

1 Cor 14.34–5 without ‘in All the Churches of the Saints’: External Evidence

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The present study of the oldest and most relevant extant manuscripts that contain 1 Cor 14.33b–35 shows that v. 33b (ὡς ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῶν ἁγίων) is not connected with vv. 34–5. Scribes would consider 33b to be a part of 33a. Manuscripts \aleph , A, B, Fuldensis, D, F, G, ms. 88* clearly read 1 Cor 14.34–5 as a separate paragraph. In these manuscripts, where vv. 34–5 are found after v. 40, v. 33b closely follows 33a. P¹⁶ and P¹²³ are damaged and require reconstruction. Moreover, Greek New Testament editions that link v. 33b with v. 34 reflect exegetical decisions and are not based on external evidence.

Keywords: 1 Cor 14.33b, textual criticism, paragraph marking, silencing women

This article aims to disprove, on the basis of manuscript evidence, the commonly held interpretation of 1 Cor 14.33–5 that is often used as the basis for silencing and excluding women in the Christian churches. I will demonstrate that external evidence points to the separation of v. 33b from v. 34 (contra NA²⁸) in 1 Cor 14.33–5. This means that v. 33b (ὡς ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῶν ἁγίων) is not connected with vv. 34–5 in the earliest New Testament manuscripts. The argument focuses mainly on paragraph division: where the scribes concluded one thought and where they started a new thought. A few remarks or observations will be noted about the paragraph marking as a scribal habit¹ before I lay out the external evidence for v. 33b without v. 34. The argument is arranged in three parts. Firstly, I will outline the exegetical implications that arise from the place and function of v. 33b. Secondly, I will analyse the oldest manuscripts and Latin versions. Thirdly, I will analyse the different Greek New Testament editions.

1 It must be said that this discussion can be only brief and general, because each scribe had his own habits.

1. Exegetical Implications

The famous biblical verses that seem to silence women in all the churches of the saints, namely 1 Cor 14.33b–35, are found in all the extant New Testament manuscripts. But the presence of the verbless v. 33b in its context allows reading it either with a preceding or a following paragraph. Each possibility, however, entails a different theological implication – v. 33b either refers to the quality of God or gives an ecumenical dimension to the prohibition of female speech in the churches. The latest Greek New Testament editions (NA²⁸, GNT⁵) introduce *Mulieres taceant* in v. 33b. Yet Greek manuscripts and the Latin versions together with the older editions of the Greek New Testament read v. 33b jointly with v. 33a and apart from *Mulieres taceant*. According to D. A. Carson, the place of v. 33b does not change the context, which commands women to be silent, because the phrase ‘in the churches’ in the plural is found in v. 34 as well.² Conversely, P. Comfort admits that the exegetical decision regarding whether to join v. 33b with v. 33a or v. 34 ‘is a decision with exegetical consequences’.³ D. Arichea points out that there is a great difference between whether one connects v. 33b with v. 33a, or with v. 34: ‘connecting v. 33b with what precedes rather than with what follows has the effect of making vv. 34–5 a specific and timely admonition rather than a generic and timeless rule’.⁴

The following scholars consider v. 33b as belonging together with 1 Cor 14.34–5: J. W. Straatman,⁵ C. C. F. Heinrici,⁶ J. Weiss,⁷ P. Bachmann,⁸ F. W. Grosheide,⁹

2 D. A. Carson, “‘Silent in the Churches’: On the Role of Women in 1 Corinthians 14:33b–35’, *Rediscovering Biblical Manhood and Womanhood* (Westchester, IL: Crossways, 1991) 141.

3 P. W. Comfort, *New Testament Text and Translation Commentary: Commentary on the Variant Readings of the Ancient New Testament Manuscripts and How They Relate to the Major English Translations* (Carol Stream, IL: Tyndale House, 2008) 517.

4 D. C. Arichea, ‘The Silence of Women in the Church: Theology and Translation of 1 Corinthians 14.33b–36’, *BiTr* 46 (1995) 101–12, at 104.

5 J. W. Straatman, *Kritische studiën over den 1en Brief van Paulus aan de Korinthiërs* (Groningen: L. van Giffen, 1863) 1356.

6 G. C. F. Heinrici, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther* (KEK 5; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1896⁸) 436.

7 J. Weiss, *Der erste Korintherbrief* (KEK; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1910) 342.

8 P. Bachmann, *Der erste Brief des Paulus an die Korinther* (KNT 7; Leipzig: A. Deichertsche Verlagsbuchhandlung Werner Scholl, 1910) 421. In v. 33b according to Bachmann Paul refers to the custom (es gehalten wird). In order to harmonise the translation of the repetitious ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις in vv. 33b and 34, Bachmann proposes to translate the first as *Gemeinden*, and the second as *Gemeindeversammlungen*.

9 F. W. Grosheide, *Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974) 341. V. 33a represents a self-contained thought. When one joins v.33b with the pericope on women, it makes the injunction on women a global and universally observable command – so Grosheide.

H. Conzelmann,¹⁰ R. C. H. Lenski,¹¹ R. Collins,¹² G. Dautzenberg,¹³ D. W. Odell-Scott,¹⁴ W. Munro,¹⁵ R. W. Allison,¹⁶ B. Witherington,¹⁷ D. A. Carson,¹⁸ A. Lindemann,¹⁹ J. B. Hurley,²⁰ D. E. Garland,²¹ A. C. Thiselton,²² J. E. Aguilar Chiu,²³ R. I. Pervo,²⁴ E. Hiu,²⁵ G. H. van Kooten,²⁶ M. Taylor (2014).²⁷ Among these Straatman, Weiss, Conzelmann, Dautzenberg, Munro, Allison, Pervo and Lindemann consider v. 33b to be a part of a shorter or longer interpolation.

Bachmann, Moffatt, Lenski, Witherington and Carson articulate that v. 33b is a foundational reason for the silence of women, namely, Paul appeals to the custom

- 10 H. Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians: A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians* (trans. James W. Leitch; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975) 245–6.
- 11 R. C. H. Lenski, *The Interpretation of St. Paul's First and Second Epistle to the Corinthians* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Augsburg Publishing House, 1963) 614.
- 12 R. Collins, *First Corinthians* (SP 7; Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1999) 517. In vv. 33b–35 Paul quotes the conservative Corinthian slogan, which he rebuts with the v. 36.
- 13 G. Dautzenberg, 'Tradition, paulinische Bearbeitung und Redaktion in 1 Kor 14, 26–40', *Tradition und Gegenwart: Ernst Schering zum 60. Geburtstag gewidmet* (ed. B. Jendorff and G. Schmalenberg; TW 5; Bern: Herbert Lang, 1974) 23.
- 14 D. W. Odell-Scott, 'Let the Women Speak in Church: An Egalitarian Interpretation of 1 Cor 14:33b–36', *BTB* 13 (1983) 90–3, at 90. In later works Odell-Scott changed his opinion.
- 15 W. Munro, *Authority in Paul and Peter: The Identification of a Pastoral Stratum in the Pauline Corpus and 1 Peter* (SNTSMS 45; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983) 68.
- 16 R. W. Allison, 'Let Women Be Silent in the Churches (1 Cor. 14:33b–36): What Did Paul Really Say, and What Did It Mean?', *JSNT* 32 (1988) 27–60, at 48.
- 17 B. Witherington III, *Women in the Earliest Churches* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).
- 18 Carson, "Silent in the Churches", 140.
- 19 A. Lindemann, *Der erste Korintherbrief* (HNT 9/1; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000) 319–21.
- 20 J. B. Hurley, *Man and Woman in Biblical Perspective* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2002) 185.
- 21 D. E. Garland, *1 Corinthians* (BECNT 1; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2003) 655. Garland exegetically divides the wider pericope of 1 Cor 14.31–6 into two parts: vv. 31–33a (that explains the order for the prophets) and vv. 33b–36 (that orders the conduct of the wives).
- 22 A. C. Thiselton, *First Corinthians: A Shorter Exegetical and Pastoral Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2011 [2006]) 250.
- 23 J. E. Aguilar Chiu, *1 Cor 12–14: Literary Structure and Theology* (AB 166; Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2007) 310.
- 24 R. I. Pervo, *The Making of Paul: Constructions of the Apostle in Early Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2010) 46–7.
- 25 E. Hiu, *Regulations concerning Tongues and Prophecy in 1 Corinthians 14.26–40: Relevance beyond the Corinthian Church* (ed. Mark Goodacre; LNTS 406; London: T&T Clark, 2010) 153.
- 26 G. H. van Kooten, 'Ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ: The "Church of God" and the Civic Assemblies (ἐκκλησίαι) of the Greek Cities in the Roman Empire: A Response to Paul Trebilco and Richard A. Horsley', *NTS* 58 (2012) 522–48, at 546.
- 27 M. Taylor, *1 Corinthians: An Exegetical and Theological Exposition of Holy Scripture* (NAC 28; Nashville, TN: B&H Publishing Group, 2014) 260.

in order to reach an ecumenical validation.²⁸ Lenski admits that v. 33b ‘is by most of the ancients, by Luther, and by our versions connected with the preceding sentence’.²⁹ But Lenski exegetically reasons that v. 33a does not need v. 33b, therefore he concludes: ‘So we construe: “As (the practice is) in all the assemblies of the saints, let the women keep silence in the assemblies ...”’³⁰

F. W. Grosheide formulates his exegetical decision in a similar manner: ‘Since the words of v 33a refuse to take any further qualification, the clause “as in all the churches” cannot be taken with the preceding as some have tried to do.’³¹ Witherington states that ‘Paul is referring to two separate things by these two phrases, so they are not a repetition’.³² This opinion had already been voiced by the German scholars, e.g. Heinrici, Lietzmann and Bachmann. Heinrici, it seems, was one of the first scholars to propose a different meaning for the double ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις in vv. 33b–34.³³

Thiselton provides the following translation of the pericope vv. 33b–34: ‘33b As in all the churches of God’s holy people, when congregations meet in public, the women should allow for silence. 34 For there exists no permission for them to speak (in the way they do) ...’³⁴ Thiselton thus renders ἐκκλησία in two different ways – church (in v. 33b) and congregation (v. 34). G. Beattie is of the opinion that Paul employs a chiasmic structure in order to make the prohibition of women’s speech clear.³⁵ Thus, according to Beattie’s proposed chiasmic structure, the ‘central prohibition on women’s speech is flanked by two sources of authority, and proper submission is equated with silence’.³⁶ In one of the most recent monographs on the theme of 1 Cor 14.26–40, Hiu acknowledges that, by joining v. 33b

28 Paul, according to Moffatt, added vv. 34–5 himself after he had written the epistle. Verse 33b rather goes with vv. 36–40 and not with v. 33a or v. 34. See J. Moffatt, *The First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians* (MNTC; London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1947) 230–3.

29 Lenski, *St. Paul’s First and Second Epistle*, 614–15.

30 Ibid.

31 Grosheide, *Commentary on the First Epistle*, 341. Cf. Lenski, *St. Paul’s First and Second Epistle*, 614.

32 Witherington III, *Women in the Earliest Churches*, 96.

33 *Gemeinden and Gemeindeversammlungen*. See Heinrici, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther*, 436.

34 Thiselton, *First Corinthians*, 250.

35 The chiasmic structure of vv. 33b–34 proposed by Beattie is as follows:

- A. As in all the churches of the saints,
- B. let women be silent in the churches;
- C. for it is not permitted to them to speak,
- B’. but let them be in submission
- A’. as the Law says.

See G. Beattie, *Women and Marriage in Paul and his Early Interpreters* (JSNTSup 296; London: T&T Clark, 2005) 55.

36 Beattie, *Women and Marriage*, 55.

with what precedes, one is left with a question about the function of v. 36: to what does v. 36 relate?³⁷ This consideration leads Hiu to link v. 33b with what follows – vv. 34–5. The role of vv. 33b and 36 is to enclose the injunction on the women: they are to be silent according to a general rule ‘determined by the practice of other churches’.³⁸

Taylor mentions the arguments of scholars such as C. K. Barrett, R. Ciampa and B. Rosner, that 33b should be treated with the preceding context because of otherwise redundant repetition. He even mentions that manuscript evidence (transposition of vv. 34–5) favours the reading of v. 33a and v. 33b together. But he decides to ignore the above-mentioned reasoning: ‘In spite of the apparent redundancy of the phrase “in the churches”, it is still possible that the phrase in question goes with what follows.’³⁹

Against this background G. Fee has claimed that taking v. 33b with what follows ‘seems to be a modern phenomenon altogether’.⁴⁰ This statement of Fee will be substantiated by the present study of the external evidence about the separation of v. 33b from vv. 34–5.

2. Paragraph Marking and Punctuation as a Scribal Practice

Scriptio continua or *scriptura continua* is a term used to describe a Greek text that has ‘no spaces between words or sentences’ and does not contain punctuation (‘only sporadically’) – so B. M. Metzger.⁴¹ The view that there were no structural markers in the early manuscripts has been challenged by several scholars, who point out that while structural markers are found even in the earliest papyri, previous scholarship simply has not been focused on researching them. W. A. Smith, for instance, writes:

... various forms of unit delimitation *do* occur in the earliest extant manuscripts, including the use of spacing (inserted into otherwise continuous script), rudimentary punctuation, *ekthesis* (the projection of a character into the left margin, often enlarged) and larger unit markers such as the *paragraphus* ...⁴²

37 Hiu, *Regulations concerning Tongues and Prophecy*, 152.

38 Hiu, *Regulations concerning Tongues and Prophecy*, 153.

39 Taylor, *1 Corinthians*, 353.

40 G. D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987) 697 n. 49.

41 B. M. Metzger and B. D. Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption and Restoration* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005⁴) 22.

42 W. A. Smith, *A Study of the Gospels in Codex Alexandrinus: Codicology, Palaeography, and Scribal Hands* (NTTS 48; Leiden: Brill, 2014) 190 (emphasis original).

Early manuscripts were written in *scriptura continua*, but the scribes who were copying the New Testament marked the beginning of a new thought in one of the following ways:

- (1) by leaving a space between the words to mark the beginning of a new thought;⁴³
- (2) by outdenting a new line which indicates the beginning of a new paragraph and by writing the first letter a little larger than the rest;⁴⁴
- (3) by drawing a *paragraphos* (a bar/obelus) to separate a previous paragraph from the one that follows;⁴⁵
- (4) by adding a dot⁴⁶ or a slash to mark the beginning of a new thought.⁴⁷

In the following section I shall investigate the place of v. 33b in the oldest available manuscripts and versions. The manuscripts below have been selected according to chronological criteria.

3. Textual-critical Analysis of the Oldest Greek Manuscripts and Latin Versions

3.1 *P. Chester Beatty II (P⁴⁶)*

P⁴⁶, dated *ca.* third century, is the oldest manuscript to contain 1 Cor 14:34–5. There is some damage at the bottom, but despite the damage, it is possible to read most of v. 33a on fol. 56v. It is also possible to see ως on fol. 56v. The words των αγιων, on the next line at the bottom of the right-hand side of the page, can also be read. The rest of the text of v. 33b is heavily damaged. Verse 34 continues on fol. 57r. Verse 35 has been preserved well on the upper part of the next papyrus sheet.

Regarding the question of the connection between v. 33b and v. 34, the following observations can be made. There are markings to indicate the beginning of a new thought, visible in the manuscript facsimile. The scribe of P⁴⁶ does this by creating a space between the words or by drawing long *paragraphoi*. There is also another way of indicating the sentence and paragraph marking in P⁴⁶, namely by slashes (reading or stop marks) above the line and before the next thought. There are such slashes above the line before και, which introduces v. 32, before ου γαρ, which introduces verse 33a, before ως in v. 33b, and even though v. 34 is hardly legible, it is possible to see a slash after the words των αγιων there. In addition to this mark of a new thought, the phrase των αγιων

43 Smith, *A Study of the Gospels*, 204.

44 Smith, *A Study of the Gospels*, 205.

45 Ibid.

46 Ibid.

47 P. Comfort, *Encountering the Manuscripts: An Introduction to New Testament Paleography & Textual Criticism* (Nashville, TN: Broadman & Holman, 2005) 53.

also ends the line. A similar type of slash is inserted before v. 35, and also before $\alpha\sigma\chi\rho\omicron\nu$ and after $\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\alpha$, which ends v. 35.

P⁴⁶ has a sentence marking, which makes it highly improbable that v. 33b serves as an introduction to v. 34. All the other parts that are marked with slashes within the range of vv. 32–6 according to my personal observation correspond to one finished thought.

3.2 *Papyrus 123 (P¹²³)*

P¹²³ is a manuscript fragment of three small pieces of a papyrus containing the text of 1 Cor 14.31–4 on the one side and 1 Cor 15.3–6 on the other. This fragment was discovered among the Oxyrhynchus papyri and is assigned to the fourth century. It was published in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* LXXII in 2008.

J. D. Thomas worked on the transcription of P¹²³ after it was discovered.⁴⁸ D. Jongkind offers a layout of the same text with a more ‘diplomatic’ transcription than observed in P.Oxy. LXXII.4844.⁴⁹

Counting the possible letters on each line (with the help of NA²⁸), it appears that vv. 34–5 did not form a separate paragraph. Nevertheless, there is a space of perhaps one or two letters that could have been left between v. 33b and v. 34. Taking into account the data provided by Thomas, the second line would have contained 35 letters, and the third line 36 letters. The fourth line would be 33 letters long (with $\alpha\lambda\lambda'$) or 34 letters long (with $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$). The fifth line (at the start of v. 35) is presumably 34 letters long and the sixth line 37 words long. The average length of a line could therefore lie between 33 and 37 letters. The fifth line could hypothetically also allow for a space between the words, namely, before the words $\alpha\iota\ \gamma\upsilon\nu\alpha\iota\kappa\epsilon\varsigma$. This is speculative but not entirely implausible. The fact is that there is not enough data for the analysis because of the size of the papyrus fragment.

3.3 *Codex Vaticanus*

Codex Vaticanus (B or 03) is a fourth-century Greek manuscript containing an almost complete Greek Bible.⁵⁰ B starts vv. 34–5 after v. 33 in a new paragraph (Fig. 1). Vaticanus also contains scribal sigla, which have inspired great interest

48 According to the discussion thread ‘P123 1 Cor 14 – 15, P.Oxy 4844’ (24 February 2009) in the Evangelical Textual Criticism Blog, <http://evangelicaltextualcriticism.blogspot.com/>.

49 Transcription of 1 Cor. 14.31–4 by Dirk Jongkind:

.θ $\alpha\gamma\omega\sigma\iota\nu\kappa\zeta$ [
[c. 4]v.[...] $\nu\alpha\pi\rho\rho\phi\eta\tau\omega$ [...
]. $\tau\alpha\sigma\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha$ [...]. $\nu\gamma\alpha\rho\rho\epsilon\sigma\tau$ [...]. $\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma$ [...
]. $\nu\eta\sigma\omega\sigma$ [...]. $\epsilon\nu\pi\alpha\sigma\alpha\iota\sigma\tau$ [...]. $\epsilon\kappa\kappa$ [...
] ... [...]. $\nu\upsilon\nu\alpha\iota\kappa\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\nu$ [...
] $\epsilon\pi\iota\tau\rho\epsilon\pi$

Source: Evangelical Textual Criticism Blog.

50 The scribe(s) of B who copied the New Testament started a new paragraph on the new line (but not always).

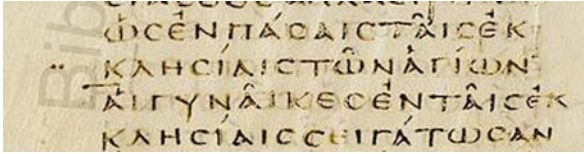


Figure 1. *Codex Vaticanus*, 1 Cor 14.33b–34a, page 1478.

and debates among textual critics, particularly about the meaning of the bar-umlaut/distigme + obelus.

There is an interesting discussion between P. B. Payne and J. E. Miller⁵¹ (and others) on the meaning of bar-umlaut or distigme + obelus in *Vaticanus*, particularly in relation to 1 Cor 14.34–5. This discussion has led to a significant advance in the analysis of the *Vaticanus* sigla and textual variants.

Whether the 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 distigme + obelus. What can be observed with certainty in the manuscript is that v. 33b is separated from the paragraph comprising vv. 34–5, even if we assume that the bar here only identifies the paragraph and the umlaut/distigme points to the variant reading of διδῶσκω.

3.4 *Codex Sinaiticus*

Codex Sinaiticus (Ⲙ or ⲟ1) is a fourth-century parchment manuscript. Metzger observes the following regarding the paragraph marking in Ⲙ: ‘the three scribes of *codex Sinaiticus* indicated a new paragraph by placing the first letter so that it extended slightly into the left-hand margin; the preceding line may or may not be full’.⁵² Verses 34–5 in Ⲙ begin with a new line, thus forming a separate paragraph, independent of v. 33b (see Fig. 2).

Sinaiticus, as we know, has been corrected several times. In the parchment facsimile that we have, vv. 34–5 are written as a new paragraph, with the alpha of the article αἱ emphasised by being located further to the left side of the column than the other letters.

The paragraph comprising vv. 34–5 ends with an alpha as well, which occupies the whole line and accentuates vv. 34–5 within the surrounding text. The scribe(s) most likely considered verse 33b as belonging to the preceding paragraph. There is no change of subject between v. 33a and v. 33b.

51 J. E. Miller, ‘Some Observations on the Text-critical Function of the Umlauts in *Vaticanus*, with Special Attention to 1 Corinthians 14.34–35*’, *JSNT* 26 (2003) 217–36.

52 B. M. Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible: An Introduction to Greek Paleography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992) 32.

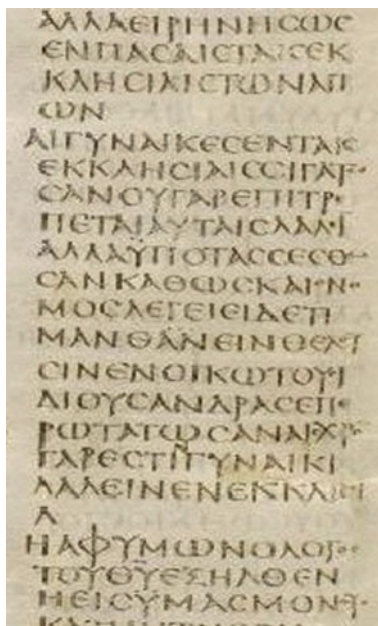


Figure 2. Codex Sinaiticus, 1 Cor
14.33–6.

3.5 Codex Alexandrinus

Codex Alexandrinus (A or 02) is a fifth-century vellum codex. Some breathing marks were definitely added by a later hand, but the punctuation and paragraph marking seem to go back to the original scribe.⁵³ A has vv. 34–5 after v. 33. But there are a few comments that need to be made about the paragraph marking in Alexandrinus. The scribe was not particularly concerned with the chapter division, which is not surprising given that the codex is dated to the fifth century, but, at least in 1 Corinthians, he marked paragraphs in two different ways (with a few exceptions):⁵⁴

- (1) With a large capital letter at the beginning of a line;
- (2) By leaving a space (of about 2–3 characters) in the middle of the line, indicating the start of a new thought. In order for the paragraph to be noticed by the reader, the scribe wrote a capital letter in the next line.⁵⁵ This system – a

⁵³ The number suggested for the A scribes varies from two (Milne, Skeat) to five (Kenyon). See Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible*, 86.

⁵⁴ My personal observation of the structural marking in codex A is confirmed by the study of W. Andrew Smith in *A Study of the Gospels*, 204–5.

⁵⁵ Cf. Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible*, 86: ‘the first letter of each paragraph, or, if the paragraph begins in the middle of a line, the first letter of the first complete line in it ... is enlarged and projects into the left-hand margin’.

space and a capital letter (not necessarily the initial letter) – is quite frequent in the text of 1 Corinthians.⁵⁶

Let us first examine one example from A, 1 Cor 14.6 (Fig. 3). The scribe leaves space in the middle of the line, but emphasises the phi of the word αδελφοι in the beginning of the next line in order to mark the new paragraph.

Codex A has the following punctuation in the pericope of 1 Cor 14.33–5: v. 33a is preceded by a dot; v. 33b is preceded by a dot; v. 34 begins 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 capitalised 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 possible to see that there is a part of a capital letter tau at the beginning of the following line (Fig. 4).

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

Verses 34–5 correspond to the pattern of paragraph indication in 1 Corinthians; thus even the economical A scribe has left a space between v. 33b and v. 34 and marked vv. 34–5 as a paragraph separate from v. 33b.

3.6 Codex Athous Lavrensis

Codex Athous Lavrensis (Ψ or 044) is a Greek parchment codex written in ca. 8–9th century. The scribe of Lavrensis has indicated the following spaces in the immediate context of v. 33b (Fig. 5): before και at the beginning of v. 30 and before ου γαρ in v. 32. The codex leaves a space before ως (v. 33b). What is noteworthy is that the manuscript has a capitalised tau (in the article of Ταις εκκλησιας, with Ταις as the last word in the line containing v. 33b). Αι γυναικες is written after a considerably larger space than the previous word

⁵⁶ The exceptions are:

1. In order to separate a minor logical thought, such as a sentence, the scribe leaves a dot, which occupies a space of approximately one character. To my knowledge this system is common in codices.
2. There are some spaces in 1 Corinthians that look like a paragraph mark but there is no capitalised letter in the following line. These exceptions in 1 Corinthians are very few, and they are as follows:

- (a) 1 Cor 3.5 τι ουν εστιν απολλωσ τι δε εστιν παυλωσ
- (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 ειπερ εισιν λεγομενοι θεοι ειτε εν ουρανω ειτε επι γησ ωσπερ εισιν θεοι πολλοι και κυριοι πολλοι.

The first three expressions could most probably be classified as questions in direct speech, whereas 1 Cor 8.5 seems to be not a question but a non-restrictive apposition.

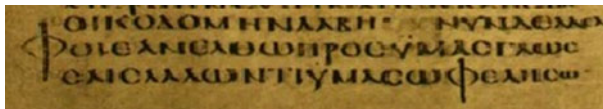


Figure 3. *Codex Alexandrinus*, page 124: Cor 14.5b-6a.

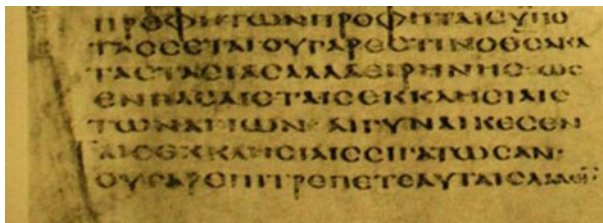


Figure 4. *Codex Alexandrinus*, page 124: 1 Cor 14.32-34a.



Figure 5. A fragment of *Codex Lavrensis*, 1 Corinthians 14; manuscript page 201r.

(about two characters' size), which is followed by a capitalised tau that starts a new line (*ekthesis*). Both of these capitalisations point to an indication of a new thought. Namely, v. 33b is considered by a scribe (or in the *Vorlage*) to be a separate sentence bearing an independent meaning. Further, v. 34 has been indicated by a scribe as starting a new thought. There is also a space before ου γαρ in v. 34.

Another space introduces v. 35. Consequently, this is also considered by the scribe to be a new idea or thought, and so he also capitalises theta (in θελουσιν) on the line that follows.

In the pericope of vv. 26-36 there is a capitalisation of εκαστος (v. 26), ταις (v. 34) and θελουσιν (v. 35). The scribe has capitalised the first tau in the word κοτηνησεν when dividing it into two parts because of the lack of space on the line. He wrote the remaining part of the word right under the first part. With

regard to the connection of v. 33b to v. 34, Lavrensis also marks the beginning of the new thought in v. 34 by employing spacing before $\alpha\iota$ $\gamma\upsilon\nu\alpha\iota\kappa\epsilon\varsigma$ and by capitalising the first letter in the next line. The scribe of Lavrensis did not connect v. 33b with v. 34.

3.7 *Minuscule 33*

Minuscule 33, or ‘the queen of the cursives’, is a ninth-century Greek manuscript. It is highly regarded among New Testament textual critics despite its late age. Minuscule 33 is written in a cursive handwriting and does not divide the paragraphs. Verse 33b precedes vv. 34–5, yet the scribe has inserted a middle dot between v. 33b and v. 34. Such a marker does not exist between v. 33a and v. 33b.⁵⁷

3.8 *Minuscule 88*

Minuscule 88 (Ms 88) is late. It is a twelfth-century Greek manuscript which ‘is not a Western text type manuscript’.⁵⁸ The reason why Ms 88 attracts the attention of textual critics is because it reads the paragraph of vv. 34–5 after v. 40 and after two slashes, which are placed on the line of the text before $\alpha\iota$ $\gamma\upsilon\nu\alpha\iota\kappa\epsilon\varsigma$.

Philip B. Payne discusses the slashes as indicators of interpolation of 1 Cor 14.34, 35. Payne is convinced that Ms 88 testifies to the *Vorlage*, which did not have vv. 34–5.⁵⁹

The interpretation of sigla in Ms 88 depends on the meaning we attribute to it, but in any case it is possible to observe that v. 33b in this manuscript is unconnected to vv. 34–5, but precedes v. 36.

3.9 *Greek–Latin diglot codices: Claromontanus, Augiensis, Boernerianus*

Codex Claromontanus (D or 06) is a sixth-century bilingual Greek–Latin codex, which reads vv. 34–5 after v. 40, that is, at the end of the chapter. Even though Claromontanus relocates vv. 34–5 to the end of the chapter, it leaves v. 33b between v. 33a and v. 36. The Latin part of D (06) reads v. 33b as follows: *non enim est dissensionis Deus sed pacis sicut in omnibus ecclesiis sanctorum*.

Codex Augiensis (F or 010) is a ninth-century bilingual Greek–Latin codex.⁶⁰ It dislocates vv. 34–5 after v. 40 and ends v. 33b with *doceo* and $\delta\iota\delta\alpha\sigma\kappa\omega$ accordingly.

57 Ms 33 observed at ‘The New Testament Virtual Manuscript Room’ of the INTF, <http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/manuscript-workspace>.

58 P. B. Payne, *Man and Woman, One in Christ: An Exegetical and Theological Study of Paul’s Letters* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2009) 249. Payne says that since Ms 88 does not belong to the ‘Western text’, there are only two possible reasons why it relocates vv. 34–5 to the end of the chapter 14: (a) Ms 88 derives from the manuscript that contained vv. 34–5 at the end of the chapter; (b) Ms 88 derives from the manuscript that did not have vv. 34–5 (ibid.).

59 P. B. Payne, ‘Ms. 88 as Evidence for a Text without 1 Cor 14.34–5’, *NTS* 44 (1998) 152–8, at 155–6.

60 F. H. A. Scrivener, *An Exact Transcript of the Codex Augiensis: A Græco-Latin Manuscript of S. Paul’s Epistles* (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell and co., 1859) xxiii.

Codex Boernerianus (G or 012) is a ninth-century bilingual Greek–Latin codex. It closely resembles Codex Sangallensis (Δ or 037), but is also similar to F, which leads scholars to propose a common *Vorlage* of the first or second degree.

G reads vv. 34–5 after v. 40, just like F, and ends v. 33b with διδάσκω, where *doceo* is written above the Greek word. Verse 33b is preceded by v. 33a, and followed by v. 36.

Δ, F and G are often mentioned together because all three place 1 Cor 14.34–5 after v. 40. Yet there is a difference between Δ on one hand and F and G on the other: Δ does not have *doceo* at the end of v. 33b. Significant is the fact that v. 33b is found between v. 33a and v. 36 in all three versions, and has no syntactic connection with v. 34 whatsoever.

3.10 Codex Fuldensis

Codex Fuldensis (F)⁶¹ is a Latin version of the NT and a contemporary of D (06). Fuldensis is a representative of the Latin Vulgate text. It is also one of the dated codices, which was compiled *ca.* 541, and corrected in 546 CE under the supervision of Bishop Victor of Capua. Metzger has classified Fuldensis as a ‘very good’ manuscript.⁶²

Fuldensis not only separates v. 33b from the pericope vv. 34–5 but, similarly to D, F and G, ends v. 33b, with a verb: *Et spiritus prophetarum prophetis subiecti sunt non enim est dissensionis deus sed pacis. Sicut in omnibus ecclesiis scorum*⁶³ *doceo*. According to the text in Fuldensis, v. 33b is connected with v. 33a.

Further, in Fuldensis there is a siglum **hō** after v. 33b. A new paragraph begins with *Mulieres in ecclesiis ...* (v. 34). The main text of 1 Cor 14 on the same page continues through most of v. 37. But vv. 36–40 appear again *in toto* in the margin below, followed by a siglum **hs** (Fig. 6).

There is a question as to what these sigla mean. Do they mean that vv. 34–5 should have been omitted in the liturgy (Metzger), that these verses have been omitted in some other manuscript(s) (Payne), or do they simply mark the place of vv. 34–5 after v. 40 (Niccum)?

While this remains an open question, Weiss (1910) and Baljon (1884) interpreted the sigla of Fuldensis to point to the omission of vv. 34–5. According to Baljon, Fuldensis contains vv. 36–40 before v. 34, but also after v. 35.⁶⁴ Weiss also mentions that Fuldensis reads vv. 36–40 before v. 34.⁶⁵

61 Some use the abbreviation *fu* to distinguish Codex Fuldensis from Codex Augiensis (F).

62 Metzger and Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament*, 108.

63 I.e. *sanctorum*.

64 J. M. S. Baljon, *De Tekst der Brieven van Paulus aan de Romeinen, de Corinthiërs en de Galatiërs als Voorwerp van de Conjecturaalkritiek Beschouwd* (Utrecht: J. Van Boekhoven, 1884) 101.

65 Weiss, *Der Erste Korintherbrief*, 342.

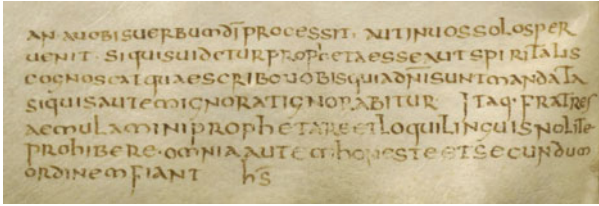


Figure 6. The marginal/bottom note of Codex Fuldensis with the repetition of vv. 36–40 in toto.

The study of the Greek manuscripts and Latin versions reveals that v. 33b does not necessarily need to have any syntactical connection with verse 34. Throughout the centuries scribes seem to have treated vv. 34 and 35 as separate from v. 33b. Let us now examine how critical editions of the Greek New Testament from the time of Erasmus onwards have placed v. 33b in its context.

Different presentation of the Greek manuscript evidence with regard to the place of v. 33b in its immediate context can be observed in the [Table 1](#) (with a note that some editions mentioned are bilingual).⁶⁶

When we survey the various editions of the Greek New Testament, an interesting picture emerges: since the time of Erasmus Greek New Testament editions overwhelmingly read v. 33 in its entirety, conforming to the oldest Greek manuscripts. Over time, however, since the beginning of the twentieth century, the tendency to link v. 33b with what follows started to dominate and v. 33b became an introduction to the silence of women in vv. 34–5 with its far-reaching exegetical implications – that is, introducing the prohibition on women’s speech and validating this prohibition by appealing to the customary practice of all the other churches.

We can conclude that text-critical evidence points to the fact that the oldest Greek and Latin manuscripts give no reason to connect v. 33b with vv. 34–5. Greek New Testament editions that link v. 33b with 34 reflect exegetical decisions. Consequently, the decision of NA²⁸ and UBS⁵ to write v. 33b as an introduction to vv. 34–5 is based not on external evidence, but most probably on exegetical considerations.

66 The idea of the table and most of the left column that names the critical editions in their historical sequence has been taken from E. J. Epp (*Junia: The First Woman Apostle* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005) 62–3) and adapted to the issue of v. 33b.

Table 1. Text-critical analysis of the place of v. 33b in the Greek New Testament critical editions.

NT critical editions	v. 33a + v. 33b	v. 33b + v. 34	Comments (punctuation and paragraphing)
Erasmus (1516; 1519)	X		V. 33b ends the paragraph.
Stephanus (1551; 1576) [<i>apud</i> Hoole, 1674]	X		Verse numbers appear for the first time.
Plantin (1574)	X		
Elzevir (1624; 1633) [first 'Textus Receptus']	X		
Bengel (1734)	X		
Mill-Baskerville (1763)	X		
Mill (1813)	X		
Van Maastricht (G.D.T.M.D.) (1711)	X		
Bowyer (1783)	X		V. 33a is included in parentheses. V. 33b continues v. 32. V. 34 starts with a capital Alpha.
Griesbach (1806; 1818)	X		
Griesbach (1809) ¹		X	Includes the alternative syntax of v. 33b (+ v. 33a) in the bottom margin.
Schott (1811)	X		Diglot edition. Siglum* before v.33b in Greek text. Capital omega in v. 33b.
Leusden-Griesbach (1823)	X		Omega in v. 33b is capitalised; however, v. 33b remains with the preceding paragraph and v. 34 starts a new paragraph.

Dickinson (1825)	X		
Lloyd (1828)	X		
Scholz (1830)	X		Full stop after 33a and a comma after v.33b. Omega in v. 33b written with a small letter; v. 33b, however, ends the paragraph. It is not clear what the punctuation of Scholz indicates.
Lachmann (1831; 1846)		X	A full stop before v. 33b. A comma before τῶν ἁγίων αἱ γυναῖκες.
Hahn (1840)	X		
Tischendorf (1841; 1849) <i>cum apparatus critico</i>		X ²	V. 33b introduces v. 34. Tischendorf notes the alternative reading in his critical apparatus at the bottom.
Grinfield (1843)	X		
Tischendorf (1859 ⁷ ; 1862; 1872 ⁸)		X	Tischendorf notes the alternative reading in his critical apparatus.
Reithmayr (1847)	X		
Alford (1849)	X		Includes comment in English.
Tregelles (1857–79; 1870)	X		Fill stop after v. 33b.
Scrivener (1872)	X		Full stop after v. 33b.

Continued

Table 1. Continued

NT critical editions	v. 33a + v. 33b	v. 33b + v. 34	Comments (punctuation and paragraphing)
The Revisers (1882)	X		
Emphatic Diaglott (Wilson, 1864; 1942)		X	English translation on the right side of the page reads ἐκκλησίαις as ‘congregations’ in v. 33b and ‘assemblies’ in v. 34.
Westcott-Hort (1898; 1890)	X		Contains an alternative reading (v. 33b introduces v. 34) in the margin.
Westcott-Hort (electronic edn by M. Robinson, 1995) ³		X ⁴	V. 33b is capitalised for an unknown reason.
Gebhardt (1888)		X	V. 33b starts a new paragraph with a capital letter.
Estienne-Sidney (1885)	X		
Resultant NT (Weymouth, 1886; 1905 ³)	X		Weymouth notes that for the division of the paragraphs, he not only consulted all his mentioned critical editions, but also Bengel, Griesbach and Scholz.
Baljon (1898)		X	Baljon considers vv. 33b–6 to be an interpolation, and mentions Straatman too. Thus Baljon presents vv. 33b–36 as one paragraph.
Nestle (Eberhard, 1898 ¹)	X		A comma after v. 33a. Full stop after v. 33b.

Nestle (Eberhard, 1899 ²)	X		Like Wescott-Hort, this edition reads vv. 32–33a in parentheses, thus making v. 33b follow directly from παρακαλῶνται in v. 31. V. 34 starts a new paragraph. An alternative reading with a capital omega in v. 33b is given in the critical apparatus.
Gebhardt-Tischendorf (1881 ¹ ; 1896 ⁷ ; 1901 ⁸)		X	
Nestle (Eberhard, 1901 ³ ; 1904 ⁵ ; 1906 ⁶ ; 1907 ⁷)		X	Shift in the paragraph marking of Nestle. V. 33b starts after a space with a capital letter.
Nestle (Eberhard, 1910 ⁸)		X	Full stop after v. 33a and a comma after v. 33b.
Souter (1910)	X		
von Soden (1913)		X	
[Nestle (Eberhard, †1913)] Nestle (Erwin) (1914 ¹⁰ –1923 ¹² 1920 ¹¹)		X	
Vogels (1920)		X	
Nestle (Erwin, 1923 ⁷)		X	V. 33b starts a sentence. Latin version on the other side of the page concludes v. 33b with <i>doceo</i> and v. 34 starts a new paragraph with <i>Mulieres</i> .
Nestle (Erwin, 1930 ¹⁴ –1952 ²¹)		X	
Merk (1933; 1957; 1964)		X	

Continued

Table 1. Continued

NT critical editions	v. 33a + v. 33b	v. 33b + v. 34	Comments (punctuation and paragraphing)
Bover (1943 ¹ ; 1952; 1968 ⁵)		X	Diglot. Greek on one page, Latin on the other. The Latin text is that of the Vulgate. In this edition the Latin text of v. 33b also introduces v. 34, but at the same time verb <i>doceo</i> is retained.
Nestle–Aland (1956 ²² –1963 ²⁵)		X	
UBS (1966 ¹ ; 1968 ²)		X	V. 33b starts a new paragraph. A comma at the end of v. 33b.
[Nestle (Erwin, †1972)]; Nestle–Aland (1979 ²⁶ (= text of UBS 1975 ³))		X	
UBS (1975 ³ –2014 ⁵)		X	V. 33b starts a new paragraph. The comma after v. 33b is removed.
Nolli (1981)		X	The text contains Greek on the left page and Latin and New Latin on the right page. Only chapter divisions are indented. The text in any language does not have paragraph divisions, only verse numbers. ⁵
Hodges–Farstad (1982) Majority text [= TR]		X	
Nestle–Aland (1993 ²⁷ (= text of UBS 1993 ⁴))		X	V. 33b starts a new paragraph.
Robinson–Pierpont (2005) Majority text	X		
Nestle–Aland (2008 ^{27–11th} corr. printing)		X	

Nestle–Aland (2014 ²⁸ –3rd corr. printing)		X	
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¹J. J. Griesbach, *H KAINH ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ / Novum Testamentum Graece*, vol II (Lipsiae: G. J. Göschen, 1805; repr. Cantabrigiae Nov-Anglorum: Typis academicis; sumtibus W. Wells et W. Hilliard, 1809) 418.

²Another of Tischendorf's New Testament editions, that is, his Greek translation from the Latin Vulgate (*Novum Testamentum: textus Graecus versionis Vulgatae Latinae*: 1842, 1843), reads v. 33b with διδάσκω and v. 34 starts a new paragraph.

³B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort (1881), *Greek New Testament* (electronic version; ed. M. A. Robinson, 1995), 551. http://faculty.gordon.edu/hu/bi/ted_hildebrandt/new_testament_greek/text/wescott-hort-robinson-greeknt.pdf.

⁴Maurice Robinson converted the Westcott–Hort New Testament into an electronic edition which lacks punctuation marks and reads every verse in a separate line. Thus, section 1 Cor 14.32–8 constitutes seven lines. Verse 33 is read as v. 33a and v. 33b respectively on the same line. However, Robinson capitalises the beginning of v. 33b (Ως ἐν ...), and by doing so he differs from Westcott and Hort, who write ὡς with an initial lower-case letter. What Westcott and Hort considered a secondary reading (cf. B. F. Westcott and F. J. R. Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek: Introduction, Appendix* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1882) 292–3), putting it in the margin – a variant where the capital omega introduces a new sentence, Robinson has brought into the main text. What is noteworthy is that, within the pericope vv. 33–6, Ως is the only place where any capital letter occurs. Westcott–Hort in the same pericope capitalised the alpha in αἱ γυναῖκες and the eta in ἡ ἄφ'.

⁵Thus, the text of 1 Cor 14.32–8 runs with no paragraph division. However, the Greek text of 1 Cor 14.33 finishes the sentence after ἀλλὰ εἰρήνης and apparently starts a new sentence with a capital omega. The right side of the page, however, is of more interest, as it contains in parallel two Latin editions. The Vulgate column (the left column of the right page) reads v. 33 as follows: *Non enim est dissensionis Deus, sed pacis: sicut et in omnibus Ecclesiis sanctorum doceo, and Mulieres ...* starts a new sentence. The right column of the new Latin version has not retained *doceo*, neither has it capitalised *mulieres*. Thus the right column, by capitalising the v. 31 and then v. 33b, treats v. 33a as a finished thought: ³¹*Potestis enim omnes per singulos prophetare, ut omnes discant et omnes exhortentur,* ³²*et spiritus prophetarum prophetis subjecti sunt;* ³³*non enim est dissensionis Deus sed pacis. Sicut ...* (G. Nolli, *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine: textus Graecus, cum apparatu critico-exegetico* (Vulgata Clementina et Neovulgata; Vatican: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1981) 910–11.