



## Le texte de 1Cor. 7:34 chez Cyprien de Carthage

Laetitia Ciccolini

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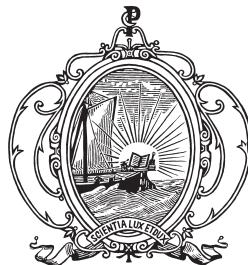
# STUDIA PATRISTICA

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# Le texte de 1Cor. 7:34 chez Cyprien de Carthage

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## ABSTRACT

The aim of this article is to establish the text of 1Cor. 7:34 in the writings of Cyprian of Carthage. Cyprian quotes the verse twice: in his treatise *De habitu uirginum*, chapter 5 and in the third book of *Ad Quirinum*, chapter 32. Hartel, in his edition of *De habitu uirginum* (1868), and Weber, in his edition of *Ad Quirinum* (1972), adopt the following text: *sic et mulier et uirgo innupta cogitat ea quae sunt Domini*. The form is unusual (*sic et*) and the meaning of *uirgo innupta* is not satisfactory. From the study of the manuscripts, we can conclude that the sequence of words printed by Hartel is undoubtedly correct. The punctuation of the verses 1Cor. 7:33-4 varied in Greek and Latin manuscripts and it gave rise to different interpretations. The order of the words implies that Cyprian reads an old latin version in which *uirgo* and *innupta* do not belong to the same clause. The editor must separate *innupta* by a colon: *innupta* is part of a new sentence.

Cyprien de Carthage cite à deux reprises 1Cor. 7:34: au chapitre 5 du *De habitu uirginum* et dans le dossier 32 du livre III de son florilège biblique, l'*Ad Quirinum*. En travaillant à une nouvelle édition du *De habitu uirginum* pour le *Corpus Christianorum*, nous avons été amenée à nous intéresser à l'établissement du texte de ce verset.

## 1. Le texte édité par Hartel et sa réception

Dans le chapitre 5 du *De habitu uirginum*, Cyprien met en garde celles qui font le choix de la virginité: la virginité implique un comportement empreint de retenue afin ‘d’être sainte et de corps et d’esprit’. Cette allusion à 1Cor. 7:34 est suivie de la citation des versets 32 à 34. L’édition de référence est celle procurée par Hartel en 1868 pour le CSEL:<sup>1</sup>

*Instruct Paulus et dicit: Caeleps cogitat ea quae sunt Domini, quomodo placeat Deo: qui autem matrimonium contraxit cogitat ea quae sunt mundi huius, quomodo placeat uxori. Sic et mulier et uirgo innupta cogitat ea quae sunt Domini, ut sit sancta et corpore et spiritu.*

<sup>1</sup> Cyprien, *De habitu uirginum*, 5, éd. Wilhelm Hartel, CSEL 3.1 (Vindobonae, 1868), 190-1.

L'expression *uirgo innupta* est curieuse. La difficulté transparaît dans les aménagements que les traducteurs font subir au texte. La solution la plus fréquemment adoptée consiste à faire porter *innupta* exclusivement sur *mulier*.<sup>2</sup> Les traducteurs s'alignent ainsi sur le texte de la Vulgate: *et mulier innupta et uirgo cogitat quae Domini sunt ut sit sancta et corpore et spiritu*.<sup>3</sup> Giovanni Toso propose une autre solution et considère qu'*innupta* est en facteur commun et porte sur les deux noms. Il traduit ainsi: ‘Così le donne e le vergini, non sposate, pensano a ciò che è del Signore, per essere sante nel corpo e nello spirito’.<sup>4</sup> La traduction la plus récente est celle de Giovanna Taponecco qui traduit littéralement le texte latin, sans commenter: ‘Così anche la donna e la vergine non sposata pensano alle cose del Signore, per essere sante nel corpo e nello spirito’.<sup>5</sup>

## 2. La tradition manuscrite et imprimée du passage

L'examen des manuscrits conduit à tenir pour assurée la séquence telle que l'érite Hartel, c'est-à-dire: *sic et mulier et uirgo innupta*. Aucun des vingt-six manuscrits antérieurs au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle ne présente de variantes sur ce point et les modifications sont rares dans les manuscrits plus tardifs (193 témoins repérés). Parmi les manuscrits présentant des variantes, le manuscrit conservé à Paris, BnF, 14460, 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle (provenance: abbaye de Saint-Victor) a une importance particulière pour l'histoire du texte imprimé, car il fut la source de l'édition *princeps* (Rome, 1471). Dans le début du verset, les deux noms sont intervertis: *Sic et uirgo et mulier innupta...* Ce texte, minoritaire dans la tradition et apparu tardivement, s'est maintenu jusqu'au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle dans la tradition imprimée.<sup>6</sup> Le texte reçu est repris même lorsque les éditeurs disposaient

<sup>2</sup> À titre d'exemple, voir les traductions de Julius Baer, *Über die Haltung der Jungfrauen*, dans *Des heiligen Kirchenvaters Caecilius Cyprianus sämtliche Schriften aus dem Lateinischen übersetzt*, I. *Des Heiligen Kirchenvaters Caecilius Cyprianus Traktate, des Diakons Pontius Leben des hl. Cyprianus*, Bibliothek der Kirchenväter 34 (München, 1918): ‘So denkt auch das unvermählte Weib und die Jungfrau an das, was des Herrn ist, daß sie heilig sei sowohl am Leibe als auch am Geiste’, et d'Angela Elizabeth Keenan, *Thasci Caecili Cypriani de habitu uirginum. A Commentary, with an Introduction and Translation*, Patristic Studies 34 (Washington, 1932): ‘So the unmarried woman and the virgin thinketh on the things of the Lord, that she may be holy both in body and in spirit’.

<sup>3</sup> *Biblia sacra: iuxta uulgatam uersionem*, éd. Robert Weber, 5<sup>e</sup> édition revue par Roger Gryson (Stuttgart, 2007).

<sup>4</sup> *La condotta delle vergini*, in *Opere di San Cipriano*, Classici delle religioni, Sezione quarta (Torino, 1980).

<sup>5</sup> *De habitu uirginum / La condotta delle vergini*, dans Cipriano, vescovo di Cartagine, *Opuscoli*, Scrittori cristiani dell'Africa romana 6.1 (Roma, 2009).

<sup>6</sup> Seule l'édition de Guillaume Morel (Paris, 1564) fait exception, mais l'éditeur parisien ne fut pas suivi sur ce point. C'est avec l'édition de Johann Georg Krabinger (Tübingen, 1853) que l'ordre des mots fut rétabli, mais l'éditeur supprima *sic* parce que le mot n'était pas attesté dans les versions grecques.

de manuscrits présentant l'ordre correct: ainsi Étienne Baluze, tout en imprimant lui aussi le texte de ses prédécesseurs, relève dans une note que des manuscrits ont un ordre différent.<sup>7</sup>

Une confirmation de l'ordre *sic et mulier et virgo innupta* se tire du troisième livre de l'*Ad Quirinum*, où le verset est cité dans le dossier 32, intitulé *De bono virginitatis et continentiae*. Robert Weber édite ainsi le texte pour le *Corpus Christianorum*:

*Item illic: Caeleps cogitat ea quae sunt Domini, quomodo placeat Deo. Qui autem matrimonium contraxit, cogitat ea quae sunt mundi huius, quomodo placeat uxori. Sic et mulier et virgo innupta cogitat ea quae sunt Domini, ut sit sancta et corpore et spiritu. Quae autem nupsit cogitat de his quae sunt mundi huius, quomodo placeat viro.*<sup>8</sup>

### 3. Le texte de Cyprien parmi les attestations manuscrites et patristiques de 1Cor. 7:34

Dans le texte établi par Hartel, c'est l'expression *virgo innupta* qui fait difficulté. Or la confrontation avec les versions grecques et latines du verset montre que le texte de Cyprien présente une particularité: chez lui, rien ne traduit à la charnière du verset 33, qui concerne les hommes, et du verset 34, qui concerne les femmes, le grec καὶ μεμέρισται. Pour les versets 32-4, le texte standard est le suivant:<sup>9</sup>

32 ὁ ἄγαμος μεριμνᾷ τὰ τοῦ κυρίου, πῶς ἀρέσῃ τῷ κυρίῳ· 33 ὁ δὲ γαμήσας μεριμνᾷ τὰ τοῦ κόσμου, πῶς ἀρέσῃ τῇ γυναικὶ, 34 καὶ μεμέρισται. καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἡ ἄγαμος καὶ ἡ παρθένος μεριμνᾷ τὰ τοῦ κυρίου, ἵνα ἡ ἀγία καὶ τῷ σώματι καὶ τῷ πνεύματι· ἡ δὲ γαμήσασα μεριμνᾷ τὰ τοῦ κόσμου, πῶς ἀρέσῃ τῷ ἀνδρί.

Or on sait qu'il existe en grec deux découpages des versets 33-4, qui se reflètent dans les différentes versions qu'on trouve en latin. Les mots καὶ μεμέρισται peuvent être compris comme la conclusion des considérations sur l'homme marié, ce qui est rendu en latin par *et diuisus est*: ils concernent alors le conflit intérieur de l'homme marié, déchiré entre préoccupations domestiques et spirituelles. Mais καὶ μεμέρισται peut également être rattaché à ἡ γυνὴ ... ἡ

<sup>7</sup> *Sancti Caecilii Cypriani episcopi Carthaginensis et martyris opera ad MSS codices recognita et illustrata studio ac labore Stephani Baluzii Tutelensis...* (Parisii, 1726), 525.

<sup>8</sup> *Ad Quirinum*, III, 32, éd. Robert Weber, CChr.SL 3 (Turnhout, 1972). Il arrive certes qu'il y ait des divergences dans la manière de citer la Bible entre l'*Ad Quirinum* et le reste de l'œuvre, mais dans le cas présent, l'ensemble des manuscrits retenus par Weber plaide bien pour l'ordre: *Sic et mulier et virgo innupta*. Seul O (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Add. C. 15, 3<sup>e</sup> quart du IX<sup>e</sup> s.) propose, après correction, le texte: *et mulier innupta et virgo*. E (London, BL, Royal 5 E XIII, milieu du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle) F (London, BL, Cotton Caligula A XV, 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle) remplacent *sic et par et diuisa est*.

<sup>9</sup> *Nouum Testamentum Graece*, 28<sup>e</sup> édition (Stuttgart, 2012).

*παρθένος*, ce qui est traduit par *et diuisa est*: le verbe exprime alors l'idée de 'séparation', c'est-à-dire d'opposition entre différents genres de vie. Dans un texte bien connu de l'*Aduersus Iouinianum*, I, 13, Jérôme évoque ces deux versions et leurs significations:

*Nunc illud breuiter admoneo, in Latinis codicibus hunc locum ita legi: Diuisa est uirgo et mulier. Quod quanquam habeat suum sensum, et a me quoque pro qualitate loci sic edissertum sit, tamen non est apostolicae ueritatis. Siquidem apostolus ita scripsit, ut supra transtulimus: Sollicitus est quae sunt mundi, quomodo placeat uxori, et diuinus est; et hac sententia definita, transgreditur ad uirgines et continentes, et ait: Mulier innupta, et uirgo cogitat quae sunt Domini, ut sit sancta corpore et spiritu.*<sup>10</sup>

Selon Jérôme, *diuisa est uirgo et mulier* est une version répandue dans les manuscrits latins. À une interversion près (*diuisa est mulier et uirgo*), c'est ainsi qu'il citait, quelques années plus tôt, le verset dans l'*Aduersus Heluidium* et dans la lettre 22 à Eustochium.<sup>11</sup> Il s'agissait d'opposer le genre de vie des femmes mariées et des vierges. Jérôme préfère désormais une autre version qu'il considère comme reflétant l'*apostolica ueritas*: καὶ μεμέρισται décrit les tiraillements de l'homme marié (*et diuinus est*), puis l'Apôtre passe à des considérations sur celles qui ont fait le choix de s'abstenir du mariage (*transgreditur ad uirgines et continentes*).

Au découpage du verset est étroitement liée la question de l'ordre des mots dans le grec sous-jacent. Dans la version que retient désormais Jérôme, ή ἄγαμος (*innupta*) qualifie ή γυνή, alors que dans la version qu'il utilisait auparavant, ή ἄγαμος se trouvait après ή παρθένος, qu'il reprenait (*quae non est nupta*) pour expliciter ce qui oppose la vierge et la femme mariée.

Ces variantes concernant l'ordre des mots, en particulier la place de ή ἄγαμος, et le découpage du verset se retrouvent dans les témoins du texte grec. Voici les trois combinaisons les plus répandues, avec quelques témoins remarquables les attestant.<sup>12</sup>

καὶ μεμέρισται καὶ ή γυνὴ ή ἄγαμος καὶ ή παρθένος μεριμνᾷ...	texte standard P <sup>15</sup> B P 104 181 <sup>c</sup> 1962 2495 it <sup>t, x, z</sup> vg Eusèbe de Césarée
(καὶ) μεμέρισται καὶ ή γυνὴ καὶ ή παρθένος ή ἄγαμος μεριμνᾷ...	D <sup>c</sup> F G K Ψ 326 330 436 451 614 630 1984 1985 2492 Byz it <sup>d?</sup> e g m Méthode d'Olympe, Jean Chrysostome
καὶ μεμέρισται καὶ ή γυνὴ ή ἄγαμος καὶ ή παρθένος ή ἄγαμος μεριμνᾷ...	P <sup>46</sup> x A 33 81 1739 1881

<sup>10</sup> Jérôme, *Aduersus Iouinianum*, I, 13, PL 23, 230D.

<sup>11</sup> Jérôme, *Aduersus Heluidium*, 20; *Lettres*, 22, 21.

<sup>12</sup> On trouvera des apparets complets dans Nestle-Aland, *Nouum Testamentum Graece*, 28<sup>e</sup> édition (Stuttgart, 2012) et dans *The Greek New Testament*, 4<sup>e</sup> édition (Stuttgart, 1993).

Lorsqu'on a la séquence καὶ ἡ γυνὴ καὶ ἡ παρθένος ἡ ἄγαμος, μεμέρισται est compris comme se rapportant à ce qui suit, c'est-à-dire aux femmes. En ce cas ἡ ἄγαμος et ἡ δὲ γαμήσασα se répondent et permettent l'évocation des deux genres de vie, dans une correspondance parfaite avec les versets 32 et 33 qui opposaient le célibataire et l'homme marié. Du côté latin, c'est ainsi que Tertullien comprend le verset. Il le commente longuement dans le *De virginibus uelandis* pour éclairer l'emploi de *mulier* et de *uirgo* chez Paul. Aux yeux de Tertullien, 1Cor. 7:34 est un verset où Paul fait nettement une différence entre *mulier* et *uirgo*, ce qui n'est pas le cas, selon lui, des versets de la même épître où Paul donne des instructions sur le voile (1Cor. 11:5-15):

*Diuisa est, inquit, mulier et uirgo. Quare? Quoniam innupta, id est uirgo, cogitat ea quae sunt Domini, ut sit sancta et corpore et spiritu, nupta autem, id est non uirgo, cogitat quomodo placeat uiro. Haec erit interpretatio diuisionis illius, nullum habens locum in isto capitulo...<sup>13</sup>*

D'autres auteurs latins comprennent le verset 34 de la même façon. Outre Jérôme dans l'*Aduersus Heluidium* et dans la lettre 22, on peut mentionner l'auteur du *Speculum pseudo-augustinien*:

*Qui sine uxore est sollicitus est quae Domini sunt, quomodo placeat Deo. Qui autem uxorem habet, cogitat quae sunt huius mundi, quomodo placeat uxori. Separata est mulier et uirgo. Quae non est nupta, cogitat quae Dei sunt, ut sit sancta et corpore et spiritu. Quae autem nupta est, cogitat quae sunt huius mundi, quomodo placeat uiro.<sup>14</sup>*

et l'Ambrosiaster:

*Diuisa est mulier et uirgo. Diuisa non utique natura, sed actu, quia legimus in Numeris mulieres uirgines appellatas (Num. 31:9). Alia ergo sollicitudo mulieris, alia uirginis est. Tamen cum dicitur mulier, incertum est quid significet, nisi significatio subsequatur. Cum autem dicitur uirgo, manifesta locutio est. Hic Apostolus post mulierem uirginem posuit, ut mulierem non uirginem significaret; per hoc enim uoluit ostendere uirginem liberam a taediis et laboribus, quos patitur mulier uiro copulata.<sup>15</sup>*

Qu'en est-il chez Cyprien? Même si rien ne traduit chez lui καὶ μεμέρισται, l'ordre des mots *et mulier et uirgo innupta* indique que c'est bien l'articulation du texte paulinien familière à Tertullien qui est aussi à l'œuvre dans le verset tel que le lit Cyprien. En d'autres termes, *innupta* et *uirgo* n'appartiennent pas à la même proposition: *uirgo* est mis en parallèle avec *mulier* pour annoncer une opposition dans le mode de vie, dont le premier volet s'ouvre avec *innupta*

<sup>13</sup> Tertullien, *De virginibus uelandis*, 4, 4-5, éd. Eva Schulz-Flügel, SC 424 (Paris, 1997).

<sup>14</sup> *Liber de diuinis scripturis siue Speculum*, 80, éd. Franz Weihrich, CSEL 12 (Vindobonae, 1887).

<sup>15</sup> *Commentarius in epistolas ad Corinthios*, I, 7:34, éd. Heinrich Joseph Vogels, CSEL 81.2 (Vindobonae, 1968).

qui rend le grec ή ἄγαμος, ce qui est aussi le cas chez Tertullien.<sup>16</sup> Pour conserver l'ordre des mots et faire apparaître le sens du verset, il faut donc introduire une pause entre *uirgo* et *innupta* et ponctuer ainsi:

*Instructus Paulus et dicit: Caeleps cogitat ea quae sunt Domini, quomodo placeat Deo. Qui autem matrimonium contraxit, cogitat ea quae sunt mundi huius, quomodo placeat uxori. Sic et mulier et uirgo: innupta cogitat ea quae sunt Domini, ut sit sancta et corpore et spiritu. (De habitu uirginum, 5)*

Cyprien ne cite que la première partie du verset 34, mettant ainsi l'accent sur ce qui concerne les vierges. Le commentaire qui suit exploite cependant l'opposition avec les femmes mariées puisque l'évêque de Carthage met en garde les vierges contre des comportements qui sont précisément ceux des femmes mariées ou qui cherchent un mari: *Quid ornata, quid compta procedit, quasi maritum aut habeat aut quaerat?*

Il faut également modifier la ponctuation du verset dans l'*Ad Quirinum*. Le verset 34 y est cette fois donné dans sa totalité. La correction permet de restaurer un parallélisme parfait entre *innupta* et *quae autem nupsit*:

*Caeleps cogitat ea quae sunt Domini, quomodo placeat Deo. Qui autem matrimonium contraxit, cogitat ea quae sunt mundi huius, quomodo placeat uxori. Sic et mulier et uirgo: innupta cogitat ea quae sunt Domini, ut sit sancta et corpore et spiritu; quae autem nupsit, cogitat de his quae sunt mundi huius, quomodo placeat uiro. (Ad Quirinum, III, 32)*

La formulation du début du verset 34 dans le texte que lisait Cyprien n'a pas d'équivalent, si l'on en juge par les attestations rassemblées dans la Vetus Latina Database par l'Institut de Beuron. Là où *diuisa est* oppose la femme mariée et la vierge, *sic et* accentue l'idée de symétrie entre les versets 32-3 d'une part et le verset 34 de l'autre: le même contraste prend corps dans les genres de vie de l'épouse et de la vierge. L'emploi de *sic et* donne en outre au verset un tour conclusif, propre à être utilisé dans un contexte parénétique.<sup>17</sup> Une question reste ouverte: s'agit d'une initiative du traducteur latin ou bien faut-il supposer, comme c'est parfois le cas chez Cyprien,<sup>18</sup> un autre texte grec

<sup>16</sup> Outre le *De uirginibus uelandis*, voir l'*Ad uxorem*, I, 3, 6 (*Innupta de dominicis cogitat, uti et corpore et spiritu sancta sit*; éd. Charles Munier, SC 273 [Paris, 1980]) et l'*Exhortatio castitatis* 4, 2 (... *cum sollicitudinem nuptorum et innuptorum committit*; éd. Claudio Moreschini, SC 319 [Paris, 1985]).

<sup>17</sup> Voir Domingo Ramos-Lissón, ‘Exégesis de I Cor 7, 32-34 en el *De habitu uirginum* de San Cipriano’, dans José María Casciaro et al. (éd.), *Biblia y hermenéutica. VII Simposio International de Teología, Pamplona, 10-12 abril de 1985* (Pamplona, 1986), 650, qui relève que *sic ne se trouve dans aucune autre version du verset.*

<sup>18</sup> C'est certainement le cas pour 1Cor. 13:7, où Cyprien a *omnia diligit*, ce qui implique πάντα στέργει dans le texte grec sous-jacent au lieu de πάντα στέγει. Voir sur ce point Uwe Fröhlich, *Vetus Latina. Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel*, 22. *Epistula Ad Corinthios I* (Freiburg, 1995-1998), 189.

sous-jacent, p. ex. Οὗτως καὶ? Il faudrait une étude plus approfondie du texte de la première épître aux Corinthiens chez Cyprien pour pouvoir se prononcer. Si l'on s'en tient à 1Cor. 7:32-4, on remarque que le texte biblique de Cyprien comporte d'autres particularités. La plus remarquable concerne le lexique, en particulier la traduction de ὁ ἄγαμος au verset 32: Cyprien utilise *caelebs*, une traduction qui n'a pas fait école, puisque les autres témoins VL ont une périphrase (*qui sine uxore est*). De même, au verset 33, *matrimonium contraxit* n'a pas d'équivalent. Pour le verset 34, Cyprien écrit *quae nupsit*, là où les autres témoins VL ont en général *quae nupta est*.

#### **4. En guise de conclusion: les implications exégétiques des diverses versions**

En dépit de différences dans le lexique et la formulation, le texte que lisait Cyprien pour 1Cor. 7:34 appartient à un ensemble de versions commandé par la même ligne interprétative: le verset oppose les genres de vie de la femme mariée et de la vierge. Il n'est pas étonnant que Cyprien comprenne le verset comme Tertullien, mais il faut remarquer qu'on a eu plutôt tendance à souligner l'écart entre les citations de Tertullien et de Cyprien et à conclure qu'ils comprenaient le verset de manière différente.<sup>19</sup> Il suffit en réalité de modifier légèrement la ponctuation de l'édition Hartel pour le *De habitu uirginum* et de l'édition Weber pour l'*Ad Quirinum* pour faire apparaître les similitudes entre les deux auteurs.

Les études sur l'exégèse de 1Cor. 7 chez les auteurs patristiques ne manquent pas. L'exégèse de 1Cor. 7:34 mériterait une étude particulière. Une recherche exhaustive dans la tradition patristique dépasserait les limites de cet article. Nous nous bornons à donner les grandes lignes du dossier et à illustrer, du côté latin, les implications exégétiques des principales versions grecques.

Un premier ensemble est constitué des versions qu'on trouve, entre autres, chez Tertullien et Cyprien. Elles impliquent une opposition entre les genres de vie de l'épouse (ἡ γυνή) et de la vierge (ἡ παρθένος); ἡ ἄγαμος est le premier terme d'une évocation contrastée des deux genres de vie.

Ambroise et Augustin se distinguent des précédents et lisent *mulier innupta et uirgo*. Ils comprennent que *mulier innupta* est dit des veuves. C'est ce qui ressort p. ex. du début du *De uiduis*, où Ambroise indique que l'apôtre a joint les veuves aux vierges:

<sup>19</sup> Ainsi Baluze, dans la note déjà mentionnée de son édition, oppose le texte de Cyprien aux versions de Tertullien et de Jérôme dans l'*Aduersus Heluidium* et la lettre 22. De même, Simone Deléani, ‘Présence de Cyprien dans les œuvres de Jérôme sur la virginité’, dans Yves-Marie Duval (éd.), *Jérôme entre l’Occident et l’Orient: XVI<sup>e</sup> centenaire du départ de saint Jérôme de Rome et de son installation à Bethléem. Actes du colloque de Chantilly, septembre 1986*, EAA 122 (Paris, 1988), 61-82, 65 n. 17, considère que Cyprien connaît déjà la version que Jérôme qualifie d'*apostolica*.

*Neque enim inhonoras debuimus praeterire, et a uirginum paeconio separare quas apostolica sententia cum uirginibus copulauit, iuxta quod scriptum est: Et mulier innupta et uirgo cogitat quae sunt Domini, ut sit sancta corpore et spiritu.<sup>20</sup>*

Dans le verset 34 tel que le cite Ambroise, rien ne traduit le grec καὶ μεμέρισται.<sup>21</sup> Augustin en revanche utilise un texte où καὶ μεμέρισται est traduit par *et diuisa est*, comme le montre p. ex. la citation qu'il fait dans le *De sancta uirginitate*, 22, 22: *Et diuisa est mulier innupta et uirgo: quae innupta est, sollicita est quae sunt Domini, ut sit sancta et corpore et spiritu; quae autem nupta est, sollicita est quae sunt mundi, quomodo placeat uiro?*<sup>22</sup>

Pour le début du verset 34, son texte latin implique le texte grec suivant, qui rappelle beaucoup pour l'ordre des mots celui du Papyrus 46, du Sinaïticus et de l'Alexandrinus: καὶ μεμέρισται ἡ γυνὴ ἡ ἄγαμος καὶ ἡ παρθένος· ἡ ἄγαμος μεριμνᾷ... À nouveau, il faut considérer que dans ἡ παρθένος ἡ ἄγαμος, ἡ ἄγαμος est le premier terme d'un balancement dont le second est ἡ δὲ γαμήσασα dans la suite du verset.

Il ne s'agit plus d'opposer les femmes mariées et les vierges, mais d'évoquer deux catégories de femmes qui ont fait le choix de renoncer au mariage: les femmes non mariées et les vierges. La première catégorie est identifiée aux veuves.<sup>23</sup> Mais comment comprendre alors *et diuisa est*? Il faut sous-entendre un second ensemble, celui des femmes mariées, auquel est opposé le groupe formé des veuves et des vierges, ainsi qu'Augustin l'explique au moment de commenter 1Cor. 7:32-4 dans le *De sancta uirginitate* 22, 22:

*Non utique ait: cogitat ea, quae securitatis sunt in hoc saeculo, ut sine grauioribus molestiis tempus transigat; neque ad hoc diuisam dicit innuptam et uirginem ab ea quae nupta est, id est distinctam atque discretam, ut innupta in hac uita secura sit propter temporales molestias euitandas, quibus nupta non caret, sed, cogitat, inquit, quae sunt Domini, quomodo placeat Domino, et: sollicita est quae sunt Domini, ut sit sancta et corpore et spiritu.<sup>24</sup>*

<sup>20</sup> Ambroise, *De uiduis*, 1, 1, éd. Franco Gori, SAEMO 14.1 (Milano, 1989). Voir aussi *Exhortatio uirginitatis*, 6, 39.

<sup>21</sup> Et d'après nos recherches, l'œuvre d'Ambroise ne comporte pas de citation du verset 33, seulement des allusions.

<sup>22</sup> Augustin, *De sancta uirginitate*, 22, 22, éd. Joseph Zycha, CSEL 41 (Vindobonae, 1900).

<sup>23</sup> Augustin, *De bono uidutatis*, 2, 3, éd. Joseph Zycha, CSEL 41 (Vindobonae, 1900): *Quod alio loco aperit, ubi ait: Diuisa est mulier innupta et uirgo. Quando utique et uirginem adiungit, quid mulierem innuptam nisi uiduam uult intellegi? Vnde etiam deinceps uno innuptae nomine professionem utramque complectitur dicens: Quae innupta est, sollicita est ea quae sunt Domini, quomodo placeat Domino; quae autem nupta est, sollicita est quae sunt mundi, quomodo placeat uiro. Innuptam certe non eam tantum intellegi uoluit, quae numquam nupsit, sed etiam eam, quae nuptiarum uinculo per uiduitatem liberata nupta esse destituit; nam ideo et nuptam non dicit nisi eam quae uirum habet, non etiam eam, quae habuit et non habet.*

<sup>24</sup> Augustin, *De sancta uirginitate*, 22, 22, éd. Joseph Zycha, CSEL 41 (Vindobonae, 1900). Il faut donc traduire: 'différente est la conduite de la femme non mariée et de la vierge' et rectifier en ce sens la traduction du verset dans la Bibliothèque augustinienne pour le *De bono coniugali*,

Enfin Jérôme, dans le chapitre de l'*Aduersus Iouinianum* cité plus haut retient une version du verset 34 qui est proche de celle d'Ambroise: *mulier innupta et uirgo cogitat...* Mais il comprend le verset tout autrement:

*Non omnis innupta, et uirgo est. Quae autem uirgo, utique et innupta est. Quanquam ob elegantiam dictionis potuerit id ipsum altero uerbo repetere, mulier innupta et uirgo: uel certe definire uoluisse quid esset innupta, id est, uirgo: ne meretrices putemus innuptas, nulli certo matrimonio copulatas.*<sup>25</sup>

Les vierges sont bien évidemment non mariées: pourquoi l'Apôtre a-t-il introduit ce qui semble être une répétition? *Et uirgo* a pu être ajouté dans un souci de précision et de définition de l'expression *mulier innupta*.

On le voit à partir de ces quelques exemples: l'interprétation du verset est étroitement dépendante des variantes qu'il connaît en grec dans l'ordre des mots.<sup>26</sup>

10, 10, où *diuisa est* n'est pas rendu (BA 2 [Paris, 1948], 49) et dans le *De bono uiduitatis*, 2, 3 où la traduction par ‘la femme non mariée, comme la vierge, est partagée’ est influencée par la Vulgate (BA 3 [Paris, 1949], 237).

<sup>25</sup> Jérôme, *Aduersus Iouinianum* I, 13, PL 23, 230D.

<sup>26</sup> Sur une forme particulière du verset, où καὶ μεμέρισται porte sur la femme mariée, voir Paul Force, ‘Une péricope “sauvage” de saint Paul (*I Cor. VII, 34*) chez les encratites égyptiens du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle’, dans *Hommages à François Daumas*, 1 (Montpellier, 1986), 253-60.

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