

The Pauline Corpus in Light of Ancient Editorial Practice: A Theory of ‘the Two-Volume Archetype’¹⁾

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1. Introduction

This study aims to consider the formation of *Corpus Paulinum* in light of ancient editorial practice, paying particular attention to 1) the length of the scroll(s) of the original Pauline corpus; and 2) the principle of ordering and re-arranging of the Pauline corpus. The following implications will also be explored from this perspective: In what form was the Pauline corpus circulated? If the primitive edition of the Pauline corpus was transcribed on scrolls, how many volumes would it be?

The first focus of this article is on the medium of the Pauline corpus, i.e., scroll and codex. Scholars diverge on the medium of the original edition of the Pauline corpus. For instance, C.C. McCown mentions: “the collection of the documents into a book of Gospels and into another of Paul’s epistles was made possible by the previous invention of the parchment and papyrus roll.”²⁾ Conversely, Harry Y. Gamble writes, “If Paul’s letters

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2) C. C. McCown, “Codex and Roll in the New Testament,” *HTR* 34 (1941),

were transcribed in a single book, as the features of the earliest recoverable edition required, that book must have been a codex, not a roll.”³⁾ In other words, Gamble asserts that the length of Paul’s epistles (10 books in Gamble’s opinion) is too long for a single scroll, so it must have been circulated in the form of a codex from the beginning.

By contrast, in this article (esp. sections 2 and 3), we will argue that the original Pauline corpus was circulated in ‘two volumes of scrolls’ before they were merged into ‘one volume of codex.’ The arguments of the following two scholars will be the starting point of my research: 1) David Trobisch; and 2) Luke Stevens. David Trobisch believes that the Pauline corpus was collected in three stages, and that Paul himself may have been involved in the first stage of collection (Romans - 1 and 2 Corinthians - Galatians). He thinks that Paul may have compiled the Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, and Galatians as a literary unit.⁴⁾

However, while Trobisch’s research is beneficial, he does not consider whether Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians and Galatians could be physically contained in a single scroll. Further, Trobisch’s scope is restricted to certain uncial manuscripts (P⁴⁶, **ⲁ**, A, B, C, D, P, F). I believe that it is necessary for us to take into consideration a greater variety of early orders of the Pauline canon, including the early Latin, Coptic and Syriac versions. Trobisch also writes that the early Pauline corpus consisted of one single volume and gradually expanded within the single volume. However, as I will contend below, it is more likely that the Pauline corpus was initially one volume of scroll and may have been expanded into two volumes, and then was

219-250 (esp. 249).

3) Harry Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church: A History of Early Christian Texts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 62-63.

4) David Trobisch, *Paul’s Letter Collection* (Bolivar: Quiet Waters, 2001), 94.

compiled into one volume of codex.

On the other hand, Luke J. Stevens argues that the original Pauline corpus was two volumes.⁵⁾ However, he reaches a conclusion that Hebrews was the first book of the second volume according to the original order of B (Codex Vaticanus). However, as will be shown below, the location of Hebrews in early manuscripts other than B is fluid. Also, if the book of Hebrews was accepted as a kind of a guideline for the interpretation of Romans in the early stage of the compilation of the Pauline corpus (cf. Claire K. Rothschild), in my opinion, Ephesians may be more suitable as the cover letter of the second volume than Hebrews (as it subject will be discussed in detail below).

Alternatively, this work will offer a study of the formation of the Pauline corpus focusing on the papyrological aspects of the Pauline corpus as follows. In section 2, we will consider the first edition of the Pauline corpus as a scroll. In section 3, we will analyse the philosophical corpora which were transcribed on scrolls tracing the formation of the Pauline corpus as 'scroll.' We will also consider whether the length of Romans - 1 and 2 Corinthians - Galatians is appropriate for the length of ancient scrolls, such as the Herculaneum papyri. In section 4, we will investigate the sequence of Romans - 1 and 2 Corinthians - Galatians as they appear in a fixed order in the early Pauline corpus (except for P⁴⁶ and Marius Victorinus), and will confirm that it is the earliest Pauline order. There have been many studies that discuss the collection of the Pauline corpus so far, but in so far as I know, there have been few studies considering the actual length of the scroll except for T. C. Skeat's approximate calculation.⁶⁾ Instead, in this study,

5) Luke J. Stevens, "The Two-Volume of the Pauline Archetype of the Pauline Corpus," *Journal for the Study of Paul and His Letters* 8 (2018), 102-126.

6) T. C. Skeat, "The Length of the Standard Papyrus Roll and the Cost-Advantage of the Codex," *ZPE* 45 (1982), 169-175.

we will invent a new method to estimate the length of a scroll. Moreover, T. C. Skeat does not consider the canonical implications of the length of the Pauline corpus. In this context, the following study may provide a fresh insight into the canonical reading of the Pauline epistles and add to the existing body of knowledge.

2. From Scroll to Codex

We are aware of the fact that the Pauline corpus was circulated in the 2nd and 3rd century in two forms: codex and scroll. Although the codex form was viewed as inappropriate for a book-form for philosophical or religious writings, Early Christians began to use the codex at least in the early to mid-second century for some reasons. In the case of the Four Gospels, it seems clear that they were compiled into a codex form due to the limitations of the scroll length. As Skeat mentions, the grouping of the four gospels into one volume cannot be understood without considering the emergence of a medium called the codex. As Skeat puts it, “The Four-Gospel Canon and the Four-Gospel Codex are thus inseparable.”⁷⁾ Tatian’s Diatessaron would be a corollary from collecting and compiling the four Gospels into one volume of codex and reflecting on it as a whole. However, it is probable that each single canonical Gospel was still transcribed on a scroll in second and third century. For instance, P²² (3rd century AD) is a fragment of a scroll which preserves a part of John 15 and 16. So, it can be inferred that a scroll was still in use as a medium for the transcription of each Gospel until the 3rd century AD.

7) T. C. Skeat, “The Origin of the Christian Codex,” *ZPE* 102 (1994), 263-268 (268).

We also need to consider the possibility that early Christians initially copied the Pauline corpus on scrolls rather than in codices. In the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, a scroll was a dominant medium for copying authoritative documents in Greco-Roman society. For example, in the Villa of the Papyri discovered in Herculaneum (one of the cities destroyed by the eruption of the Vesuvius volcano in 79 AD), philosophical texts of the Epicurean school copied from 1st to 2nd century BC (mainly, Philodemus, Epicurus, Lucretius, Kolotes and Demetrius of Laconia, etc.) were found. It seems that these documents belonged to the library of Philodemus of Gadara, who perhaps resided in this villa, and the approximately 1800 documents discovered in this library are all in the form of scrolls, and no codex has been found. It was typical in the book culture of Greco-Roman society that authoritative texts were written on scrolls because a codex form was usually used for writing practice at ancient school or as a school textbook in the first and second century AD. It is only after the 4th century that the codex began to be used as a universal medium for both Christian and non-Christian works. In this context, it is likely that the Pauline corpus was initially written on scrolls rather than in codices in the earliest stage (mid or late 1st century) and began to be written in the codex in the early to mid-2nd century.

We have physical evidence including P¹³ (c. 225-250, part of the Pauline corpus including Hebrews) that an early collection of the Pauline corpus was written on the verso of re-used scrolls.⁸⁾

8) P¹⁸ (Exodus and Revelation) is most probably a fragment of a reused papyrus scroll. Recently, Brent Nongbri argues that BL Pap. 2053 is not from a reused roll, but from a codex. See Brent Nongbri, "Losing a curious Christian scroll but gaining a curious Christian codex: an Oxyrhynchus papyrus of Exodus and Revelation," *Novum Testamentum* 55 (2013), 77-88. However, this view is properly critiqued by Scott D. Charlesworth, "A reused roll or a 'curious Christian codex'?" *Reconsidering British Library Papyrus 2053* (P.Oxy. 8.1075 + P.Oxy. 8.1079),"

Compared to the standard column width of an ancient scroll (4.5-7.5 cm), P¹³ preserves a relatively wider column width (about 10 cm) (P⁴⁶ has each column about 11.5 cm long), and each line is not in parallel and shows inconsistent and asymmetrical slopes of columns. Presumably, P¹³ was transcribed by an untrained copyist. Whereas P¹³ is fragmentary, it is apparent that P¹³ is a manuscript copied in the period transiting from the scroll to the codex. Thus, P¹³ represents the early Christian evidence of copying the Pauline corpus on a scroll, and P⁴⁶ reflects some changes in the media from scrolls into codices.

P¹³ and British Library Papyrus 2053 (recto: Exod 11:26-32; verso: Rev 1:4-7 [P¹⁸]) are among the numerous cases of Biblical manuscripts transcribed on scrolls dating from the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD;⁹⁾ 1) P.Oxy. 9.1166 (Genesis); 2) P.Oxy. 8.1075 (Exodus [recto]; Revelation [verso] P¹⁸); 3) P.Oxy. 10.1225 (Leviticus); 4) Stud.Pal. 15.234 (Psalms); 5) P.Lit.Lond. 207 (Psalms); 6) P.Lips.Inv. 39 (Psalms); 7) P.Harr. 31 (Psalms); 8) Stud.Pal. 11.114 (Psalms); 9) P.S.I. 8.921; 10) P.Lond.Inv. 2584 (Hosea-Amos); 11) P.Alex.Inv. 203 (Isaiah); 12) P.Alex.Inv. 203 (Isaiah); 13) P.Oxy. 10.1228 (John, P²²); 14) P.Oxy. 4.657+PSI 12.1292 (Hebrews, P¹³).

Therefore, it seems more reasonable to assume the temporal priority of scroll-format to codex for the compilation of the Pauline epistles than to assume that early Christians initially used a codex and then they adopted a roll form. Thus, we suppose that the earliest book type for compiling the Pauline epistles was a scroll. In the following section, we will infer the formation history of the early Pauline corpus from the calculation of the length of the 'hypothetical Pauline scroll.' For this purpose, we will analyse the forms of the non-Christian roll corpus discovered

Buried History 53 (2017), 35-44.

9) For the specific list, see Colin H. Roberts and T. C. Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex* (London: Oxford University Press, 1983), 39.

at Herculaneum (Italy) and Oxyrhynchus (Egypt) in the next section.

3. Ancient Scrolls and the Length of the Pauline Corpus

The only scholars who calculated the hypothetical length of the Pauline corpus was T. C. Skeat¹⁰⁾ and Harry Y. Gamble.¹¹⁾ Gamble suggests 24m as the length of 10 epistles (number of books which was originally included in P⁴⁶ except for Hebrews) in the primitive edition of the Pauline corpus per his rough estimation by Skeat's method. On the other hand, Skeat estimates the length of the entire Pauline corpus to be 28 meters for 11 epistles (the number of books in P⁴⁶ including Hebrews).¹²⁾ However, Skeat's calculation method has some shortcomings. Skeat's method is based on stichometry, which counts the number of στίχος (rows). However, depending on the width of each letter, the letters could be written densely or loosely with a considerable margin. Because dense copying in a row was possible in antiquity, it is necessary to calculate the possible length of the Pauline corpus by taking into account the minimum and maximum densities of words. Skeat does not consider, either, that each row (στίχος) may contain more or fewer letters according to

10) T. C. Skeat, "The Length of the Standard Papyrus Roll and the Cost-Advantage of the Codex," *ZPE* 45 (1982), 169-175. After the Medieval era, restrictions on length became more liberal, and very long scrolls emerged in some cases. For example, the Sephardic Torah Scroll in Spain represents a length of 50 meters (61 cm high, 14th century Spain). However, such long scrolls would not have been used in ancient times. The longest scroll of ancient Jewish scroll is the Temple scroll^a (11Q19) of Qumran, measuring about 9 meters. 1QIsa^a, another well-preserved scroll, is about 7.34 meters long.

11) Gamble, "Books and Readers," 62.

12) Skeat, "The Length of the Standard Papyrus Roll," 173.

the length and the width of the column. The rows Skeat estimated are the rows of the codex based on P⁴⁶, so Skeat's method should not be applied to the estimation of the length of 'a scroll' because scrolls contain distinct formats and different densities of letters from those of codices.

In order to obtain the estimated length of a scroll, it is necessary to scrutinize the ancient column. The width of the column in a codex (about 10-16 cm) is longer than the width of the column of a scroll (about 4.5 - 9 cm). In addition, a more accurate calculation is possible by considering the width of the intercolumn between the columns. So, an attempt will be made for a new calculation distinct from Skeat's method: estimating the possible number of letters in a roll column.



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Above is P.Lond.Lit. 134 (2nd century BC, Hermopolites, Egypt), a scroll containing a literary work (Hyperides, *Against Philippides*), which indicates that a single scroll consists of several columns and intercolumns. William A. Johnson summarises the column and the intercolumn widths of ancient papyrus scrolls as follows:

	Column width	Intercolumn width
Class 1	4.5-6cm	1.2-1.8cm
Class 2	6-7.5cm	1.9-2.5cm
Class 3	8-9cm	N/A

As such, the ancient scroll manuscript traditions represent a various range of columns and intercolumns. The average column width of Herculaneum papyrus is about 4-6 cm. Also, from my observations of Herculaneum papyri, it seems to be about 13-23 letters per line. In class 3 above, a column width of 8-9 cm is rare. It usually represents a width between 4.5 and 7.5 cm. However, the case below is an example of a papyrus scroll showing a column width of 9 cm.



© Cairo Museum

Above is P.Oslo. 2.10 (early 2nd century, probably copied from Arsinoite, Egypt), a fragment of Demosthenes, *De corona* 201-205, has a column width and height of 9X18cm, and represents an exceptionally wide column width.

Richard Janko’s estimates the scroll length for each text if it had been written on a scroll.¹³⁾

Works	Herodotus, <i>Hist.</i> book 1	Herodotus, <i>Hist.</i> book 2	Herodotus, <i>Hist.</i> book 7	Thucydides, <i>Peloponnesian War</i> , book 1	Plato, <i>Gorgias</i>	Philodemus, <i>De Pietate</i>
Estimated length	20 m	23 m	29 m	27 m	25 m	23 m

However, there has not been discovered yet any extant ancient papyrus scrolls with a length exceeding 20 meters. Perhaps the above works were written in two or more scrolls because they were too long to be transcribed on one volume of scroll.

In a study published in 1983, Guglielmo Cavallo deduces that a standard scroll length would have been 9 to 10 meters.¹⁴⁾ However, since the 1980s, various publications of the long scrolls found at the Villa of Papyri in Herculaneum have prompted scholars to reshape the idea of the maximum length of ancient scrolls. One of the longest papyrus rolls ever discovered is Philodemus’s *de poematis*, volume 1, which is estimated to be at least 16 meters long.¹⁵⁾

While William A. Johnson postulates that scrolls with one-meter length were possible in antiquity, he concludes that the average length of a scroll of a philosophical corpus would be around 6-15 meters.¹⁶⁾ For example, some estimated lengths

13) R. Janko, “The Herculaneum Library: Some Recent Developments,” *Estudios Clásicos* 121 (2002), 27-28.
14) Guglielmo Cavallo, *Libri, scritture, scribi a Ercolano: introduzione allo studio dei materiali greci* (Napoli: G. Macchiaroli, 1983), 14-16.
15) R. Janko, *On Poems 1* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
16) William A. Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* (Toronto: Toronto

of the Herculaneum papyri are as follows:¹⁷⁾

	Estimated Length
P.Herc. 1497	10.5 m
P. Herc. 1050	10 m
P. Herc. 1414	9 meters
P. Herc. 1424	6.5 meters
P. Herc. 1471	11.5 meters

Whereas short scrolls were possible, it was preferred to write on scrolls approximately 10-15 meters in length for authoritative writings. Papyrus scrolls discovered at Herculaneum indicate consistent lengths between 10-16 meters in the cases that they contain authoritative texts.¹⁸⁾ In the case of P.Herc.Paris 1, which has recently been physically studied through X-ray technology, it is estimated that it is longer than 15 meters.¹⁹⁾

Over 1,800 volumes of carbonised papyrus rolls have been found in the ruins of Herculaneum. The papyrus scrolls of Herculaneum give an important clue to understand the document format of the original Pauline corpus. Firstly, since the ancient town of Herculaneum was destroyed in AD 79 by the eruption of Vesuvius volcano, the materials found at Herculaneum demonstrate the uses of scrolls from the 1st century BC to the 1st century AD.

Secondly, the Philodemus archive, one of the most significant sources of the Herculaneum papyri, was collected by Philodemus

University Press, 2004), 149.

17) Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes*, 147.

18) Cf. Costantina Romeo, “Il PHerc. 1677: Un libro della Poetica di Filodemo,” *Proceedings of the XIXth International Congress of Papyrology* (Cairo: International Congress of Papyrology, 1992), 173-178.

19) V. Mocella, E. Brun, C., Ferrero, et al. “Revealing Letters in Rolled Herculaneum Papyri by X-ray Phase-Contrast Imaging,” *Nat Commun* 6, 5895 (2015). <https://doi.org/10.1038/ncomms6895>.

of Gadara himself, an Epicurus philosopher who resided in the Villa of Papyrus, and who was patronised by the family of Calpurnius Piso, a powerful Roman politician. This can be an example of the form in which an author's works were collected and compiled by the author himself.

Thirdly, the Herculaneum papyrus is also important in calculating the length of ancient papyrus scrolls. Because the papyrus scrolls found in Egypt are almost invariably fragmentary, it is impossible to determine how many meters they were in total length. However, since the Herculaneum papyrus retains its shape, it functions as an important model of the actual length of the ancient papyrus scroll.

To estimate the length of the Pauline canon through the Herculaneum papyrus, we will consider the following method excluding empirical estimates (*ab initio*). The method suggested by this paper is to calculate the number of letters. For this calculation, we need to consider three premises: 1) *scriptio continua*; 2) constancy of column and intercolumn spacing; 3) consistency of scribal habits with regard to letter density. Firstly, we will perform the following calculations, taking into consideration the fact that since there were no spaces in antiquity (*scriptio continua*), that would affect the consistency of the number of letters in a column. Secondly, it is observed in one papyrus scroll that the spacing between columns is nearly uniform. Thirdly, we should consider scribal habits with regard to letter density. The ancient scribal tradition allowed for each line to be written either loosely or relatively densely. Since loose or dense copying depends on the copyists' scribal habits, the density of letters tends to converge into the mean value in each column. Therefore, we observe that the number of letters per column appears consistently on average (with deviance of ± 15 letters per column).

After counting the number of letters per column and

observing the median number of letters within the margin of error, we will consider this as the average number of letters. In this calculation, two conditions will be respectively analysed, in the case of 1) maximally loose copying and 2) maximally dense copying among the whole Herculaneum papyri. For this, we calculate the number of words and letters of the Pauline canon of Codex Sinaiticus (Ⲯ), one of the early uncial manuscripts, as follows.

Ⲯ	Word count	Letter count
Romans	7,019	32,578
1 Corinthians	6,790	31,031
2 Corinthians	4,469	21,347
Galatians	2,218	10,456
Ephesians	2,403	11,317
Philippians	1,630	7,548
Colossians	1,943	7,556
1 Thessalonians	1,513	7,225
2 Thessalonians	819	3,758
Hebrews	4,954	25,602
1 Timothy	1,583	8,520
2 Timothy	1,229	6,179
Titus	558	3,578
Philemon	332	1,447
Total	37,100	178,142

Based on the above figures, we will consider the length of the Pauline corpus according to the procedure below.

- a) Find the average number of letters per column.

b) Calculate the average value of column + intercolumn width.

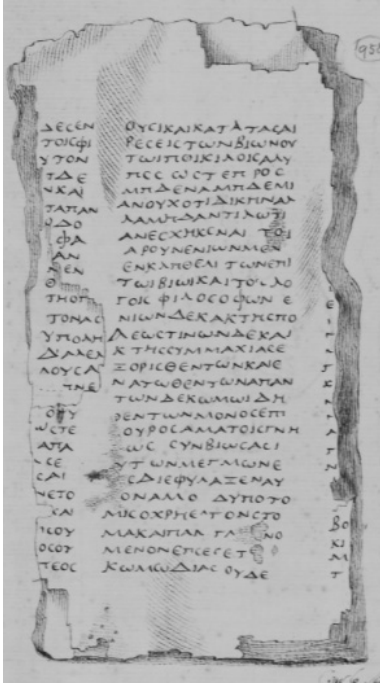
c) Divide the number of letters in the Pauline corpus by the average number of letters per column to obtain the total number of columns required for transcription.

d) (column + intercolumn width) is multiplied by c) (total number of columns) to get the approximate length of the scroll.

1) Inference from one of the most loosely transcribed cases

One of the most loosely transcribed examples in the Herculaneum papyri is the papyrus scroll of Philodemus, *De*

Pietate. Let us look at the apograph of P.Herc. 1077, the best-preserved column in this scroll, as follows.



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P.Herc. 1077 fr. 1 (=cols. 52-54) 31.5X22 cm (apograph by Giovanni Battista Malesci) 1st century BC.

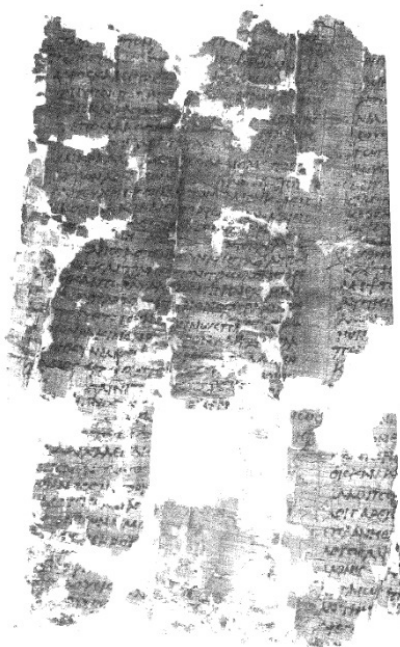
P.Herc. 1077 col. 53 above is the case in which the entire column is well-preserved in the Herculaneum archive. In this case, letters are unusually vertically long and there is relatively broad space between letters. Separately numbered P. Herc. 229, 242, 243, 247, 248, 433, 437, 1077, 1088, 1098, 1114, 1428, 1609, 1610, 1648, and 1788, these papyrus fragments constitute the first book of Philodemus, *De Pietate* as one book roll. This scroll contains 86 columns, each consisting of 29-30 stichoi. The original length of this papyrus scroll must have been

approximately 13.5 m. If the Pauline corpus was transcribed in this way, it can be calculated as follows.

a) In the case of Romans - 1 Corinthians - 2 Corinthians - Galatians:
Average number of letters per column: 401 (about 12-16 words per $\sigma\tau\iota\chi\omicron\varsigma$)
Column width + intercolumn width = 7.2 cm
 $95,412/401 = 237.938$ (requires about 238 columns)
 $7.2 \times 238 = \underline{17.136 \text{ m}}$ (length of Romans - 1 Corinthians - 2 Corinthians - Galatians)

b) For the entire Pauline corpus (178,142 letter count)
Average number of letters per column: 401 (about 12-16 words per $\sigma\tau\iota\chi\omicron\varsigma$)
Column width + intercolumn width = 7.2 cm
 $178,142 / 401 = 444.244$ (requires about 445 columns)
 $7.2 \times 445 = \underline{32.04 \text{ m}}$ (length of the entire Pauline corpus)

2) Inference from one of the most densely transcribed cases



P. Herc. 1570 is a copy of Philodemus, *de divitiis*, and in this case, the letters are written as densely as possible. Compared to P.Herc. 1077, the letter width of P. Herc. 1570 is relatively narrow. The result of calculating the width of the column and intercolumn of this papyrus is as follows.

Column width: 6.6-7.4 cm
Intercolumn width: 0.9-1.4 cm
Average column + intercolumn width: 8.5 cm
Height 15.1-16.0cm
28 letters per στῖχος
Number of rows per column: 27 rows

Based on this, the length of the Pauline corpus was obtained as follows.

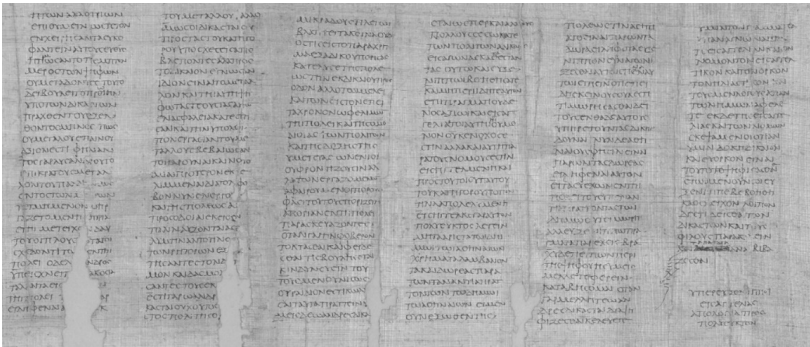
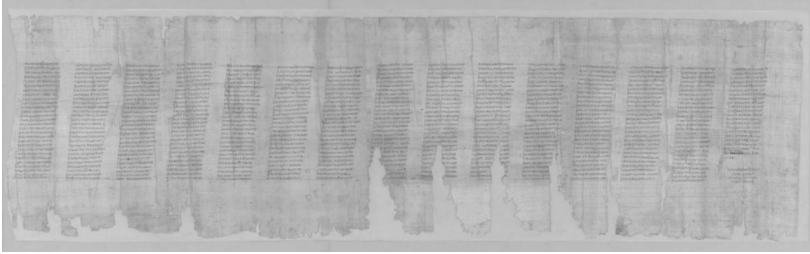
a) In the case of Romans - 1 Corinthians - 2 Corinthians - Galatians:
Average column + intercolumn width: 8.5 cm
Average number of letters per column: 756 letters
95412 / 756 = 126.206 (requires approximately 127 columns)
127 X 8.5 = 10.795 m (length of Romans - 1 Corinthians - 2 Corinthians - Galatians)

b) In the case of the entire Pauline canon (178,142 letter count):
Average column + intercolumn width: 8.5 cm
Average number of letters per column: 756 letters
178,142 / 756 = 235.637 (requires approximately 236 columns)
236 X 8.5 = 20.06 m (length of the entire Pauline corpus)

Even with the densest copy possible, according to our calculations, the entire Pauline corpus is 20.06 m long, which is unusually long for a single papyrus scroll. On the other hand, if we assume that Romans, 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians and Galatians are one volume, it is 10.795 meters, which does not deviate from the possible length of the papyrus scrolls of the time.

3) Inference from papyrus scroll written in average density

The case of Herculaneum papyrus was considered above. We also need to consider the scroll manuscript traditions outside of Herculaneum. Below is a fragment of a papyrus scroll found at Oxyrhynchus (Papyrus 115=MP 1233 (P.Lond.Lit.132)).



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Papyrus 115=MP 1233 (P.Lond.Lit.132). [The Arden papyri], AD 75-125. "Hyperides' Pro Lycophrone and Pro Euxenippo" columns of 160 (height) X 50 (width) mm.

The first and second photos are from a fragment (size: 305 x 1095 mm) of P.Oxy. 1.115, and the second photo is an enlarged view of the last part [including colophon]. Above can be seen as a papyrus scroll written in average density. If the calculation method used for the Herculaneum papyrus above is applied in the same way, the result is as follows.

a) In the case of Romans - 1 Corinthians - 2 Corinthians - Galatians Column 50mm + Intercolumn 15mm = 65mm

Approximately 420 letters can be entered in one column.
95412/420 = 227.1714285 (requires approximately 227 columns)
65 mm X 227 = **14,755 m** (length of Romans - 1 Corinthians - 2 Corinthians - Galatians)

b) In the case of the entire Pauline canon (178142 letters):
Column 50mm + Intercolumn 15mm = 65mm
Approximately 420 letters can be entered in one column.
178142 / 420 = 424.147 (requires about 425 columns)
65 X 425 = **27,625 m** (length of the entire Pauline corpus)

In the case of P.Oxy. 1.115, the length of the entire Pauline corpus is 27.625 m, which represents a length close to the average between dense copy and loose copy in the Herculaneum papyrus. So, it can be estimated that the length of the Pauline corpus is 20.06 - 32.04 m in terms of some Herculaneum papyri, and also 26-27 m, if copied with average density and column width in the case of P. Oxy. 1.115. Even if the Pauline corpus had been copied with the similar density as P. Herc. 1570, it would have reached over 20 meters in length, which would have been too long for one volume of papyrus scroll. Even taking into account the average length of contemporaneous papyrus scrolls and the longest case (16 m, Philodemus, *de poematis*) above, the estimated length of the entire Pauline corpus is too long for a single scroll. have. The above cases are summarised as follows.

The case of 1) (loose copy)

	Word count	Letter count	Estimated length
Scroll 1	20,496	95,412	17.136m
Scroll 2	16,604	82,730	14.904m
Scroll 1 + Scroll 2	37,100	178,142	32.04m

The case of 2) (dense copy)

	Word count	Letter count	Estimated length
Scroll 1	20,496	95,412	10.795m
Scroll 2	16,604	82,730	9.35m
Scroll 1 + Scroll 2	37,100	178,142	20.06m

The case of 3) (average density)

	Word count	Letter count	Estimated length
Scroll 1	20,496	95,412	14.755m
Scroll 2	16,604	82,730	12.805m
Scroll 1 + Scroll 2	37,100	178,142	27.652m

From the above calculation of the estimated length of the Pauline canon papyrus scrolls, we perceive that the 14 epistles of Paul are too long to fit in one volume. If the first volume of the Pauline corpus contains Romans - 1 Corinthians - 2 Corinthians – Galatians (in favour of David Trobisch), and if the first and second books are divided into two volumes, the lengths of the two volumes fall on the average length of a papyrus scroll (10-15 meters) calculated by William Jones. This may suggest that the papyrus scrolls of the Pauline corpus consisted of ‘two volumes.’

Finally, we have to consider Gamble’s suggestion that the first edition of the Pauline corpus may have contained 10 epistles. Based on the above letter count, Gamble’s hypothetical Pauline corpus would have had 134,263 letters. If it was transcribed as loosely as P. Herc. 1077, it would have been 2,410 cm. On the other hand, if it is copied as densely as P. Herc. 1570, it could have been 1,278 cm, which is significantly different from Skeat’s calculation of 2,806 cm and Gamble’s approximate estimation (24 m), and this length (1,278 cm) is a sufficient length for one volume of scroll. Therefore, if the Pauline corpus initially began with 10 books, this is not contradictory to my claim that the primitive edition could written on scroll (*pace* Gamble) and a codex is not *conditio sine qua non* for compiling the Pauline corpus.

However, the arguments we have made so far do not allow us yet to make a definite conclusion because we also need to consider whether Romans - 1 Corinthians - 2 Corinthians - **Galatians - Ephesians** was the original sequence of the Pauline

corpus, as we presume above. In the following section, I will propose that Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians and Galatians are the first volume compiled as the Pauline corpus contrary to Gamble's assumption. Further, Gamble asserts that the original order includes the sequence of Ephesians – Galatians. The early Pauline canonical order appears in a variety of ways, and the relationship between the length of the papyrus scroll and the Pauline canonical order tradition can be considered as follows.

4. The Original Order of the Pauline Corpus

In the section above, it was considered that the entire Pauline corpus (fourteen books) could not fit in one volume of scroll, but was of a suitable length to fit in two volumes of scrolls. Then, it is necessary to consider which books are contained in the first volume of the Pauline corpus. In particular, this section pays attention to the question of whether the order of Romans - 1 Corinthians - 2 Corinthians - Galatians - Ephesians was the original order of the Pauline corpus. For instance, Harry Y. Gamble, who assumes that the Pauline corpus was originally one volume, holds that Ephesians originally preceded Galatians, following the order of P⁴⁶ (the oldest existent Pauline corpus),²⁰⁾ in which Ephesians precedes Galatians. So, did Ephesians originally precede Galatians? To answer this question, we need to consider the ancient collections.

Various collections (συλλογή, corpus) of authoritative works existed in antiquity (e.g., Corpus Hippocraticum, Corpus Homericum, Corpus Plotinicum, Corpus Dionysiacum, etc.). Since it is probable that the Pauline corpus was also understood

20) Harry Y. Gamble, *The New Testament Canon: Its Making and Meaning* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), 41-43.

as a kind of ‘collection’ (συλλογή) in early Christianity.

There were several principles of sequencing in the compilation of ancient corpora. Eric W. Scherbenske observes that the criteria for their order (τάξις) were chronological (Aristophanes), thematic arrangements (Aristophanes of Byzantium), and theoretical and pedagogical arrangements (Plotinus).²¹ Thus, the ancient collections were not arranged randomly, but according to certain principles, which reflect the intentions of the editors of the collections.

Furthermore, the order of the already arranged collections could be reshuffled. For example, it appears that Plato’s dialogues were originally arranged according to two general criteria (Diogenes Laertius 3.49): 1) theoretical subject; 2) practical topics. However, in Diogenes Laertius 3.61-62, Aristophanes of Byzantium (256-179 BC) records that “[Plato’s] dialogues were arbitrarily divided into three parts” (3.61) (εἰς τριλογίας ἔλκουσι τοὺς διαλόγους). Specifically, Aristophanes places Plato’s *the Republic*, *Timaeus*, and *Critias* in the first part, *Sophist*, *Politicus* and *Cratylus* in the second part, *the laws*, *Minos*, *Epinomis* in the third part, *Theaetetus*, *Euthyphro*, and *Dialektike* in the fourth part, *Crito*, *Phaedo*, and *Epistles* in the fifth part. However, the reason for this relocation is unknown to Diogenes Laertius. It seems that the rearrangement of Plato’s works was often made during the Hellenistic period. In particular, there was a great deal of discussion on the arrangement of the first volume of *corpus Platonicum*. Diogenes Laertius mentions that in some collections, *the Republic* is placed as the first volume, while in other collections, *Alcibiades*, *Euthyphro*, *Cleitophon* and *Theaetetus* are located in the first part (3.62). The rearrangement of the order depends on each editor’s principles and understanding on the collections.

21) See Eric W. Scherbenske, *Canonizing Paul: Ancient Editorial Practice and the Corpus Paulinum* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 55-70.

The early Pauline order also seems to have some criteria. One of the important criteria was the order of length, *inter alia*, ‘a decreasing order’ (arranging sequentially from a longer book to a shorter book), which is rarely found in the criteria of ordering for the philosophical writings in antiquity. I would argue that the decreasing order takes temporal precedence to any other early Pauline orders (e.g., chronological order [the Marcionite canon, the Muratorian Fragments and some Latin and Syriac versions]) according to the ‘criterion of dissimilarity’ because this would have been a peculiar criterion from an ancient perspective.

Reshuffling according to another criteria (e.g., chronological rearrangement) would have been attempts to replace the atypical editing criterion (the decreasing order) with a more familiar order. It seems probable that P⁴⁶ must have been arranged according to the principle of decreasing order. I would infer that the reason why the order of length was adopted by early Christians is that the book of Acts was unknown to the editor of the Pauline corpus, so he/she was not able to reconstruct the chronological order of Paul’s epistles. So, in my opinion, the emergence of chronological order and the complete rearrangement of the sequence of the Pauline corpus by the chronological order in the Marcionite Canon is a phenomenon which occurred after the circulation of Acts. Thus, I assume that the order of length is prior to the chronological order of the Marcionite Canon, which was more familiar to the ancient people. The order of P⁴⁶ is as follows.²²⁾

P ⁴⁶
Romans (missing the first 14 pages) 32,578 letters

22) The letter count is from 8. For the general information of P⁴⁶, see Günther Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles: A Disquisition upon the Corpus Paulinum* (London: British Academy, 1953).

Hebrews 25,602 letters 1 Corinthians 31,031 letters 2 Corinthians 21,347 letters Ephesians 11,317 letters Galatians 10,456 letters Philippians 7,548 letters Colossians 7,556 letters 1 Thessalonians 7,225 letters (ends in 1 Thess 5:28). ²³⁾
Marius Victorinus Romans – 1 Corinthians – 2 Corinthians – Ephesians – Galatians – Philippians – Colossians – 1 Timothy

See also the following early Pauline orders.

Latin list of Epistulas Pauli (app. AD 300; from the back pages of D ^p (early 6th century) Romans – 1 and 2 Corinthians – Galatians – Ephesians – 1 and 2 Timothy – Titus – Colossians – Philemon ²⁴⁾
Amphilochius of Iconium (app. AD 380) (from <i>Iambi ad Seleucum</i>): Romans – 1 and 2 Corinthians – Galatians – Ephesians – Philippians – Colossians – 1 and 2 Thessalonians – 1 and 2 Timothy – Titus – Philemon – Hebrews (with mentioning those who doubt the canonicity of Hebrews; “Τινὲς δὲ φασὶ πρὸς Ἑβραίους νόθον”)

κ, A, B1, C, 33, 66, 88, 91 1739, Athanasius’ festal letter 39, Conciliumt Laodiceum canon 60	Rom-1 Cor -2 Cor-Gal-Eph-Phil-Col-1 Thess-2 Thess-<u>Heb</u>-1 Tim-2 Tim-Tit-Phm
G, F	Rom-1 Cor -2 Cor-Gal-Eph-Phil-Col-1 Thess-2 Thess- 1 Tim-2 Tim-Tit-Phm
Byz, f1, Concilium Carthaginense	Rom-1 Cor -2 Cor-Gal-Eph-Phil-Col-1 Thess-2 Thess- 1 Tim-2 Tim-Tit-Phm- <u>Heb</u>
D ^p	Rom-1 Cor -2 Cor-Gal-Eph-Col-Phil-1 Thess-2 Thess-1 Tim-2 Tim-Tit-Phm- <u>Heb</u>
B*	Rom-1 Cor -2 Cor-Gal-<u>Heb</u>-Eph-Phil-Col-1 Thess-2 Thess- 1 Tim-2 Tim-Tit-Phm

- 23) For the ending of P⁴⁶, see Brent Nongbri, “Pauline Letter Manuscripts,” in *All Things to All Churches: Paul among Jews, Greeks, and Romans* (ed., Mark Harding and Alanna Nobbs; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013), 93. Brent Nongbri observes that fourteen pages were lost after 1 Thess 5:28. Nongbri assumes that 2 Thess and Philemon lay after 1 Thess.
- 24) It is highly probable that Philippians is mistakenly omitted in this list. Jack Finegan, “The Original Form of the Pauline Collection,” *HTR* 49 (1956), 98.

Morgan Library M 570, 571 (Sahidic Coptic manuscripts) Coptic translation of Athanasius' festal letter 39	Rom-1 Cor -2 Cor-<u>Heb</u>-Gal- Eph-Phil-Col-1 Thess-2 Thess-1 Tim-2 Tim-Tit-Phm
Vetus latina (b, e, f, g, h, l), Pseudo-Pelagius	[Rom]-1 Cor -2 Cor-Gal- Eph-Phil-Col-1 Thess-2 Thess- 1 Tim-2 Tim-Tit-Phm
Vatic. Lat. 3550, Clp 10427, Laon 45	[Rom]-1 Cor -2 Cor-Gal- Eph-Phil-Col-1 Thess-2 Thess- 1 Tim-2 Tim-Tit-Phm- <u>Heb</u>
Augustine, Priscillian of Avila	[Rom]-1 Cor -2 Cor-Gal- Eph-Phil- 1 Thess-2 Thess- <u>Col</u> -1 Tim-2 Tim-Tit-Phm-Heb
Revisor of Vulgate (early 5th century)	Rom-1 Cor-2 Cor-Gal- Eph-Phil-1 Thess-2 Thess- <u>Col-Heb</u>

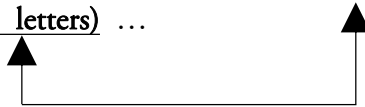
P⁴⁶ and the order of Marius Victorinus show a sequence according to length except (i.e., decreasing order): Romans (32,578 letters) – [Hebrews in P⁴⁶] - 1 Corinthians (31,031 letters) - 2 Corinthians (21,347 letters) - Ephesians (11,317 letters) - Galatians (10,456 letters). However, the order of Romans - 1 Corinthians - 2 Corinthians - Galatians - Ephesians in other early manuscripts betrays the criterion of length. How can this be explained? I would argue that it can be explained if we consider that two scrolls of the Pauline corpus existed, and the order of the first book was Romans - 1 Corinthians - 2 Corinthians - Galatians.

In other words, the inverted order of Galatians-Ephesians in P⁴⁶ may have occurred as the first volume and second volume of the Pauline corpus were merged into one volume of codex. In other words, in terms of the criterion of length (i.e., decreasing order), Galatians (10,456 letters) has fewer letters and is shorter in length than Ephesians (11,317 letters), so Ephesians should have been placed before Galatians if the Pauline corpus was only one volume. If Ephesians preceded Galatians in the primitive edition of the Pauline corpus, the order of Galatians (10,456 letters) - Ephesians (11,317 letters), which does not fit the

criterion of length, is difficult to explain. On the other hand, in terms of the principle of explainability, it is more reasonable to consider that Galatians preceded Ephesians. Thus, the order of P⁴⁶ may be the result of the arrangement of Ephesians in front of Galatians according to the criterion of length according to the change of the medium from the scroll (two volumes) to the codex (one volume). So, the order of the first volume of the Pauline corpus would have been as follows.

The original order: Romans (32578 letters) - 1 Corinthians (31031 letters) - 2 Corinthians (21347 letters) - Galatians (10456 letters) ... and the second volume which begins with Ephesians (11317 letters)

P⁴⁶: Romans (32578 letters) – Hebrews - 1 Corinthians (31031 letters) - 2 Corinthians (21347 letters) - Ephesians (11317 letters) - Galatians (10456 letters) ...



Reversed for the consistency of the decreasing order in length

Except for Hebrews (25602 letters), P⁴⁶ appears to be arranged in order of length, i.e, from long to short. Perhaps, as Clare Rothchild opines,²⁵⁾ the editor of P⁴⁶ understands Hebrews as a guideline for Paul's epistles for the anti-Marcionite purpose and explains that Hebrews is placed immediately after Romans, also betraying the order of length.²⁶⁾

25) Clare K. Rothschild, "Hebrews as a Guide to Reading Romans," in *Pseudepigraphie und Verfasserfiktion in frühchristlichen Briefen* (ed., M. Janssen, J. Herzer, J. Frey, C. K. Rothschild; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 537-573,

26) In the commentary of Ephrem, a Syriac church Father, and in Old Syriac, Hebrews is placed after Romans like P⁴⁶. This shows that it is not just P⁴⁶ that places Hebrews right after Romans. It seems that the Syriac church in the 2nd-4th

The early Pauline corpus took on various orders for various reasons such as the media change from the scroll to the codex, the circulation of Acts, and the emergence of Marcionism. So, the development of the early Pauline order may have been summarised in the following four stages.²⁷⁾

1) The early order of the Pauline corpus (i.e., reflecting the order of Romans - 1 and 2 Corinthians - Galatians) [arranged according to criterion of length in each of two scrolls]

2) The order including P⁴⁶ and a Western canonical order [rearranged based on criterion of length after the change of mediums to codex]

3) The order in which Galatians lay first, such as the Marcionite Canon, some Old Latin and Old Syriac versions [Rearranged according to chronological order after the circulation of the book of Acts]

4) relocating 1 and 2 Corinthians before Romans (The Muratorian Fragment, Origen, Tertullian) [chronological and anti-Gnostic rearrangement, or 1 and 2 Corinthians understood as one book, and 1 and 2 Corinthians moved forward in the order of length and locating Romans for the balanced structure between the Corinthian correspondence (the first) and Romans (the end) [in Origen and Tertullian]

Finally, we need to consider the canonical function of Ephesians, which may have been the first book of the second

centuries also accepted Hebrews as a guideline for interpretation of Romans. Charles Anderson thinks that the inclusion of Hebrews in the Pauline corpus is a very early phenomenon. Given the fact that the book of Hebrews is mentioned together with Paul's epistles in *1 Clement*, it was probably included in the Pauline corpus during the second half of the 1st century. See Charles P. Anderson, "The Epistle to the Hebrews and the Pauline Letter Collection," *HTR* 59 (1966), 429-438.

27) For the Marcionite canon, the Muratorian Fragment, see my forthcoming article.

volume of the Pauline corpus. Edgar J. Goodspeed argues that the book of Ephesians was written as a preface to Paul's epistles.²⁸⁾ However, as Charles H. Buck points out, we have no evidence of manuscript in which Ephesians appears in the first order of the Pauline corpus.²⁹⁾ From the above results, we can infer as follows: Ephesians probably corresponds to the preface to the second volume of the Pauline corpus. In antiquity, the preface (ὑπόθεσις) additionally describes the author of the entire collection and summarises the author's subject. As a corpus is compiled, several paratexts could sometimes be inserted to the collection. For example, the author's life (βίοι), introduction (ὑπόθεσις), and chapter titles (κεφαλαία, capitula) were added to the collection.³⁰⁾ The preface (ὑπόθεσις) additionally summarises the author's subjects and topics.³¹⁾ In this vein, Ephesians, heading the second scroll, can be viewed as a kind of preface to universal readers.

Removing the geographical specificity and emphasising the universality can be a tendency during the process of the compilation of the Pauline corpus. In particular, it is necessary to consider the position of doxology (Rom. 16:25-27) in P⁴⁶, the oldest manuscript of Romans, along with P²⁷ and P⁴⁰. P⁴⁶ has an unusual order of 1:1-15:33 + doxology (16:25-27) + 16:1-23. It is probable that doxology was added later, but the existence of 16:1-23 in a position after doxology in P⁴⁶ may reflect the trace of an earlier editorial attempt to highlight the

28) E. J. Goodspeed, *The Meaning of Ephesians* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933); Edgar J. Goodspeed, "Ephesians and the First Edition of Paul," *JBL* 70 (1951), 285-291.

29) Charles H. Buck, Jr., "The Early Order of the Pauline Corpus," *JBL* 48 (1949), 351-357.

30) E.G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: An Introduction* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), 123.

31) I owe this explanation to the following monograph. Eric W. Scherbenske, *Canonizing Paul: Ancient Editorial Practice and the Corpus Paulinum* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 55-70.

universality of Romans by excluding a greeting to individuals in 16:1-23. Likewise, vg^{mss} and some Old Latin^{acc, to capitul} omit Rom 16:1-23 and contain the order of Romans 1:1-14:23+16:24+doxology, and their editors seem to eliminate the individual greetings of Paul (16:1-23) for a similar reason. The *Vorlage* of P⁴⁶ may be the version missing Rom 16:1-23 such as vg^{mss} and some Old Latin^{acc, to capitul}, and the editor of P⁴⁶ may have added 16:1-23 after doxology. Then, given the date of P⁴⁶ (c. 200), the tradition of omitting Romans 16:1-23 existed at least in the late 2nd century. Moreover, the geographical prevalence in P⁴⁶ (Alexandrian text type) and in the Old Latin (Western text type) reflects that this is a very early phenomenon because the Western text type must have appeared at least in the 2nd century. This omission cannot be attributed to a mistake; rather, some early editors of the Pauline corpus may have attempted to exclude Romans 16:1-23 in order to emphasise the universality of Romans. Similarly, the manuscripts missing ἐν Ῥώμῃ in Romans 1:7 (G 1739^{mg}, 1908^{mg}, it^g, Origen) and τοῖς ἐν Ῥώμῃ in Romans 1:15 (G Origen) reflect some tendency to impose some universality to Romans by the editorial practice. The findings of these omissions, especially in G (Western text type) and Origen, suggest that attempts of these omissions appeared at least in the 2nd century.

Thus, as Romans was regarded as a guideline for the entire Pauline corpus by omitting its destination (i.e., Rome) and highlighting the universality of Romans in some manuscripts, so it is presumable that Ephesians served as a kind of introduction to the second volume of the Pauline corpus. The absence of the destination (ἐν Ῥεφέσω) in the early manuscripts of Ephesians and the existence of numerous later interpolations may reflect that Ephesians was intended as a preface to the second volume of the Pauline corpus. Omission of ἐν Ῥεφέσω in 1:1, the destination of the correspondence, is found in early Alexandrian

reading, such as P⁴⁶, **ℵ**^{*}, B^{*}, 424^c, 1739. If so, it is possible that ἐν Ἐφέσῳ did not exist in the original Pauline corpus, and after the 2nd-3th century (such as D^p, B¹), the phrase ἐν Ἐφέσῳ may have later been added.

Otherwise, it is also probable that the original destination (ἐν Ἐφέσῳ) was eliminated for some editorial purpose in the early stage. If the early copyists intentionally erased the geographical specificity, it may have also been caused by their effort to make Ephesians more universally applicable, and this editorial phenomenon may have also occurred during the formation of the Pauline corpus. Then, whichever option we choose, we find the possibility that Ephesians was understood as a prologue of the Pauline corpus even though it is not the first epistle of the Pauline corpus.

Therefore, while it is probable that Ephesians was originally written as a prologue for the Pauline corpus, it is also plausible that the destination of Ephesians was intentionally deleted by some early copyist for the same reason as the destination of Romans was erased in G and Origen by a scribal activity to impose the universality as a prologue (ὑπόθεσις) of the Pauline corpus.

Accordingly, we conclude that Galatians, the final book of the first volume, was originally placed before Ephesians, which is the first book of the second volume. So, the original order of the Pauline corpus can be summarised as follows:

The first volume: Romans - 1 Corinthians - 2 Corinthians - Galatians (10-15 m)

The second volume (the rest of the Pauline epistles): Ephesians...(9-14 m?).

The length of the second volume is variable according to the contents of the second volume. While the original contents of the second volume of the Pauline corpus is unclear because

of the dislocation of Colossians, Hebrews and the Pastoral epistles in the early orders, it can be inferred that the formation history of the second volume may be more complex than that of the first volume. However, it is apparent that the second volume began with Ephesians.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, it has been argued that the primitive edition of the Pauline corpus was initially transcribed on scroll, not in codex. We have calculated the original length of the Pauline corpus by a new method, which is distinct from T. C. Skeat's previous rough estimation, and we have also considered its canonical implications. As discussed above, if the Pauline corpus had been written on scrolls (containing the 14 books including Hebrews), it would have been at least 20-32 m in length. So, in terms of the length of a scroll, I have considered above that the Pauline corpus is a suitable length to be divided into two volumes. There was a limitation to the length of ancient scrolls, and it can be inferred that the length of the Pauline corpus does not fit in one volume of scroll (at the longest 16-17 m), and it may have been divided into two (or more) volumes or the first four books was initially written on a scroll (10-15 m). While some more epistles were collected by the editor(s), the second scroll may have been newly edited (9-14 m). In this vein, Gamble's assertion that the Pauline corpus began in a codex is hardly tenable.

From this perspective, we can also infer the reason why the order of the Pauline corpus varies, and the order of Galatians and Ephesians is reversed in the early stage. Perhaps, P⁴⁶ is a trace to replicate a two-roll exemplar into one volume of codex. As discussed earlier, the order of Galatians (10,456 letters) and

Ephesians (11,317 letters), whose sequence betrays the criterion of length, indicates that the Pauline corpus originally consists of two volumes. The order of the first scroll (Romans - 1 and 2 Corinthians – Galatians) is found extensively in **8**, A, B, C, D^p, F, G, etc, in which Ephesians is placed after Galatians. Whereas the order after Ephesians in early manuscripts is fluid, the order of Ephesians after Romans - 1 and 2 Corinthians - Galatians is quite fixed in many cases. So, it can be traced that Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians and Galatians were the first volume of the Pauline scrolls, and Ephesians was intended by the author or reshaped by some early copyist as a preface of the second scroll.

<주요어>

바울 정경, 바울 전집의 형성, P⁴⁶, 두루마리, 코텍스학, 파피루스학

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<Abstract>

The Pauline Corpus in Light of Ancient Editorial Practice: A Theory of ‘the Two-Volume Archetype’

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In this paper, it will be argued that the primitive edition of *Corpus Paulinum* was transcribed on scroll, not in codex. We will calculate the original length of the Pauline corpus by a new method, which is distinct from T. C. Skeat’s stichometry-based method. Moreover, we will also consider the canonical implications of our results. Our approximation shows that, if the entire Pauline corpus, containing all 14 epistles including Hebrews, had been written on a single scroll, it would have been at least 20 to 32 meters long in length. However, the extant remains of ancient scrolls discovered thus far reveal that the physical limitations of ancient scroll lengths were most likely within 15-16 meters, and, as such, the length of the entire Pauline corpus as mentioned above, would not have fit into a single volume of scroll, but would have been suitable for division into two volumes of scrolls. Per our further calculation, if the earlier volume of such two volumes consisted of the first four epistles, the length of such first volume would have been 10 to 15 meters. Also, if a second volume was newly edited from the collection of additional epistles—that is, after the circulation of the first volume—and transcribed on scroll likewise, the length

of such a second volume may be calculated to be 9 to 14 meters. These calculation results support the plausibility of the Pauline corpus having circulated in two volumes in scroll form because they would fall within the range of the ancient scroll lengths. This finding refutes the premise that the codex form is the *conditio sine qua non* for the compilation of the Pauline corpus—on which assumption is based Gamble’s assertion that the Pauline corpus had to begin in one volume of codex. From this perspective, we can also infer the reason for the placement of Galatians before Ephesians (the former with the fewer letter count of 10,456 and the latter with the greater letter count of 11,317) in many early codices (albeit not P⁴⁶ among the few others), betraying the criterion of length. This reversal of the two epistles’ order can be understood as a trace of the exact replication of two scroll exemplars in one volume of codex—with the first scroll exemplar consisting of Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians and Galatians.

<초록>

고대의 전집 편집의 관점에서 본 바울 정경의 형성에 관한 연구

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본 연구는 바울 정경의 길이와 순서가 가지는 함의를 고려하는 것을 목적으로 한다. 이러한 연구를 통하여 우리는 왜 초기 바울 정경의 순서가 다양하게 나타나는지를 고려할 것이다. 본 글은 1) 바울 서신 정경이 두루마리 매체 형식이었다는 것과 2) 초기 바울 순서는 로마서-고린도전서-고린도후서-갈라디아서 순서였을 것이라는 점 그리고 3) 헤르쿨라네움 파피루스의 정경 길이의 관점에서 볼 때, 로마서-고린도전서-고린도후서-갈라디아서가 바울 정경 두루마리의 첫번째 권이었다는 점을 고려하고 다음의 함의를 결론적으로 살펴볼 것이다: 바울 정경은 어떤 형태로 회람되었는가? 바울 정경이 초기에 코덱스가 아닌 두루마리로 회람되었다면, 이것은 두루마리 몇 권으로 회람되었을까? 이것을 물리적인 형태로 증명할 수 있는가? 본 연구에서 우리는 두루마리의 물리적 길이의 관점에서 우리는 바울 정경이 한 권이 아닌 두 권의 두루마리로 회람되었을 것이라고 주장할 것이다. 두번째로 우리는 로마서-고린도전후서-갈라디아서의 길이가 헤르쿨라네움 파피루스 등 초기 두루마리의 길이에 적합한 것이지 고려할 것이다. 초기 바울 정경의 길이와 순서를 재구성하는 방법론은 초기 바울 정경 순서의 일관성과 차이점을 살피고 그 이유를 설명하는 것이 될 것이다. 지금까지 바울 정경 편찬에 관하여 논한 많은 연구들은 존재했지만, 실제 두루마리의 물리적 길이를 고려한 연구는 스티코메트리(stichometry)를 바탕으로 한 스킵트(T. C. Skeat)의

연구를 제외하고 필자가 아는 한 거의 존재하지 않았기 때문에, 본 연구가 의미 있을 수 있다는 점이 서술될 것이다. 이 연구의 결론에 따라 본인은 바울 정경의 편집 단계에서 로마서-고린도전후서-갈라디아서가 첫번째로 편집되었고, 에베소서는 두번째 편집 단계에서 두번째 두루마리의 서문으로 작성되었을 가능성을 제안한다.