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Pedagogues in the Pauline Corpus (1 Corinthians 4.15; Galatians 3.24,25)

J.C. O'Neill

The three metaphorical uses of the image of the pedagogue in the Pauline corpus occur in Jewish catenas that have been incorporated into Paul's letters to the Corinthians and to the Galatians. The saying in 1Cor refers to God the Father, and neither of the sayings in Galatians attacks the law.

When we read sentences in which the Greek word παιδαγωγός is used metaphorically in 1Cor 4.15 and Gal 3.24,25, what are we reading? Are the sentences part of letters written by one man on two separate occasions to specific Christian congregations in Corinth and Galatia? If not, what are they?

Clearly, our present Pauline letters are not letters but books. A.Q. Morton noticed that the number of four-page quires in each epistle is stepped down, from the longest to the shortest, in simple ratios: Romans 19, 1Corinthians 18, 2Corinthians 12, Galatians 6, Ephesians 7, Philippians and Colossians 4.5, 1Thessalonians 4, 2Thessalonians 2, 1Timothy 5, 2Timothy 4, Titus 2, Philemon 1. 1Corinthians is three times as long as Galatians and four times as long as Philippians or Colossians; 1Thessalonians and 2Timothy are one third of the length of 2Corinthians. By the time these epistles were published as the Pauline Canon, they were books, not letters.¹

Official letters, which Paul wrote to the Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians and Thessalonians as

¹ A.Q. Morton and J. McLeman, *The Genesis of John* (Edinburgh: St Andrew, 1980), Chapter 4, "The constraints of codex and compilation", pp. 27-30. J.C. O'Neill, "Paul wrote some of all, but not all of any", *The Pauline Canon*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Brook W.R. Pearson (Pauline Studies, 1; Leiden: Brill, 2001).

well as to Timothy, Titus and Philemon, would be no longer than about 5,400 characters. That is the upper limit of all the official letters we possess. Only Philemon can have been a letter before it became a book.

Earle Ellis has lately reminded us of the many pre-formed passages that are found in the Pauline corpus.² He argues that Paul either wrote them himself or authorized their insertion by assistants. It is rather more likely that they are catenas of sayings on various themes that had been collected in the libraries of the monastic communities to which we owe the preservation of almost all our abundant Jewish literature in Greek.³

Close examination of the context of the three sayings about pedagogues preserved in the Pauline corpus shows that each of these is preserved to us as part of a catena.

Notice, first, that the sayings were originally Jewish, for the name of Jesus has no secure footing in either of the catenas.

If we pay attention to the structure of the sentences, we begin to see that we are not reading a continuous argument. The sentences contain short sense-lines. Some of them are perfectly regular. The two couplets in 1Cor 4.10b contain 5 syllables then 6 syllables: 5,6 | 5,6. The three lines of 1Cor 4.12b contain 10 syllables each. [Table I] The two lines of Gal 3.22 contain 19 syllables each, and the two lines of Gal 3.26 contain 6 syllables each. [Table II]

² E. Earle Ellis, *The Making of the New Testament Documents* (Biblical Interpretation Series, 39; Leiden: Brill, 1999).

³ J.C. O'Neill, "The Origins of Monasticism", *The Making of Orthodoxy, Essays in honour of Henry Chadwick*, ed. Rowan Williams (Cambridge: CUP, 1989), pp. 270-287; "New Testament Monasteries", *Common Life in the Early Church: Essays Honoring Graydon F. Snyder*, ed. Julian V. Hills in collaboration with Richard B. Gardner, Robert Jewett, Robert Neff, Peter Richardson, David M. Scholer, and Virginia Wiles (Harrisville, Pennsylvania: Trinity Press International, 1998), pp. 118-132.

There is no connecting train of argument, although all the sayings are loosely related by theme. The comical contortions of commentators in explaining the transition from the 2nd person singular of 1Cor 4.7 to the 2nd person plural of 4.8, or the transition from the discussion of the law and scripture in the 3rd person in Gal 3.21-22 to the discussion of faith and the law in the inclusive 1st person plural in Gal 3.23-25, then to the discussion of faith and baptism addressing the hearers in the 2nd person plural in Gal 3.26-27 are a joy to behold.

J. Louis Martyn in his commentary on Galatians devotes his 36th Comment to "Theological Pronouns." He argues that "To read the entire passage [3.6-4.7] straight through is to see ... that the pronominal alterations constitute a rhetorical, psychological, and fundamentally theological language game Paul is playing with the Galatians."⁴ Our obsession with authors has blinded us to the true nature of the text. The original readers would have immediately recognized a catena.

Each saying is loosely related to the one preceding. In 1Cor 4.7 the interrogative τίς of the first saying suggested to the collector the interrogative τί of the second. The theme that we have nothing that we have not received in 4.7 suggested the theme of riches in 4.8. The theme of rule in 4.8 suggested the saying about those who are last of all in 4.9. The theatre of 4.9 suggested the fools of 4.10. Those without honour at the end of 4.10 suggested those who hunger and thirst and go naked and are buffeted and homeless of 4.11. The homeless of 4.11 suggested the reviled and persecuted of 4.12.

The slandered of the saying that ends at 4.13a suggested the offscourings of 4.13b. The offscourings of 4.13b suggested the saying of 4.14 in which the writer did not put to shame those to whom he wrote. The mention of beloved children in 4.14 suggested the saying about the father in 4.15a, and that in turn suggested the

⁴ J. Louis Martyn, *Galatians* (Anchor Bible, 33A; New York: Doubleday, 1997), pp. 334-336.

saying about the one who begot people through the gospel and who asked them to mimic him.

Notice that both 1Cor 4.15a and 1Cor 4.15b,16 contain the phrase ἐν Χριστῷ, another reason for the collector to put one saying after the other. I can see no way that the phrases can be made to carry the same meaning. In 4.15a ἐν Χριστῷ seems to mean *with Christ*, as in 1Cor 15.18 and 2Cor 13.4b (where ἐν parallels σὺν). In 1Cor 4.15b ἐν Χριστῷ goes with the verb and means *in the power of Christ* (cf. Psalm 17.30; 43.6; 59.14; John 3.21). No one writer is likely to have used the same phrase in such different ways in successive sentences.

The whole catena that so ended fitted well the context of 1Cor 4.6, where Paul asks the Corinthians to learn from him and Apollos. But clearly Paul could not have constructed the catena. The beloved child, Timothy, of whom Paul speaks in 1Cor 4.17 is not properly co-ordinated with 1Cor 4.14 and 4.15, which it surely would have been had the one author been running a connected argument. If Paul wrote it all, either the Corinthians are beloved children or Timothy is the beloved child.

Similarly in Galatians there is no connected argument. Gal 3.21a and 3.21b both talk of the law, as do Gal 3.23 and 3.24. The promises in 3.21a suggest another saying about the promise in 3.22. Righteousness in 3.21b suggested the saying about sin in 3.22 and the saying about justification in 3.24. The saying in 3.22 introduced faith, and that suggested the sayings about faith: 3.23; 3.24; 3.25 and 3.26. And the action of the γράφῃ in 3.22 in locking up all things suggested another saying about locking up, 3.23. The pedagogue of 3.24 suggested another saying about pedagogues in 3.25. The phrase εἰς Χριστόν of 3.24 suggested the saying about baptism εἰς Χριστόν of 3.27, although, of course, the prepositional phrase performs a quite different function in each saying.

Before we come to a closer consideration of the three pedagogue sayings, we need to observe the havoc wrought by textual corruption in a Marcionite direction in Galatians.

Gal 3.21a is a stout defence of the law. "Is the law really against the promises? Of course not." (The AV "God forbid!" is excellent.)

Commentators then read the first line of Gal 3.21b as though it said, "If the law was able to make alive." They understand this to mean: If, *per impossibile*, the law was able to make alive. Such a sentiment would, of course, flatly contradict the Torah and the Prophets and the Writings and the later Jewish books. "Set you hearts unto all the words which I testify among you this day ... all the words of this law. For it is not a vain thing for you; because *it is your life*" (Deut 32.46-47). "Our fathers ... were delivered from [Egypt] and received the *law of life* ..." (2 Esdras [4 Ezra] 14.29-30). "Hear the commandments of *life*, O Israel" (Baruch 3.9).

Note now the covert mistranslation of this first line in Gal 3.21. It says, "If a law *was given* which is able to make alive." The verb ἐδόθη is a divine passive: If a law was given *by God* ..." God can both kill and make alive (Deut 32.39), but God could never be said to give something which lacked the ability to make alive, as though his arm were shortened.

So we must look for the scribal corruption that turned a statement about the law given by God, which is able, of course, to bring life, into its opposite. The corruption is not far to seek. It is the little Greek particle ἄν in line 2, which imports the counter-factual *would have* into the sentence: "truly righteousness *would have* been by the law." The particle ἄν is missing in F G 330 *d*. The majority text has the order ἄν ἦν, but p⁴⁶ κ Ψ 33 1739 &c. have the order ἦν ἄν, and 206 1799 have just ἄν and not ἦν, all further indicators that one of the words was a gloss. The gloss was ἄν.

Return to the first line of the saying. The word εἶ can mean either, "If, as is not the case", or, "If, as *is* the case." The second usage we translate *since*. "Since a law was given which is able to make alive, righteousness is in the law" (following p⁴⁶ Β ἐν νόμῳ against the majority ἐκ νόμου). There are many other examples of such perversion of words in the Pauline corpus by scribes with Marcionite leanings, but let that stand as one clear case. Add to the

tendency of scribes the tendency of translators to supply the word *alone* in just the wrong place, begun by Luther: “by faith alone”. The true sense is “not by faith alone” (cf. Gal 2.16; James 2.24) or “not by the law alone” (Rom 4.16). The result: disaster for both faith and morals. So much for Paul’s “Law-free Gospel”, the beloved slogan of commentators since Paul Feine’s book of that title, *Das gesetzfreie Evangelium des Paulus* (1899—but of course the idea goes back at least to F.C. Baur and the Tübingen School).

Now we are ready to read the three references to pedagogues in their true light. Our guide should be the actual way that the word παιδαγωγός was used by Hellenistic and Jewish moralists who made metaphorical play of the family institution of the slave given charge of the deportment in public, the manners and the morals of children.

1Cor 4.15a: *Of course you have myriads of pedagogues with Christ [as the chief], but you do not have many fathers.*

The rabbis named many great figures in Israel *pedagogues*, taking up the Greek word as a loan word. Moses, Aaron and Miriam were pedagogues: by the merit of Moses they ate manna; by the merit of Aaron, clouds of glory were set about them; by the merit of Miriam, the well was opened (Num Rabbah 1.2).

In a parable of three pedagogues set over the king’s son, the first laid chains of a hundred pounds weight on him, the second chains of twelve pounds, and the third (who said, How can he bear chains of twelve pounds?) laid one pound on him. The first was Moses, the second David, and the third Jeremiah (Deut Rabbah II.11).

In another parable, the king’s son was recovering from an illness. The pedagogue said, Your son should now go to school. The king said, He needs to spend three months at the well before I give him the law at Sinai. The pedagogue stands for the ministering angels (Canticles Rabbah 2.5 para. 2).

In another parable the pedagogue was outside the door of the room where the king was about to punish his son. The king cried

out, Let me alone. The pedagogue immediately saw that the king really desired the pedagogue to intercede for mercy for his son. The pedagogue is of course Moses (Exodus Rabbah 42.9; cf. Deut Rabbah III.15).

Christ is pictured as a pedagogue by Clement of Alexandria (*paedagogos* i.7, 9, 11; iii.11).

In 1Cor 4.15a the speaker is God the Father. Only in a royal court would there be many pedagogues. Here the king is God who reminds Israel that behind the myriad pedagogues stands the loving father. If while a son is restrained from sinning by the pedagogue, the teacher, the elder, the father and the mother, how much more when God is near? (Philo *de mutatione nominum* 217)

1Cor 4.15b of course is a different saying, spoken by a missionary of his convert.

Gal 3.24: *So the law was our pedagogue leading us to Christ, that we might be justified by faith [in the God who gave the law].*

4Macc 1.17 speaks of the παιδεία of the law: the educative role of the law. But of course the law was seen as pointing to the coming Messiah, David's greater son. Two passages from the Law are picked up again and again in the Prophets, the Writings and the later literature: the blessings on Judah in the Blessings of Jacob (Gen 49.8-12), and Balaams's prophecy in Num 24. Similarly, the promise to David through Nathan in 2 Sam 7.12-16 (1Chron 17.11-14) is repeated again and again.⁵ No Jew could possibly separate the law from Christ, for the Law promised Christ.

Similarly, no Jew could separate justification by faith from the law, because it was the Law that said that God justified Abraham because of his faith.

⁵ J.C. O'Neill, *The Point of It All: Essays on Jesus Christ* (Leiden: Deo, 2000), Chapter 3, "What would the Messiah be like?", pp. 42-48.

Note the Marcionite-type change of the perfect verb γέγονεν into the aorist ἐγένετο (p⁴⁶ B) as though the law's pedagogical work was over.

Gal 3.25: *When trustworthiness comes we are no longer under pedagogues.*

Gal 3.25 is seized on by those who want to make the law a temporary device that ceases when the child comes of age.

Let us first consider two passages that do play on the temporary nature of the pedagogue's role.

Greek and Hellenistic philosophers commonly made moral use of the institution where a young boy in a good family was put under a slave who accompanied him from home to school and back both to protect him and to remind him of the good manners required of him.⁶ The philosophers compared the duties of such a slave to the function of the law of nature. The aim of the institution of the παιδαγωγός was to prepare the boy for the attainment of an innate respect for the law of nature. Marcus Aurelius, for example, considers the case of a grown man who transgresses the law which lays down for everyone what is their lot. He has, perhaps, given way to sorrow or to anger or to fear. When such a man realizes that he has fallen away from his principles he should return to philosophy—but not as to a παιδαγωγός but as a man with sore eyes to the sponge or salve, to a poultice or to a fomentation. The aim of the old constraints when the law was the slave who looked after us was to make us internalise the lessons. A grown man, when he temporarily forgets what he knew, will return to the true philosophy out of love not out of fear (*Meditations* 5.9). Marcus Aurelius is not attacking the pedagogue; he is recommending the grown man now apply the pedagogue's lessons in the way the pedagogue wanted them applied, as philosophy.

⁶ Norman H. Young, "Paidagogos: The Social Setting of a Pauline Metaphor", *NovT* 29 (1987), 150-176.

Similarly Philo tells the story of the tyrant Gaius who put to death Macro who tried to admonish him to return to the mild-tempered way of his youth. Macro was mocked by Gaius as trying to act the pedagogue to the grown man. But of course Macro was right and Gaius wrong (*In Flaccum* 15; *Legatio ad Gaium* 5.3).

In Gal 3.25 the word πίστις seems to refer to a human virtue, one of the fruits of the Spirit (Gal 5.22; Matt 23.23; 2Thess 1.4; Tit 2.10; Hermas *Mandates* 6.1.1). This virtue *comes* when those under pedagogues have learnt their moral lessons and understood them (cf. the use of the verb *to come* in 1Cor 13.10). The same terms occurred in Gal 3.23: πίστις with the verb ἐρχεσθαι. There, however, the πίστις is to be revealed by God, and stands for that which has been entrusted to certain recipients by God which, in due course, is to be unveiled: before the pledged glory comes and before it is revealed they are to devote themselves to the study of the law (cf. Acts 17.31 where God gave a pledge [πίστις] to all, by raising Jesus from the dead; the pledge is specified: that Jesus was appointed to judge the world in righteousness).

Two sayings using the noun πίστις and the verb ἐρχεσθαι were brought into the catena because of their similar wording. The noun refers in Gal 3.23 to God's pledge to be revealed, and the moment of revelation is when it is to come in the world's history. The noun refers in Gal 3.25 to a virtue that develops in a child and this virtue comes to fruition when the child has appropriated the virtue. No one author writing a continuous argument is likely to use similar terminology to express such different ideas in such close proximity without explaining what he was doing. In a catena of originally independent sayings such conjunctions are common (e.g. in Prov 13.2,3,4 the word *mouth* is metaphorically productive or shut, and the word מַעַל is metaphorically life or throat or appetite). The ideas are not contradictory, for each fits in a wider picture including both the moral growth of the individual and the end of the world. We are reading a catena not a connected argument.

In Gal 3.25 the plural *pedagogues* (330 365) is to be preferred, since no scribe would be likely to change the singular to a plural; the change would be the other way, from plural to singular, to bring 3.25 into line with 3.24.

Gal 3.25 is simply a midrash on Jer 31.31-34 using the commonplace Cynic-Stoic theme of the process of education from external pressure to internal appropriation to enforce the lesson that the law should now be written in their hearts (cf. Plutarch *Moralia* 37 C-E; Epictetus frag. 97).

The three references to pedagogues are Jewish aphorisms, preserved for us in collections in the Pauline corpus. One saying points to the Father as behind the pedagogues. The second pictures the law as leading Israel to Christ. The third reminds the readers that the aim of the law of Moses is to imprint the law of God in their hearts.

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Table I

1 Corinthians 4.6-16

Paul

4.6 Ταῦτα δέ, ἀδελφοί, μετεσχημάτισα εἰς ἑμαυτὸν καὶ Ἀπολλῶν δι' ὑμᾶς ἵνα ἐν ἡμῖν μάθητε.

These things, brothers, I have applied to myself and Apollos for your sakes so that you might learn from us.

A Collection of Sayings

ἵνα εἷς ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐνός μὴ φυσιοῦσθε κατὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου.

Gloss: τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ α γέγραπται

All bar D E 257 378 read ἵνα μὴ εἰς

0151 257 378 1319 1611 &c. read ενος μη
φυσιουσθε

Let not one of you be puffed up for one [leader] against another.

Gloss: *The μη is written over the α [of ινα]*

4.7 τίς γάρ σε διακρίνει;

Now what sort of person condemns you?

τί δὲ ἔχεις ὃ οὐκ ἔλαβες;
εἰ δὲ καὶ ἔλαβες,
τί καυχᾶσαι ὡς μὴ λαβῶν;

What do you have that you have not received?

If then you have received,

why do you boast as though you had not received?

4.8 ἤδη κεκορεσμένοι ἐστέ,
ἤδη ἐπλουτήσατε,
χωρὶς ἡμῶν ἐβασιλεύσατε:
καὶ ὄφελόν γε ἐβασιλεύσατε
ἵνα καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑμῖν συμβασιλεύσωμεν.

You are already surfeited;

you are already rich;

you have taken your thrones without us!

Oh that you did reign,

so that we might reign with you.

4.9 δοκῶ γάρ

ὃ θεὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀποστόλους ἐσχάτους ἀπέδειξεν,
ὡς ἐπιθανατίους:

ὅτι θέατρον ἐγενήθημεν τῷ κόσμῳ
καὶ ἀγγέλοις καὶ ἀνθρώποις.

*Now I think
that God has set us apostles forth as the least,
as destined to die,
for we have become a spectacle to the world
even to angels as well as to men.*

4.10 ἡμεῖς μωροὶ διὰ Χριστόν,
ὕμεῖς δὲ φρόνιμοι ἐν Χριστῷ.

*We are fools for Christ's sake,
and you are wise as belonging to Christ.*

ἡμεῖς ἀσθενεῖς,
ὕμεῖς δὲ ἰσχυροί.
ὕμεῖς ἐνδοξοί,
ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀτιμοί.

*We are weak,
but you are strong.
You are honoured,
but we are despised.*

4.11 ἄχρι τῆς ἄρτι ὥρας
καὶ πεινώμεν καὶ διψῶμεν καὶ γυμνιτεύομεν
καὶ κολαφιζόμεθα καὶ ἀστατοῦμεν
4.12 καὶ κοπιῶμεν ἐργαζόμενοι ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσίν.

*Unto this present hour
we both hunger and thirst and go naked
and are buffeted and are homeless
and labour, working with our own hands.*

λοιδορούμενοι εὐλογοῦμεν,
διωκόμενοι ἀνεχόμεθα,
4.13 δυσφημούμενοι παρακαλοῦμεν.

*Reviled we bless,
persecuted we endure,
defamed we are conciliatory.*

ὡς περικαθάρματα τοῦ κόσμου ἐγενήθημεν,
πάντων περίψημα ἕως ἄρτι.

*We have become like the dirt of the world
unremittingly the offscourings of all.*

4.14 οὐκ ἐντρέπων ὑμᾶς γράφω,
ἀλλ' ὡς τέκνα μου ἀγαπητὰ νουθετῶν.

DFG ταυτα γραφω Rest γραφω ταυτα Cj. om. ταυτα
*I write not to make you ashamed
but as warning my beloved children.*

4.15 ἐὰν μυρίους παιδαγωγούς ἔχητε ἐν Χριστῷ,
ἀλλ' οὐ πολλοὺς πατέρας.

p⁴⁶ 1 g: εαν μυριους against the rest:

εαν γαρ μυριους

All bar B 1506 C1st Ambst read Χριστω Ιησου

*Of course you have myriads of pedagogues with Christ [as the
chief],
but you do not have many fathers.*

ἐν γὰρ Χριστῷ διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου

ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς ἐγέννησα:

4.16 παρακαλῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς
μιμηταί μου γίνεσθε.

*Now in the power of Christ through the gospel
I have begotten you.
So I beseech you to be imitators of me.*

Paul

4.17 διὰ τοῦτο ἐπεμψα ὑμῖν Τιμόθεον ὃς ἐστίν μου τέκνον ἀγαπητὸν καὶ πιστὸν ἐν κυρίῳ ὃς ὑμᾶς ἀναμνήσει τὰς ὁδοὺς μου τὰς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ καθὼς πανταχοῦ ἐν πάσῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ διδάσκω.

A B D² Ψ Majority b vgst sy^p sa omit Ἰησοῦ

For that reason I have sent Timothy to you, who is my beloved child, faithful to the Lord. He will remind you of my instructions given in the name of Christ Jesus, as I teach everywhere in every church.

Table II

Galatians 3.21-27

A Collection of Sayings

3.21 ὁ οὖν νόμος κατὰ τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν;
μὴ γένοιτο.

Line 1: p46 B D Ambst ἐπαγγελιῶν add τοῦ Χριστοῦ 104; θεοῦ F G; τοῦ θεοῦ κ A C D Ψ

*Is the law really against the promises?
Of course not.*

3.21b εἰ γὰρ ἐδόθη νόμος ὁ δυνάμενος ζωοποιῆσαι,
ἀληθεία ἐν νόμῳ ἢ δικαιοσύνη.

Line 2: ἀληθεία F G; ὄντως the rest; ἐν νόμῳ p⁴⁶ B; ἐκ νόμου the rest; om. ἂν ἦν F G d; ἦν ἂν p⁴⁶ κ Ψ 0278 33 365 1739 &c.; om. ἂν 330; om. ἦν 206 1799; om. ἢ p⁴⁶.

Since a law was given which is able to make alive, truly [I say]: righteousness is in the law.

3.22 ἀλλὰ συνέκλεισεν ἡ γραφή τὰ πάντα διὰ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἵνα ἡ ἐπαγγελία ἐκ πίστεως δοθῆι τοῖς πιστεύουσιν.

Line 1: διὰ τὴν 38; ὑφ' A 81 330 &c.; ὑπό most of rest

Line 2: ἐπαγγελία ἐκ πίστεως Ethiopic: add Χριστοῦ 17 33; add ἐν Χριστῶ ' Ἰησοῦ L; add' Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ the rest

Surely [the verse in] scripture shut away all [good] things [in Paradise] because of sin with the intention that the promise attached to faith would be given to those who believe.

3.23 ἀδελφοί, πρὸ τοῦ δὲ ἐλθεῖν τὴν πίστιν ὑπὸ νόμου ἐφρουρούμεθα, συγκλειόμενοι εἰς τὴν μέλλουσαν πίστιν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι.

Line 1: add ἀδελφοί 1799

νόμου 075; μόνον F; νόμον the rest

Brothers, before the faith[ful promise] comes we have been and are protected by the law, shutting ourselves up [to its study] so that the coming faith[ful promise] may be revealed.

3.24 ὥστε ὁ νόμος παιδαγωγὸς ἡμῶν γέγονεν εἰς Χριστόν, ἵνα ἐκ πίστεως θεοῦ δικαιωθῶμεν.

Line 1: γέγονεν all save p⁴⁶ B Clement of Alexandria *str* 1.167 (against *paed* 1.30) which read ἐγένετο.

Line 2: add θεοῦ 255 256 365 1319 2127 against the rest.

So was the Law our pedagogue leading us to Christ so that we might be justified by faith in [the] God [who gave the Law].

3.25 ἐλθούσης δὲ τῆς πίστεως
οὐκέτι ὑπὸ παιδαγωγῶν ἔσμεν.

Line 2: for παιδαγωγόν of most mss., read
παιδαγωγῶν with 330 365.

*When trustworthiness comes
we are no longer under pedagogues.*

3.26 Πάντες υἱοὶ ἔστε
διὰ τῆς πίστεως.

Line 1: NA²⁶: πάντες γὰρ υἱοὶ θεοῦ ἔστε
2344: παντες υιοι θεου εστε
462: παντες γαρ υιοι εσται θεου
0278: παντες γαρ υιοι εστε

Line 2: NA²⁶: διὰ τῆς πίστεως
p⁴⁶ P 056 0142 5 2464: δια πιστεως
61¹ 1959: om.

Line 3: NA²⁶: ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ
p⁴⁶ 6: χριστου ιησου
P 61¹ 1959: om.

*You are all sons
through faith.*

3.27 ὅσοι εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθημεν:
Χριστὸν ἐνεδύσασθε.

Line 1: Ψ 491: om. γάρ
436: εν χριστω
NA²⁶: ἐβαπτίσθητε
p⁴⁶: ἐβαπτίσθημεν

Line 2: 1845: Ἰησουν before Χριστον
1739: Ἰησουν after Χριστον
cj: om. Ἰησουν

*All we who have been baptized in [the name of] Christ:
[We say to you newly baptized:]
You have taken on [the weapons of] Christ.*