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What shall we do with the verse 33b?

Analysis of the oldest external data on the 1 Cor. 14:33b-40*

O que devemos fazer com o verso 33b?

Uma análise dos dados externos mais antigos em 1 Cor. 14.33b-40

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Abstract

There have been numerous articles written on the question of a well-known paragraph of the 1 Cor. 14:34, 35 that silences women in the churches. The discussion on the authenticity of the verses does not seem to stop more because of the ideological presuppositions than any theological achievements. The well known claim from the proponents of authenticity of the verses is an appeal to the external evidence – they are found in all the manuscripts. The object of the present article is to present briefly the external data about the 1 Cor. 14:34, 35 and its preceding verse – 33b. On the basis of the external data examination the reader is invited to make his/her own conclusions on whether the verses 34 and 35 have been naturally inserted in the letter to the Corinthians by its author apostle Paul.

Keywords

Verse 33b. 1 Co 14:33b-40. New Testament. Silences women in the churches

Resumo

Houve inúmeros artigos escritos sobre a questão de um ponto conhecido de 1 Co 14.34, 35 que silencia as mulheres nas igrejas. A discussão sobre a autenticidade dos versos parece não parar mais por causa dos pressupostos ideológicos do que por quaisquer conquistas teológicas. A afirmação bem conhecida dos defensores da autenticidade dos versos é um apelo à evidência externa - eles são encontrados em todos os manuscritos. O objeto do presente artigo é apresentar brevemente os dados externos sobre 1 Co 14.34, 35 e seu verso anterior - 33b. Com base no exame de dados externos, o leitor é convidado a fazer suas próprias conclusões sobre se os versículos 34 e 35 foram naturalmente inseridos na carta aos Coríntios por seu autor apóstolo Paulo.

* Excerpt from unpublished Master Thesis „1 Cor. 14:34,35 – an interpolation?“, Univeristy of Latvia, 2012.

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Palavras-chave

Verso 33b. 1. Co 14.33b-40. Novo Testamento. O silêncio das mulheres na Igreja.

The Nestle-Aland Greek New Testament with its critical apparatus (NA²⁷) has read verse 33b as a joint text together with verses 34 and 35, grounding the ban on women's speech not in the mystical law alone (let's admit, no one has ever found this law in the Bible), but in a church tradition. The NA²⁸ reads verse 33b in a separate line, apart from verses 33a and apart from verses 34-35. However, it does not help much. Verse 33b is written with a capital initial letter, whereas verse 34, even though it attempts to start a new paragraph, reads αἱ γυναῖκες with a small initial letter:

³²καὶ πνεύματα προφητῶν προφήταις ὑποτάσσεται, ³³οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἀκαταστασίας ὁ θεὸς ἀλλ' εἰρήνης.
Ὡς ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῶν ἁγίων
³⁴αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις σιγάτωσαν οὐ γὰρ ἐπιτρέπεται αὐταῖς λαλεῖν, ἀλλ' ὑποτασσέσθωσαν, καθὼς καὶ ὁ νόμος λέγει. ³⁵εἰ δέ τι μαθεῖν θέλουσιν, ἐν οἴκῳ τοὺς ἰδίους ἄνδρας ἐπερωτάτωσαν· αἰσχρὸν γάρ ἐστιν γυναικὶ λαλεῖν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ. ³⁶ἢ ἀφ' ὑμῶν ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξήλθεν, ἢ εἰς ὑμᾶς μόνους κατήντησεν;¹

It is not clear from the position of the 33b in the NA²⁸ what is the 33b (*as in all the churches of the saints*) related to and what is its function. Doesn't it again attempt to demonstrate the syntactical connection between 33b and 34? In this article I will examine the external data of several oldest manuscripts on verse 1 Cor. 14:33b and its relation to the pericope of 1 Cor. 14:34-35.

Papyrus 46 (P⁴⁶)

P⁴⁶ is a codex, which has been found in Egypt and has been made of leafs of papyri that contain the fragments of the Old Testament as well as the Pauline letters. P⁴⁶ which originally is said to contain 104 sheets (having preserved 86) did not include Pastoral letters². P⁴⁶ contains the text of the chapter 14 of Paul's epistle to the Corinthians, which

¹ Greek Bible text from: Novum Testamentum Graece, 28th revised edition, Edited by Barbara Aland and others, © 2012 Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, Stuttgart, (online from <http://www.nestle-aland.com> (accessed 05.11.2012)).

² Bruce M. Metzger and Bart D. Ehrman, *The text of the New Testament: its transmission, corruption, and restoration*, 4th edit., (Oxford University Press, 2005), 54.

This opinion counts the possible text space of the Pastorals and concludes that there has been no space left for them in P⁴⁶. Among different explanations on the issue why the Pastorals haven't been there, one of the simplest is – the Pastorals or deutero-Pauline letters haven't been written yet. There are, of course, other opinions about this.

holds its place of being important external evidence in the discussion about the authenticity of 1 Cor. 14:34, 35. P⁴⁶ is considered to be one of the oldest manuscripts and the oldest containing 1 Cor. 14:34, 35.

I will analyze the particular text of the 1 Cor 14:34, 35 in P⁴⁶ and the preservation quality of the text. Even though P⁴⁶ does have a text of 1 Cor 14:34, 35 it requires a reconstruction of quite a few words, which means that the NA²⁷ in its text reconstruction follows much younger manuscripts. Thus, P⁴⁶ in reality gains the status of the secondary source and can be compared with later sources as the codex Sinaiticus and codex Vaticanus.

The dating of P⁴⁶

The appendix of the NA²⁷ critical apparatus dates P⁴⁶ ca 200.³

LDAB Trismegistos dates P⁴⁶ in a range between 150. – 250. C.E.⁴

The database of the Münster University has the data from LDAB, but also the data from the Dublin Library (Chester Beatty Library) and the Michigan (Ann Arbor) Library, both dating P⁴⁶ as the 3rd century manuscript. Bruce Metzger also proposed for P⁴⁶ the 3 century.⁵

Stuart Pickering compared P⁴⁶ with Egyptian P.Ryl. 3. 527⁶ 7 and P.Ryl. 3. 489⁸ 9. From the data acquired, Pickering proposes for P⁴⁶ at least the 3rd century.

P⁴⁶ dating puts it closer to the 3-4th century manuscripts, namely Ⲙ and B. I am going to discuss manuscripts Ⓒ and B later in this article. Nevertheless, what concerns P⁴⁶

³ Nestle-Aland, *Greek –English New Testament, Witnesses, Signs, Abbreviations in the Greek Text and Apparatus* (27th revised Edition) – a booklet in NA²⁷.

⁴ LDAB - Leuven Database of Ancient Books „Trismegistos”
<http://www.trismegistos.org/ldab/text.php?quick=3011> (accessed 20.02.2012.)

⁵ In 1992 Metzger was writing that P⁴⁶ is an ordinary copy and that it isn't necessary to date it very early, because in order for Pauline letters to end up in Egypt, they first had to be gathered and put together and reach Egypt.

P⁴⁶ cannot be dated as the 1st or the 2nd century codex, as Y. K. Kim has proposed (Young K. Kim, *Palaeographical Dating of p46 to the Later First Century Biblica Magazine*, Vol. 69, No. 2, 1988.), because its style and language is similar to the 3rd century document.

⁶ James R. Royse, *Scribal habits in early Greek New Testament Papyri*, vol 36 NT Tools & Studies, (Brill, 2008), 200.

⁷ Greek papyrus, that has been found in Egypt, dating ca 3rd century (200 -299 C.E.), the genre of the papyrus: prose, astrology, dialogue, LDAB „Trismegistos”
<http://www.trismegistos.org/ldab/text.php?tm=64102> (accessed 25.03.2012)

⁸ James R. Royse, *Scribal habits in early Greek New Testament Papyri*, vol 36 NT Tools & Studies, (Brill, 2008), 200.

⁹ Greek papyrus, found in Egypt, dating ca 3 -4. century (299 – 399 C.E.), the genre of the papyrus: prose, oratory, LDAB „Trismegistos” <http://www.trismegistos.org/ldab/text.php?tm=61453> (accessed 25.03.2012)

relation to \aleph and B, Bruce Metzger has observed that textually P⁴⁶ shares similarities with the Alexandrian text type – B, \mathcal{C} , A, C, less often – with the Western type – D, F, G.¹⁰

P46 analysis

The electronical database of the University of Münster testifies to the presence of the 1 Cor 14:33-36 in the P46¹¹, employing the transcript of the NA²⁷ text. However, the photocopy of P46 (Chester Beatty, Kenyon) reveals that in the place of verse 34 the manuscript is damaged and hardly anything can be read.

In the table below the reader can observe the text of the 1 Cor. 14:34 from the University of Münster database.

The left column reads the classical text of verse 34 as seen in the NA²⁷. In the right column there is an actual text of the P46. The square brackets in the middle or in the beginning of the word imply that particular text of the P46 cannot be read; therefore it has borrowed its wording from the NA²⁷. Punctuation below the letter means that particular letter in the codex is not clearly seen. 1 Cor 14:34:¹²

αι	N-A ²⁷
[αι]	P46
γυναικες	N-A ²⁷ P46 ([γυναικ]ε[ς])
εν	N-A ²⁷ P46 ([ε]ν)
ταις	N-A ²⁷ P46 ([τ]α[ις])
εκκλησιας	N-A ²⁷ P46 ([ε]κκλησιας)
σιγατωσαν	N-A ²⁷ P46 (σει[γατωσαν])
ου	N-A ²⁷
-	P46
γαρ	N-A ²⁷
-	P46
επιτρεπεται	N-A ²⁷
-	P46
αυταις	N-A ²⁷
-	P46
λαλειν	N-A ²⁷
-	P46
αλλα	N-A ²⁷

¹⁰ Bruce M. Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible: An Introduction to Greek Palaeography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 64.

¹¹ Handschriftenliste, Universität Münster. Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung, <http://nttranscripts.uni-muenster.de/AnaServer?NTtranscripts+0+start.anv> (accessed 10.03.2012.)

¹² Handschriftenliste, Universität Münster. Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung, (accessed 2012.03.10)

-	P46
υποτασσεσθωσαν	N-A ²⁷
-	P46
καθως	N-A ²⁷ P46
και	N-A ²⁷ P46
ο	N-A ²⁷ P46
νομος	N-A ²⁷ P46
λεγει	N-A ²⁷ P46

It is easy to observe in the table above, how the eclectic text of the NA²⁷ functions as an individual textual variant, which assumes the role of the restoring text, predicting, which exactly letters and words should have been in the P⁴⁶.

What do we read *ex facie* looking at the particular place in the P⁴⁶? Taking away the theoretical and hypothetical assumptions that have been done to harmonize the wording of the verse 34 with the younger texts of the NA²⁷, what we read in the P⁴⁶ is this:

ε
υ
κκλησιαις
σει
καθως και ο νομος λεγει (this phrase being on the next page of the codex)

Thus, in the oldest of our codices that preserves the verses 34 and 35, the verse 34 reads just a few letters and words when taken as the oldest physical testimony for the subjection of women in the New Testament time.

Verse 35 has been preserved well on the upper part of the next papyrus sheet, it reads:¹³ *ει δε τι μαθειν θελουσιν εν οικω τους ιδιους ανδρας επερωταωσαν αισχρον γαρ [εστιν NA²⁷] γυναικι λαλειν εν εκκλησιας.*

As we see above, the P⁴⁶ here omits only the word *εστιν*.

Now let's discuss the paragraph issue and verse 33b in a connection with verse 34. In the factual manuscript facsimile there is a marking of the beginning of the new thought - P⁴⁶ scribe does it by creating a space between the words or draws long *paragraphoi*. However, there is also another sentence and paragraph marking in P⁴⁶ - big dots (reading or stop marks) above the line and before the next thought. I will not discuss whether they

¹³ Handschriftenliste, Universität Münster. Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung
<http://nttranscripts.uni-muenster.de/AnaServer?NTtranscripts+0+start.any> (skatits 10.03.2012.)

were added by the scribe or by the corrector(s), or by the later owner; the fact is - they do exist in P⁴⁶.

Thus, such dots above the line lie before *καὶ*, which introduces verse 32, before *οὐ γὰρ* that introduce verse 33a, before *ὡς* in verse 33b and even though verse 34 can be hardly read, it is possible to see a dot after the words *τῶν αἰώνων*. In addition to this mark of a separate sentence, ironically the phrase *τῶν αἰώνων* also ends the line. The same dot is inserted before verse 35, also before *αισχρὸν* and after *ἐκκλησία*, which ends verse 35.

P⁴⁶, which contains 1 Cor. 14:33-35, has a sentence marking which does not allow to consider verse 33b to be an introduction to verse 34. All other parts that are marked with the dots in the range of verses 32-36 correspond to a one finished thought.

Is then 33b a finished thought? This question can be answered best with a testimony of Codex Fuldensis and Western manuscripts that finish 33b with 'doceo' in order to grant some usefulness to this poor, lonely wording of 33b.

Codex Sinaiticus

Sinaiticus (Ⲙ) is the 4th century parchment manuscript. Verses 34 -35 in the codex begin with a new line, thus form a separate, independent of verse 33b paragraph.

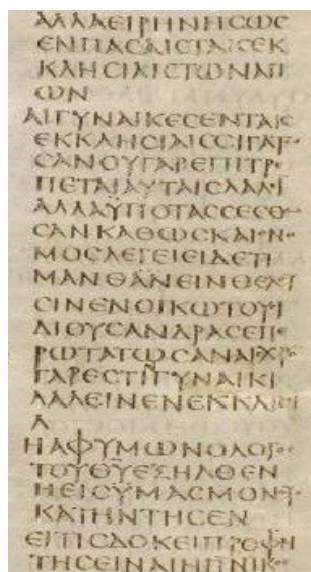


Figure 1 Codex Sinaiticus, fragment of 1Cor. 14:33 – 34¹⁴

As in some other places of the Sinaiticus, it is possible to see with an eye, that there have been a continuous text on the 33b line, which was obviously erased (it is difficult though to see without much closer investigation, what type of a text it was). Nevertheless, verses 34 -35 have been written as a new paragraph with an Alpha of the article *αἰ* being emphasized as it is located much more to the left side of the column than the other letters.

¹⁴ Sinaiticus fragment from the "Codex Sinaiticus Project" <http://codexsinaiticus.org/en/> (accessed on 29.05.2012)

The paragraph of verses 34-35 ends with the Alpha (α) too, which alone occupies the whole line and accentuates verses 34-35 on the background of the surrounding text and the work of the corrector, who has obviously worked hard in his/her efforts by adding elsewhere in the manuscript as many letters to the right side of the text as he/she could, squeezing them in, and at the same time effortlessly leaving an Alpha alone to occupy the whole line after verse 35. The verses 34-35 in @ however do not give any justification to read them together with verse the 33b – they are syntactically unconnected.

Codex Vaticanus

Vaticanus (B) is the 4th century manuscript, containing most of the Old and New Testament books. B starts verses 34-35 after verse 33 in a new paragraph. Vaticanus also contains scribal sigla, which has raised a great interest and also some debates among the textual critics, particularly about the meaning of the bar-umlaut/distigme+obelus. It has been known for some decades now, that Vaticanus is not a copy of the original text, but a manuscript, that represents a “skilled scholarship working on the best available authorities”.¹⁵

There is an interesting discussion between Philip B. Payne and J. Edward Miller¹⁶ (and others) on the meaning of bar-umlaut or distigme+obelus in Vaticanus, particularly in relation to 1 Cor. 14:34, 35. This discussion has pushed forward the entire analysis of Vaticanus sigla and textual variants. Here I will try to summarize the main points of this discussion, because it concerns a question of paragraph in 1.Cor 14:34, 35.

Miller argues for the coincidence in places, where B has a bar and umlaut together, because the marks have got distinct functions.¹⁷ Bar, according to Miller, serves the *paragraphus* function in B.¹⁸ Umlaut, on the other hand, identifies variant readings. Miller offers an opinion that the variant readings could be εγείρεται and εγήγερται (John 7:52 – before pericope adulterae) and the addition of διδάσκω (1Cor 14:33b in the Western text).¹⁹

The main arguments of Miller, to my mind, are:

1. Bar and umlaut are sigla with different functions in 1 Cor 14:34, 35.

¹⁵ F.G. Kenyon, *Introduction: The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri*, Fasciculus I: General Introduction (London: Emery Walker Ltd, 1933), 16, cited – Gordon Fee in Epp, Eldon Jay And Gordon D. Fee. *Studies In The Theory And Method Of New Testament Textual Criticism*, Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2000, 248.

¹⁶ J. Edward Miller, “Some Observations on the Text-Critical Function of the Umlauts in Vaticanus, with Special Attention to 1 Corinthians 14.34-35*”, *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 26.2 (2003).

¹⁷ J. Edward Miller, “Some Observations on the Text-Critical Function of the Umlauts in Vaticanus, with Special Attention to 1 Corinthians 14.34-35*”, *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 26.2 (2003), 218.

¹⁸ J. Edward Miller, “Some Observations on the Text-Critical Function of the Umlauts in Vaticanus, with Special Attention to 1 Corinthians 14.34-35*”, *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 26.2 (2003), 219-220.

¹⁹ Philip B. Payne, *Man and Woman, One in Christ: An Exegetical and Theological Study of Paul's Letters*, (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2009), 235.

2. *Distigme*, that lies before the 2 textual blocks (*pericope adulterae* and 1 Cor 14:34, 35) points to the textual variant of one word, not to the interpolation.

Philip Payne has mentioned several New Testament examples that are marked with *distigme* and bar (obelus – according to Payne), and which nowadays have been considered interpolations. Those according to Payne are *pericope adulterae* John 7:53 – 8:11, a phrase after Mat. 18:10, phrase in the end of Luke 1:28, end of Luke 14:24, a few words of Acts 2:47, 48 and 1Cor 14:34, 35.²⁰ These passages are marked with the bar that lies below the previous line and is longer than an average bar, extending deeper into the margin of B. Payne notes that 5 of 6 of these phrases match interpolations. According to Payne, the bars that mark *paragraphus* are shorter.²¹

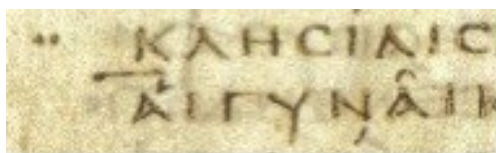


Figure 2 Codex Vaticanus, fragment of 1Cor. 14:33 – 34²²

Payne reasons, that in places where *distigmai* is together with a long obelus, and when external manuscript analysis points to interpolation of the particular places, the best explanation according to the analogy would be, that *distigmai* and long obelus before 1 Cor 14:34, 35 points to interpolations of these two verses.

Whether B scribe was aware of a text without 1 Cor 14.34, 35 (Payne) or marked a variant in 33b and a paragraph (Miller) depends on the meaning of the combination or the separation of bar-umlaut/*distigme*+obelus. What can be certainly observed in the manuscript, is that verse 33b is separated from the paragraph 34-35, even if we only suppose that the bar here only identifies the paragraph.

Codex Fuldensis

Codex Fuldensis (F) is one of the dated codices, which has been written under the influence of Latin Vulgate and compiled ca 541 and 546 C.E.²³ The codex has been

²⁰ Philip B. Payne, *Man and Woman, One in Christ: An Exegetical and Theological Study of Paul's Letters*, (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2009), 237 – 238.

²¹ Philip B. Payne, *Man and Woman, One in Christ: An Exegetical and Theological Study of Paul's Letters*, Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2009, 238.

²² I have observed Vaticanus facsimile (Bibliorum sacrorum graecorum Codex Vaticanus B: Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae Codex Vaticanus Graecus 1209 (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1999)) in the Maurits Sabbe Library at the KU Leuven, but the picture above is taken from the article of Philip Payne "Do the Marginalia of Vaticanus Support or Undermine the Originality of its *Distigmai*?" Philip B. Payne, Payne Loving Trust, 2010, 6. The electronically available Vaticanus facsimile seems to be a later copy.

²³ Bruce M. Metzger, Bart D. Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption and Restoration*, Oxford University Press, New York – Oxford 2005, 108; Philip B. Payne "The Text-Critical

personally looked through and corrected by the bishop Victor of Capua. It has been finished on the 2nd of May, 546 C.E. and read over again until the 12th of April, 547 C.E. Metzger has assigned Codex Fuldensis the category – a very good manuscript.²⁴

When I opened Metzger's *Textual Commentary* (1971) before seeing the codex itself, I was disappointed to read that according to Metzger, the codex Fuldensis has verse 34-35 written twice – after verse 33 and in the margin.²⁵ Such a view, because it is Metzger who stated that, has lived among the scholars for several years (still in the popular Wikipedia this view can be read widely). Things changed after Metzger was shown the copy of codex Fuldensis, which revealed a different picture. Later Metzger admitted that he hasn't seen Fuldensis himself, and therefore was mistaken.²⁶ In the commentaries that followed, Metzger has corrected description of 1 Cor 14:34, 35 in F according to the manuscript data, unfortunately, not everyone has followed the data-based corrections, especially commenting on verses 34-35.²⁷

So, codex Fuldensis does not read verses 34-35 twice, but once – after verse 33. But verses 36-40 are written twice – first, after the pericope 34-35 and then – in the bottom margin. Let us first look at the text itself.

Verse 33 in the Codex Fuldensis, continuing the thought of the previous passages about prophesying and speaking in tongues, summarizes – “*Non enim est dissensionis Deus sed pacis*” (33a).

The following sentence (and verse 33b) is this – “*Sicut in omnibus ecclesiis **scorum doceo***” (emphasis mine; Latin interpretation of the Codex Fuldensis according to Jerome has the same thought – [*s*]icut in omnibus ecclesiis **sanctorum doceo**²⁸).

Taking into account the high rating of the Codex, it is significant, to my mind, to pay attention to the ending of verse 33b, which precedes the paragraph 34-35.

Function of the Umlauts in Vaticanus, with Special Attention to 1 Corinthians 14.34-35: A Response to J. Edward Miller”, *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 27,(2004), 111.

²⁴ Bruce M. Metzger, Bart D. Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption and Restoration*, 108.

²⁵ B. M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (New York: UBS, 1971) 565. A conversation between Payne and Metzger in - Philip B. Payne, “Fuldensis, Sigla for Variants in Vaticanus, and 1 Cor. 14.34-5”, *New Testament Studies*, vol. 41 (1995), 242.

²⁶ Philip B. Payne, “Fuldensis, Sigla for Variants in Vaticanus, and 1 Cor. 14.34-5”, *New Testament Studies*, vol. 41 (1995), 242.

²⁷ R. F. Hull states that the verses [34-35] in codex Fuldensis are written twice. Robert F. Hull, Jr., *The Story of the New Testament Text: Movers, Materials, Motives, Methods, and Models* (Resources for Biblical Study), 58. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010, 155 (a footnote). The same opinion has been stated by D.A. Carson in ‘Silent in the Churches’: On the Role of Women in I Cor.14:33b-36,” in *Recovering Biblical Manhood and Womanhood*, ed. Wayne Grudem and John Piper (Westchester: Crossway, 1990), 134.

²⁸ Ernestus Ranke (edit.), Hieronymus, *Codex Fuldensis: Novum Testamentum Latine Interprete Hieronymo Ex Manuscripto Victoris Capuani*. Sumtibus N.G. Elwerti Bibliopolae Academici: Marburgi & Lipsiae 1868, 226.

This far we have observed that Codex Sinaiticus, as well as Codex Vaticanus both begin verse 34 in a new paragraph; strictly indicating that wording of verse 33b is to be left with the preceding thought. Codex Fuldensis, in turn, not only separates 33b from the pericope 34-35, but quite conspicuously shows, that there is a logical ending to verse 33b and to the guidance about the use of the gifts of prophesying and speaking in tongues –*Et spiritus prophetarum prophetis subiecti sunt non enim est dissensionis deus sed pacis. Sicut in omnibus ecclesiis sanctorum doceo.*²⁹/ **scorum doceo** (Fuldenis wording).

We see then, that according to Fuldensis, as well as Jerome's transcription of Fuldensis in Ernst Ranke's publication, verse 33b at its best is connected to verse 33a. Between the 33a and 33b there is at least one dot and a tiny "sed" squeezed in. This is what I saw with an eye, but "sed" could have been as well written over the second dot, which in total would constitute 2 dots originally (as in other places of chapter 14, where 2 dots have been put in order to mark the end of the sentence).

Further in the codex Fuldensis after *scorum doceo*, namely, after verse 33 there is a siglum **hō**. Then a new paragraph begins with "*Mulieres in ecclesiis...*" (34). The main text of 1 Cor. 14 on the same page then continues until the most part of a verse 37. In the margin below there are again verses 36-40 *in toto* that end with the siglum **hs**.

There is a question on what do these sigla mean? Do they mean that the verses 34-35 should have been omitted in the liturgy (Metzger), that these verses have been omitted in some other manuscript (Payne), to mark the place of verses 34-35 after the verse 40 (Nikkum) or do they mean something else?

I have transcribed the text of the discussed verses of codex Fuldensis below.

	Left page no 296	Right page no 297 (verses 38 -)
V. 33b	Sicut in omnibus ecclesiis scorum doceo hō	data Si quis autem ignorat ignorabitur Itaque fratres aemulamini propheta et loqui linguis nolite prohibere Omnia autem honeste et secundum ordine fiant...
V. 34, 35	Mulieres in ecclesiis... ³⁰	

²⁹ Ernestus Ranke (edit.), Hieronymus, *Codex Fuldensis: Novum Testamentum Latine Interprete Hieronymo Ex Manuscripto Victoris Capuani*, verses 32 and 33, 226.

³⁰ Dots in the text of verse just indicate that I have omitted the whole wording of verses 34-35 in order to focus on the sigla and rewritten text in the margin.

V. 36, 37	An a vobis verbum dei process sit aut in vos solos per venit Si quis videtur propheta esse aut spiri talis cognoscat quae scri bo vobis quia dni sunt man	
The content of the margin below the main text	An a vobis verbum dei processit. aut in vos solos per venit Si quis videtur propheta esse aut spiritalis cognoscat quae scribe vobis quia dni sunt mandata si quis autem ignorat ignorabitur Itaq fratres aemulamini prophetare et loqui linguis nolite prohibere omnia autem honeste et secundum ordinem fiant <i>hs</i>	

Figure 3 Codex Fuldensis, pages 296-297, transcript of 1 Cor. 14:33-40³¹

I consciously rewrote here the respective text of the codex Fuldensis in order to draw my reader's attention that contextually, there is an inner logic in the text among verses 32, 33a, 33b and 36, 37, which ends the message of the 14th chapter:

32et spiritus prophetarum prophetis subiecti sunt
 33 non enim est dissensionis Deus sed pacis sicut in omnibus ecclesiis
 scorum doceo
 36 an a vobis verbum Dei processit. aut in vos solos pervenit.
 37 si quis videtur propheta esse aut spiritalis cognoscat quae scribo
 vobis quia dni [Domini] sunt mandata
 38 si quis autem ignorat ignorabitur.

Here 'doceo' ends the thought of the verse 33 and at the same time encourages the rhetorical question in verse 36, which contrasts Paul's teaching (which is God-inspired) with Corinthians' understanding on the use of *charismata*. If 'doceo' serves as a harmonization of the thought, it can only prove that otherwise there is no syntactic logic between verses 33b and 34.

If the wording of the verse 33b syntactically goes together with the context of the verse 34 without 'doceo', why the scribe of codex F felt necessity to add 'doceo'? It is a serious question, since 'doceo' is a verb, not an article or conjunction which can be added or taken out with no significant impact. The function of the verb, on the contrary, is that of a backbone of a sentence.

Moreover, what is the reason, why the text block of verses 36-40 has been rewritten in the margin? Verses 36-40 is the biggest rewritten text block in the codex. Both Metzger and Payne have agreed that the scribe must have had a well-grounded reason to write such a block (and not the verses 34-35).

³¹ A photocopy of Codex Fuldensis here http://www.biblical-data.org/LATIN_Resources/FULDENSIS_2.jpg
 (accessed on 07.11.2012)

One more aspect here is worth pondering: Philip Payne has noticed that the gloss in the margin of codex Fuldensis reads *ordinem* instead of *ordine* in verse 40³². It may indicate that there have been at least two manuscripts that were used for the writing of pages 1 Cor 14 and not a forgetful scribe who forgot that had just written verses 36-40.

Codex Alexandrinus

Codex Alexandrinus (the 5th century codex), perhaps, is a redactional edition, that has been written from the geographically and/or textually different manuscripts. In the Pauline letters the text is rather Alexandrian.³³

A has the verses 34-35 after verse 33. But there are some words that need to be said about the paragraph marking in Alexandrinus – there is an interesting and rather artistic approach of the A scribe – the way he or she marked paragraphs. The scribe was not very much concerned with chapter division, which is not surprising, given, that the codex is dated in the 5th century, but at least in 1 Cor. the scribe marked paragraphs in two different ways (with a few exceptions):

- 1) With a big capital letter in the beginning of a line.
- 2) Leaving a space (of about 2-3 characters) in the middle of the line, indicating a start of a new thought. But in order for the paragraph to be noticed by the reader, the scribe writes a capital letter on the next line. This system – a space and a capital letter (not initial letter) is quite frequent in the entire 1st letter to Cor.

We see in Figure 2 that 1 Cor. 14.6, for example, even when starts with a space in the line, emphasizes Phi of the word *ᾠδαί* to draw attention to the paragraph.

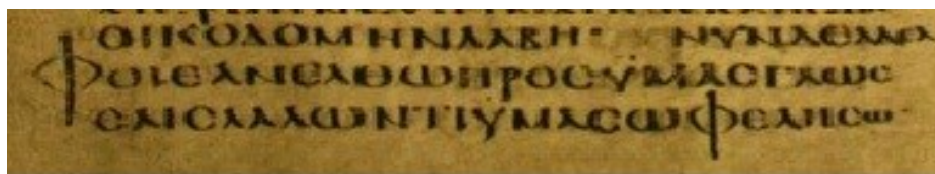


Figure 4, Codex Alexandrinus page 124, content – 1 Cor 14:5b – 6a³⁴

³² Payne, Philip B. *Man and Woman, One in Christ: An Exegetical and Theological Study of Paul's Letters* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2009), 248.

³³ Bruce Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible: An Introduction to Greek Paleography* (New York – Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991, corrected edition of 1981), 86.

³⁴ Facsimile of the Codex Alexandrinus. New Testament and Clementine Epistles (1879), Public Domain Mark 1.0 (no copyright, public information), http://archive.org/stream/GA_02#page/n199/mode/1up (accessed 09.04.2012)

Now about exceptions:

1. In order to separate a minor logical thought, like a sentence, the scribe leaves a dot, which occupies about 1 character space. To my knowledge this system is common in codices.
2. There are some spaces in the 1 Cor. that look like a paragraph mark but there is no capitalizing of the letter in the following line. These exceptions in 1 Cor. are very few, and here I will list them:
 - a. 1 Cor 3:5 τι ουν εστιν απολλως τι δε εστιν παυλος;
 - b. 1 Cor. 5:6 ου καλον το καυχημα υμων;
 - c. 1 Cor. 6:9b αδικοι βασιλειαν θεου ου κληρονομησουσιν;
 - d. 1 Cor. 8:5 και γαρ επιερ εισιν λεγομενοι θεοι ειτε εν ουρανω ειτε επι γης ωπερ εισιν θεοι πολλοι και κυριοι πολλοι.

Perhaps, the first 3 expressions could be classified as questions in a direct speech, whereas 1 Cor. 8:5 does not seem to be a question, but an interposition³⁵.

When it comes to the verses 34-35, this is what A reads – verse 33a is preceded by a dot, 33b is preceded by a dot, verse 34 starts in the middle of the line and is preceded by a dot, but in addition to that, there is a space of 1-2 characters before *αι γυναικες* and a capitalized Tau (in the article *Ταις*) in the following line. Even though the page of the manuscript on the facsimile is turned up in the corner, it is not possible not to notice that there is a part of a capital letter Tau in the beginning of the following line and that there is no other Tau in the article.

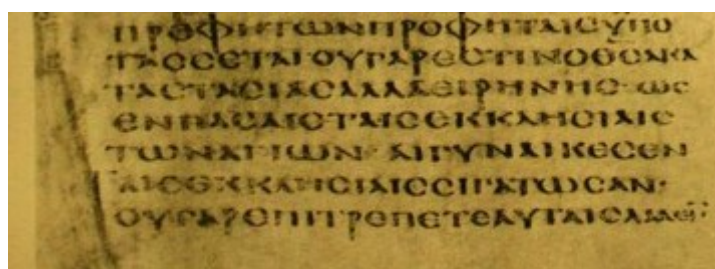


Figure 5, Codex Alexandrinus page 124, content – 1Cor 14:32-34a³⁶

Thus we can speak of a new paragraph starting with a verse 34, not verse 33b. Verse 34 in A has a unique reading – *αλλα υποτασσεοθωσαν τοις ανδρασιν καθως και ο νομος λεγει*, which also tends to interpret otherwise abstract subjection.

³⁵ Perhaps a native English speaker can define more accurately, what is the syntactical function of the wording in verse 5.

³⁶ Facsimile of the Codex Alexandrinus. New Testament and Clementine Epistles (1879), Public Domain Mark 1.0 (no copyright, public information), http://archive.org/stream/GA_02#page/n200/mode/1up (accessed 09.04.2012)

Verse 35 starts with a capitalized letter in the beginning of the line and separates word *μανθάνειν* by two spaces, each space being about 1 – 1.5 character long without any dots. Definitely, the spacing does not mark any paragraph or a sentence division.

The paragraph of verse 34-35 is preceded by 1-2 space and it capitalizes the letter in the following line, thus separating the thought of verses 34-35 from that in 33b. Verses 34-35 correspond to the pattern of the paragraph indication in 1 Cor.; therefore even an economic scribe of A has left a space between 33b and 34 and marked 34-35 as a separate from 33b paragraph.

Western witnesses - Claromontanus, Augiensis, Boernerianus

Codex Claromontanus

Claromontanus (D or 06) is the 6th century bilingual Greek-Latin codex, that reads verses 34 and 35 after the verse 40, that is, at the end of the chapter. Even though Claromontanus dislocates the verses to the end of the chapter, it has a particularly interesting ending (abrupt) of the verse 33b - *non enim est dissensionis Deus sed pacis sicut in omnibus ecclesiis sanctorum*.³⁷

Even though this is a 6th century manuscript, in terms of the paragraph division and 33b relation to the women, it strongly disproves the NA²⁷ paragraph marking, on two grounds:

1. Verses 34-35 start with "Mulieres", therefore, they are treated as a separate paragraph.
2. 33b is physically left/written (depends, if one views 34-35 as originally written in the end of the chapter or transposed there) together with verse 33a and related to the previous talk about the Charismata.

Codex Augiensis

Augiensis (F or 010) is the 9th century bilingual Greek-Latin codex, that contains Pauline letters.³⁸ Augiensis dislocates verses 34-35 after verse 40 and ends 33b with *doceo* and *διδασκω* accordingly. Even though the Greek text on the inner page reads *Αι γυνεσκαισ* (sic.) *υμων* (with the translation *vestra* over *υμων*), which in again a scribal attempt to the Latin text in the outer page reads „*Mulieres in ecclesiis*..”

³⁷ As well in Greek - ΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΑΚΑΤΑΣΤΑΣΙΑΣ Ο ΘΕΟΣ ΑΛΛ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΣ ΩΣ ΕΝ ΠΑΣΑΙΣ ΤΑΙΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ.

³⁸ Frederick Henry Ambrose Scrivener, *An exact transcript of the Codex Augiensis: a Græco-Latin manuscript of S. Paul's Epistles*, 1859, xxiii.

Codex Boernerianus

Codex Boernerianus (G) is the 9th century bilingual Greek-Latin codex, which is similar to F (010); therefore G and F together with D are mentioned together as Western tradition.

The manuscript perhaps has been written by the Irish monks, who had immigrated to Western Europe.³⁹ The final redaction of G is specific – obviously, the manuscript has been originally written in Greek, but Latin has been added later – each Latin word written above the Greek word. G text reads verses 34-35 after the verse 40, just like Augiensis, and ends 33b with διδασκω, writing over Latin *doceo*.

D, F and G even when mentioned together most of the time, and all three dislocate 1 Cor 14:34, 35 after verse 40, do have a little difference – D does not have ‘doceo’ at the end of 33b.

Ms 88

Ms 88 (Codex Regis, the 12th century manuscript, which is not Western) reads the paragraph of 34-35 after the verse 40 and after two slashes, which are placed right on the line of the text before αι γυναικες. Philip Payne discusses the slashes as the indicators for interpolation of the 1 Cor 14:34, 35, where verses 34-35 have been added to the text later.⁴⁰ The sigla function also in M88 depends on its meaning, but in any case it is interesting to observe the verse 33b again in this manuscript is definitely unconnected to verses 34-35.

Papyrus 123 (P¹²³)

P¹²³ is a manuscript fragment or 3 small pieces of papyri page containing the text of the 1 Cor. 14:31-34 on one side and 1 Cor. 15:3-6 on the other side. This fragment has been discovered together with the Oxyrhynchus papyri and is ascribed to the fourth century Alexandrian type manuscript,⁴¹ published in LXXII Oxyrhynchus Papyri, 2008.

J. D. Thomas has worked on the transliteration of the text fragment.⁴² The text takes NA²⁷ as its prototype in order to restore the wording. Here is the transliteration of

³⁹ Bruce Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible: An Introduction to Greek Paleography* (New York – Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991, corrected edition of 1981), 104.

⁴⁰ Philip B. Payne, “Ms. 88 as Evidence for a Text Without 1 Cor 14.34-5”, *New Testament Studies* 44 (1998), 152-158.

⁴¹ <http://intf.uni-muenster.de/vmr/NTVMR/ListeHandschriften.php?ObjID=10123> (accessed 17.10.2012.)

⁴² Transliteration by J. David Thomas:
μα]θανωσιν κ[αι παντες
παρ]ακαλωντ[αι και] ινα προφητων [προφηταις
υ]ποτασσεται ου γαρ εστι[ν α]κατασ[ιας ο θς

Dirk Jongkind⁴³, which reflects data more faithfully to the fragments of the text, which one can observe in P.Oxy.LXXII⁴⁴, manuscript 4844:

1 Cor. 14:31-34

.θαυωσινκ[
[c. 4]v.[...]ναπροφητω[...]
.τασσετα[...].υγαρεστ[...].ατασ[...]
.νησωσ[...].ενπασαιστ[...].εκκ[...]
] ... [...]οναικεσευ[...]
]επιτρεπ

P¹²³ in the Oxyrhynchus database looks too compressed, the two fragments on the right side of the recto do not really match together if the manuscript has really contained the full NA²⁷ version of the verse 33-34. The 5th visible line connects manuscript right at the wording of *ενπασαιστ* and *εκκ*. Provided that there should be space for 3 characters of an article before *εκκλησιας*, there should have been left a little bit more space. Instead, one can see that the central fragment sticks *στ* to *εκ*, where the latter obviously does not match the line of the text, as it is going much up than the normal writing would go. The text, as reconstructed by David Thomas, reconstructing *εκκλησιας* (9 letters on the 5th line), attempts to reconstruct *ταις εκκλησιας* (14 letters) in the same space on the 6th line.

Counting the possible letters on each line (again, with the help of the NA²⁷) I came to the conclusion that verses 34 and 35 had not formed a separate paragraph. Nevertheless, there is perhaps a one or two letters' space taking into account that according to David Thomas (and NA²⁷) the 2nd line would have contained 35 letters, the 3rd line – 36 letters.

The forth line according to D. Thomas is 34 letters; however, it depends on a hypothetical interpretation about the conjunction *ἀλλά*. Full article would give 35 characters. It is then possible that the beginning of our verse 34 would include space of 1-2 characters. I am speculating here, but it is not entirely impossible in hypothesis as seen below in the word count.

1st line - ἵνα πάντες μανθάνωσιν καὶ πάντες

2nd line - παρακαλῶνται καὶ πνα προφητῶν προφήταις 35

3rd line - ὑποτάσσεται οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἀκαταστασίας ὁ θεός 36

αλλ ειρ]ηνες ως εν πασαις τα[ις] εκκ[λησιας
των αγ]ων αι γυναικες εν [ταις εκκλησιας
σιγατωσαν ου γα]ρ επιτρεπ[εται αυταις λαλειν

⁴³ Dirk Jongkind, "P123 1 Cor 14 - 15, P.Oxy 4844" (Tuesday, Febr. 24, 2009), Evangelical Textual Criticism Blog, <http://evangelicaltextualcriticism.blogspot.com/> (accessed 02.05.2012.)

⁴⁴ P.Oxy.LXXII 4844, "POxy: Oxyrhynchus Online", Image database, Oxford. <http://163.1.169.40/cgi-bin/library?e=q-000-00---0POxy-00-0-0-0prompt-10---4---0-11-1-en-50---20-about-4844-00031-001-1-0utfZz-8-00&a=d&c=POxy&cl=search&d=HASH5e26d040e8b4a64eddf885> (accessed 02.05.2012.)
<http://163.1.169.40/gsd1/collect/POxy/index/assoc/HASHd74e/e81fb290.dir/POxy.v0072.n4844.a.01.hires.jpg>

4th line - ἀλλ' εἰρήνης ὡς ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις (34 +1?)

5th line - τῶν ἁγίων αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις (34letters)

6th line - σιγάτωσαν οὐ γὰρ ἐπιτρέπ ?

Hypothetically, it could also be possible, that αἱ γυναῖκες in P¹²³ have been written without an article αἱ, like in P⁴⁶. The chances for the space of 3-4 characters before verse 34 are even greater. One can only speculate about 'what' and 'what if' in the case of P¹²³. The fact is - there is not enough factual data for analysis.

Epilogue

According to the external data, there are 5 different reading of 1 Cor. 14:33 – 34:

- 1) οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀκαταστασίας ὁ θεὸς ἀλλὰ εἰρήνης ὡς ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῶν ἁγίων. **Αἱ** γυναῖκες (P⁴⁶, 8, B,)
- 2) οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀκαταστασίας ὁ θεὸς ἀλλὰ εἰρήνης ὡς ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῶν ἁγίων **διδασκῶ**. Αἱ γυναῖκες (Codex Fuldensis, Jerome)
- 3) οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀκαταστασίας ὁ θεὸς ἀλλὰ εἰρήνης ὡς ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῶν ἁγίων. **Ἡ** ἀφ' ὑμῶν ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξῆλθεν, ἥ εἰς ὑμᾶς μόνους κατήντησεν; (M88, D)
- 4) οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀκαταστασίας ὁ θεὸς ἀλλὰ εἰρήνης ὡς ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῶν ἁγίων **διδασκῶ**. **Ἡ** ἀφ' ὑμῶν ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξῆλθεν, ἥ εἰς ὑμᾶς μόνους κατήντησεν; (F, G)
- 5) **Ὡς** ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῶν ἁγίων, αἱ γυναῖκες ὑμῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις σιγάτωσαν (*The Majority text*).

What shall we do then with the verse 33b?

Some things are clear from the internal evidence - the category 'women' appear in 1 Cor. 14:34, 35 out of blue. Even in the entire chapter (namely, chapters 12 and 14 about the *charismata*) 'women' are in the category of παντας, who can operate with *charismata*. The message in chapter 14 is about the use of the spiritual gifts, namely, prophesying and speaking in tongues, expressing beforehand the wish of παντας speaking in tongues and παντας prophesying. Verses 34-35 not only stand out of the context on the internal evidence data, but demonstrate a harmonizational problem in the manuscripts:

1. Verse 35 does not connect to verse 36 both syntactically and physically, unless we believe the creative idea about verses 34-35 being a Corinthian slogan. Western witnesses and the M88 transpose/or leave verses 34-35 at

the end of the chapter. That alone leaves the idea of a quotation outside the discussion;

2. The actual beginning of the verse 34 and its connection to 33b is extremely flexible. The Byzantine tradition had solved it well and attached 33b to 34, despite the older manuscript evidence. Where else then to put such an appendix which is 33b? No secret, that the NA²⁷ have walked the wide way following *the Majority*, the NA²⁸, as it seems, has noticed the problem of the lonely 33b, but still writes it with a capital letter, preceding the paragraph on the silence of women (which starts with a small initial). Sounds as an *argumentum ad antiquitatem*.

Verses 34 – 35 are not syntactically connected to the immediate context. This has been proven a long time ago. The main goal of this article is to focus on the physical data in the manuscripts. Does the physical data affirm or turn over the hypothesis of the context (internal) research? As analyzed in this article, the connection of the verses 34-35 to verse 33b (but also to verse 36) is highly artificial and the scribes have at their best left the paragraph of 34-35 alone and as this article tried to show the scribes have left the ambiguous 33b alone too, perhaps not knowing what to do with the text that ‘appeared’ in the margin or between the lines (in its literal sense).

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Appendix 1

The fragment of P46 (folio no. 56)

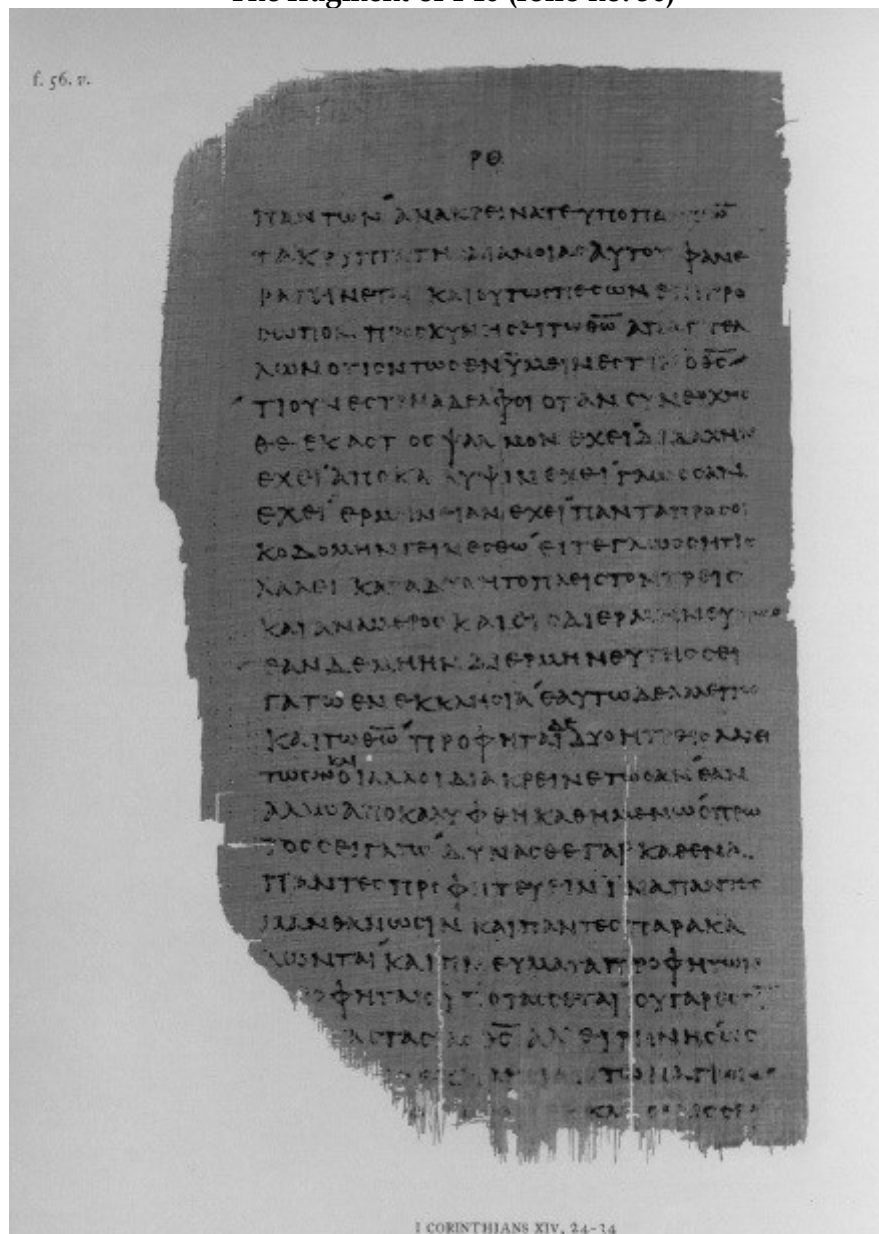


Figure 6, Chester Realty Biblical Papyrus II (3rd century), Chester Beatty

The fragment of Codex Fuldensis (296-297 lpp.)

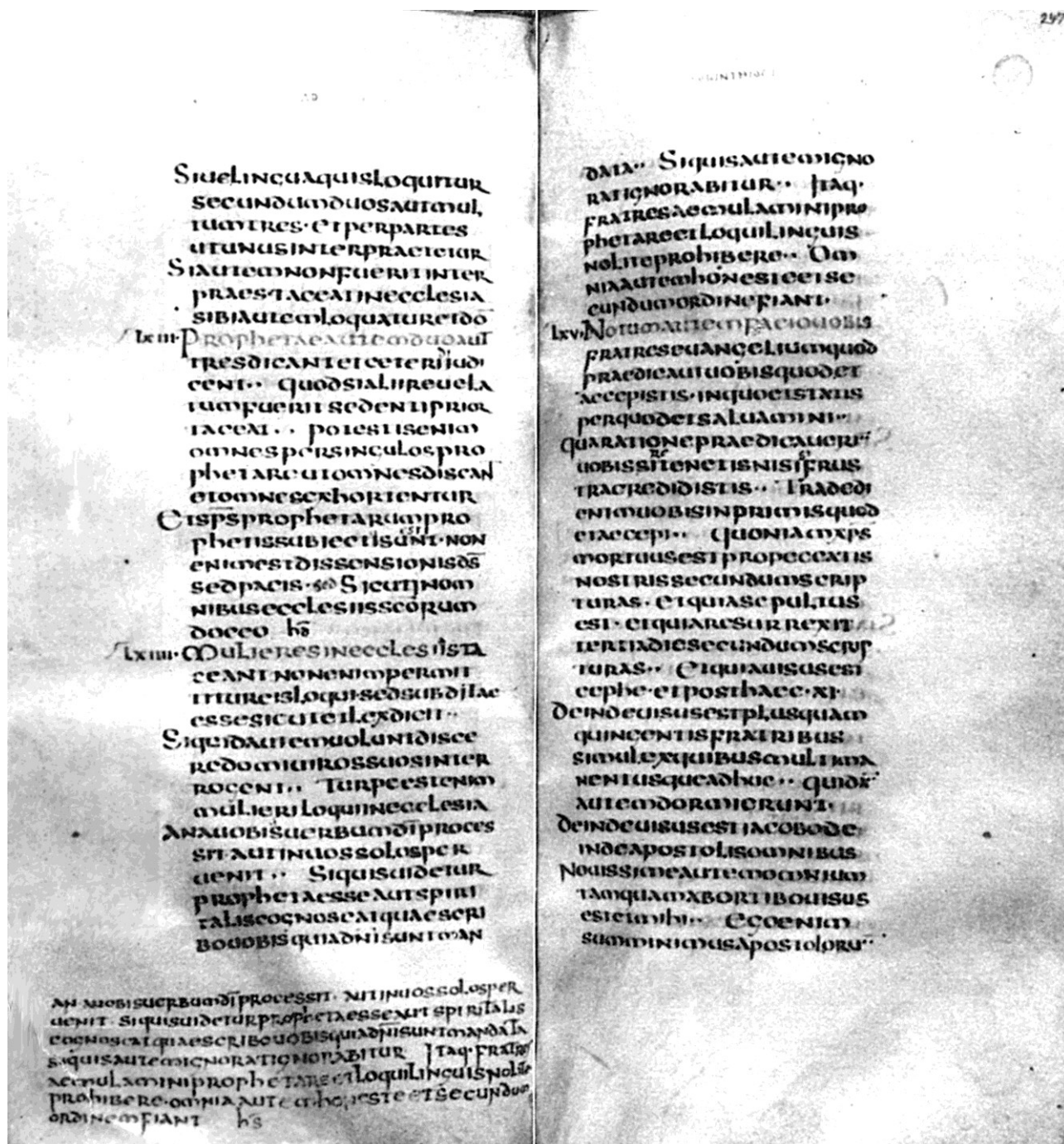


Figure 745, Codex Fuldensis, ap 541 – 546.g.m.ē., Latīnu Vulgātes teksts

⁴⁵ The electronical format of the page taken from internet site Biblical data (no authorship, publicly accessible information), http://www.biblical-data.org/LATIN_Resources/FULDENSIS_2.jpg (accessed 02.05.2011)