

Clemson University

**TigerPrints**

---

Publications

Philosophy & Religion

---

Spring 2016

## **Paul's Collection through the Saints: Romans 15:31 in Papyrus 46**

Benjamin White

Alexander D. Batson

Follow this and additional works at: [https://tigerprints.clemson.edu/phil\\_pubs](https://tigerprints.clemson.edu/phil_pubs)



Part of the [Religion Commons](#)

---



# Journal *for the* Study of Paul *and his* Letters

VOL. 6, NO. 1 — SPRING, 2016

## CONTENTS

Editor's Foreword .....	1
STANLEY E. PORTER	
Until the Fullness of the Gentiles Comes In: A Critical Review of Recent Scholarship on the Salvation of "All Israel" (Romans 11:26) .....	5
JOHN K. GOODRICH	
The Object of the Law is Realized in Christ: Romans 10:4 and Paul's Justification Teaching .....	33
CHARLES LEE IRONS	
Tablets of Fleshly Hearts: Paul and Ezekiel in Concert .....	55
JEFFREY W. AERNIE	
Paul and the Ancient Body Metaphor: Reassessing Parallels .....	75
TIMOTHY A. BROOKINS	
Paul's Collection through the Saints: Romans 15:31 in Papyrus 46 ...	99
BENJAMIN L. WHITE AND ALEXANDER D. BATSON	
Enemy Love in Paul: Probing the Engberg-Pedersen and Thorsteinsson Thesis .....	115
MOYER V. HUBBARD	



## *Journal for the Study of Paul and His Letters*

### EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

Stanley E. Porter (McMaster Divinity College, Canada)

### ASSOCIATE EDITOR

Christopher D. Land (McMaster Divinity College, Canada)

### EDITORIAL BOARD

Peter Balla (Károli Gáspár University of  
the Reformed Church, Hungary)  
Richard Bell (Nottingham University, UK)  
Michael F. Bird (Ridley College, Australia)  
Douglas A. Campbell (Duke University,  
USA)  
Lynn Cohick (Wheaton College, USA)  
Susan Eastman (Duke University, USA)  
Paul Foster (Edinburgh University, UK)  
Timothy Gombis (Grand Rapids  
Theological Seminary, USA)

Michael Gorman (St. Mary's Seminary,  
USA)  
Nijay Gupta (George Fox Evangelical  
Seminary, USA)  
Mark Nanos (Rockhurst University, USA)  
Matthew V. Novenson (Edinburgh  
University, Scotland)  
Christoph Stenschke (University of South  
Africa, South Africa)  
Joel Willitts (North Park University, USA)

Correspondence and papers for submission should be directed to Prof. Stanley E. Porter: [porters@mcmaster.ca](mailto:porters@mcmaster.ca); see inside back cover for additional instructions.

The *JSPL* does not review books; occasional review articles may be published. Publishers wishing the journal to consider a book for a review article should contact the Editors.

*The Journal for the Study of Paul and His Letters* (ISSN 2159-2063) is published and distributed by Eisenbrauns, P.O. Box 275, Winona Lake, IN 46590. For subscription information, visit [www.eisenbrauns.com/jspl](http://www.eisenbrauns.com/jspl) or e-mail: [journals@eisenbrauns.com](mailto:journals@eisenbrauns.com).

Copyright © 2016 by Eisenbrauns, Inc. All rights reserved.

## Paul's Collection through the Saints: Romans 15:31 in Papyrus 46

BENJAMIN L. WHITE

Clemson University

bwhite5@clemson.edu

ALEXANDER D. BATSON

Yale Divinity School

alexander.batson@yale.edu

*This article explores the possibility that a significant but little-known singular reading in P<sup>46</sup> may hold existential priority over the rest of the extant tradition. At Rom 15:31 in P<sup>46</sup>, Paul prays that his “ministry for Jerusalem” (the so-called collection) might be “acceptable through the saints (διὰ τῶν ἁγίων).” The rest of the manuscript and Patristic witnesses preserve the more typically Pauline τοῖς ἁγίοις. This singular reading has never been included in the apparatus of the hand-editions of the Novum Testamentum Graece and thus has been unknown to commentators on Romans since the publication of P<sup>46</sup> in the 1930s. We argue, based on the habits of the scribe of P<sup>46</sup>, that its singular witness of διὰ τῶν ἁγίων was also the reading of its exemplar and that this earliest preserved reading is more likely than not the earlier of the two possible readings. We then offer several ways of understanding Rom 15:31 in light of its priority, one of which rewrites our understanding of Paul’s relationship with the city of Jerusalem as a whole. It understands the saints in Jerusalem as the agents through which the collection, broadened in scope toward the end of Paul’s journey to include all of the poor in Jerusalem, including those who have not believed in Jesus, would be administered.*

*Key Words:* Paul, P<sup>46</sup>, the collection, Jerusalem, Jews, scribal habits

Papyrus 46, the earliest known manuscript of the Pauline epistles (frequently dated to AD 175–225), contains a significant variant in Rom 15:31

*Authors’ note:* We would like to thank Bart D. Ehrman and Stephen C. Carlson for helpful feedback on an earlier version of this article.



EISENBRAUNS

Offprint from:

Journal for the Study of Paul and his Letters 6.1

© Copyright 2016 Eisenbrauns. All rights reserved.

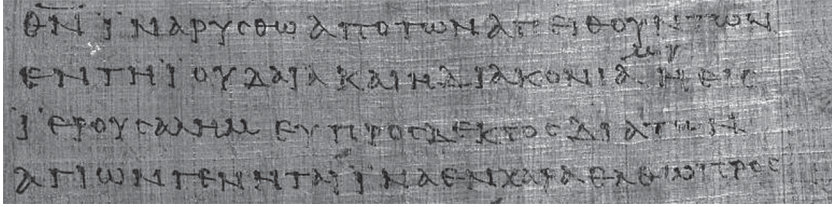


Figure 1. Lines 5–8 of page ΛΗ (38) of P<sup>46</sup>.

- 31 ὅν ἵνα ρυσθῶ ἀπο τῶν ἀπειθουσῶν  
 ἐν τῇ ἰουδαίᾳ καὶ ἡ διακονία ἡ εἰς  
 ἱερουσαλήμ εὐπροσδεκτος διὰ τῶν  
 32 ἀγίων γενηται ἵνα ἐν χάρα ἐλθῶ πρὸς

Figure 2. Henry Sanders’s original transcription of lines 5–8 of page ΛΗ (38) of P<sup>46</sup>.

that has gone unnoticed by critical editions of the New Testament and commentators on Romans ever since its publication in the mid-1930s.<sup>1</sup> Lines 5–8 of page ΛΗ (38) of the manuscript appear in fig. 1. Henry Sanders’s original transcription appears in fig. 2. At the end of line 7 and the beginning of line 8, we find a textual variant that is singularly attested in the manuscript and literary evidence of early Christianity.<sup>2</sup> The variant in question describes Paul’s hope that the monetary collection for Jerusalem from his Gentile assemblies “might be acceptable *through* the saints” (διὰ τῶν ἀγίων), not “*to* the saints” (τοῖς ἀγίοις) as it exists in the rest of the tradition. None of the five correctors of the manuscript, one of whom was the original scribe, offered any revisions to this singular reading; not even

1. Frederic G. Kenyon, *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri: Descriptions and Texts of Twelve Manuscripts on Papyrus of the Greek Bible, Fasciculus III + Supplement* (London: Walker, 1934–37); Henry A. Sanders, *A Third-Century Papyrus Codex of the Epistles of Paul* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1935). We discuss the dating of the papyrus below.

2. “Singularity” has signified different things to different text critics. See the extended treatment of the history of this question in Edgar Battad Ebojo, “A Scribe and His Manuscript: An Investigation into the Scribal Habits of Papyrus 46 (P. Chester Beatty II—P. Mich. Inv. 6238)” (PhD diss., University of Birmingham, 2014), 42–52. We understand a “singular” reading numerically: a sensible reading in a Greek manuscript that is unattested in the remainder of the extant Greek tradition, in the translated versions of the New Testament, and in the Patristic evidence. Similarly, Eldon J. Epp, “Toward the Clarification of the Term Textual Variant,” in *Studies in the Theory and Method of New Testament Textual Criticism*, ed. Eldon J. Epp and Gordon D. Fee, SD 45 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993 [1978]), 60.

the third corrector, who made several superlinear additions in Rom 15, one of which can be seen just before our variant in line 6 above.<sup>3</sup>

We have yet to find a commentary on Romans published after the 1930s that mentions this variant.<sup>4</sup> This is likely the result of the variant's absence in the textual apparatuses of the major critical editions of the Greek New Testament, on which translators and commentators are normally dependent.<sup>5</sup> The variant renders a different meaning (several options for which will be discussed toward the end of this article) to an important Pauline text involving his relationship with the saints in Jerusalem. Inasmuch as it appears in our earliest and only manuscript witness to this verse for perhaps 75 years, we argue that, at a minimum, it should be included in future printed hand-editions of the *Novum Testamentum Graece*.<sup>6</sup> Singular readings from

---

3. Cf. James R. Royse, *Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri*, NTTSD 36 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 211–44, on the correctors of P<sup>46</sup>. On the *loci* of alteration by the third corrector, see esp. p. 223.

4. We consulted the following commentaries: Anders Nygren, *Commentary on Romans*, trans. C. Rasmussen (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1949); C. K. Barrett, *The Epistle to the Romans*, BNTC (London: Black, 1957); Emil Brunner, *The Letter to the Romans* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1959); R. C. H. Lenski, *The Interpretation of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1961); F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle of Paul to the Romans*, TNTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1963); Ernest Best, *The Epistle of Paul to the Romans*, CBC (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967); M. Black, *Romans*, NCB (London: Oliphants, 1973); Heinrich Schlier, *Der Römerbrief*, HTKNT (Freiburg: Herder, 1977); C. E. B. Cranfield, *Romans*, ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1979); Ernst Käsemann, *Commentary on Romans*, trans. G. Bromiley (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980); Ulrich Wilckens, *Der Brief an die Römer*, EKKNT (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1982); Paul Achtemeier, *Romans*, IBC (Atlanta: John Knox, 1985); James D. G. Dunn, *Romans*, WBC (Waco, TX: Word, 1988); Leon Morris, *The Epistle to the Romans*, PNTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988); Walter Schmithals, *Der Römerbrief* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher, 1988); James R. Edwards, *Romans*, NIBCNT (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1992); Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Romans*, AB (New York: Doubleday, 1993); Peter Stuhlmacher, *Paul's Letter to the Romans*, trans. S. Hafemann (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1994); Robert H. Mounce, *Romans*, NAC (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1995); Brendan Byrne, *Romans*, SP (Collegetown, MN: Michael Glazier, 1996); Douglas J. Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996); Thomas R. Schreiner, *Romans*, ECNT (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 1998); Charles Talbert, *Romans*, SHBC (Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2002); N. T. Wright, *Romans*, NIB (Nashville: Abingdon, 2002); Leander E. Keck, *Romans*, ANTC (Nashville: Abingdon, 2005); Robert Jewett, *Romans*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2006); Frank J. Matera, *Romans*, Paideia (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2010); and Arland J. Hultgren, *Paul's Letter to the Romans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2011).

5. We checked numerous editions of the Nestle or Nestle-Aland *Novum Testamentum Graece*, including the 16th (which was the first edition that appeared after the publication of P<sup>46</sup>).

6. The variant is properly transcribed and listed in K. Junack et al., eds., *Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus, II.1: Die Paulinischen Briefe: Röm., 1. Kor., 2. Kor.*, ANTF 12 (Berlin:

P<sup>46</sup> are often listed in the textual apparatus of the Nestle-Aland 28th edition, including a number of these readings in Rom 15 (cf. variants listed for vv. 16, 17, 18, 19 and the doxology).<sup>7</sup> Occasionally, these listed singular readings are inconsequential, such as the addition of τε to καί in v. 19. In our case, the variant is much more interesting. In what follows, we engage with a number of questions regarding the variant. First, to what extent is διὰ τῶν ἁγίων really a singular reading? Second, as a singular reading, is it the result of a change made by the scribe of P<sup>46</sup> to his exemplar, or does it preserve the reading of the manuscript's exemplar? Third, are there convincing intrinsic arguments for the reading being earlier than τοῖς ἁγίοις? Fourth, if a case for the priority of διὰ τῶν ἁγίων can be sustained, as we will argue, how might it make sense within the context of other Pauline passages about the collection? Finally, regardless of whether or not Paul dictated διὰ τῶν ἁγίων or τοῖς ἁγίοις to Tertius (Rom 16:22), how might the reader of *this* manuscript understand the nature of Paul's collection and his relationship with the Jerusalem ἐκκλησία as he comes close to delivering it?

#### THE SINGULARITY OF διὰ τῶν ἁγίων

P<sup>46</sup> is the only manuscript evidence for Rom 15:31 before the fourth century. P<sup>118</sup>, dating to the third century, preserves sections of Rom 15:26–27, 32–33, but our verse has not withstood the ravages of time in that manuscript fragment.<sup>8</sup> By the fourth century, there was unanimous agreement on τοῖς ἁγίοις among the Greek uncials. The later bilingual and Latin manuscripts representative of the Vetus Latina tradition render our passage, like the Vulgate, with the equivalent dative plural *sanctis*.<sup>9</sup> The surviving

---

de Gruyter, 1989), 138; Reuben J. Swanson, ed., *New Testament Greek Manuscripts: Variant Readings Arranged in Horizontal Lines against Codex Vaticanus: Romans* (Wheaton, IL: Tynedale, 2001), 249; Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 851; and in the online database of the Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung (<http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/nt-transcripts>). We should thus expect it to be included in future print editions of the Editio Critica Maior of the Pauline Epistles being prepared by ITSEE (Birmingham) and INTF (Münster).

7. The list of singular readings in P<sup>46</sup> has been compiled in Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 790–816, although his definition of singularity differs slightly from ours. Royse finds a reading to be singular if it has other support that is merely “coincidental.” Royse also limits his considerations to “continuous-text Greek manuscripts” (*Scribal Habits*, 74). His list of singulars in P<sup>46</sup> is theoretically longer than ours would be.

8. For the publication of P<sup>118</sup>, see Gesa Schenke, “406. Epistula Pauli Ad Romanos 15,26–27.32–33; 16,1.4–7.11–12,” in *Kölnener Papyri X*, *Abhandlungen der Nordrhein-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Sonderreihe Papyrologica Coloniensis* 7, ed. M. Gronewald (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2003), 270–71 (tables 7–8).

9. The complete Vetus Latina tradition for Romans is awaiting publication by the ITSEE, but the bilinguals D (06), F (010) and G (012), which are easily checked online or in the ap-



Sahidic manuscripts read  $\overline{\text{NN}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{D}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{B}}$  (cf. Gk. dative), while the later Bohairic tradition preserves a number of readings:  $\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{D}}\overline{\text{G}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{C}}$  (cf. Gk.  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ );  $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{D}}\overline{\text{G}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{C}}$  (cf. Gk. dative); and  $\overline{\text{Z}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{D}}\overline{\text{G}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{C}}$  (cf. Gk.  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ ]. Neither Coptic tradition provides the typical translation of  $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$  + genitive:  $\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{B}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{L}}\ \overline{\text{Z}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{N}}$ .<sup>10</sup>

The singularity of the P<sup>46</sup> reading is further emphasized when one looks at the early Patristic evidence. The only citations of Rom 15:31 are found within the larger commentaries on Paul's letters, and they all read *sanctis*.<sup>11</sup> Rufinus' translation of Origen's commentary on Romans, for example, reads *et ministerium hoc meum acceptum fiat sanctis in Hierosolima*.<sup>12</sup> It is possible that the Latin here has been adjusted to the Latin biblical manuscript tradition, as is always the possibility in our late evidence for Patristic sources, but Origen's commentary (ca. AD 246) suggests that this was not the case in this instance:

Now, then, the Apostle prays to be assisted in the struggle of prayers so that he might be freed from unbelievers in Judea, from whom he is not so much afraid of suffering or of enduring the things that belong to the glory of his apostleship as he fears being impeded, having been detained too long by their obstacles, or that he should offer a less pleasing ministry to the saints (*sanctis*), which itself requires prayers in order to become accepted, or else that the desire he has to see the Romans might be postponed for too long a time. For if, he says, it so happens that my ministry becomes accepted by the saints (*sanctis*) in Jerusalem, and if, having been rescued from the unbelievers in Judea, I am not hindered from coming to you, by the will of God, I shall immediately also come to you really rejoicing over these admirable events, and I shall find rest in your company.<sup>13</sup>

---

paratus of Constantin Tischendorf's *Editio Octava Critica Major*, all witness *sanctis*. Hugh Houghton, the director of the COMPAUL project, which is collating the entire Vetus Latina tradition of Romans for ITSEE, has confirmed by email that their collations unanimously attest *sanctis* (personal communication).

10. For the Coptic texts of Romans, cf. George William Horner, *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Northern Dialect*, 4 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1905), 3:107; and Herbert Thompson, *The Coptic Version of the Acts of the Apostles and the Pauline Epistles in the Sahidic Dialect* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932).

11. See both the print and online (<http://www.bibindex.mom.fr/>) versions of *Biblia Patristica: Index des citations et allusions bibliques dans la littérature patristique* (Paris: Editions du CNRS, 1975–2000).

12. Latin text from Caroline P. Hammond Bammel, *Der Römerbriefkommentar des Origenes, Buch 7–10*, *Vetus Latina aus der Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel* 34 (Freiburg: Herder, 1998), 829.

13. English translation from Thomas P. Scheck, *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, Books 6–10*, FC 104 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2002), 289–90, corresponding to Hammond Bammel, *Der Römerbriefkommentar*, 831–32. There is also the interesting note at the beginning of the Pauline epistles in the minuscule 1739 (10th



The commentaries of Ambrosiaster, Pelagius, and Theodoret are similar, providing either *sanctis* or τοῖς ἁγίοις in both their citations of Rom 15:31 and in their comments on the verse, as is also the case for John Chrysostom's homily on the passage.<sup>14</sup>

#### THE EARLIEST DISCERNIBLE TEXT OF ROMANS 15:31

P<sup>46</sup> stands alone in its reading of διὰ τῶν ἁγίων in Rom 15:31. What accounts, then, for its presence? The manuscript is full of scribal errors, as Gunther Zuntz once noticed, and James Royse has now provided us with a comprehensive list of its singular readings.<sup>15</sup> For Royse, following F. J. A. Hort and E. C. Colwell, singular readings almost invariably represent an intrusion of the scribe into the text of his exemplar and thus provide access into their unique scribal habits. Some of these readings are nonsense, others are differences in orthography, and a large quantity still are “significant singulars,” the last of which include both unintentional (e.g., parablepsis) and intentional (e.g., harmonization) changes. Royse does not view our variant as a parablepsis, and indeed, one cannot find a place in the immediately preceding material where this might have reasonably happened. Rather, he lists it as a “substitution,” but he provides no suggestion about why the replacement was made (many substitutions he describes as “harmonizations to the context”).<sup>16</sup> One subset of these substitutions is the exchange of one

---

century), which indicates that it was copied from “a most ancient exemplar” and that its text of Romans came principally from Origen's *Homilies on Romans*. 1739 reads τοῖς ἁγίοις.

14. Ambrosiaster (*In epistolam beati Pauli ad Romanos*): *Ut et munerum meorum ministratio accepta fiat in Hierosolyma sanctis* (Migne, PL 17.187, A6–7). English translation of commentary: Gerald L. Bray, *Ambrosiaster: Commentaries on Romans and 1–2 Corinthians*, Ancient Christian Texts (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2009), 113. Pelagius (*Comm. Rom.*): *[Et] remuneratio mea quae [in] Hierusalem est, acceptabilis fiat sanctis [suis]* (Alexander Souter, *Text and Apparatus Criticus*, vol. 2 of *Pelagius's Expositions of Thirteen Epistles of St. Paul*, TS 9 [Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2004 (original, 1926)], 121). English translation of commentary: Theodore de Bruyn, *Pelagius's Commentary on St Paul's Epistle to the Romans*, OECS (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), 150. Theodoret (*Comm. Rom.*): καὶ ἵνα ἡ διακονία μου ἢ εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ εὐπρόσδεκτος γένηται τοῖς ἁγίοις (Migne, PG 82.217, A3–5). English translation of commentary: J. Patout Burns, Jr., *Romans: Interpreted by Early Christian Commentators*, The Church's Bible (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012), 379. John Chrysostom (*Hom. Rom.* 30.2): καὶ ἵνα ἡ διακονία μου ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ εὐπρόσδεκτος γένηται τοῖς ἁγίοις (Migne, PG 60.663). English translation of homily: Burns, *Romans*, 379.

15. Cf. Gunther Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles: A Disquisition upon the Corpus Paulinum* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953), 18.

16. Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 327, 793. The text of Rom 15:31 in P<sup>46</sup> is also noted early on in H.C. Hoskier, “A Study of the Chester-Beatty Codex of the Pauline Letters,” *JTS* 38 (1937): 148–63, p. 155, but Hoskier only discusses the case of the added μου. Nothing is said about our variant.

preposition for another.<sup>17</sup> On at least two occasions the preposition substituted is *διὰ* (and Royse labels them harmonizations):

1. Rom 15:16: *διὰ τὸ εἶναι* rather than *εἰς τὸ εἶναι*
2. Gal 3:18: *διὰ νόμου* rather than *ἐκ νόμου*.

Both of these singular readings are found in the NA<sup>28</sup> apparatus. Royse does not include our variant in this list, perhaps because it is not technically a one-for-one substitution but rather an addition. Or perhaps he has excluded it because he cannot discern why the scribe might have introduced this rather more complex substitution.

One of Royse's major conclusions from his comprehensive study of six early papyri manuscripts was that their scribes tended to omit text from their exemplars more often than they tended to add to them. Royse concluded, then, that *lectio longior potior* would provide a better default rule-of-thumb for determining an earlier reading among variants in the early papyri (with important exceptions) than J. J. Griesbach's influential *lectio brevior potior*, the latter of which may still hold true for the later manuscript tradition.<sup>18</sup> This was certainly the case for the scribe of P<sup>46</sup>, who omitted text three times as often as he added text.<sup>19</sup> The frequency of omissions was higher in P<sup>46</sup> than in the other papyri that Royse examined.<sup>20</sup> Of the 52 unique additions in the entire manuscript, only 4 of these were additions of a preposition, and in none of these cases is the added preposition *διὰ* (1 Cor 14:18a; 14:19a; 2 Cor 9:2b; and Phil 3:3a).<sup>21</sup> Four instances in a manuscript as long as P<sup>46</sup> hardly make for a scribal "habit." In fact, with regard to the treatment of prepositions by the scribe, he was three times more likely to omit a preposition than to add a preposition (he omits 13 prepositions and in one case this omission was of a *διὰ* followed by a genitive: Eph 1:5).<sup>22</sup> Moreover, when the scribe changed the case of a noun, it was most often a change to the nominative.<sup>23</sup> Royse provides one example of the scribe intentionally changing a genitive singular to a dative singular (2 Cor 7:1a), but the several instances where a dative is changed to a genitive he counts as either "orthographic" or "nonsense" changes (1 Cor 4:21; 2 Cor 10:7a; and Phil 3:5a).<sup>24</sup>

17. Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 325.

18. *Ibid.*, 705–36.

19. *Ibid.*, 267, 270, 358.

20. *Ibid.*, 270.

21. The last three of these instances *ἐν* is added. In the first, *ὁπέρ* is added.

22. *Ibid.*, 275.

23. *Ibid.*, 312–14.

24. *Ibid.*

One complication with Royse's methodology is that it is theoretically possible that a singular reading is not the result of the creative work of the scribe but rather the reading of the manuscript's exemplar.<sup>25</sup> The large degree of manuscript loss from the second and third centuries certainly makes it hard to rule out this possibility and the number of truly singular readings has continued to diminish over the 20th and 21st centuries as further manuscript finds are collated and published. Let us grant, however, Royse's presupposition for a moment and compare our variant with the scribal tendencies of P<sup>46</sup> as Royse describes them. We are faced in Rom 15:31 with a singly attested reading that happens to be the earliest reading and actually works *against* the tendencies of the scribe of P<sup>46</sup>. The scribe tends to remove prepositions rather than add them. And in our case, an imagined addition of  $\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha$  by the scribe would have also required a change of case in the object from dative to genitive. And this is not typical of the scribe either. In the one intentional instance of a change between the dative and genitive cases, it runs in the other direction. These observations suggest that it is more likely than not that  $\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\acute{\omega}\nu$  was the reading of the exemplar of P<sup>46</sup>, thereby pushing us one transmission step backward and exposing a tension within Royse's presuppositions about the nature of singular readings. The variant as it exists in P<sup>46</sup> is hard to account for as either an accidental or intentional change by its scribe. Edgar Ebojo has also now convincingly argued that many of P<sup>46</sup>'s irregular readings in Rom 15–16, including the location of the doxology (Rom 16:25–27) at the end of ch. 15, ought to be assigned to the manuscript's exemplar.<sup>26</sup>

If  $\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\acute{\omega}\nu$  is the reading of the exemplar of P<sup>46</sup>, is it possible that it is also the earliest attainable reading of our text, the reading that best explains the origin of all other readings? Zuntz once warned that "readings attested by P<sup>46</sup> alone should never be accepted unless their intrinsic quality can stand the severest test."<sup>27</sup> Let us offer several tests. Whether or not they are severe enough in combination will depend on the reader. Before doing so, however, a very brief word about the dating of P<sup>46</sup> is in order. Precision in the dating of ancient Greek literary texts on paleographic grounds is notoriously difficult.<sup>28</sup> On account of this, suggested dates for P<sup>46</sup> have ranged from the late-first to the fourth centuries AD.<sup>29</sup> A majority of scholars have

---

25. Ebojo, "A Scribe and His Manuscript," 47–51.

26. *Ibid.*, 260–66.

27. Zuntz, *Text of the Epistles*, 23.

28. See the cautions noted by Brent Nongbri, "The Use and Abuse of P<sup>52</sup>: Papyrological Pitfalls in the Dating of the Fourth Gospel," *HTR* 98 (2005): 23–48.

29. For a history of the question, cf. Ebojo, "A Scribe and His Manuscript," 138–48; and

opted for the middle of this period, carving out AD 175–225 as a relatively safe landing spot. This includes several more recent and comprehensive studies by Ebojo, who has also taken into consideration other visual clues and observations about the production of the manuscript, and Don Barker, who has considered the larger “graphic stream” of the manuscript (rather than isolated letter forms).<sup>30</sup> We have adopted this more circumscribed date range here.

First, as we have mentioned, there are no corrections to διὰ τῶν ἀγίων, either by the scribe himself, his contemporary corrector, whom Zuntz called the “ex-officio corrector, who still in the scriptorium, applied the finishing touches to the work of the scribe,” or any of the subsequent correctors.<sup>31</sup> Granted, none of these correctors, including the original scribe, did their job comprehensively.<sup>32</sup> However, two made interventions in Rom 15. The original scribe made a correction at Rom 15:23 and the third corrector, whose work was dated to the third century by Zuntz (via C. H. Roberts), made interventions at Rom 15:26, 31.<sup>33</sup> Neither of these saw fit, then, to adjust our text to some other broadly known reading during the third century. The third corrector, in particular, offered corrections toward the majority text.<sup>34</sup>

Second, neither variant seems like an “orthodox corruption” of the other.<sup>35</sup> Perhaps one might envision the text being adjusted on account of the increasing anti-Judaism in early Christianity, but both readings still portray Paul delivering Gentile Christian money to Jews. Both readings, furthermore, are consistent with Acts, as we will see below. So no adjustment of the Pauline letters toward it should be imagined in either case.

A third test begins to push in favor of the priority of the reading in P<sup>46</sup>. Διὰ τῶν ἀγίων is more difficult to explain at the stylistic level as an intentional alteration of τοῖς ἀγίοις than the other way around. Διὰ is not a

---

Min Seok Jang, “A Reconsideration of the Date of Papyrus 46” (PhD diss., New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, 2010), 17–50.

30. Ebojo, “A Scribe and His Manuscript,” 148; Don Barker, “The Dating of New Testament Papyri,” *NTS* 57 (2011): 571–82, who extends the range out to AD 150–250.

31. Zuntz, *Text of the Epistles*, 253.

32. Ebojo, “A Scribe and His Manuscript,” 322. For instance, the contemporary corrector limits his revisions mainly to Hebrews and 1 Corinthians.

33. Royle, *Scribal Habits*, 851. On the date of the third corrector, see Zuntz, *Text of the Epistles*, 253–54; and Philip W. Comfort and David P. Barrett, eds., *The Text of the Earliest New Testament Greek Manuscripts*, rev. ed. (Wheaton, IL: Tyndale, 2001), 207–8, 222.

34. Royle, *Scribal Habits*, 241.

35. On the notion of “orthodox corruptions,” cf. Bart D. Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture: The Effect of Early Christological Controversies on the Text of the New Testament*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

proper substitution for the dative. Furthermore, διὰ τῶν ἁγίων is not found elsewhere in the Pauline epistles such that a scribe would normalize τοῖς ἁγίοις to it. To the contrary, Paul normally describes the collection as being directed τοῖς ἁγίοις (Rom 15:25; 1 Cor 16:15) or εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους (1 Cor 16:1; 2 Cor 8:4; 9:1; cf. Rom 15:26: εἰς τοὺς πτωχοὺς τῶν ἁγίων). We find it more probable that in a text about the collection that a scribe would normalize διὰ τῶν ἁγίων to the typical τοῖς ἁγίοις, which he has just copied in Rom 15:25, than that a scribe would replace the standard language with a prepositional phrase heretofore unconnected with Paul's discussion of the collection. We have, then, a typical "harmonization to the context."

Admittedly, this normalization must have occurred early, likely in the first half of the second century, and to a copy of Romans that was part of a larger collection of Paul's letters that was then distributed widely. The number of second-century texts and writers that knew Romans is large, including 1 Clement, Basilides, Polycarp, Marcion, Justin, Tatian, Irenaeus's presbyter, Ptolemy, Theodotus, Heracleon, *Martyrs of Lyons and Vienne*, Diognetus, Irenaeus, Theophilus, and Tertullian. None of them cites Rom 15:31 specifically, making it hard to know the state of its transmission during this period of sparse manuscript preservation.<sup>36</sup> Origen, in AD 246, is the first witness to our verse aside from P<sup>46</sup> and its exemplar, and he attests the τοῖς ἁγίοις/*sanctis* reading. In the same century a third corrector of P<sup>46</sup> found his way to Rom 15, but offered no revision in the direction of Origen's text. But by the fourth century τοῖς ἁγίοις/*sanctis* was so widely and unambiguously attested that διὰ τῶν ἁγίων had disappeared from the tradition.

#### PAUL'S "MINISTRY TO JERUSALEM THROUGH THE SAINTS"

The plausibility of the priority, and perhaps originality, of a variant also depends on whether or not its meaning in the larger literary context is coherent. As a final and more sustained test, we turn to consider to what degree διὰ τῶν ἁγίων makes sense within the context of other Pauline statements about the collection.<sup>37</sup> There are at least three different ways of

36. On each of these texts, cf. David K. Rensberger, "As the Apostle Teaches: The Development of the Use of Paul's Letters in Second-Century Christianity" (PhD diss., Yale University, 1981).

37. Limitations of scope prevent a full discussion of the origin, coherence, purposes and results of "the collection" described in 1–2 Corinthians, Romans, and, perhaps, Galatians (2:10), including, but not limited to, whether or not Paul saw the collection as an eschatological fulfillment of prophecy related to the Gentiles, whether he understood the collection as establishing or responding to benefaction obligations, whether he was subverting benefaction expectations of his period, whether he understood the collection as sacrificial in nature

understanding this prepositional phrase, each of which corresponds with the broader data. The first two fit comfortably within prominent scholarly understandings of the collection, though they do involve a rereading of the referent for “the saints.” The third preserves the traditional understanding of “the saints” as Jewish believers in Jesus in Judea but suggests a new understanding of their role in the collection—at least as Paul viewed it at the time of his final approach to Jerusalem.

First, one might understand the saints, a typical Pauline term for believers in Jesus, regardless of locale and ethnicity, to be those Gentiles from his assemblies who are traveling to Jerusalem with him (1 Cor 16:3–4; 2 Cor 9:4; cf. Acts 20:4–6, 13–15; 21:1–29). Just as Titus had traveled with Paul to Jerusalem on an earlier visit (Gal 2:3), these Gentile believers in Jesus were accompanying Paul again as tangible representatives of the power of the gospel, and it was *through their agency* that the collection was being gathered, transported, and made available to the poor among the saints in Judea (Rom 15:26; 2 Cor 9:12; Gal 2:10). Both 1 Corinthians and Acts suggest

---

and how he understood that sacrifice, and whether the collection was first imagined by the Jerusalem church (cf. Gal 2:10) or separately by Paul. A number of major studies address these issues: Walther Schmithals, *Paul and James*, SBT 46, trans. D. Barton (London: SCM, 1965 [1963]); Keith P. Nickle, *The Collection: A Study in Paul's Strategy*, SBT 48 (London: SCM, 1966); Dieter Georgi, *Remembering the Poor: The History of Paul's Collection for Jerusalem* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1992 [1965]); Stephan Joubert, *Paul as Benefactor: Reciprocity, Strategy and Theological Reflection in Paul's Collection*, WUNT 2/124 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000); Byung-Mo Kim, *Die paulinische Kollekte*, Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter 38 (Tübingen: Francke, 2002); David J. Downs, *The Offering of the Gentiles: Paul's Collection for Jerusalem in Its Chronological, Cultural, and Cultic Contexts*, WUNT 2/248 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008); Bruce W. Longenecker, *Remember the Poor: Paul, Poverty and the Greco-Roman World* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010). Cf. also Charles H. Buck Jr., “The Collection for the Saints,” *HTR* 43 (1950): 1–29; Leander E. Keck, “The Poor among the Saints in the New Testament,” *ZNW* 56 (1965): 100–129; Klaus Berger, “Almosen für Israel,” *NTS* 23 (1977): 180–204; Jost Eckert, “Die Kollekte des Paulus für Jerusalem,” in *Kontinuität und Einheit: Für Franz Mussner*, ed. P.-G. Müller and W. Stenger (Freiburg: Herder, 1981), 65–80; Petros Vassiliadis, “Equality and Justice in Classical Antiquity and in Paul: The Social Implications of the Pauline Collection,” *SVTQ* 36 (1992): 51–59; Sze-kar Wan, “Collection for the Saints as Anticolonial Act: Implications of Paul's Ethnic Reconstruction,” in *Paul and Politics. Ekklesia, Israel, Imperium, Interpretation: Essays in Honor of Krister Stendahl*, ed. R. A. Horsley (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2000), 191–215; Calvin J. Roetzel, “Response: How Anti-Imperial was the Collection and How Emancipatory was Paul's Project?” in *Paul and Politics*, 227–30; A. J. M. Wedderburn, “Paul's Collection: Chronology and History,” *NTS* 48 (2002): 95–110; Steven J. Friesen, “Paul and Economics: The Jerusalem Collection as an Alternative to Patronage,” in *Paul Unbound: Other Perspectives on the Apostle*, ed. M. D. Given (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2010), 27–54; and Julien M. Ogereau, “The Jerusalem Collection as Κοινωνία: Paul's Global Politics of Socio-economic Equality and Solidarity,” *NTS* 58 (2012): 360–78.

that Paul intended for these Gentile saints to take the lead in delivering the collection (1 Cor 16:4; Acts 21:18: “Paul went in *with us* to James,” not “We went in *with Paul* to James”).<sup>38</sup> Paul asks for prayer, then, that the collection might be acceptable *to* the saints (in Jerusalem: Rom 15:25) *through* the saints (of his assemblies: Rom 15:31).

A second way of understanding διὰ τῶν ἁγίων is as a continuation of the priestly and sacrificial imagery with which Paul describes his ministry earlier in Rom 15:16: “I am a minister of Christ Jesus to the Gentiles, acting as a priest for the gospel of God, in order that the offering of the Gentiles might be acceptable (εὐπρόσδεκτος), having been sanctified by the Holy Spirit.” The offering is perhaps the collection itself (cf. 2 Cor 9:12), with the genitive in ἡ προσφορά τῶν ἐθνῶν being read subjectively.<sup>39</sup> Paul is assisting the Gentiles as they make an offering to God. Paul shortly thereafter asks that the Romans pray that his διακονία for Jerusalem might be acceptable (εὐπρόσδεκτος) *to* God *through* the saints of his assemblies.<sup>40</sup> Like the half-shekel temple tax pouring in from the diaspora to Jerusalem, so Paul’s collection functions as a (hopefully) pleasing sacrifice to God.<sup>41</sup>

The third way of reading διὰ τῶν ἁγίων is to imagine that the saints here are the Jewish believers in Jesus in Judea and that they are the agents *through whom* the collection, now intended for all of the poor in Jerusalem, including those who have not believed in Jesus, would be administered. In this scenario, Paul originally agreed to help the poor *saints* in Jerusalem (Gal 2:10), but by the time that his final trip to Jerusalem had drawn near he had rethought the scope of its recipients to include even the poor among unbelieving Jews in Jerusalem—those “disobedient” (Rom 15:31; cf. Rom 10:21; 11:31) who were constantly pressuring James and company to remain Law-observant and to keep Paul and his Gentile-friendly mission at a

38. Cf. Georgi, *Remembering the Poor*, 115, on Rom 15:26–27: “Here Paul clearly describes his congregations as the ones who were truly responsible for the collection, and himself as the mere executor of their will.”

39. Cf. Downs, *The Offering of the Gentiles*, 120–60. Sze-kar Wan, “Collection for the Saints as Anticolonial Act,” 205; and David J. Downs, “The Offering of the Gentiles’ in Romans 15.16,” *JSNT* 29 (2006): 173–86, have argued that the “offering of the Gentiles” (Rom 15:16) should be read as a subjective genitive, pointing forward to Rom 15:31.

40. Διακονία seems to function as a “*terminus technicus* for the collection,” according to Joubert, *Paul as Benefactor*, 92, 190. Cf. 1 Cor 16:15; 2 Cor 8:4, 19, 20; 9:1, 12, 13; Rom 15: 25, 31; and the earlier collection described in Acts 11:29; 12:25.

41. Cf. Nickle, *The Collection*, 74–93. Or, perhaps, the acceptability of the collection to God is related to the increasing interest in redemptive almsgiving in early Christianity, as has been explored by Berger, “Almosen für Israel”; Roman Garrison, *Redemptive Almsgiving in Early Christianity*, *JSNTSup* 77 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 67–70; and Kim, *Die paulinische Kollekte*.



distance (cf. Acts 22:21–22).<sup>42</sup> Dieter Georgi, without apparent knowledge of our variant, already sensed a wider audience for Rom 15:25–31:

Paul knew perfectly well what was at stake. He knew what he was doing when, prior to referring to the collection, he mentioned (v. 30) that he might be in danger from the Jews in Jerusalem. This also explains why Paul chose, in this particular context, to call the collection for Jerusalem a *διακονία εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ*. The report given in Acts seems to contain traces of an old reminiscence, no longer understood by Luke, of Paul's intent to produce an effect on the entire city of Jerusalem—something that, in the end, he succeeded in doing. Without any previous mention of the collection, Acts 24:17 suddenly states that Paul had come to Jerusalem to offer alms and offering “for his people.” It goes without saying that Paul never thought of the Temple or Jerusalem at large or even the Jewish people as the recipients of the collection. But he must have had them in mind as part of the general scenery, as those “in the stands,” as it were.<sup>43</sup>

The priority of *διὰ τῶν ἀγίων* in Rom 15:31 allows us to reconsider, however, whether or not “Paul *never* thought of the Temple or Jerusalem at large or even the Jewish people as recipients of the collection.” Perhaps he did, at least as his time for departure to Jerusalem drew near. Niels Hyldahl, in a brief suggestion similar to ours, has pointed out that in addition to Luke's wider characterization of the collection in Acts 24:17, it is in Romans that Paul most clearly expresses his deep concern for the fate of his unbelieving brethren according to the flesh (Rom 9:1–5; Rom 11:23–32).<sup>44</sup>

We may already see signs of a widening of the intended recipients in 2 Cor 9:12–13:

For the ministry of this service is *not only* supplying the needs of the saints, *but is also* abounding [to whom?] through many thanksgivings to God. By the approval of this service they glorify God because of the

42. The fundamental problems that arose between James and Paul in relation to these unbelieving Jews were highlighted many years ago by Walther Schmithals (*Paul and James*).

43. Georgi, *Remembering the Poor*, 120.

44. Niels Hyldahl, *Die Paulinische Chronologie*, ATDan 19 (Leiden: Brill, 1986), 127. Schmithals, *Paul and James*, 82, has argued, convincingly, for the tight relationship between the first and second half of Rom 15:31. Whereas the Textus Receptus adds a second *ἵνα* in the verse, just before *ἡ διακονία*, Schmithals emphasizes that this was a later addition and that the single *ἵνα* controlling the verse means that “the menace from the Jews is connected with the possible rejection of the contributions: ‘Pray that the Jews do not harm me and (therefore) my contributions are welcome to the Christians.’” Some commentators doubt that Acts 24:17 is a reference to the collection, including Clayton Bowen, “Paul's Collection and the Book of Acts,” *JBL* 42 (1923): 49–58; David J. Downs, “Paul's Collection and the Book of Acts Revisited,” *NTS* 52 (2006): 50–70.

obedience of your confession to the gospel of Christ and because of the generosity of your contribution to them *and to all*.

Bruce Longenecker plausibly reads this passage as evidence that Paul was generally concerned about poverty in his assemblies and not just for the poor among the saints in Jerusalem, for which the collection was just a special application of this general anxiety (cf. Rom 12:13; Gal 6:9–10).<sup>45</sup> It could also be read, however, as pointing toward the larger impoverishment of Judea. The famines that occurred there during the mid-to-late 40s AD were certainly not limited to Christ-believers (Josephus, *Ant.* 20.51–53, 101; Acts 11:27–28). The collection, then, would be delivered to the saints in Jerusalem, but it was a ministry for Jerusalem as a whole.<sup>46</sup> The saints there would see to it that the needs of all would be met. Paul would smooth over relations with the former by broadening the scope of the gift to include the latter, thereby taking heat off both himself and James and perhaps turning some of the disobedient into believers in the gospel.<sup>47</sup> However, despite what he believed to be a positive gesture, Paul still worried about the acceptability of the collection in the eyes of the disobedient inasmuch as it came from Gentiles. About a decade after its delivery, Eleazar, commander of the temple police and son of the high priest, Ananias, would convince the priests to decline all gifts and sacrifices coming from foreigners, resulting in the cessation of the daily sacrifice on behalf of the emperor (Josephus, *B.J.* 2.409–10).

#### CONCLUSION

We have argued, based on the habits of the scribe of P<sup>46</sup>, that its singular witness of  $\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$  at Rom 15:31 was also the reading of its exemplar, thereby pushing the earliest known reading of Rom 15:31 back into the second century and creating a perhaps 100-year gap between it and the other known reading,  $\tau\acute{\omicron}\zeta\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\iota}\omicron\iota\varsigma$  (first witnessed in Origen's commentary). We have also argued, based on a number of factors, that this earliest *preserved* reading is in fact the *existentially* earlier of the two variants. Given these arguments and that the semantic difference between  $\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$  and  $\tau\acute{\omicron}\zeta$

45. Longenecker, *Remember the Poor*, 140–45.

46. Joubert, *Paul as Benefactor*, 211 n. 117 disagrees. He argues, based on 2 Cor 8–9, that the collection was “an undertaking that from start to finish took place within the boundaries of the early Christian movement.”

47. Josephus's description of the stoning of James (*Ant.* 20.200) and some other Jewish believers in Jesus at the hands of the high priest Ananus and the Sanhedrin for lawbreaking only five years later (AD 62), with many citizens protesting the act, suggests that his relationship with unbelieving Jews would remain complicated, even after Paul's final visit.

ἀγίοις is not small, we have also argued that, at the very least, this variant should be included in forthcoming hand-editions of the *Novum Testamentum Graece*.

Whether or not Paul (or Tertius) was ultimately responsible for διὰ τῶν ἀγίων is a more thorny matter. We recognize the difficulty, as did Zuntz, in arguing for the priority of a singular reading coming from P<sup>46</sup>. But we have tried to work through the steps that would be necessary for making such a case and have offered several plausibly Pauline interpretations of διὰ τῶν ἀγίων. *If* this reading carries priority and *if* the third interpretation carries any weight, then this long overlooked variant may provide a new piece of evidence about Paul's relationship with the city of Jerusalem as a whole. The collection may have been intended for the impoverished Jews of the city, whether Christ-believing or not, particularly as Paul began to set sail for Jerusalem and had recognized the sheer size of what he had accomplished, monetarily, and of what opposition stood before him, sociotheologically. If this variant, however, is secondary—which now seems unlikely to us—at least the readers and auditors of P<sup>46</sup> might have been impressed by a Paul who was passionately concerned not only for the well-being of his fellow Jewish believers in Jerusalem, but for the well-being of the Jews in this city. These were, after all, the people about whom Paul spoke earlier in the letter, lamenting, “For I could wish to be myself accursed, separated from Christ for the sake of my kindred siblings according to the flesh” (Rom 9:3). Perhaps the reader/auditor of this portion of P<sup>46</sup> would have found in Paul's later words a tangible expression of his deep anguish and heartfelt love for all of the circumcision.