studies also have a high regard for P46

³³ HORT 122-124, 170-171. The striking exception to Hort's general disapproval of the Western text is the inaptly called "Western non-interpolations" (175-177).

³⁴ HORT 150-151, 166, 171, 224, 240-241. Hort's leading example for Western contamination in B is Col 1:12, where B reads καλέσαντι καὶ ἰκανώσαντι against D* F G καλέσαντι and P46 **Ν** A C 1739 Byz (HORT 240). Hort did not know of P46, of course, but Zuntz points out that P46's failure to confirm B's reading shows that it can help assess B's quality (ZUNTZ 41). In other words, P46's agreement with B on an apparent Western reading means that the reading is pre-Western. (Hort's other example is 2 Thess 3:4, at which P46 is unfortunately lacking.)

³⁵ In one case, Hort held that even the Western agreement with both **Ν** and B at Gal 2:12 (ἦλθεν for ἦλθον) was "unquestionably wrong" (224). Chapter 3 of this study, however, presents a case for the ἦλθεν reading in Gal 2:12 based on internal evidence, against Hort's conclusion.

³⁶ E.g., ZUNTZ 158.

when it is supported by B, and for the readings of the Western branch when it is supported by P46, B, and other early witnesses. Despite these broad areas of agreement, there are two main differences between Zuntz and this study. First, Zuntz rates 1739 more highly than the present study. Second, Zuntz considers Western readings in the Byzantine to be ancient survivals, rather than a case of low-level contamination.

6.3 Contrasts with the Critical Texts of the Galatians

This study proposes a critical text that differs from the critical text of the Nestle-Aland edition in a number of important ways. There are two main reasons for this difference. First, the critical text of this study is edited based on an explicit history of the text, precisely depicted in the form of a *stemma codicum*. Second, this study relies on recent research on linguistic pragmatics of the Greek article, word order, and conjunctive particles to come to a theoretically informed decision about certain difficult variants.

There are thirteen textual differences between this study and the Nestle-Aland edition. The most textually significant one is the emendation at 4:25, relegating to the apparatus the statement that Sinai is a mountain in Arabia. This statement has long been seen as a marginal gloss that crept into the text, but the analysis in this study that the note does not belong in the main text of a critical edition is the fullest to date. Specifically, the note is both argumentatively and structurally superfluous and its conception about Arabia is in tension with Arabia's role in Gal 1:17. Even if one were to retain the note in the text and thereby avoid the use of conjecture, this study still argues for a form of the statement different from that of the Nestle-Aland text, namely, it would be the shorter version without the explicit reference to Hagar.

The most historically significant difference between this study's critical text and the text of the Nestle-Aland edition is the change of a single letter at Gal 2:12. Rather than stating "when they came" (ἦλθον), referring to some people from James, the best attested reading states, "when he came" (ἦλθεν), referring to Cephas. Yet this tiny difference in the text results in a markedly different understanding of the Antioch incident. With the reading of the Nestle-Aland text, on the one hand, Cephas came to Antioch, ate with the local gentiles, but then was intimidated into changing his mind. With this study's critical text, on the other hand, Cephas came to Antioch with no intention of eating with the gentiles, and this is what Paul objected to.

Perhaps the most theologically significant difference between the critical text of this study and that of the Nestle-Aland is the variation unit in Gal 2:20, where Paul no longer lives by the faith of the son of God, but by the faith of God and Christ. This reading has a significant bearing on the *pistis Christou* debate, which concerns whether the genitive in the various πίστις Χριστοῦ constructions is objective (faith in Christ) or subjective (faithfulness of Christ). What makes the "God and Christ" important is that its formulation is more amenable to a subjective genitive interpretation than the Nestle-Aland reading (cf., Rom 3:3 τὴν πίστιν τοῦ θεοῦ "the faithfulness of God"). This strengthens the exegetical evidentiary base for the subjective genitive.

Some of the textual differences involve more subtle theological issues. For example, the word order variant at 1:3 gives the opening greeting a somewhat stronger Christological cast to the greeting than does the Nestle-Aland text. The word order variant at 1:8 presupposes that the non-Pauline preaching is a distortion of the gospel of Christ (v.6). The different connective particle in 1:11 has a structural implication, namely, that v.11, not v.10, begins a major section of the letter. The difference between "went away" (ἀπῆλθον) and "went up"

(ἀνήλθον) in 1:17 slightly strengthens Paul’s claim of independence from Jerusalem. The addition of Jesus to 5:24 has an anti-Separationist effect.

To be sure, other textual variants have barely any discernable difference. The difference in preposition at 1:4 between περί and ὑπέρ is virtually untranslatable into English. The difference between οὐδέ (“and not”) and οὔτε (“nor”) in 1:12 might suggest that Paul received his traditions and teachings on difficult occasions, or it might suggest an afterthought on Paul’s part. The difference between ἄχρις and μέχρις in 4:19 is so small that this textual variation was not even included in the Nestle-Aland apparatus. Also virtually non-existent is the distinction in meaning between the aorist subjunctive κληρονομίῃ and the future κληρονομήσει in 4:30.

Another set of changes proposed in this study is simply due to a difference in editorial philosophy. This study adopts the philosophy of the recent SBL edition of the New Testament that it is an editor’s duty to decide what the text says based on the evidence and the editor’s expertise, and thus brackets should be used sparingly, if at all. There are nine places in the Nestle-Aland text that contain bracketed readings. Of these nine bracketed readings, the longer reading is chosen eight times (1:6, 1:8, 1:15, 2:6, 2:13, 2:16, 3:21, and 5:7), and the shorter reading is chosen (5:24) once.³⁷ For one of the bracketed readings, this study proposes an original and more plausible exegesis of the verse with the longer reading. According to exegetical arguments made for Gal 1:6, the most satisfying interpretation of the construction ἀπὸ τοῦ καλέσαντος ὑμῶν ἐν χάριτι Χριστοῦ is “from the one who called you with grace to

³⁷ By way of comparison, the SBL edition opts for the shorter reading in 1:15, 2:6, and 5:24.

belong to Christ.” Understanding Χριστοῦ as a second complement of καλέσαντος avoids the problems of the more common “by the grace of Christ” interpretation.

The text of the Nestle-Aland edition is very good, but there is room for improvement. To be sure, most of the textual differences hardly change our understanding of the letter except in very subtle ways, but at least three of the readings are historically and theologically significant. The results of this study on reconstructing a critical text suggest that there may be room for improvement in other letters of Paul as well, if not in the rest of the New Testament. Part of the reason is that our understanding of the Greek language continues to improve, allowing us to appreciate finer nuances in the different forms of the text to a degree never before possible.

6.4 Suggestions for Further Study

This study has shown the promising value of computer-assisted stemma construction in the textual criticism of Galatians. The use of a computer, programmed to implement cladistic algorithms and taking contamination into account, has helped greatly in the construction of a stemma representing the textual history of the transmission of Galatians. Moreover, the generated stemma enables the textual critic to focus on a particular group of readings for assessing their value as a witness to Paul’s authorial text. Obviously, this method can be applied to other portions of the text of Paul and indeed the New Testament. It would be interesting to determine if the other books of the Pauline corpus exhibit the same or similar histories of the text. Moreover, the application of stemmatics outside of Paul³⁸ can help to

³⁸ Indeed, an earlier version of this software used in this study was applied to the question of the Caesarean text in Mark. Stephen C. Carlson, “The Origin(s) of the ‘Caesarean’ Text” (paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, San Antonio, 20 Nov. 2004).

resolve specific text-critical controversies in those texts, as well as to get a greater understanding of the history of textual variation within the transmission of the text.

Even without the application of the computer program, this study suggests that the textual criticism of the Pauline corpus ought to value the agreements between P46, B, and the Western text more highly than the current practice. This study has corroborated Zuntz's finding that such agreements demonstrate that they are ancient readings going back to the second century. Therefore, they should be given more weight than suggested by Hort and his successors.

This study has also shown that the recent advances in linguistics, especially in the field of pragmatics, enables the textual critic to make theoretically informed judgments about the effect of word order changes, the presence or absence of the article, and the use of discourse conjunctions. These theoretical advances in the exegesis of the text and its variants can be applied elsewhere in New Testament and even in classical textual criticism.

Appendix A: Errata for Swanson

Verse	Page	Group	Line	Relevant Reading	MS	Correction
1:1	1	3	8	αὐτόν	ℵ ^c	Change to ℵ ¹
1:2	2	3	1	ὑπὲρ	ℵ ^c	Change to ℵ ²
1:3	2	1	10	Π χ άρις	F	Replace w/ χάρις
1:3	2	1	10	Π χ άρις	G	Replace w/ χάρις
1:4	2	3	4	ἐξέλθαι	33	Delete 33 & add line for 33 w/ ἐξελεῖται
1:4	2	3	10	ἁμαρτελῶν	F ^c	Replace w/ ἁμαρτειῶν
1:4	3	1	12	ἐνεστώτος αἰῶνος	ℵ ^c	Change to ℵ ²
1:6	3	4	12	Χριστοῦ	F ^c	Change to F ³
1:7	4	2	1	καὶ θέλοντες	ℵ ^c	Change to ℵ ¹
1:8	4	3	5	εὐαγγελίζεται		Add G ^c to D ^c
1:8	4	3	11	εὐαγγελίζεται	G	Change to G*
1:8	5	1	11	ὑμᾶς	D ^{*.c2}	Change to D*
1:8	5	1	12	ὑμῖν	D ^{c.1}	Change to D ²
1:8	5	1	21	ὑμῖν	ℵ ^c	Change to ℵ ²
1:9	5	2	1	προειρήκαμεν	ℵ ^c	Change to ℵ ²
1:10	6	2	12	αἶτι		Add G ^c to F ^c
1:10	6	2	13	αἰτεῖ α	G	Change to G*
1:11	7	1	1	τὸ εὐαγγέλιον (3×)	B	First two are deleted
1:11	7	1	2	γὰρ	ℵ ^c	Change to ℵ ²
1:11	7	1	7	γὰρ ὑμεῖν	D ^{*.c2}	Change to D* (no D ^{c2})
1:11	7	1	12	δὲ	ℵ*	Change to ℵ ^{*.2}
1:11	7	1	12	δὲ ὑμῖν	D ^{c.1}	Change to D ^c
1:11	7	2	1	ἔστι	B	Change to B* per NA ²⁸
1:11	7	2	4	ἔστιν		Add B ^c to ℵ per NA ²⁸
1:12	8	1	1	οὔτε	D ^{c.1}	Change to D ²
1:12	8	1	13	οὐδέ	D ^{*.c2}	Change to D*
1:14	9	2	1	περισσότερως		Add ℘ ^{46c} to B
1:14	9	2	4	περισσότερον ὡς	℘ ⁴⁶	Change to ℘ ^{46*} & omit ὡς
1:15	10	1	13	ἀφώρισας	D ^c	Change to D ²
1:16	10	3	1	εὐαγγελίζωμαι		Add D ² to B
1:16	10	3	10	εὐαγγελίζομαι	D ^c	Delete D ^c
1:17	10	4	3	…λθον	℘ ⁴⁶	Replace w/ ·λθον
1:18	11	4	13	Πέτρον	ℵ ^c	Change to ℵ ²
1:19	12	1	12	ἴδον		Add D ¹ to ℵ
1:19	12	1	12	ἴδον		Add 1424 ^c to ℵ
1:19	12	1	18	εἶδον	D ^c	Change to D ¹
1:19	12	1	18	εἶδον	1424	Change to 1424*
1:20	12	2	6	ὑμῖν	F*	Delete F* & add line for F* w/ υμην
1:21	12	3	6	κλίματα	F	Delete F
1:21	12	3	7	κλίματα		Add F to G ^c

Verse	Page	Group	Line	Relevant Reading	MS	Correction
1:21	13	1	1	τῆς Κιλικίας	ℵ ^c	Change to ℵ ¹
1:22	13	2	14	ταῖς	D ^c	Change to D ²
2:2	15	2	1	ἔθνεσιν	B	Change to B*
2:2	15	2	12	ἔθνεσι		Add B ^c to 075
2:4	16	3	1	καταδουλώσουσιν	B	Change to B*
2:4	16	3	7	καταδουλώσωσιν		Add B ^c to 33
2:5	17	1	1	ἀλήθεια		Add D ^c to B
2:5	17	1	2ε.....η	C	Remove line
2:5	17	1	20	ἀλήθια	D ^c	Delete D ^c
2:5	17	1	23	διαμένη		Add C ^c to A
2:6	17	2	1	εἶναί		Add F ^c to B
2:6	17	2	1	ποτε	ℵ ^c	Change to ℵ ²
2:6	17	2	2	εἶνέ	F	Change to F*
2:6	18	1	1	πρόσωπον θεῶν ἀνθρώπου		Add D ¹ to B
2:6	18	1	7	θεῶν ἀνθρώπου πρόσωπον	D	Change to D ^{*2}
2:7	18	3	12	εἰδότες		Add C to ℱ ⁴⁶
2:7	18	3	13	εἰδόντες	C	Delete C
2:8	18	4	1	ὁ γὰρ ἐνεργήσας	ℵ ^c	Change to ℵ ¹
2:8	19	1	1	ἐνήργησε	B	Change to B ^c per NA ²⁸
2:8	19	1	7	ἐνήργησεν		Add B* to 910 per NA ²⁸
2:8	19	1	14	Πέτρῳ-περιτομῆς	ℵ ^c	Change to ℵ ¹
2:8	19	1	15	ἐνήργησεν καὶ ἐμοὶ	D ^c	Change to D ²
2:8	19	1	26	καὶ μοὶ	F ^c	Replace w/ καὶ μοὶ
2:8	19	2	5	ἔθνην	F	Change to F ^c & add line for F* w/ εἰθνην
2:9	20	1	14	μὲν	ℵ ^c	Change to ℵ ¹
2:10	20	2	8	μνημονεύωμεν		Add G ^c to F
2:10	20	2	9	μνημονεύωμεν	G	Change to G*
2:11	21	1	1	ἦλθεν	B	Change to B*
2:11	21	1	5	ἦλθε		Add B ^c to 104
2:11	21	1	9	Ἀντιόχειαν	D ^c	Change to D ²
2:12	22	2	1	ὑπέστειλεν	B	Change to B*
2:12	22	2	20	ὑπέστειλε		Add B ^c to 075
2:13	22	3	11	καὶ	ℵ ^c	Change to ℵ ²
2:13	23	1	2	συναπήχθη	ℵ	Change to ℵ* & add line for ℵ ² w/ συνυπήχθη.
2:14	23	2	1	ὀρθοποδοῦσιν	B	Change to B*
2:14	23	2	1	εἶδον ὅτι οὐκ	D ^c	Change to D ² & add line for D ¹ w/ ἴδον ὅτι οὐχ
2:14	23	2	7	ἀλήθειαν	G	Delete G & add line for G w/ ἀλήθειαν
2:14	23	2	11	ὀρθοποδοῦσι		Add B ^c to ℵ
2:14	23	3	17	ἔμπροσθεν / ὑπάρχων	D ^c	Change to D ²
2:14	24	1	1	οὐχὶ	ℵ ^c	Delete ℵ ^c & add line for ℵ ² w/ οὐχεὶ.

Verse	Page	Group	Line	Relevant Reading	MS	Correction
2:16	25	1	2	δικαιοῦται	G	Change to G*
2:16	25	1	3	δικαιοῦται		Add G ^c to C
2:16	25	1	5	εἰδότες ὅτι	D ^c	Change to D ²
2:16	26	1	1	δικαιωθήσεται	B	Remove line, add B to next.
2:16	26	1	10	διότι	D ^c	Change to D ²
2:18	27	1	18	συνίστημι	D ^c	Change to D ²
2:20	27	3	12	ζῶ	Ν^c	Change to Ν¹
2:20	28	1	12	καὶ	1424	Change to 1424 ^c & add line for 1424* ^{vid} w/out καὶ
3:1	29	2	11	κατ'	D ^c	Change to D ²
3:2	30	1	4	μαθεῖν θέλω	D ^c	Change to D ²
3:2	30	1	14	θέλω μαθεῖν		Add D ¹ to Ν
3:7	32	1	1	Γεινώσκετε	Ν*	Delete Ν*
3:7	31	1	1	Γεινώσκετε	B	Change to B*
3:7	32	1	3	Γινώσκετε		Add Ν* to Ψ
3:7	32	1	3	Γινώσκετε		Add B ^c to Ψ
3:7	32	1	16	Γεινώσκετε	Ν^c	Delete Ν^c
3:7	32	1	23	Γινώσκετε		Add Ν² to K
3:8	33	1	1	Ἐνευλογηθήσονται	F*	Delete F*
3:8	33	1	10	Εὐλογηθήσονται	F ^c	Change to F
3:10	33	3	1	εἰσὶν	B	Change to B*
3:10	33	3	8	εἰσί		Add B ^c to Ψ
3:10	33	3	9	ἐμμένη	1243*	Replace w/ ἐμμένη
3:10	33	3	10	ἐμμένη	1243 ^c	Replace w/ ἐμμένη
3:10	33	3	10	ἐμμένη	1424*	Replace w/ ἐμμένη
3:10	33	3	11	1424*	Replace w/ ὁ κρεμάμενος
3:10	33	3	12	ἐμμένη	2464	Replace w/ ἐμμένη
3:10	33	3	17	ἐμμένει ἐν	C	Replace w/ ἐμμένει
3:10	33	4	19	ἐν	Ν^c	Change to Ν²
3:10	33	4	19	ὅτι		Add 1874 ^c to Ν²
3:10	33	4	20	γὰρ Ἐπικαράτος	1874	Change to 1874*
3:11	34	1	10	νόμω	33	Replace w/ νόμου
3:11	34	2	1	δῆλον, ὅτι		Add D ² to B
3:11	34	2	17	παρὰ τῷ Θῶ	D ^c	Change D ¹ and omit τῷ
3:12	34	3	1	ἀλλ'	D ^c	Change to D ²
3:12	35	1	1	αὐτα ζήσεται		Add D ¹ to B
3:12	35	1	14	αὐτα ἀνὸς ζήσεται	D ^c	Change to D ²
3:13	35	2	1	ἡμῶν	F	Delete F & add line for F w/ ὑμῶν
3:13	35	2	1	τοῦ		Add G ^c
3:13	35	2	4	τοῦτ'	G	Change to G* and replace w/ τοῦ τ
3:13	35	2	9	γέγραπται γὰρ	D ^c	Change to D ²
3:14	35	4	7	γενήσεται	C	Delete C
3:14	35	4	7	γενήσεται	33	Delete 33

Verse	Page	Group	Line	Relevant Reading	MS	Correction
3:14	35	4	15	γένηται		Add C to D
3:14	35	4	15	γένηται		Add 33 to D
3:14	36	1	10	εὐλογίαν	D*.c2	Change to D*
3:14	36	1	12	ἐπαγγελίαν	D ^{c.1}	Change to D ²
3:16	37	1	1	τῷ δὲ Ἀβραάμ	C	Delete C
3:16	37	1	1	τῷ δὲ Ἀβραάμ		Add D ¹ to B*
3:16	37	1	2	τῷ Ἀβραάμ		Add C to D*
3:16	37	1	12	ἐρρήθησαν	D ^c	Change to D ²
3:16	37	2	13	σπέρμασιν, ὡς	D ^c	Change to D ²
3:16	37	3	1	ἔστιν	B	Change to B*
3:16	37	3	19	ἔστι		Add B ^c to C
3:17	38	2	8	Λ	G	Replace w/ α
3:18	38	3	1	ἡ	1424 ^c	Delete 1424 ^c
3:18	38	3	3	ἡ	1424*	Omit ἡ
3:18	38	3	5	νόμου κληρονομία		Add 1424 ^c to 1234
3:19	39	3	19	ἀγγέλου		Add C to 945
3:19	39	3	28	ἀγγέλων	C	Change to C ^c
3:19f	40	1	1	μεσεΐτου/μεσεΐτης	B	Change to B*
3:20	40	1	3	εἷς ἐστιν	F	Change to F ^c & add line for F* εετιν
3:19f	40	1	13	μεσίτου/μεσίτης		Add B ^c to A
3:20	40	1	13	οὐκ	D ^c	Change to D ² & add line for D ¹ w/ οὐχ
3:20	40	2	2	οὐ νόμος	F*	Replace w/ οὐν ομος
3:21	40	3	1	δυναίμενος	C	Change to C ^c & add line for C* ^{vid} w/ δυναμος
3:22	41	1	16	συνέκλεισεν	D ^c	Change to D ²
3:22	41	2	1	ἐκ πίστεως τῷ		Add 1424 ^c to B
3:22	41	2	3	ἐκ πίστεως	1424	Change to 1424*
3:22	41	3	1	χῶ	1424*	Change to 1424
3:22	41	3	9	χῶ	1424 ^c	Remove line
3:23	42	2	9	συνκλιόμενοι	D*	Add line for D ¹ w/ συνκεκλίσμενοι
3:23	42	2	17	συνκεκλείσμενοι	D ^c	Change to D ²
3:24	43	1	8	εἰς χῶ τῶ	D	Change to D*
3:24	43	1	20	εἰς χῶ		Add D ² to Ν
3:26	43	3	1	θῶ	Ν^c	Change to Ν¹
3:28	45	1	1	καὶ	1874	Delete 1874 & add line for 1874 w/ ἦ
3:28	45	1	16	ἐστε ἐν χῶ	Ν*	Add line for Ν¹ w/out ἐν
3:28	45	1	17	εἰς ἐστε ἐν χῶ	Ν^c	Change to Ν²
3:29	45	2	1	ὕμεῖς χῶ , ἀρα τοῦ	D ^{c.1}	Delete D ^{c.1}
3:29	45	2	3	ὕμεῖς	A	Delete A & add line for A w/ ὕμεῖς
3:29	45	2	3	ὕμεῖς χῶ , ἀρα τοῦ		Add D ² to Ν

Verse	Page	Group	Line	Relevant Reading	MS	Correction
3:29	45	2	4	αρα οὖν τοῦ	D ^{c.2}	Remove line
3:29	45	2	5	ὕμεις εἰς χω τω αρα οὖν τοῦ	D*	Add line for D ¹ w/out οὖν
3:29	45	3	9	κατὰ	G	Change to G* & add line for G ^c w/ κατ'
4:1	46	2	19	πάντων ὧν,	C	Change to C ^c & add line for C* w/out ὧν
4:2	46	2	9	ἐπιτρόπους		Add G ^c to F
4:2	46	2	10	ἐπιτρόποις	G	Change to G*
4:2	46	3	1	ἔστιν	B	Change to B*
4:2	46	3	23	ἔστι		Add B ^c to C
4:4	47	2	1	ἦλθεν	B	Change to B*
4:4	47	2	10	ἦλθε		Add B ^c to 056
4:5	48	2	1	ἀπολάβωμεν	1424	Change to 1424 ^c
4:6	48	2	1	ἐξαπέστειλεν	B	Change to B* & add line for B ^c w/ ἐξαπέστειλε
4:5	48	2	5	λάβωμεν		Add 1424* to 1242
4:6	48	3	8	υἱοῖς	F	Change to F*
4:6	48	3	9	υἱός		Add F ^c to G
4:6	48	3	9	κράζομεν	G	Change to G* & add line for G ^c w/ κράζομεν
4:6	48	3	20	ὑμῶν	D ^c	Change to D ²
4:7	49	1	1	ἀλλά	D	Change to D*
4:7	49	1	13	ἀλλ'		Add D ² to 69
4:7	49	2	13	θῦ διὰ χω	N ^c	Change to N ²
4:8	50	1	11	ιδότες	D	Change to D* & add line for D ² w/ εἰδότες
4:8	50	1	13	φύσειν		Add line for D ¹ w/ φύσει
4:8-9	50	2	5	νυνεῖ		Add line for D ¹ w/ νῦν
4:8-9	50	2	5	οὔσι / νυνεῖ		Add line for D ² w/ οὔσιν / νῦν
4:8-9	50	2	20	οὔσιν / νυνεῖ	D ^{c.2}	Remove line
4:12	52	2	1	Γείνεσθε	B	Change to B*
4:12	52	2	3	δέομαι	F	Change to F ^c & add line for F* w/ δθομαι
4:12	52	2	16	Γίνεσθε		Add B ^c to C
4:13	52	3	1	ἀσθένειαν	D ^c	Change to D ²
4:13	52	3	4	ἀσθένιαν		Add D ¹ to 1175
4:14	53	2	2	οὐκ		Add N ¹ to A
4:14	53	2	10	τὸν	N ^c	Change to N ²
4:14	53	3	1	ἐδέξασθέ		Add C to B
4:14	53	3	4	ἐξεδέξασθέ	C	Remove line
4:15	54	2	4	ἀνεδώκατέ	N ^c	Delete N ^c
4:15	54	2	8	ἀν ἐδώκατέ / ἐγὼ	D ^c	Remove line
4:15	54	2	15	ἀν ἐδώκατέ		Add N ² to K

Verse	Page	Group	Line	Relevant Reading	MS	Correction
4:15	54	2	15	ἀν ἐδώκατέ		Add D ² to K
4:17	55	1	1	ἀλλὰ ἐκκλείσαι	D ^c	Change to D ²
4:17	55	2	8		D ^c	Change to D ²
4:19	56	1	1	ὠδεῖνω	B	Change to B*
4:19	56	1	3	ὠδίνω		Add B ^c to N*
4:19	56	1	23	τεκνία / ἄχρις	N ^c	Change to N ²
4:22	57	2	9	ἔσχεν	F	Change to F ^c & add line for F* w/ εσχεν
4:24	58	3	1	εἰσιν / Σεινᾶ	B	Change to B*
4:24	58	3	3	εἰσιν δύο	N ^c	Change to N ²
4:24	58	3	14	εἰσι / Σινᾶ		Add B ^c to C
4:25	59	1	1	Σεινᾶ	B	Change to B*
4:25	59	1	1	ὄρος ἐστίν	D	Change to D ^{*.2} & add line for D ¹ w/ ἐστίν ὄρος
4:25	59	1	3	Σινᾶ		Add B ^c to A
4:25	59	2	1	συστοιχεῖ	B	Change to B*
4:25	59	2	29	συστοιχεῖ		Add B ^c to 69
4:25	60	1	8	δὲ	D ^c	Change to D ²
4:26	60	2	1	ἦτις ἐστίν		Add N ¹ to B
4:26	60	2	1	ἐστίν	B	Change to B*
4:26	60	2	5	ἐστὶ		Add B ^c to C ^c
4:26	60	2	11	πάντων	N ^c	Change to N ²
4:26	60	2	14	πάντων	C ^c	Replace w/ πάντων
4:27	60	4	1	ὠδείνουσα	B	Change to B*
4:27	60	4	8	ὠδίνουσα		Add B ^c to N
4:27	61	1	1	ἢ τῆς		Add G ^c to B
4:27	61	1	6	ἦι	G	Change to G* & replace w/ ης
4:28	61	2	3	ὕμῃς		Add line for D ¹ w/ ὑμεῖς
4:28	61	2	15	Ἰσαὰκ	N ^c	Change to N ²
4:28	61	2	15	ἡμεῖς	D ^c	Change to D ²
4:30	62	3	1	τοῦ υἱοῦ	N ^c	Change to N ¹
4:31	63	1	1	δίο		Add D ¹ to B
4:31	63	1	18	ἄρα	D ^c	Change to D ²
5:1	63	2	13	ἄρ ἡμᾶς	N ^c	Change to N ²
5:1	64	1	19	ἐνέχεσθε	D ^c	Change to D ¹ & add line for D ² w/ ἀνέχεσθε
5:2	65	1	15	Παῦλος	N ^c	Change to N ¹
5:2	65	1	15	Παῦλος	1424	Change to 1424 ^c & add line for 1424* w/ Παλος
5:2	65	2	1	ὠφελήσει	C	Delete C & add line for C w/ ὠφειλήσει
5:3	65	2	1	πάλιν	D ^c	Change to D ²
5:3	65	3	1	ὀφειλέτης		Add D ^c to B
5:3	65	3	5	ἀνθρώπων / ὅτι		Add N ² to F

Verse	Page	Group	Line	Relevant Reading	MS	Correction
5:3	65	3	6	ὀφιλέτης	D	Change to D*
5:3	65	3	14	ἀνθρώπων	ℵ*	Replace w/ ἀνθρώπω
5:3	65	3	15	ἀνθρώπων / ὅτι	ℵ ^c	Remove line
5:4	66	1	10	τοῦ	D ^c	Change to D ²
5:4	66	2	1	ἐξεπέσατε		Add D ¹ to B
5:4	66	2	10	δικαιοῦσθε	G	Replace w/ δικαιοῦσθαι
5:4	66	2	17	ἐξεπέσετε	D ^c	Change to D ²
5:5	66	3	13	ἀπεκδεχόμεθα	ℵ ^c	Change to ℵ ²
5:6	67	1	9	ἐν γὰρ		Add G ^c to F
5:6	67	1	10	ἐν	G	Change to G*
5:7	67	3	3	τῇ	ℵ ^c	Change to ℵ ²
5:7	68	1	1	πειθεσθαι	B	Change to B ^c
5:7	68	1	7	πειθεσθαι	D ^c	Change to D ²
5:7	68	1	14	πειθεσθε		Add B* to 614
5:7	68	1	18	τοῦ	F	Change to F ^c & add line for F* w/ τοι
5:7	68	1	21	πίθεσθαι	D*	Add line for D ¹ w/ πείθεσθε
5:9	68	2	1	μικρά	B	Change to B*
5:9	68	2	5	δόλοι	D*	Replace w/ δολοῖ
5:9	68	2	16	μικρά		Add B ^c to ℵ
5:9	68	2	16	ζυμοῖ	D ^c	Change to D ²
5:10	68	2	13	ἐγὼ δὲ πέποιθα	C	Change to C*
5:10	68	2	16	ἐγὼ πέποιθα		Add C ^c to ℵ
5:10	68	3	10	φρονήσεται· ὁ δὲ	G	Change to G*
5:10	68	3	11	χρῦ	F	Add line for G ^c & replace w/ χρῦ
5:11	69	2	1	ἔτι κηρύσσω		Add C ^c to B
5:11	69	2	1	ἔτι κηρύσσω	D ^c	Change to D ²
5:11	69	2	3	κατήργηται	F	Change to F ^c & add line for F* ^{vid} w/ κατιργηται
5:11	69	2	9	εἶτι	C	Change to C*
5:12	70	1	15	ὄφελον	D ^c	Change to D ²
5:12	70	2	1	οἱ	G	Change to G ^c & add line for G* w/ οὐ
5:13	70	3	1	Ἑμεῖς	D ^c	Change to D ²
5:14	71	2	6	νόμος	D ^c	Change to D ²
5:14	71	3	15	Ἀγαπήσεις		Add D ¹ to F
5:14	71	3	20	ἐν τῷ Ἀγαπήσεις	D ^c	Change to D ²
5:15	72	2	4	ὑπὸ	D ^c	Change to D ²
5:15	72	2	13	ὑπὸ	ℵ ^c	Change to ℵ ²
5:15	72	2	13	ὑπὸ		Add D ¹ to ℵ ^c
5:16	72	3	6	τελέσετε	D ^c	Change to D ²
5:16	72	3	7	τελεσηται	F	Change to F ^c & add line for F* w/ γελεσηται
5:17	72	4	11	ἐπιθυμῆ	L	Replace w/ ἐπιθυμῆ

Verse	Page	Group	Line	Relevant Reading	MS	Correction
5:17	73	1	4	τὸ δὲ τὸ πνᾶ	℘ ^{46*}	Change to ℘ ^{46c}
5:17	73	1	5	τὸ δὲ πνᾶ	℘ ^{46c}	Change to ℘ ^{46*}
5:17	73	1	12	δὲ	D ^c	Change to D ²
5:17	73	1	16	δὲ	ℵ ^c	Change to ℵ ²
5:17	73	2	11	ἃ θέλητε	C	Change to C*
5:17	73	2	27	ἃ ἂν θέλητε		Add C ^c to D ^c
5:18	73	2	4	πνι	1874 ^c	Delete 1874 ^c & add line for 1874 ^c w/ πντι
5:18	73	3	4	οὐκέτι ἐστὲ		Add ℵ ² to 1175
5:18	73	3	9	οὐκ τις	ℵ ^c	Remove line
5:19	73	3	1	ἐστι	B	Change to B ^c & add line for B* w/ ἐστὶν < NA ²⁸
5:19-20	74	1	1	ἐστιν / ἀκαθαρσία / εἰδωλολατρεία	B	Change to B*
5:19-20	74	1	5	ἐστι / ἀκαθαρσία / εἰδωλολατρεία		Add B ^c to 1241 ^s
5:19	74	1	19	μοιχία	ℵ ^c	Change to ℵ ²
5:19	74	1	20	ἀσέλγια		Add line for D ¹ w/ ἀσέλγεια
5:19-20	74	1	21	μοιχεία, πορνεία / εἰδωλολατρεία	D ^c	Change to D ²
5:20	74	2	1	ἐρειθεῖαι	B	Change to B* & add line for B ^c w/ ἐριθειαι
5:20	74	2	1	ἐρειθεῖαι	u	Replace w/ ἐριθειαι
5:20	74	2	24	φαρμακία / ἐριθίαι		Add D ¹ to [w]
5:20	74	2	30	φαρμακεία / ἐριθειαι	D ^c	Change to D ²
5:21	75	1	21	μέθαι	D ^c	Change to D ¹
5:21	75	2	12	καὶ	ℵ ^c	Change to ℵ ²
5:21	75	2	12	προεῖπον	D ^c	Change to D ²
5:23	76	2	8	πραότης	1735	Delete 1735 & add line for 1735 w/ πραότης
5:23	76	3	1	ἔστιν	B	Change to B*
5:23	76	3	1	ἔστιν	C	Delete C
5:23	76	3	15	ἔστι		Add B ^c to L
5:23	76	3	15	ἔστι		Add C to L
5:24	77	1	1	παθήμασιν	B	Change to B*
5:24	77	1	4	τοῦ χυ	ℵ ^c	Change to ℵ ¹
5:24	77	1	4	παθήμασι		Add B ^c to ℵ ^c
5:25	77	3	21	στοιχοῦμεν	D ^c	Change to D ²
5:26	77	3	1	γινώμεθα	B	Change to B*
5:26	77	3	3	γινώμεθα	G	Change to G ^c & add line for G* w/ γενώμεθα
5:26	77	3	28	γινώμεθα		Add B ^c to ℵ
5:26	77	3	28	γινώμεθα		Add D ¹ to ℵ
6:1	78	2	1	προλημφθῆ	B	Change to B*
6:1	78	2	12	προλημφθῆ		Add B ^c to L

Verse	Page	Group	Line	Relevant Reading	MS	Correction
6:1	78	4	8	πειρασθεῖς		Add 1874 to L
6:1	78	4	9	σὺ πειρασθῆς	D ^c	Change to D ²
6:1	78	4	10	ἕκαστος	F	Replace w/ ἕκαστος
6:1	78	4	10	πρασθῆ	F	Change to F ^c & add line for F* w/ παραθη
6:1	78	4	11	πρασθῆς	D*	Add line for D ¹ w/ πειρασθῆς
6:2	79	1	11	ἀναπληρώσατε	N ^c	Change to N ²
6:3	79	3	8	αυτοῦ	F*	Remove line
6:3	79	3	9	ἑαυτοῦ	F ^c	Change to F
6:7	80	3	5	μυκτηρίζεται	D ^c	Change to D ¹
6:7	81	1	1	ἂν σπείρη		Add D ¹ to B
6:7	81	1	9	ἔαν σπείρη	D ^c	Change to D ²
6:8	81	2	1	ἑαυτοῦ	D ^c	Change to D ²
6:8	81	2	1	ἑαυτοῦ	1424	Change to 1424 ^c
6:8	81	2	1	θερίσει	1735	Change to 1735 ^c
6:8	81	2	5	θερήσει		Add 1735 ^{*vid} to 88
6:8	81	2	8	θερίσει	N ^c	Change to N ²
6:8	81	2	9	σπίρων	D*	Add line for D ¹ w/ σπείρων
6:8	81	2	14	αυτοῦ		Add 1424* to Ψ
6:8	81	3	8	εἰς	D*	Change to ἐκ
6:11	83	2	8	πλεῖκοις	G	Replace w/ πηλείκοις
6:13	84	4	3	μόνον ...	1874	Change to 1874*
6:14	85	2	1	καυχᾶσθαι	D ^c	Change to D ²
6:14	85	2	12	καυχήσασθαι	D*.c2	Change to D*
6:14	85	3	1	κἀγὼ κόσμῳ	C	Change to C*
6:14	85	3	11	κἀγὼ τῷ κόσμῳ		Add C ^c to D ^c
6:14	85	3	11	κἀγὼ τῷ κόσμῳ	D ^c	Change to D ²
6:15	86	1	19	ἰσχυεῖ	N ^c	Change to N ²
6:15	86	1	19	ἰσχυεῖ	D ^c	Change to D ²
6:16	86	2	1	στοιχίσουσιν		Add C ^c to B
6:16	86	2	6	στοιχ.....	C	Remove line
6:16	86	2	22	στοίχουσιν		Add C* to D
6:16	86	3	4	ἐπὶ		Add line for D ¹ w/ καὶ ἐπὶ
6:16	86	3	8	τοῦ θῦ	D ^c	Change to D ²
6:17	87	1	1	λοιποῦ	F	Delete F & add line for F w/ λοιποῖ
6:17	87	2	6	χῦ	D ^{c.1}	Delete D ^{c.1}
6:17	87	2	18	τοῦ κῦ τῦ	D ^{c.2}	Change to D ^c

Appendix B: Critical Text of the Byzantine Prototype

ΠΡΟΣ ΓΑΛΑΤΟΥΣ*

1 Παῦλος ἀπόστολος οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπου ἀλλὰ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν, ² καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ πάντες ἀδελφοὶ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Γαλατίας, ³ χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ⁴ τοῦ δόντος ἑαυτὸν ἑπεὶ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, ὅπως ἐξέλθῃται ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος αἰῶνος πονηροῦ κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς ἡμῶν, ⁵ ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.

⁶ Θαυμάζω ὅτι οὕτως ταχέως μετατίθεσθε ἀπὸ τοῦ καλέσαντος ὑμᾶς ἐν χάριτι Χριστοῦ εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον, ⁷ ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο, εἰ μὴ τινὲς εἰσὶν οἱ ταράσσοντες ὑμᾶς καὶ θέλοντες μεταστρέψαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ. ⁸ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔαν ἡμεῖς ἢ ἄγγελος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ εὐαγγελίζηται ὑμῖν παρ' ὃ εὐηγγελισάμεθα ὑμῖν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. ⁹ ὡς προειρήκαμεν καὶ ἄρτι πάλιν λέγω· εἴ τις ὑμᾶς εὐαγγελίζεται παρ' ὃ παρελάβετε, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. ¹⁰ Ἄρτι γὰρ ἀνθρώπους πείθω ἢ τὸν θεόν; ἢ ζητῶ ἀνθρώποις ἀρέσκειν; εἰ γὰρ ἔτι ἀνθρώποις ἤρεσκον, Χριστοῦ δοῦλος οὐκ ἂν ἦμην.

¹¹ Γνωρίζω δὲ ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τὸ εὐαγγελισθὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν κατὰ ἄνθρωπον· ¹² οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐγὼ παρὰ ἀνθρώπου παρέλαβον αὐτὸ οὔτε

ἐδιδάχθην, ἀλλὰ δι' ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. ¹³ Ἠκούσατε γὰρ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀναστροφὴν ποτε ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαϊσμῷ, ὅτι καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἐδίωκον τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐπόρθουν αὐτήν, ¹⁴ καὶ προέκοπτον ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαϊσμῷ ὑπὲρ πολλοὺς συνηλικιώτας ἐν τῷ γένει μου, περισσοτέρως ζηλωτῆς ὑπάρχων τῶν πατρικῶν μου παραδόσεων. ¹⁵ Ὅτε δὲ εὐδόκησεν ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἀφορίσας με ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου καὶ καλέσας ἑμε διὰ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ ¹⁶ ἀποκαλύψαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐμοί, ἵνα εὐαγγελίζωμαι αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, εὐθέως οὐ προσανεθέμην σαρκὶ καὶ αἵματι ¹⁷ οὐδὲ ἀνήλθον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πρὸς τοὺς πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἀποστόλους, ἀλλὰ ἀπήλθον εἰς Ἀραβίαν καὶ πάλιν ὑπέστρεψα εἰς Δαμασκόν.

¹⁸ Ἐπειτα μετὰ ἔτη τρία ἀνήλθον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἰστορήσαι Πέτρον καὶ ἐπέμεινα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡμέρας δεκαπέντε, ¹⁹ ἕτερον δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων οὐκ εἶδον εἰ μὴ Ἰάκωβον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ κυρίου. ²⁰ Ἄ δὲ γράφω ὑμῖν, ἰδοὺ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ ὅτι οὐ ψεύδομαι. ²¹ Ἐπειτα ἦλθον εἰς τὰ κλίματα τῆς Συρίας καὶ τῆς Κιλικίας· ²² ἤμην δὲ ἀγνοούμενος τῷ προσώπῳ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Ἰουδαίας ταῖς ἐν Χριστῷ. ²³ μόνον δὲ ἀκούοντες ἦσαν ὅτι ὁ διώκων ἡμᾶς ποτε νῦν εὐαγγελίζεται ὅτι τὴν πίστιν ἦν ποτε ἐπόρθει, ²⁴ καὶ ἐδόξαζον ἐν ἐμοί τὸν θεόν.

² Ἐπειτα διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν πάλιν ἀνέβην εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα μετὰ Βαρναβᾶ συμπαραλαβὼν καὶ Τίτον· ² ἀνέβην δὲ κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν· καὶ ἀνεθέμην αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὃ κηρύσσω ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, κατ' ἰδίαν δὲ τοῖς δοκοῦσιν, μὴ πως εἰς κενὸν τρέχω ἢ ἔδραμον. ³ ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Τίτος ὁ σὺν

* MSS = D^c L 131 226 547 876 910 927 1270 1315 1352 1448 1734 1735 1854 2125 2147 2344 2401 2423 ...
Chrys-hark-1611 Ψ

1:3 ^f 1 2 547 910 1448 2147 2423 ... Chrys^{comm} | 3 1 2 131 876 2125 ... Chrys^{lem} Ψ

1:4 ^f ὑπὲρ 547 876 927 1315 1352 1448 1735 ... Chrys

1:6 ^f οὕτω 547 1352 2423 HF

1:8 ^f εὐαγγελίζεται 131 910 927 1270 1315 1352 1734 2125 2147 ... Chrys RP-MARG | txt D^c L 226 547 (εὐη- 876) 1448 1735 1854 2401 2423 ... 1611 Ψ RP-TEXT

1:11 ^f εὐηγγελισθὲν 131 1735

1:15 ^T με 1734 1854

1:16 ^f εὐαγγελίζομαι L 131 927 1315 2147

1:17 ^f ἀπήλθον D^c 2344

1:21 ^f κλήματα L 910 1315 1735 2147 2401

1:23 ^o 1315 2401

1:23 ^f πιστήν 2125 2147

1:23 ^f ἐπόρθη L 1315 1735 2125

έμοι, Ἑλλην ὧν, ἠναγκάσθη περιτμηθῆναι ·
4 διὰ δὲ τοὺς παρεισάκτους ψευδαδέλφους,
οἵτινες παρεισῆλθον κατασκοπήσαι τὴν
ἐλευθερίαν ἡμῶν ἣν ἔχομεν ἐν Χριστῷ
Ἰησοῦ, ἵνα ἡμᾶς καταδουλώσωνται, **5** οἷς
οὐδὲ πρὸς ὦραν εἴξαμεν τῇ ὑποταγῇ, ἵνα ἡ
ἀλήθεια τοῦ εὐαγγελίου διαμείνη πρὸς
ὑμᾶς. **6** Ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δοκούντων εἶναι τι,
— ὁποῖοί ποτε ἦσαν οὐδὲν μοι διαφέρει ·
πρόσωπον ἢ θεὸς ἀνθρώπου οὐ λαμβάνει —
έμοι γὰρ οἱ δοκούντες οὐδὲν προσανέθεντο,
7 ἀλλὰ τούναντίον ἰδόντες ὅτι πεπίστευμαι
τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς ἀκροβυστίας καθὼς
Πέτρος τῆς περιτομῆς, **8** ὁ γὰρ ἐνεργήσας
Ἐν Ἰησοῦ εἰς ἀποστολὴν τῆς περιτομῆς ἐνήρ-
γησεν «καὶ ἐμοὶ» εἰς τὰ ἔθνη, **9** καὶ γνόντες
τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσάν μοι, Ἰάκωβος καὶ
Κηφᾶς καὶ Ἰωάννης, οἱ δοκοῦντες στῆλοι
εἶναι, δεξιὰς ἔδωκαν ἐμοὶ καὶ Βαρναβᾶ
κοινωνίας, ἵνα ἡμεῖς ἑῖς τὰ ἔθνη, αὐτοὶ δὲ
εἰς τὴν περιτομήν · **10** μόνον τῶν πτωχῶν
ἵνα ἠμνημονεύωμεν, ὃ καὶ ἐσπούδασα αὐτὸ
τοῦτο ποιῆσαι.

11 Ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν Πέτρος εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν,
κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῷ ἀντέστην, ὅτι κατε-
γνωσμένος ἦν. **12** πρὸ ἑτοῦ γὰρ ἔλθειν τι-
νας ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου μετὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν συνήσθη-
εν · ὅτε δὲ ἦλθον, ὑπέστελλεν καὶ ἀφώρι-
ζεν ἑαυτὸν φοβούμενος τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς.
13 καὶ συνυπεκρίθησαν αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ
Ἰουδαῖοι, ὥστε καὶ Βαρναβᾶς συναπήχθη
αὐτῶν τῇ ὑποκρίσει. **14** ἀλλ' ὅτε εἶδον ὅτι
οὐκ ὀρθοποδοῦσιν πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ
εὐαγγελίου, εἶπον τῷ Πέτρῳ ἔμπροσθεν
πάντων · εἰ σὺ Ἰουδαῖος ὑπάρχων ἐθνικῶς

ζῆς καὶ οὐκ Ἰουδαϊκῶς, τί τὰ ἔθνη
ἠναγκάζεις ἰουδαΐζειν; **15** Ἡμεῖς φύσει
Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἀμαρτωλοί ·
16 εἰδότες ὅτι οὐ δικαιοῦται ἄνθρωπος ἐξ
ἔργων νόμου ἐὰν μὴ διὰ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ
Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν
ἐπιστεύσαμεν, ἵνα δικαιωθῶμεν ἐκ πίστεως
Χριστοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων νόμου, ἡδιότι οὐ
δικαιωθήσεται ἐξ ἔργων νόμου ἅσα σὰρξ.
17 εἰ δὲ ζητοῦντες δικαιωθῆναι ἐν Χριστῷ
εὐρέθημεν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀμαρτωλοί, ἄρα
Χριστὸς ἀμαρτίας διάκονος; μὴ γένοιτο.
18 εἰ γὰρ ἂ κατέλυσα ταῦτα πάλιν οἰκοδομῶ,
παραβάτην ἑμαυτὸν συνίστημι. **19** ἐγὼ γὰρ
διὰ νόμου νόμῳ ἀπέθανον, ἵνα θεῷ ζήσω.
Χριστῷ συνεσταύρωμαι · **20** ζῶ δὲ οὐκέτι
ἐγώ, ζῆ δὲ ἐν ἐμοὶ Χριστός · ὃ δὲ νῦν ζῶ ἐν
σαρκί, ἐν πίστει ζῶ τῇ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ
ἀγαπήσαντός με καὶ παραδόντος ἑαυτὸν
ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ. **21** Οὐκ ἀθετῶ τὴν χάριν τοῦ
θεοῦ · εἰ γὰρ διὰ νόμου δικαιοσύνη, ἄρα
Χριστὸς δωρεὰν ἀπέθανεν.

3 Ὡ ἀνόητοι Γαλάται, τίς ὑμᾶς ἐβάσκα-
νεν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μὴ πείσθεσθαι, οἷς κατ'
ὀφθαλμοὺς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς προεγράφη ἐν
ὑμῖν ἐσταυρωμένος; **2** τοῦτο μόνον θέλω
μαθεῖν ἀφ' ὑμῶν · ἐξ ἔργων νόμου τὸ
πνεῦμα ἐλάβετε ἢ ἐξ ἀκοῆς πίστεως; **3** οὐ-
τως ἀνόητοί ἐστε, ἐναρξάμενοι πνεύματι
νῦν σαρκὶ ἐπιτελεῖσθε; **4** τοσαῦτα ἐπάθετε
εἰκῆ; εἴ γε καὶ εἰκῆ. **5** ὁ οὖν ἐπιχορηγῶν
ὑμῖν τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἐνεργῶν δυνάμεις ἐν
ὑμῖν, ἐξ ἔργων νόμου ἢ ἐξ ἀκοῆς πίστεως;

6 Καθὼς Ἀβραὰμ ἐπίστευσεν τῷ θεῷ, καὶ
ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην · **7** γινώσκετε
ἄρα ὅτι οἱ ἐκ πίστεως, οὗτοί εἰσιν υἱοὶ
Ἀβραάμ. **8** προϊδοῦσα δὲ ἡ γραφή ὅτι ἐκ
πίστεως δικαιοὶ τὰ ἔθνη ὁ θεός, προεσηγγε-

2:4 ἔχομεν 1270 1352 1735 2147

2:5 διαμείνει 927 1315

2:6 ὁ 1270 1734 ... Chrys-hark Ψ

2:8 Πέτρον L 2401

2:8 ἐνεργήσεν 910 1448

2:8 κάμοι 927 1448

2:9 μὲν D^c 226 547 1315 1734 2344 RP-TEXT | txt L 131
876 910 927 1270 1352 1448 1735 1854 2125 2147 2401
2423 RP-MARG

2:10 ἠμνημονεύομεν D^c 1315 1735 2401

2:12 2344 2423

2:12 ἀφώριζεν L 226 1315 2147 | ὑφώριζεν 927

2:13 231 D^c 1270 1315

2:14 οὐχί 131 ... 1611 Ψ

2:14 πῶς D^c 1270

2:14 ἀναγνάξης L 1315

2:16 δέ L 1734 2147

2:16 547 2401

2:16 ὅτι ... hark-1611

2:16 3 4 5 1 2 ... hark-1611 | 1 2 Ψ

3:1 ἐβάσκηεν 547 927 1352

λίσατο τῷ Ἀβραάμ ὅτι ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν σοὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη · ⁹ ὥστε οἱ ἐκ πίστεως εὐλογοῦνται σὺν τῷ πιστῷ Ἀβραάμ.

¹⁰ Ὅσοι γὰρ ἐξ ἔργων νόμου εἰσιν, ὑπὸ κατάραν εἰσὶν · γέγραπται γάρ [†] ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὃς οὐκ ἐμμένει ^ο ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ ποιῆσαι αὐτά. ¹¹ ὅτι δὲ ἐν νόμῳ οὐδεὶς δικαιούται παρὰ τῷ θεῷ δῆλον, ὅτι ὁ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται · ¹² ὁ δὲ νόμος οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ πίστεως, ἀλλ' ὁ ποιήσας αὐτὰ ἄνθρωπος ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς. ¹³ Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξηγόρασεν ἐκ τῆς κατάρας τοῦ νόμου γενόμενος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατάρα, γέγραπται γάρ · ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὁ κρεμᾶμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου, ¹⁴ ἵνα εἰς τὰ ἔθνη ἡ εὐλογία τοῦ Ἀβραάμ ἡ γέννηται ² ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ἵνα τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ πνεύματος λάβωμεν διὰ τῆς πίστεως.

¹⁵ Ἀδελφοί, κατὰ ἄνθρωπον λέγω · ὅμως ἀνθρώπου κεκυρωμένην διαθήκην οὐδεὶς ἀθετεῖ ἢ ἐπιδιατάσσεται. ¹⁶ τῷ δὲ Ἀβραάμ ἔρρηθησαν αἱ ἐπαγγελίαι καὶ τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ, οὐ λέγει · καὶ τοῖς ἴσπερμασιν, ὡς ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἀλλ' ὡς ἐφ' ἑνός · καὶ τῷ σπέρματι σου, ὃς ἔστιν Χριστός. ¹⁷ τοῦτο δὲ λέγω · διαθήκην ἡ προκεκυρωμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς Χριστὸν ὁ μετὰ ⁵ ἔτη τετρακόσια καὶ [†] τριάκοντα ² ^{†1} γεγωνὸς νόμος οὐκ ἀκυροῖ εἰς τὸ καταργῆσαι τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν. ¹⁸ εἰ γὰρ ἐκ νόμου ἡ κληρονομία, οὐκέτι ἐξ ἐπαγγελίας · τῷ δὲ Ἀβραάμ δι' ἐπαγγελίας κεχάρισται ὁ θεός.

¹⁹ Τί οὖν ὁ νόμος; τῶν παραβάσεων χάριν προσετέθη, ἄχρις οὗ ἔλθῃ ἡ τὸ σπέρμα [†] ᾧ ἐπήγγελται, διαταγεῖς ^{†1} δι' ἀγγέλων ἐν

χειρὶ μεσίτου. ²⁰ ὁ δὲ μεσίτης ἑνὸς οὐκ ἔστιν, ὁ δὲ θεὸς εἷς ἔστιν. ²¹ ὁ οὖν νόμος κατὰ τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ; μὴ γένοιτο. εἰ γὰρ ἐδόθη νόμος ὁ δυνάμενος ζωοποιῆσαι, ὄντως ἂν ἐκ νόμου ἦν ἡ δικαιοσύνη · ²² ἀλλὰ συνέκλεισεν ἡ γραφή τὰ πάντα ὑπὸ ἁμαρτίαν, ἵνα ἡ ἐπαγγελία ἐκ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ δοθῇ τοῖς πιστεύουσιν.

²³ Πρὸ τοῦ δὲ ἔλθειν τὴν πίστιν ὑπὸ νόμον ἐφρουρούμεθα συγκεκλεισμένοι εἰς τὴν μέλλουσαν πίστιν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι, ²⁴ ὥστε ὁ νόμος παιδαγωγὸς ἡμῶν γέγονεν εἰς Χριστόν, ἵνα ἐκ πίστεως δικαιωθῶμεν · ²⁵ ἐλθούσης δὲ τῆς πίστεως οὐκέτι ὑπὸ παιδαγωγόν ἐσμεν. ²⁶ Πάντες γὰρ υἱοὶ θεοῦ ἐστε διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ · ²⁷ ὅσοι γὰρ εἰς Χριστόν ἐβαπτίσθητε, Χριστόν ἐνεδύσασθε. ²⁸ οὐκ ἔνι Ἰουδαῖος οὐδὲ Ἕλληνας, οὐκ ἔνι δοῦλος οὐδὲ ἐλεύθερος, οὐκ ἔνι ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ · πάντες γὰρ ὑμεῖς εἷς ἐστε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. ²⁹ εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς Χριστοῦ, ἄρα τοῦ Ἀβραάμ σπέρμα ἐστέ, ^ο καὶ κατ' ἐπαγγελίαν κληρονόμοι.

⁴ Λέγω δέ, ἐφ' ὅσον χρόνον ὁ κληρονόμος νήπιός ἐστιν, οὐδὲν διαφέρει δούλου κύριος πάντων ὢν, ² ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ ἐπιτρόπους ἐστὶν καὶ οἰκονόμους ἄχρι τῆς προθεσμίας τοῦ πατρὸς. ³ οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὅτε ἦμεν νήπιοι, ὑπὸ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου ἦμεν δεδουλωμένοι · ⁴ ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ χρόνου, ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, ἡ γενόμενον ἐκ γυναικός, γενόμενον ὑπὸ νόμον, ⁵ ἵνα τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον ἔξαγοράσῃ, ἵνα τὴν υἰοθεσίαν ἀπολάβωμεν. ⁶ Ὅτι δὲ ἐστε υἱοὶ, ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν ἡ κρίζον · αββα ὁ πατήρ. ⁷ ὥστε

3:10 [†] ὅτι D^c ... 1611 Ψ

3:10 ^ο 2344 ... hark-1611 Ψ

3:14 [†] γενήσεται L 226

3:16 [†] ἔρρηθησαν 131 876 1270 2125 HF ... Chrys-1611 Ψ

3:16 [†] ἴσπερμασιν 910 1735

3:17 [†] κεκυρωμένην 876 1448 | προκεκυρωμένην 1735

3:17 ^ο 1270 1448

3:17 [†] 41 23 D^c 1270 ... Chrys-hark Ψ

3:17 [†] τριακόσια 876 1315 1352

3:17 ^{†1} γέγονος 226 1734

3:19 [†] τῷ 1315 1735

3:19 [†] ὁ L 927 1270 1315 1734 2147

3:19 ^{†1} δέ 910 | - 927 1315 1734 2147

3:23 [†] 21 547 876 | 1 γάρ 927 | 1 1315

3:29 ^ο D^c 910

3:29 [†] κατεπαγγελίαν 910 2125

4:3 [†] οὕτω 547 1352 2401 2423 HF

4:4 [†] γεννώμενον (-ό- 2147) 226 910 2401

4:5 [†] ἐξαγοράσεται 131 2147

4:6 [†] ἡμῶν 1315 2344

4:6 [†] κρίζων 876 1315 1352 1734 1735 | κρίζοντας 2344

οὐκέτι εἶ δοῦλος ἀλλὰ υἱός· εἰ δὲ υἱός, καὶ κληρονόμος θεοῦ διὰ Ὁ Χριστοῦ.

⁸ Ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν οὐκ εἰδότες θεὸν ἐδουλεύσατε τοῖς ἄμφοτεροις οὐσίαις· ⁹ νῦν δὲ γινόντες ὁ θεὸν, μᾶλλον δὲ γνωσθέντες ὑπὸ θεοῦ, πῶς ἐπιστρέφετε πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰ ἄσθενῆ καὶ πτωχὰ στοιχεῖα οἷς πάλιν ἄνωθεν δουλεύειν θέλετε; ¹⁰ ἡμέρας παρατηρεῖσθε καὶ μῆνας καὶ καιροὺς καὶ ἑνιαυτούς, ¹¹ φοβοῦμαι ὑμᾶς μή πως εἰκῆ κεκοπίακα εἰς ὑμᾶς.

¹² Γίνεσθε ὡς ἐγώ, ὅτι καὶ ἐγὼ ὡς ὑμεῖς, ἀδελφοί, δέομαι ὑμῶν. οὐδὲν με ἡδίκησατε· ¹³ οἶδατε ὅτι δι' ἀσθένειαν τῆς σαρκὸς εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν τὸ πρότερον, ¹⁴ καὶ τὸν πειρασμόν μου τὸν ἐν τῇ σαρκί μου οὐκ ἐξουθενήσατε οὐδὲ ἐξεπτύσατε, ἀλλὰ ὡς ἄγγελον θεοῦ ἐδέξασθέ με, ὡς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν. ¹⁵ τίς οὖν ἦν ὁ μακαρισμὸς ὑμῶν; μαρτυρῶ γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι εἰ δυνατόν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὑμῶν ἐξορύξαντες ἂν ἐδώκατέ μοι. ¹⁶ ὥστε ἐχθρὸς ὑμῶν γέγονα ἀληθεύων ὑμῖν; ¹⁷ ζηλοῦσιν ὑμᾶς οὐ καλῶς, ἀλλὰ ἐκκλείσαι ὑμᾶς θέλουσιν, ἵνα αὐτοὺς ζηλοῦτε· ¹⁸ καλὸν δὲ ὁ ζηλοῦσθαι ἐν καλῶ πάντοτε καὶ μὴ μόνον ἐν τῷ παρεῖναι με πρὸς ὑμᾶς. ¹⁹ τεκνία μου, οὓς πάλιν ὠδίνω ἄχρις οὗ μορφωθῆ Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν· ²⁰ ἦθελον ὁδὲ παρεῖναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἄρτι καὶ ἀλλάξαι τὴν φωνήν μου, ὅτι ἀποροῦμαι ἐν ὑμῖν.

²¹ Λέγετέ μοι, οἱ ὑπὸ νόμον θέλοντες εἶναι, τὸν νόμον οὐκ ἀκούετε; ²² γέγραπται γὰρ ὅτι Ἀβραὰμ δύο υἱοὺς ἔσχεν, ἓνα ἐκ τῆς παιδίσκης καὶ ἓνα ἐκ τῆς ἐλευθέρας. ²³ ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐκ τῆς παιδίσκης κατὰ σάρκα γεγέννηται, ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐλευθέρας (διὰ τῆς)

ἐπαγγελίας. ²⁴ ἅτινά ἐστιν ἀλληγορούμενα· αὐταὶ γὰρ εἰσὶν ὁ δύο διαθήκαι, μία μὲν ἀπὸ ὄρους Σινᾶ εἰς δουλείαν γεννώσα, ἣτις ἐστὶν Ἀγάρ. ²⁵ τὸ γὰρ Ἀγάρ Σινᾶ ὄρος ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ· συστοιχεῖ δὲ τῇ νῦν Ἱερουσαλήμ, δουλεύει δὲ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς. ²⁶ ἡ δὲ ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ ἐλευθέρη ἐστίν, ἣτις ἐστὶν μήτηρ ὅλων τῶν ἡμῶν· ²⁷ γέγραπται γὰρ· εὐφράνθητι, στείρα ἢ οὐ τίκτουσα, ῥήξον καὶ βόησον, ἢ οὐκ ὠδίνουσα· ὅτι πολλὰ τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἐρήμου μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἐχοῦσης τὸν ἄνδρα.

²⁸ Ἡμεῖς ὁδὲ, ἀδελφοί, κατὰ Ἰσαὰκ ἐπαγγελίας τέκνα ἐσμέν. ²⁹ ἀλλ' ὡς περ τότε ὁ κατὰ σάρκα γεννηθεὶς ἐδίωκεν τὸν κατὰ πνεῦμα, οὕτως καὶ νῦν. ³⁰ ἀλλὰ τί λέγει ἡ γραφή; ἔκβαλε τὴν παιδίσκην καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς· οὐ γὰρ μὴ κληρονομήσῃ ὁ υἱὸς τῆς παιδίσκης μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς ἐλευθέρας. ³¹ ἄρα, ἀδελφοί, οὐκ ἐσμέν παιδίσκης τέκνα ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐλευθέρας.

⁵ Τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ οὖν ἡ Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ἠλευθέρωσεν στήκετε καὶ μὴ πάλιν ζυγῷ δουλείας ἐνέχεσθε. ² Ἴδε ἐγὼ Παῦλος λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι ἐὰν περιτέμνησθε, Χριστὸς ὑμᾶς οὐδὲν ὠφελήσει. ³ μαρτύρομαι δὲ πάλιν παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ περιτεμνομένῳ ὅτι ὀφειλέτης ἐστὶν ὄλον τὸν νόμον ποιῆσαι. ⁴ κατηγορήθητε ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, οἵτινες ἐν νόμῳ δικαιούσθε, τῆς χάριτος ἐξέπεσατε. ⁵ ἡμεῖς γὰρ πνεύματι ἐκ πίστεως ἐλπίδα δικαιοσύνης ἀπεκδεχόμεθα. ⁶ ἐν γὰρ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ οὔτε περιτομὴ τι ἰσχύει οὔτε

4:7 Ὁ Ἰησοῦ 927 2147

4:8 Ὁ 2 1 D^c 927

4:9 Ὁ γινόντες 226 1735

4:9 Ὁ τόν 1448 1854

4:9 Ὁ ἄσθενεῖ 1352 2147

4:13 Ὁ 1448 1734 1735

4:15 Ὁ L 876 2344 ... Chrys-hark-1611 Ψ

4:18 Ὁ 131 2147

4:20 Ὁ 1734 2147

4:23 Ὁ δι' 1315 ... Chrys-1611 Ψ

4:24 Ὁ αἰ 1352 2147

4:25 Ὁ 1352 2344

4:25 Ὁ τήν L 131 1315

4:25 Ὁ δέ ... 1611 | νῦν L 131 547 927 2125 ... Ψ

4:26 Ὁ D^c ... Chrys-1611 Ψ

4:28 Ὁ ἡμεῖς 1270 2147

4:28 Ὁ 2147 2401

4:28 Ὁ ἐστέ 1270

4:29 Ὁ οὕτω 2344 2423 HF

4:30 Ὁ κληρονομήσει D^c 927 1734 1735 2423

5:1 Ὁ D^c ... Chrys-hark-1611 Ψ

5:1 Ὁ ἀνέχεσθε D^c 2147

5:3 Ὁ μαρτύρομαι 1315 2344

5:4 Ὁ ἐξέπεσθε D^c 131 910 927 1352 1448 2147 HF RP-

MARG

ἀκροβυστία ἀλλὰ πίστις δι' ἀγάπης ἐνεργουμένη.

⁷ Ἐτρέχετε καλῶς· τίς ὑμᾶς ἐνέκοψεν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μὴ πείθεσθαι; ⁸ ἢ πεισμονὴ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ καλοῦντος ὑμᾶς. ⁹ μικρὰ ζύμη ὅλον τὸ φύραμα ζυμοῖ. ¹⁰ ἐγὼ ἴπέποιθα εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐν κυρίῳ ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄλλο φρονήσετε· ὁ δὲ ταρασσὼν ὑμᾶς βαστάσει τὸ κρίμα, ὅστις ἂν ᾦ. ¹¹ Ἐγὼ δέ, ἀδελφοί, εἰ περιτομὴν ἔτι κηρύσσω, τί ἔτι διώκομαι; ἄρα κατήργηται τὸ σκάνδαλον τοῦ σταυροῦ. ¹² Ὅφελον καὶ ἀποκόψονται οἱ ἀναστατοῦντες ὑμᾶς.

¹³ Ὑμεῖς γὰρ ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ ἐκλήθητε, ἀδελφοί· μόνον μὴ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν εἰς ἀφορμὴν τῆ σαρκί, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης δουλεύετε ἀλλήλοις. ¹⁴ ὁ γὰρ πᾶς νόμος ἐν ἐνὶ λόγῳ πληροῦται, ἐν τῷ· ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς ἑαυτόν. ¹⁵ εἰ δὲ ἀλλήλους δάκνετε καὶ κατεσθίετε, βλέπετε μὴ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἀναλωθῆτε. ¹⁶ Λέγω δέ, πνεύματι περιπατεῖτε καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν σαρκὸς οὐ μὴ τελέσητε. ¹⁷ ἢ γὰρ σὰρξ ἐπιθυμεῖ κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα κατὰ τῆς σαρκὸς, ταῦτα δὲ ἀντίκειται ἀλλήλοις, ἵνα μὴ ἂν θέλητε ταῦτα ποιῆτε. ¹⁸ εἰ δὲ πνεύματι ἄγεσθε, οὐκ ἐστὲ ὑπὸ νόμον. ¹⁹ φανερά δέ ἐστὶν τὰ ἔργα τῆς σαρκὸς, ἅτινά ἐστὶν πορνεία, μοιχεία, ἀκαθαρσία, ἀσέλγεια, ²⁰ εἰδωλολατρία, φαρμακεία, ἔχθραι, ἔρις, ζήλοι, θυμοί, ἐριθείαι, διχοστασίαι, αἰρέσεις, ²¹ φθόνοι, φόνοι, μέθαι, κῶμοι καὶ τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις, ἃ προλέγω ὑμῖν, καθὼς καὶ προεῖπον ὅτι οἱ τὰ

τοιαῦτα πράσσοντες βασιλείαν θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν. ²² ὁ δὲ καρπὸς τοῦ πνεύματος ἐστὶν ἀγάπη χαρὰ εἰρήνη, μακροθυμία χρηστότης ἀγαθωσύνη, πίστις ²³ πραύτης ἐγκράτεια· κατὰ τῶν τοιούτων οὐκ ἔστιν νόμος. ²⁴ οἱ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν σάρκα ἐσταύρωσαν σὺν τοῖς παθήμασιν καὶ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις. ²⁵ εἰ ζῶμεν πνεύματι, πνεύματι καὶ στοιχῶμεν. ²⁶ μὴ γινώμεθα κενόδοξοι, ἀλλήλους προκαλούμενοι, ἀλλήλοις φθονοῦντες.

⁶ Ἀδελφοί, ἐὰν καὶ προληφθῆ ἄνθρωπος ἐν τινι παραπτώματι, ὑμεῖς οἱ πνευματικοὶ καταρτίζετε τὸν τοιοῦτον ἐν πνεύματι πραύτητος, σκοπῶν σεαυτὸν μὴ καὶ σὺ πειρασθῆς. ² Ἀλλήλων τὰ βάρη βαστάζετε καὶ οὕτως ἀναπληρώσατε τὸν νόμον τοῦ Χριστοῦ. ³ εἰ γὰρ δοκεῖ τις εἶναι τι μηδὲν ὢν, ἑαυτὸν φρεναπατᾶ. ⁴ τὸ δὲ ἔργον ἑαυτοῦ δοκιμαζέτω ἕκαστος, καὶ τότε εἰς ἑαυτὸν μόνον τὸ καύχημα ἔξει καὶ οὐκ εἰς τὸν ἕτερον· ⁵ ἕκαστος γὰρ τὸ ἴδιον φορτίον βαστάσει.

⁶ Κοινωνεῖτω δὲ ὁ κατηχούμενος τὸν λόγον τῷ κατηχοῦντι ἐν πάσιν ἀγαθοῖς. ⁷ Μὴ πλανᾶσθε, θεὸς οὐ μυκτηρίζεται. ὁ γὰρ ἐὰν σπεῖρη ἄνθρωπος, τοῦτο καὶ θερίσει· ⁸ ὅτι ὁ σπείρων εἰς τὴν σάρκα ἑαυτοῦ ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς θερίσει φθοράν, ὁ δὲ σπείρων εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος θερίσει ζωὴν αἰώνιον. ⁹ τὸ δὲ καλὸν ποιοῦντες μὴ ἐκκακῶμεν, καιρῷ γὰρ ἰδίῳ θερίσομεν μὴ ἐκκλυόμενοι. ¹⁰ Ἄρα οὖν ὡς καιρὸν ἔχομεν,

5:10 ἴ δέ 1734 2344

5:10 ἴ φρονήσητε 1735 2401

5:14 ἴ λόγος L 1270

5:14 ἴ ἀγαπήσης 1315 2147

5:14 ἴ σεαυτοῦ D^c 1315 2147

5:17 ἴ ἐπιθύμη L 2147

5:17 ἴ D^c 2147

5:17 ἴ ἀντίκεινται L 1315 1734 2147

5:17 ἴ¹ θέλετε 1735 2401

5:17 ἴ² ποιεῖτε 226 1270

5:20 ἴ ἔχθρα 1315 1735

5:20 ἴ¹ ἔρις 131 226 876 927 1315 1352 1448 2147 ...

hark-1611

5:21 ἴ 131 1448

5:25 ἴ στοιχοῦμεν D^c L 1735 2147

5:26 ἴ γινόμεθα L 2147 | γενόμεθα 131 1315 2344 2401 | γενόμεθα 910 927 1270

5:26 ἴ προσκαλούμενοι L 131 927 1315 1734 2147 2401 | - 876

5:26 ἴ¹ ἀλλήλους 131 547 910 927 1315 1734 2125 2147 | - 876

6:1 ἴ πειρασθεῖς L 226 1315 1352 1735 2125 2147 2401

6:2 ἴ βάρει 1735 2147 2401

6:4 ἴ αὐτοῦ 1270 2423

6:7 ἴ σπέρει 1734 2147

6:9 ἴ θερίσωμεν L 927 1315 1448 2125 2147

6:9 ἴ ἐκκλυόμενοι 2125 2401

ἔργαζόμεθα τὸ ἀγαθὸν πρὸς πάντας,
μάλιστα δὲ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους τῆς πίστεως.

11 Ἴδετε πηλίκους ὑμῖν γράμμασιν ἔγραψα τῇ ἐμῇ χειρὶ. **12** Ὅσοι θέλουσιν εὐπροσωπῆσαι ἐν σαρκί, οὗτοι ἀναγκάζουσιν ὑμᾶς περιτέμνεσθαι, μόνον ἵνα μὴ τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἰδιώκονται. **13** οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ περιτετμημένοι αὐτοὶ νόμον φυλάσσουσιν ἀλλὰ θέλουσιν ὑμᾶς περιτέμνεσθαι, ἵνα ἐν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ σαρκὶ ἰκαυχήσωνται. **14** Ἐμοὶ δὲ μὴ γένοιτο καυχᾶσθαι εἰ μὴ ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι' οὗ ἐμοὶ κόσμος ἐσταύρωται καὶ ἐγὼ τῷ κόσμῳ. **15** Ἐν γὰρ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ οὔτε περιτομὴ τι ἰσχύει οὔτε ἀκροβυστία ἀλλὰ καινὴ κτίσις. **16** καὶ ὅσοι τῷ κανόνι τούτῳ στοιχήσουσιν, εἰρήνην ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ ἔλεος καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ τοῦ θεοῦ.

17 Τοῦ λοιποῦ κόπους μοι μηδεὶς παρεχέτω· ἐγὼ γὰρ τὰ στίγματα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματί μου βαστάζω.

18 Ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ὑμῶν, ἀδελφοί· ἀμήν.

6:10 ἔργαζόμεθα L 876 1270 1315 1352 1735 2125 2147

6:12 ἰδιώκωνται D^c 226 547 1315 1734 1854 2401 2423 ... Chrys-1611 Ψ RP | txt L 131 876 910 927 1270 1352 1448 1735 2125 2147

6:13 περιτεμνόμενοι D^c 131 547 876 910 1315 1448 2125 2147 ... Chrys-hark-1611 Ψ | txt L 226 927 1270 1352 1734 1735 1854 2401 2423 RP

6:13 ἰκαυχήσονται D^c 910 1315 1352 1735 2147

6:15 ἰ 5 2 ... Chrys-1611 Ψ

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Biography

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