



**Apocryphon Berolinense/Argentoratense (Previously Known as the Gospel of the Savior). Reedition of P. Berol. 22220, Strasbourg Copte 5-7 and Qasr el-Wizz Codex ff. 12v-17r with Introduction and Commentary**

**Thèse**

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## RÉSUMÉ

Cette thèse est une réédition semi-diplomatique de trois manuscrits copiés dans le dialecte sahidique du copte : Berlin, Papyrussammlung, P. Berol. 22220; Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire, Copte 4-7a; Aswan, Nubian Museum, Special Number 168, ff. 12v-17r. L'édition est accompagnée d'index complets des mots grecs et coptes, d'une introduction détaillée visant à faire la lumière sur le contexte littéraire et culturel dans lequel les textes ont été produits, et d'un commentaire.

P. Berol. 22220 est un manuscrit de parchemin d'origine inconnue. Les données paléographiques suggèrent qu'il aurait pu être copié durant le 7<sup>e</sup> ou le 8<sup>e</sup> siècle de notre ère. Les fragments de Strasbourg, aussi d'origine inconnue, proviennent d'un codex de papyrus daté approximativement de 600 de notre ère. Enfin, le codex Aswan est un petit manuscrit de parchemin découvert en 1965 à Qasr el-Wizz, en Nubie. On date ce codex aux environs de l'an 1000 de notre ère. Les manuscrits de Berlin et de Strasbourg contiennent la version complète du texte édité ici, mais sont aujourd'hui très fragmentaires. En revanche, le manuscrit de Qasr el-Wizz contient seulement un extrait retravaillé d'une partie du texte.

L'ouvrage est connu jusqu'à maintenant comme *l'Évangile du Sauveur*, *l'Unbekanntes Berliner Evangelium* ou Strasbourg Gospel Fragments. Toutefois, comme ces titres ne rendent justice ni au genre ni au contenu réel du texte, j'ai choisi de l'appeler *l'Apocryphon Berolinense/Argentoratense*. Le texte est un discours de révélation de Jésus à ses apôtres, écrit à la première personne du pluriel. Une partie importante du texte est dévolue à un hymne de la Croix. L'hymne est chanté par le Christ alors que les apôtres semblent danser autour de la Croix en répondant « Amen ». Cette section est semblable à l'hymne au Père des *Actes de Jean* 94-96.

L'introduction et le commentaire explorent le cadre littéraire et culturel dans lequel *l'Apocryphon Berolinense/Argentoratense* fut rédigé. Je propose ici que le texte constitue un des nombreux mémoires pseudo-apostoliques probablement composés en copte au cours des 5<sup>e</sup>-6<sup>e</sup> siècles. Ma lecture du texte améliore enfin en plus d'un point les précédentes éditions des trois manuscrits.



## ABSTRACT

The present dissertation is a semi-diplomatic reedition of three manuscripts written in the Sahidic dialect of Coptic: Berlin, Papyrussammlung, P. Berol. 22220; Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire, Copte 4-7a; Aswan, Nubian Museum, Special Number 168, ff. 12v-17r. The edition is accompanied by complete indices of the Greek and Coptic words, an extensive introductory study concerning the literary and cultural context in which the text was written, and commentaries.

P. Berol. 22220 is a parchment manuscript of unknown provenance. Paleographical data suggests that it might have been copied during the 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> century CE. The Strasbourg fragments, also of unknown provenance, came from a papyrus codex tentatively dated around 600 CE. Finally, the Aswan codex is a small parchment manuscript discovered in 1965 at Qasr el-Wizz, in Nubia. The codex is roughly datable around 1000 CE. The Berlin and the Strasbourg manuscripts contained the full version of the text edited here, but they have survived very fragmentarily. On the other hand, the Qasr el-Wizz manuscript contains only a reworked extract from a portion of the text.

The work has been known until now as the *Gospel of the Savior*, the *Unbekanntes Berliner Evangelium* or the *Strasbourg Gospel Fragments*. However, as these titles fail to conform to the genre and the real content of the text, I have chosen to call it the *Apocryphon Berolinense/Argentoratense*. The text is a revelation discourse of Jesus to the apostles, written in the first person plural. An important part of the text is occupied by an extensive hymn of the Cross. The hymn is sung by Christ while to apostles are apparently dancing around the Cross answering “Amen.” This section is similar to the hymn to the Father from the *Acts of John* 94-96.

The introductory study and the commentary explore the literary and the cultural setting in which the *Apocryphon Berolinense/Argentoratense* was written. Here I suggest that the text is one of the numerous pseudo-apostolic memoirs probably composed in Coptic during the 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> century. Finally, my reading of the text contains several improvements to the previous editions of the three manuscripts.



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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used for the *claves* quoted in this dissertation:

CAVT = Jean-Claude Haelewyck, *Clavis Apocryphorum Veteris Testamenti* (Corpus Christianorum; Turnhout: Brepols, 1998).

CANT = Maurice Geerard, *Clavis Apocryphorum Novi Testamenti* (Corpus Christianorum; Turnhout: Brepols, 1992).

BHG = F. Halkin, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* 3 vols. (3<sup>rd</sup> edition; Subsidia Hagiographica, 8a; Brussels: Societ  des Bollandistes, 1957).

BHO = Paul Peeters, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis* (Subsidia Hagiographica, 10; Brussels: Societ  des Bollandistes, 1910).

*clavis coptica* = Clavis Patrum Copticorum (available online at <http://cmcl.let.uniroma1.it/>)

Other abbreviations:

CSCO = Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium.

EMML = Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library.

For the reconstruction of the White Monastery codices I adopt the sigla system of the *Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari* project (cf. the web address above). According to this system, each reconstructed codex is designated by the abbreviation MONB (= Monastero Bianco), followed by two letters of the Latin alphabet (e.g. MONB.AA, MONB.AB, MONB.AC etc).



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## INTRODUCTION

The Coptic text reedited in this dissertation has survived in three Sahidic manuscripts. The first witness, a fragmentary parchment manuscript preserved in the Papyrussammlung of the Egyptian Museum in Berlin (P. Berol. 22220), was published for the first time in 1999 by Charles Hedrick and Paul Mirecki.<sup>1</sup> The second manuscript, which consists of numerous rather small papyrus fragments, is kept in the library of Strasbourg University (Copte inv. no. 5-7). These fragments have been known for a long time under the generic title “Strasbourg Coptic Gospel.”<sup>2</sup> The connection between the two manuscripts was made by Stephen Emmel in an important article published in 2002.<sup>3</sup> Finally, the third manuscript was discovered in 1965 by the archeological mission of the Chicago Oriental Institute at Qasr el-Wizz, in Nubia. This manuscript, a well-preserved codex of small dimensions, is currently kept in the Nubian Museum in Aswan.<sup>4</sup>

The text presents an apocryphal story about Christ and the disciples, placed shortly before the Passion. At a certain point in the narrative occurs a long hymn sung by Christ to the Cross on which he will shortly be crucified, while the apostles are dancing and answering “Amen.” While the Berlin and Strasbourg manuscripts apparently once contained the entire writing, the manuscript in Aswan features only an abbreviated version of the hymn of the Cross.

The writing is largely known today as the *Gospel of the Savior*, the title ascribed to the Berlin parchment by its first editors. The alternative title used in German scholarship, *Unbekanntes Berliner Evangelium*, is now obsolete since Stephen Emmel has demonstrated

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<sup>1</sup> C.W. Hedrick – P.A. Mirecki, *Gospel of the Savior: A New Ancient Gospel* (California Classical Library; Santa Rosa, CA: Polebridge Press, 1999).

<sup>2</sup> A. Jacoby, *Ein neues Evangelienfragment* (Strasbourg: Karl J. Trübner, 1900).

<sup>3</sup> S. Emmel, “Unbekanntes Berliner Evangelium = The Strasbourg Coptic Gospel: Prolegomena to a New Edition of the Strasbourg Fragments,” in H. G. Bethge et al. (eds.), *For the Children Perfect Instruction: Studies in Honor of Hans-Martin Schenke on the Occasion of the Berliner Arbeitskreis für koptisch-agnostische Schriften’s Thirtieth Year* (Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies, 54; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2002) 353-374.

<sup>4</sup> *Editio princeps* in P. Hubai, *A Megváltó a keresztről. Kopt apokrifek Nubiából* (A Kasr el-Wizz kódex) (Cahiers patristiques. Textes coptes; Budapest: Szent István társulat, 2006). German translation of the Hungarian version in P. Hubai, *Koptische Apokryphen aus Nubien. Der Kasr el-Wizz Kodex* (Texte und Untersuchungen, 163; Berlin – New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009)

that the Berlin and the Strasbourg manuscripts represent two different witnesses of the same work. Although both titles suggest that the text is an uncanonical apocryphal gospel, literary evidences which I document in my thesis firmly indicate that the text does not belong to this genre, but it is rather one of the numerous “memoirs”<sup>1</sup> of the apostles and disciples, which were composed in Coptic, most likely after the Council of Chalcedon (451 CE). Sometimes, the pseudo-apostolic memoirs were incorporated into sermons attributed to the Fathers of the Coptic Church. The fact that the text belongs to a well-defined genre, formed mostly of homilies with apocryphal insertions, has caused me to eschew the label “gospel,” which I find unsatisfactory and misleading. Instead, I have chosen to call the text the *Apocryphon Berolinense/Argentoratense (ApoBA)*, after the location of the two main manuscripts. In fact, the label “apocryphon” is larger and more generous than “apocryphal gospel.”

The increased attention which this text has received in contemporary research provided the immediate occasion for writing the present dissertation. With a few exceptions, most of the scholars who have approached this fragmentary text have regarded it as an ancient gospel excluded from the canon. Although Peter Nagel, Joost Hagen and Pierluigi Piovanelli have advocated a different view, suggesting that the “*Gospel of the Savior*” is a rather late text, their hypothesis has been largely neglected until now.

The likelihood is strong that the “gospel hypothesis” will still linger. While I was about to finish my thesis, a couple of further publications fostered the same approach. Thus, at the end of 2012 appeared Hans-Martin Schenke’s German translation of the “Unbekannte Berliner Evangelium, auch ‘Evangelium des Erlösers’ genannt” in the first volume of the revised edition of Hennecke – Schneemelcher’s ancient Christian apocrypha, which comprises gospels and related writings.<sup>2</sup> Although this translation is already rather old since the publication of the book was much delayed, the *ApoBA* could notably still be included in the section dedicated to the non-canonical gospels. Similarly, a new English translation of the text will appear in the popular edition of *The Apocryphal Gospels: Texts and*

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<sup>1</sup> The syntagm “memoirs of the apostles” was already used in P. Piovanelli, “Thursday Night Fever: Dancing and Singing with Jesus in the *Gospel of the Savior* and the Dance of the Savior around the Cross,” *Early Christianity* 3 (2012) 229-248, at 238.

<sup>2</sup> C. Marksches – J. Schröter (eds.), *Antike christliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung* vol. 1/2: *Evangelien und Verwandtes* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012) 1277-1289.

*Translations* by Bart Ehrman and Zlatko Pleše, which is forthcoming with Oxford University Press.<sup>1</sup>

Unlike the previous studies, my dissertation offers a detailed inspection of the *Apocryphon Berolinense/Argentoratense* from the angle of Coptic literature. The thesis includes an introductory study, reedition and English translation of the manuscripts, full indices of the Greek and Coptic words, and commentary to the text. In the introduction and commentary, I draw on a wide range of sources, both primary and secondary. Thus, along with scholarly monographs and articles on various topics, especially related to Coptic Christianity, I have cited many primary sources in Greek, Coptic, Arabic and Ethiopic. When a certain translation was unsatisfactory, or when a relevant work has not been edited, I translated the text myself.

The introductory study comprises four chapters. The first two of them concern the manuscripts and the relationships between them. Thus, chapter 1 is a detailed paleographical and codicological analysis of the manuscripts. This chapter includes descriptions of the manuscripts, their modern history and possible dating based on paleographical comparison with other Coptic manuscripts. The second chapter accounts the parallels between the Berlin and Strasbourg witnesses of *ApoBA*. This direction of study has been opened by Stephen Emmel, who was the first to argue that the two manuscripts are different witnesses to the same text. In the same place, I provide arguments that the Qasr el-Wizz codex contains only an abbreviated version of the hymn of the Cross.

The third chapter is dedicated to previous research on the *Apocryphon Berolinense/Argentoratense*. As this chapter attempts to show, the so-called “*Gospel*” of *the Savior* has been exploited in a sensationalistic direction. The media and a large part of scholarly publications presented the text as a new apocryphal gospel, but without strong arguments. Most of the scholars who approached the text uncritically followed this line of interpretation, fostering in this way an imaginary apocryphal gospel.

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<sup>1</sup> This will be an enriched edition of B.D. Ehrman – Z. Pleše, *The Apocryphal Gospels: Texts and Translations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), but without the original Greek, Latin and Coptic texts. Among the new texts included by the two editors in the collection features the Stauros-Text from the Qasr el-Wizz codex and the *Apocryphon Berolinense/Argentoratense* (information based on Zlatko Pleše’s email to the author, dated May 6, 2013).

Chapter 4, the core of the dissertation, tries to reconstruct the real context in which the *ApoBA* was written, that is, that of post-Chalcedonian Coptic Egypt. Here, I try to penetrate the cloak of complexity which covers the genre of pseudo-apostolic memoirs to which the *Apocryphon Berolinense/Argentoratense* also belongs. The writings included in this literary genre, which is proper to Coptic literature, consist of narratives and revelation dialogues between Jesus and his disciples on various issues related to the Coptic religious feasts. The apostles recount the dialogue in the first person plural in a book which they deposit in a library in Jerusalem. Sometimes, the texts say that the alleged apostolic writing is discovered by one of the Fathers of the Coptic church, who transcribes it and includes it in a sermon.

The pseudo-memoirs of the apostles and their disciples forms the main literary corpus used to circumscribe the context of *ApoBA*. These writings, about three dozen, have exclusively survived in Coptic, or in the other three languages which preserve extensive portions of the Coptic literary heritage, namely Arabic, Ge'ez and Old Nubian. Besides, other Greek, Coptic, Arabic or Ge'ez texts have been used when they proved to be relevant for the interpretation of the *Apocryphon Berolinense/Argentoratense*. I established the following corpus of pseudo-apostolic memoirs:

1) **twenty pseudo-apostolic memoirs with homiletic framework:** Ps.-Cyril of Jerusalem, *On the Life and the Passion of Christ* (CPG 3604; clavis coptica 0113), Ps.-Cyril of Jerusalem, *On Mary Magdalene* (CANT 73; clavis coptica 0118), Ps.-Cyril of Jerusalem, *On the Virgin* (clavis coptica 0005), Ps.-Cyril of Jerusalem, *On the Dormition of the Virgin* (no clavis number), Ps.-Cyril of Jerusalem, *Prayer of the Virgin in Bartos* (BHO 654; CANT 281.2), Ps.-Bachios of Maiuma, *On the Apostles* (clavis coptica 0067), Ps.-Bachios of Maiuma, *On the Three Children in the Fiery Furnace* (clavis coptica 0068), Ps.-Athanasius of Alexandria, *Testaments of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob* (CPG 2183; clavis coptica 0063), Ps.-Cyriacus of Behnesa, *On the Flight of the Holy Family to Egypt* (no clavis number), Ps.-Cyriacus of Behnesa, *On the Dormition of the Virgin* (CANT 147; 153), Ps.-Cyriacus of Behnesa, *Lament of Mary* (CANT 74), Ps.-Cyriacus of Behnesa, *Martyrdom on Pilate* (CANT 75), Ps.-Archelaos of Neapolis, *On the Archangel Gabriel* (clavis coptica 0045), Ps.-Basil of Caesarea, *On the Building of the Church of the Virgin*

(CPG 2970; clavis coptica 0073), Ps.-John Chrysostom, *On the Four Bodiless Creatures* (CPG 5150.11; clavis coptica 0177), Ps.-John Chrysostom, *On John the Baptist* (CPG 5150.3; CANT 184; clavis coptica 0170), Ps.-Cyril of Alexandria, *On the Dormition of the Virgin* (no clavis number), Ps.-Timothy Aelurus, *On the Archangel Michael* (CPG 2529; clavis coptica 0404), Ps.-Timothy Aelurus, *On Abbaton* (CPG 2530; clavis coptica 0405), Ps.-Theodosius of Alexandria, *On the Dormition of the Virgin* (CPG 7153; clavis coptica 0385);

2) **nine pseudo-apostolic memoirs without homiletic framework:** *History of Joseph the Carpenter* (BHO 532-533; CANT 60; clavis coptica 0037), *Enthronement of Michael* (clavis coptica 0488), *Enthronement of Gabriel* (clavis coptica 0378), *Mysteries of John* (clavis coptica 0041), *Book of Bartholomew* (CANT 80; clavis coptica 0027), *Stauros-Text* (no clavis number), Ps.-Evodius, *On the Dormition of the Virgin* (CANT 133; clavis coptica 0151), Ps.-Evodius, *On the Passion 1* (clavis coptica 0149), Ps.-Evodius, *On the Passion 2* (CANT 81; clavis coptica 0150);

3) **three unidentified pseudo-apostolic memoirs:** a Miaphysite Christological extract,<sup>1</sup> a Sahidic fragment from Bala'izah,<sup>2</sup> and, last but not least, the *Apocryphon Berolinense/Argentoratense*.

The endeavor to document the literary connections between the *ApoBA* and some of the Coptic pseudo-apostolic memoirs has already been started by Joost Hagen in an important article, which is essential for anyone wishing to comprehend this text.<sup>3</sup> However, the physical limits of an article obliged Hagen to provide only a partial picture of the literary context to which the *ApoBA* belongs. Thus, I felt that there was a need to go beyond and offer a detailed account of the parallels between the *Apocryphon Berolinense/Argentoratense* and the pseudo-apostolic memoirs on one hand, and between the different memoirs on the other.

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<sup>1</sup> Published in C.W. Hedrick, "A Revelation Discourse of Jesus," *Journal of Coptic Studies* 7 (2005) 13-15.

<sup>2</sup> P.E. Kahle, *Bala'izah. Coptic Texts from Deir el-Bala'izah in Upper Egypt* vol. 1 (London: Oxford University Press, 1954) 403-404.

<sup>3</sup> J. Hagen, "Ein anderer Kontext für die Berliner und Straßburger 'Evangelienfragmente.' Das 'Evangelium des Erlösers' und andere 'Apostel-evangelien' in der koptischen Literatur," in J. Frey – J. Schröter (eds.), *Jesus in apokryphen Evangelienüberlieferungen. Beiträge zu außerkanonischen Jesusüberlieferungen aus verschiedenen Sprach- und Kulturtraditionen* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, 254; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010) 339-371.

Therefore, chapter 4 and the commentary to the text offer a detailed account of the relationships between the *ApoBA* and the other pseudo-memoirs. The parallels are so clear and numerous that it leaves no doubt that this is the context in which the *Apocryphon Berolinense/Argentoratense* must be included. This chapter analyzes two characteristics of the pseudo-apostolic memoirs, which appear also in *ApoBA*: the narrative voice (which is, in most of them, in the first person plural) and the vocative “O my holy members,” a peculiar form of address which Jesus uses in order to call his disciples. This form of address represents one of the features shared by most of the texts related to *ApoBA* and constitutes an important argument that this text belongs to the Coptic pseudo-memoirs of the apostles and disciples. The expression is rarely attested outside this category of texts. It features, however, in a few Coptic martyrdoms and hagiographic texts, which were perhaps written in the same milieu.

The analysis of the Coptic books of the apostles and disciples reveals that they had been composed following certain patterns, which are proper to them. This suggests that they were elaborated in the same cultural setting, that is, the post-Chalcedonian Coptic Egypt. This conclusion is based primarily on the Christology of the texts, which bears the marks of the 5<sup>th</sup> century polemics concerning the person of Christ. In some memoirs, the Coptic Miaphysite position is clearly expressed, which indicates that they are dated after the council of Chalcedon (451).

Perhaps, it is not possible to arrive at a more precise dating of these texts, since all of them are pseudonymous. With one exception, they are not mentioned in the works of the authors about whom we have historical evidences. Other hints which would enable us to date them, like historical events or identifiable religious shrines, are also scarce.

The last author relevant for dating a pseudo-apostolic memoir is Theodosius of Alexandria (d. 567), to whom is attributed a sermon on the Dormition of the Virgin, which allegedly includes a book written by the apostles Peter and John. Consequently, this homily was composed in the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century at the earliest. Timothy Aelurus, the Miaphysite patriarch of Alexandria to whom are attributed the homilies on Abbaton and on Michael, died in 477. Thus, the earliest possible date for the composition of the two texts is the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, although they might be even later.

For its part, the *Enthronement of Michael* is mentioned by John of Parollos in his *Contra Libros Haereticorum*, written around 600 CE. This provides us with a *terminus ante quem* for the composition of the *Enthronement*. Similarly, the homily of Ps.-Bachios of Maiuma on the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace contains a chronological discrepancy which helps us to establish a *terminus post quem* date. Although Bachios is introduced as a disciple of Cyril of Jerusalem (ca. 313-386), the sermon mentions an Egyptian *martyrion* where the relics of James Intercisus would be kept, which did not exist in the 4<sup>th</sup> century. The *martyrion* in question was built by Peter the Iberian, he himself monk and bishop of Maiuma, just as Bachios claims to be, near Oxyrhynchus during his flight to Egypt in the aftermath of the council of Chalcedon (451).<sup>1</sup> It is, therefore, clear that the homily of Ps.-Bachios must postdate the construction of this shrine. The Monastery of St. Romanus, in whose library Ps.-Archelaos of Neapolis claims to find the book of the apostles about the Archangel Gabriel, was a notorious bastion of anti-Chalcedonian resistance. This monastery was founded by the homonym saint in the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. Again, this offers an important element to establish a *terminus post quem* for the homily of Ps.-Archelaos. Finally, it should be also noted that the numerous apostolic memoirs which treat the Dormition and Assumption of the Virgin are likely datable to the 5<sup>th</sup> century at the earliest, when the Marianic literature flourished.

Although there are features which seem to suggest that the pseudo-apostolic memoirs were composed together, perhaps in the same “school,” the aforementioned dating elements speak only for individual texts and not for the pseudo-apostolic memoirs as a whole. However, as the literary history of the pseudo-apostolic memoirs has not been a purpose for the present inquiry, it remains a desideratum for a future research to demonstrate whether they all were, or were not, composed around the same time. The aim of this dissertation is only to “bring home” one of the Coptic pseudo-apostolic memoirs, the *Apocryphon Berolinense/Argentoratense*.

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<sup>1</sup> F. Morard, “Homélie copte sur les apôtres au Jugement Dernier,” in D.H. Warren et al. (eds.), *Early Christian Voices in Texts, Traditions and Symbols. Essays in Honor of François Bovon* (Biblical Interpretation Series, 66; Boston – Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2003) 417-430, at 418.





## CHAPTER I: THE MANUSCRIPTS

### I.1 MS A: P. Berol. 22220

#### I.1.1 Location and Acquisition

Under the inventory number P. Berol. 22220, the Papyrussammlung of the Egyptian Museum in Berlin preserves thirty damaged parchment fragments written in the Sahidic dialect of Coptic. The manuscript fragments originally belonged to the papyrological collection of the Egyptian Museum in West Berlin, which was housed from 1967 in the Stüler building, in Charlottenburg. This is the location where the document had been seen by Paul A. Mirecki in 1991 and 1993, and by Charles W. Hedrick in 1995. Some years later, the two American scholars published the *editio princeps* of the text.<sup>1</sup>

Some ten years after the fall of the Berlin Wall and, consequently, the reunion of the German museums, the manuscript was moved, together with the entire papyri collection which belonged to the Western part of the Egyptian Museum, to the headquarters of the Papyrussammlung, situated near the Altes Museum, on Stauffenbergstraße 41. There I had the opportunity to study the fragments several times between 2008 and 2011. At that time, although the two collections were theoretically reunited, the manuscripts of the Egyptian Museum in East Berlin were being kept in a different location, namely in a storage on the Museum Island (Museumsinsel). In the near future, the Papyrussammlung of East and West Berlin will finally be brought together, and the manuscripts, including P. Berol. 22220, will be rehoused in the newly reconstructed Neues Museum.

According to the catalogue of acquisitions, P. Berol. 22220 was bought from Karl J. Möger on March 20, 1967 for 300 German Marks. Hedrick mentioned that, when he checked the fragments, a handwritten note was included with them, indicating that they were purchased in March 1971.<sup>2</sup> However, he doubted the accuracy of this note, rightly relying on the date

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<sup>1</sup> C.W. Hedrick – P.A. Mirecki, *The Gospel of the Savior. A New Ancient Gospel* (California Classical Library; Santa Rosa, CA: Polebridge Press, 1999).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, 3.

supplied in the catalogue of acquisitions. During my research missions in the Berlin Papyrussammlung, I was not able to find anymore the note in question. All I could check was a piece of paper on which Helmut Satzinger wrote in 1967:<sup>1</sup> “Fragmente mehrere, Pergam.-Blätter: neutestamentliches Apokryphon (angebliche Reden Jesu). Etwa 6. Jh. (alt!) VORSICHT!”<sup>2</sup> Someone, perhaps the former director, Werner Kaiser, wrote later with pencil on the same paper: “Erwerbung nr. 37/(19)67,”<sup>3</sup> confirming once again the 1967 acquisition of the fragments.

In a private communication, Helmut Satzinger informed me that he wrote the note before the manuscript was purchased. The dealer left the parchment fragments in the museum and Satzinger was asked by Werner Kaiser to examine them and express his opinion whether they are worth to be bought.<sup>4</sup>

The document was purchased by the West Berlin Museum from Karl Johan Möger, a Dutch antiquity dealer who sold many Coptic manuscripts to different other collections across the world, especially in the ‘60s and ‘70s of the last century. His name was recorded as Karl J(ohan), Karl, or Johan Möger in the acquisition catalogues of the collections which purchased antiquities from him. It appears that Möger, who was based in Soestdijk, near Utrecht, occupied a significant role in the trajectory of Coptic antiquities from Egypt to the Western archives after the Second World War, being one of the most prominent dealers of the period which followed the death of Maurice Nahman, the one who transacted almost all the notable Coptic manuscripts discovered in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Although none of the Sahidic manuscripts sold by Möger which I have been able to find and, sometimes, to examine, led to the conclusion that it would be paleographically related

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<sup>1</sup> The first who pointed out that this note belongs to Satzinger was Uwe-Karsten Plisch. See his “Zu einigen Einleitungsfragen des Unbekannten Berliner Evangeliums (UBE),” *Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum* 9 (2005) 64-84, at 64. Satzinger was at that time cataloguing the Coptic manuscripts in West Berlin. Cf. his *Koptische Urkunden III. Ägyptische Urkunden aus den Staatlichen Museen Berlin* (Berlin: Verlag Bruno Heßling, 1968). However, P. Berol. 22220 is not recorded in Satzinger’s catalogue, being acquired after he completed his work.

<sup>2</sup> Hedrick – Mirecki, *Gospel of the Savior*, 2.

<sup>3</sup> According to the numbering system that was created in West Berlin for new acquisitions, these numbers mean that it was the 37th acquisition of the year 1967.

<sup>4</sup> Personal correspondence dated January 24, 2013.

to P. Berol. 22220, the possibility that one or more of them could come from the same discovery should not be dismissed *a priori*. Thus, I think they are worth a few words.

One of the interesting manuscripts which passed through Möger's hands is Pierpont Morgan M 910, a parchment codex of the Acts of the Apostles in Sahidic. Although the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York purchased the manuscript from Möger in 1962, its conservation process has not even started yet. Consequently, the codex still remains inaccessible to scholarly research. The paleographical comparison between M 910 and P. Berol. 22220, which I made on the basis of photographic plates of the former, revealed that they were copied by different scribes.<sup>1</sup> In his catalogue of the Coptic manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan collection, Leo Depuydt dated M 910 to the 5<sup>th</sup> or the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>2</sup>

In 1965, Möger sold to the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden fifteen fragments of Coptic manuscripts and two folios of a Syriac lectionary, the latter coming from Deir el-Suryan (دير السريان), in the Wadi el-Natrun, Egypt.<sup>3</sup> During 1966-1967, the Papyrological Institute of the University of Leiden bought from Möger thirty-one Greek, Demotic and Coptic papyri, from which several formerly might have belonged to the collection of George Michaelides.<sup>4</sup> Although these transactions took place around the date when Möger sold P. Berol. 22220 to the Egyptian Museum in West Berlin, there is no fragment worthy of mention in this connection since most of them contain documentary texts or are late paper manuscripts.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> L. Depuydt, *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library* vol. 2 (Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts, 5; Oriental Series, 2; Leuven: Peeters, 1993) plates 350, 353, 464.

<sup>2</sup> L. Depuydt, *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library* vol. 1 (Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts, 4; Oriental Series, 1; Leuven: Peeters, 1993) lxxx, 41-42 (= no. 28). Depuydt relies on Julius Assfalg's notes, which are kept with the manuscript in the Morgan library.

<sup>3</sup> The "Nitrian" (i.e. Wadi N'Natrun) origin had been postulated by M. Vilders, "Two Folios from a Syriac Lectionary in Leiden," *Oudheidkundige mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* 65 (1985) 77.

<sup>4</sup> S.J. Clackson, "The Michaelides Manuscript Collection," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 100 (1994) 223-226, at 226.

<sup>5</sup> The collection of the Papyrological Institute is described in N. Kruit – J.J. Witkam, *List of Coptic Manuscript Materials in the Papyrological Institute Leiden and in the Library of the University of Leiden* (Leiden: Papyrological Institute; Legatum Warnerianum in Leiden University Library, 2000). Regarding the manuscripts sold by Möger to the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, I am grateful to the staff of the museum, especially to Dr. Christian Greco, who kindly put at my disposal the complete list of Egyptian antiquities (including pottery, metal objects, manuscripts and other artifacts), which were acquired from Möger between 1959 and 1984.

In 1976, the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden purchased in a single lot from the same dealer thirty-five Coptic parchment fragments. The only documents published from this lot are Leiden F 1976/4.26, a leaf from Ps.-Theodosius of Alexandria, *In Iohannem Baptistam* (CPG 7151; clavis coptica 0386),<sup>1</sup> and Leiden F 1976/4.27, which perhaps belongs to a still unidentified sermon of Ps.-Athanasius of Alexandria.<sup>2</sup> Other fragments include: F 1976/4.1 (letters of Moses the Pachomian and Macrobius, his disciple);<sup>3</sup> F 1976/4.1 (John Chrysostom, *In Ep. ad Romanos*; CPG 4427); F 1976/4.4 (*Pamphylia Passio?*); F 1976/4.5, 8 (*Theodori Ducis Passio*; clavis coptica 0436) F 1976/4.28 (Acts of the Apostles); F 1976/4.31 (Ps.-Evodius of Rome, *De passione*; clavis coptica 0149); F 1976/4.33 (Gospel of Matthew).

However, as no written records concerning the provenance of the items sold by Möger during the years when he was active is known to survive,<sup>4</sup> the manuscripts mentioned above do not reveal anything concerning a possible connection with P. Berol. 22220.

After its 1967 acquisition by the Egyptian Museum in West Berlin, P. Berol. 22220 remained unstudied until 1991, when Paul A. Mirecki carried out a first survey of the manuscript. During the years which had passed from their acquisition, most of the fragments were kept in four paper folders. According to Charles Hedrick's testimony, only the largest fragment, i.e. Frag. 1 A-B, was mounted between glass plates.<sup>5</sup> This situation lasted until 1996-1997, when Hedrick mounted the parchment fragments under eight glass plates. Finally, the conservation work was completed in 1997 by Jürgen Hofman, the papyrus restorer of the Egyptian Museum in Berlin.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> K.H. Kuhn, "Four Additional Sahidic Fragments of a Panegyric on John the Baptist Attributed to Theodosius, Archbishop of Alexandria," *Le Muséon* 96 (1983) 251-265, at 263-265.

<sup>2</sup> J. van der Vliet, "S. Pachôme et S. Athanase: un entretien apocryphe," *Analecta Bollandiana* 110 (1992) 21-27. Van der Vliet attributed F 1976/4.27 to a homily on Pachomius by Ps-Athanasius, but the simple occurrence of the two saints in the same text is not enough reason to infer this. On the contrary, the encounter between Pachomius and Athanasius is a theme which appears often in Coptic literature. The Coptic Ps-Athanasian sermons which employ this topos include: *In Lucam 11:5-9* (CPG 2194; clavis coptica 0057); *De homicidis. In Michaelem* (CPG 2191; clavis coptica 0048); the letter to Horsiesius and Theodorus concerning the death of Pachomius (only the beginning preserved; the letter could be authentic. CPG 2190; clavis coptica 0453); an unidentified papyrus fragment published in V. Ghica, "Frammento inedito di tradizione pacomiana," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 70 (2004) 451-456.

<sup>3</sup> A. Campagnano, "Monaci egiziani fra V e VI secolo," *Vetera Christianorum* 15 (1978) 223-246, at 235.

<sup>4</sup> Although such records can exist and they can still be in the possession of Möger's successors.

<sup>5</sup> Hedrick – Mirecki, *Gospel of the Savior*, 3.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Ibidem*, 3-4.

### I.1.2 Provenance

Nothing is known concerning the ultimate provenance of P. Berol. 22220. Peter Nagel suggested that the manuscript could have belonged to the library of the Monastery of Apa Shenoute (aka the White Monastery), whose debris are scattered today all over the world: “Entsprechend seinen paläographischen und kodikologischen Merkmalen kann der UBE-Kodex gut und gern aus einem Scriptorium des Weißen Klosters stammen.”<sup>1</sup> Although this provenance cannot be completely excluded, it is very unlikely.

The White Monastery source of a given fragment can be established only when other related fragments of the same manuscript, or of a different one copied in the same scribe’s hand, are identified. However, the hand of the copyist who inscribed the P. Berol. 22220 is not recognizable elsewhere among the White Monastery fragments we know. Moreover, it is interesting to note that none of the aforementioned Coptic fragments sold by Möger can be identified as coming from White Monastery codices.

### I.1.3 Paleography

P. Berol. 22220 is made of good quality parchment. Although badly damaged, the vellum still preserves some of its former characteristics such as elasticity,<sup>2</sup> cleanness and thinness. These qualities make it quite different from those thick and rigid *peaux d’âne*, which were often used for the manufacture of the Coptic codices. The hair and flesh sides of the skin are generally easy to discern on the basis of the level of ink absorption. However, even though the two sides of the skin are clearly distinguishable, they exhibit a relatively uniform white color. This feature, together with the overall aspect of the skin, may suggest calf-parchment.<sup>3</sup> The only leaf which displays a marked difference in color is the recto of Frag. 3, i.e. page 97, whose flesh side is very dark. This alteration of the color suggests a

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<sup>1</sup> P. Nagel, “‘Gespräche Jesu mit seinen Jüngern von der Auferstehung’ – Zur Herkunft und Datierung des ‘Unbekannten Berliner Evangeliums’,” *Zeitschrift für Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 94 (2003) 215-257, at 239.

<sup>2</sup> By comparison, most of the parchment manuscripts preserved today are more fragile and friable. The induration and elasticity of the skin is one of the signs of a good quality manuscript.

<sup>3</sup> The sheep-parchment usually has a yellow aspect on the hair side and it is thicker. Of course, the quality of the parchment may depend as well on the age of the animal.

long exposure to sunlight. It is possible that the manuscript lay in an open space with this page upside for many centuries.<sup>1</sup>

The text is written on two columns. The exact number of lines per column cannot be determined for every page because of the fragmentary state of the manuscript. However, thirty-two lines are recoverable on pages 101, 102, 107 and 108, which are better preserved than the others. For the sake of convenience, in my edition I preferred to start from the assumption that all columns contained the same number of lines.

The page ornaments do not display color variations, being drawn in the same black ink as the rest of the manuscript. Every new paragraph begins with a minor initial, slightly projected to the left. The *coronis*, which are marking the beginning of paragraphs and adorn the margin of the pages,<sup>2</sup> have a curved aspect and often develop elaborate spirals. The copyist used the same type of decoration for some of the letters. Thus, the two arms of  $\alpha$  are coiling when this letter is written in *ekthesis* (cf. 107, col. A,5; 109, col. A,12, 16). The tail of  $\omega$  turns into a spiral if it appears on the last line (cf. 102, col. B; 103, col. A; 104, col. B; 105, col. B; 107, coll. A-B; 109, col. B; Frag. 13F). The same ornamental feature is used sometimes when  $\rho$  is written on the first line. In this case, its vertical stroke is elongated to the upper margin of the page and curled (cf. 99, col. B; 102, col. B; 106, col. B; 107, coll. A-B; 108, col. A; 110, col. A).

The manuscript is copied in a neat and elegant unimodular script,<sup>3</sup> which was dated by Charles Hedrick to the 7<sup>th</sup> century CE at the latest.<sup>4</sup> The main paleographical features of the manuscript are:

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<sup>1</sup> Another possibility would be that the dark aspect of page 97 is due to burning; thus suggested in Hedrick – Mirecki, *Gospel of the Savior*, 13. However, as no other fragment displays a similar kind of damage, I think this possibility can be eliminated.

<sup>2</sup> On the function of the *coronis* sign in Coptic manuscripts, see T. Petersen, “The Paragraph Mark in Coptic Illuminated Ornament,” in D. Miner (ed.), *Studies in Art and Literature for Belle da Costa Greene* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1954) 295-330.

<sup>3</sup> The terms “unimodular” and “bimodular,” were coined by the Italian papyrologist Guglielmo Cavallo, cf. his “Grammata Alexandrina,” *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 24 (1975) 23-54. In the unimodular manuscripts, all letters of the Coptic alphabet fit into the same, large, *modulus*. In the bimodular manuscripts, the letters  $\epsilon$ ,  $\theta$ ,  $\omicron$  and  $\varsigma$  are narrow and oval, very different from the others. Thus, in the class of manuscripts to which P. Berol. 22220 also belongs, we can find only one *modulus* of letters.

<sup>4</sup> Hedrick – Mirecki, *Gospel of the Savior*, 15. This dating is based on Maria Cramer’s *Koptische Paläographie* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1964), which is a kind of catalogue of Coptic handwriting

- the  $\mu$  is round, mostly in three strokes and with a low saddle. P. Berol. 22220 employs also the four-stroke  $\mu$ , which is attested at least once, at 102, col. A,4;
- the  $\gamma$  is executed most often with two strokes and it has a short foot which does not extend below the line. The scribe used also three-stroke  $\gamma$ , see, e.g., 97, col. A,20; col. B,30; 98, col. A,28, 30; 101, col. A,1; col. B,3, 6; 102, col. A,4; col. B,2, 25; 105, col. A,32; col. B,3; 110, col. A,25.
- the  $\alpha$  is round, with a peculiar elongated loop.
- the letters  $\rho$ ,  $\tau$ ,  $\dagger$  and the Cross symbol ( $\text{Ⲛ}$ ) have serifs at the ends of the vertical strokes. A serif is added as well at the left end of the vertical stroke of  $\alpha$ , when it is the first letter of a line.

The marks of punctuation are the lower, the middle, and the raised dot, the colon, the angular stroke – lower and upper, and the trema. As well as these signs, the Berlin parchment employs, very rarely in the surviving parts, the *diple* (see 102, col. A,23; 108, col. B,21<sup>1</sup>). The pagination style is very simple, having a simple line above the numerals.

### I.1.4 Dating

It is important to note, from the outset, that dating Coptic literary manuscripts is usually problematic. Coptic paleography still lacks the scientific fundamentals which would allow an evaluation of the data.<sup>2</sup> Recently, at the Tenth International Congress of Coptic Studies, held in Rome, September 17-22, 2012, Karlheinz Schüssler (Vienna) presented *in absentia* a paper concerning a new technique of dating manuscripts with the help of Carbon-14. According to Schüssler, unlike the previous method, in which a large portion of the artifact must be destroyed, the new technique offers the advantage that only a tiny piece of it is lost. Schüssler successfully applied this method on three parchment fragments from the White Monastery, all kept in the National Library in Vienna.<sup>3</sup> The costs of the new Carbon-14 method are still high, but there is optimism that future improvements will make it more

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styles, but without any mention of the manuscripts from which they come. This makes the book very unreliable.

<sup>1</sup> Although in the second example it seems to function rather as line filler.

<sup>2</sup> B. Layton, "Towards a New Coptic Palaeography," in T. Orlandi – F. Wisse (eds.), *Acts of the Second International Congress of Coptic Studies. Roma, 22-26 September 1980* (Rome: C.I.M., 1985) 149-158.

<sup>3</sup> K. Schüssler, "Zur <sup>14</sup>C-Datierung der koptischen Pergamenthandschriften sa 11, sa 615 un sa 924" (2012; paper privately circulated).

affordable and it will be frequently used for dating ancient documents. However, before applying it, we must be certain that its results are accurate. A suitable way to prove that, is to apply it on dated or datable manuscripts.<sup>1</sup> If the results are satisfying, it can already be predicted that this will mark a new epoch in the field of Coptic paleography.

But until then, we have to rely on other accepted methods of dating. Thus, in order to establish the age of a given manuscript it is necessary: A) either a dated colophon, which is rare and does not appear in the Coptic manuscripts before the 9<sup>th</sup> century;<sup>2</sup> B) or to infer its date from archaeological context (if dated documents reused to strengthen its bindings are found, and/or datable artifacts, like coins or pottery, are discovered together with the manuscript); C) or to compare it with other manuscripts which have already been dated through one of the two previous methods. Some scholars believe that comparison with similar datable Greek manuscripts can also be rewarding, but this method is quite subjective and not universally accepted.

From all the evidence available in the present state of research, we can propose a tentative dating of P. Berol. 22220 on the basis of the paleographical comparison between this manuscript and a datable Coptic codex in a similar script, namely the Chester Beatty MS Copt. 814, which contains the Acts of the Apostles, followed by the Gospel of John in Sahidic (see Figure 2).<sup>3</sup> In a very similar hand was copied also a liturgical fragment in the collection of the Catholic University in Louvain, which disappeared in a fire which devastated the library in Louvain in May 1940.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> A positive result in this direction is provided by one of the manuscript fragments dated with Carbon-14 by Schüssler. Thus, the tests revealed that Schüssler's "sa 11," a leaf which belonged to a Leviticus-Numbers codex, has 91 % chances to come from the period roughly between 806 and 997 CE, and 68,3 % to be dated between 884 and 984 CE. As a matter of fact, another Monastery codex copied in the same scribe's hand is dated 990. On this dated manuscript, see my article "À propos de la datation du manuscrit contenant le Grand Euchologe du Monastère Blanc," *Vigiliae Christianae* 65 (2011) 189-198.

<sup>2</sup> The earliest dated Coptic codex is Pierpont Morgan M 579, which came from the library of the Monastery of the Archangel Michael in the Fayyum. The manuscript is dated 539 Era of the Martyrs, i.e., 823 CE. Cf. A. van Lantschoot, *Recueil des colophons des manuscrits chrétiens d'Égypte* vol. 1/fasc. 1 (Bibliothèque du Muséon, 1; Leuven: J.-B. Istaš, 1929) 2-4 (= no. 1); Depuydt, *Catalogue*, 317-324 (= no. 162).

<sup>3</sup> The text of the Acts of the Apostles in this codex was published in H. Thompson, *The Coptic Version of the Acts of the Apostles and the Pauline Epistles in the Sahidic Dialect* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932), while the variant readings of the text of the Gospel of John were recorded in H. Quecke, *Das Johannesevangelium saïdisch. Text der Handschrift PPalau Rib. Inv.-Nr. 183 mit den Varianten der Handschriften 813 and 814 der Chester Beatty Library und der Handschrift M 569* (Papyrologica Caestrovaviana, 11; Rome – Barcelona: Papyrologica Caestrovaviana, 1984).

<sup>4</sup> L.-Th. Lefort, "Coptica Lovaniensia III," *Le Muséon* 51 (1938) 1-65, at 22-24 and plate 2.



The Chester Beatty codex had been discovered, together with four other small Sahidic parchment manuscripts, in a jar unearthed near Giza (الجيزة), around 1924. From the evidence supplied by the manuscripts' colophons we can infer that they were produced in the scriptorium of the Monastery of Apa Jeremias at Saqqara.<sup>1</sup> Three of the codices are owned today by the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin, and two by the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.<sup>2</sup>

It is almost unanimously accepted that the Saqqara codices date to the very late 6<sup>th</sup> or early 7<sup>th</sup> century. This dating is based on the fact that together with the manuscripts were found some coins from the reigns of Justinian, Justin and, perhaps, Maurice Tiberius, which are ranging from 568-602 CE. Herbert Thompson pointed out in this regard that “the condition of all the coins is very good and none can have been long in circulation. Therefore the burial of the vessel and its contents cannot have been earlier than about 580 and may have been as late as the first quarter of the seventh century.”<sup>3</sup>

P. Berol. 22220 and Chester Beatty Copt. 814 have in common a distinct type of script, which dates, perhaps, from the classical period. For a description of the main characteristics of this script, see *supra* (I.1.3 Paleography). However, although the Chester Beatty Copt. 814 and P. Berol. 22220 have paleographical features in common, they exhibit also some differences, which suggest that the Berlin manuscript might be later than the Dublin one.

Firstly, while P. Berol. 22220 accommodates the text on two columns per page, the text of the Dublin manuscript is written as a single column.<sup>4</sup> Secondly, the formats of the two manuscripts are very different. While the Apa Jeremias manuscript is a pocket book,

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<sup>1</sup> On this monastery, excavated in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century by James E. Quibell, see J.E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1908-9, 1909-10). The Monastery of Apa Jeremias* (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'IFAO, 1912).

<sup>2</sup> On the discovery, acquisition and description of the five codices see Thompson, *Acts of the Apostles*, ix-xx; L.A. Shier, “Old Testament Texts on Vellum,” in W. Worrell, *Coptic Texts in the University of Michigan Collection* (Ann Arbor – London: University of Michigan Press – Humphrey Milford – Oxford University Press, 1942) 23-167, at 27-32; C.T. Lamacraft, “Early Book-Bindings from a Coptic Monastery,” *The Library: Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, 4<sup>th</sup> series, 20 (1939-40) 214-233.

<sup>3</sup> Thompson, *Acts of the Apostles*, x.

<sup>4</sup> This feature is, however, not very relevant. In Coptic Egypt, the liturgical and Biblical texts were more often copied on a single column, while the literary texts are usually found in bicolumnar manuscripts. Still, this was not a universal rule. Most codices, for example, which belonged to the Monastery of St. Mercurius at Edfu, although exclusively non-Biblical, are copied on one column.

measuring  $8.4 \times 7.0$  cm,<sup>1</sup> the Berlin document resembles more the later liturgical codices of large dimensions (ca.  $25 \times 20$  cm). Finally, the Dublin codex has a more sober physical aspect compared to P. Berol. 22220, which is abundantly decorated with spirals.<sup>2</sup> Coptic manuscripts that exhibit the spiral endings of some letters and the coil shaped *obeloi* are abundantly attested even in the 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> century, although this does not imply that the Berlin parchment is that late. For example, the  $\rho$  that forms a spiral when appearing on the first line of a column is identifiable in the Pierpont Morgan M 595, dated 855 A.D.<sup>3</sup> and in many other bimodular 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> century manuscripts from the scriptorium of Touton, in the Fayyum.<sup>4</sup> We can find again this feature in the unimodular Borgia 109 n° 19, f. 74 (= Zoega LXXIV), a leaf from the Gospel of John, dated by some scholars to the 10<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>5</sup> The similarities between this manuscript and P. Berol. 22220 do not include only the spiraled  $\rho$ , but also the  $\alpha$ , whose arms are coiled. In the later period, this type of ornament must have been part of the scribal tradition.

Thus, although the physical resemblance between P. Berol. 22220 and the Chester Beatty MS Copt. 814 is beyond doubt, the more elaborate embellishment of the former would suggest that it is later than the Dublin manuscript, possibly from the late 7<sup>th</sup> century or even 8<sup>th</sup> century CE.

### I.1.5 Scribal note

A partial confirmation of this dating seems to be provided by a note which appears on the bottom margin of page 97, scribbled upside down in cursive characters, perhaps as a *probatio pennae*. However, being written in a different style, it is difficult to say if it came from the pen of the codex's copyist, or it was inscribed later.

<sup>1</sup> Thompson, *Acts of the Apostles*, xvii.

<sup>2</sup> The paragraph marks (*obeloi*) of Chester Beatty MS Copt. 814 are also simple compared to the more elaborate style of these signs in P. Berol. 22220.

<sup>3</sup> M595 is registered as no. 170 in Leo Depuydt, *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts*, 345-350.

<sup>4</sup> On the style of the Touton manuscripts see C. Nakano, "Indices d'une chronologie relative des manuscrits coptes copiés à Toutôn (Fayoum)," *Journal of Coptic Studies* 8 (2006) 147-159; P. Micoli, *Dodici codici della Collezione Morgan: Saggio di Codicologia e Paleografia copta* (Tesi di laurea, anno accademico 1980-1981, Università degli Studi di Roma, Facoltà di Lettere).

<sup>5</sup> A facsimile is available in A. Ciasca – G. Balestri, *Sacrorum Bibliorum fragmenta copto-sahidica* vol. 4: *Tabulae* (Rome: Giulio Danesi, 1904) plate 29. For the description see G. Zoega, *Catalogus codicum Copticorum manu scriptorium qui in Museo Borgiano Velitris adservantur* (Rome, 1810; repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1973) 185 and G. Balestri, *Sacrorum Bibliorum fragmenta copto-sahidica* vol. 3 (Rome: Giulio Danesi, 1904) xliii-xliv.

With the sole exception of Charles Hedrick, who attempted a transcription, the note received little attention. Although Hedrick presupposed that this text uses a mixture of Greek and Coptic, I think that the surviving words are actually exclusively Coptic. As the parchment is wrinkled and torn in several places, the format of the text and the number of lines are not immediately obvious. However, with the help of a Photoshop montage in which I cut and repasted the parchment in several pieces, I obtained the following (cf. Figure 1):

ΜΟΥ [ ] . . . [ ] . . . . . [Ο]ΥΣ ΗΜΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ Π[ ]  
 ΕΡΟΙ . . . . . ΡΑ ΕΡΟΚ ΑΝΟ[Κ ]  
 ΕΛΑΧΙΣΤΟΣ ΠΑΡΑ ΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ [ ]

Although the occurrence of the word ἀποστολος, which Hedrick read ἀποστολοι, on the first line made Christoph Marksches to ask, with caution, whether the text could be identified with the *Gospel of the Apostles*, or the *Gospel of the Twelve*, mentioned by Origen and Jerome,<sup>1</sup> it is doubtful that the note is of any use for the identification of P. Berol. 22220.<sup>2</sup> From the small amount of text that can be deciphered, we can infer that it is one of those short prayers which monks, either scribes or readers of the books, wrote on the margins of the manuscripts.

Although dating paleographically Coptic documentary manuscripts is not any easier than dating the literary hands,<sup>3</sup> the shape of certain letters seems to indicate that this note could be dated to the late 7<sup>th</sup> or early 8<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>4</sup> Arguments in this regard are supplied by the minuscule-type of ρ and τ, which both have a “hook” oriented to the left at the lower end of their vertical stroke, and by the β, κ, λ and χ, which are much larger than the other letters.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> C. Marksches, “Was wissen wir über den Sitz im Leben der apokryphen Evangelien?,” in J. Frey – J. Schröter (eds.), *Jesus in apokryphen Evangelienüberlieferungen. Beiträge zu außerkanonischen Jesusüberlieferungen aus verschiedenen Sprach- und Kulturtraditionen* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, 254; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010) 61-90, at 71, 82.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. already Nagel, “‘Gespräche Jesu’,” 239 n. 103.

<sup>3</sup> On the shortcomings see L.S.B. MacCoull, “Dated and Datable Coptic Documentary Hands Before A.D. 700,” *Le Muséon* 110 (1997) 349-366, at 349-351.

<sup>4</sup> This dating has been suggested to me by Tonio Sebastian Richter (Leipzig University) and by Anne Boud’hors (CNRS, Paris).

<sup>5</sup> For similar specimens see V. Stegemann, *Koptische Paläographie* (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums und des Mittelalters, 1; Heidelberg: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1936) plate 12.

As a final remark on this, it is interesting to point out that the word  $\mu\lambda\epsilon\beta\omicron\tau$  is fairly legible on the right side of the lines transcribed above. If this reading is correct, the note included a date, which is now lost.

### **I.1.6 Codicology**

When complete, the size of the manuscript was about 25 × 20 cm. This can be established by measuring Frag. 1, which is better preserved than the other fragments of P. Berol. 22220. We are dealing, thus, with a large codex, which was very likely meant for liturgical usage in a church.

The first thing that strikes someone who checks the photographs of P. Berol. 22220 in the *editio princeps* is the constant reversal of the hair and flesh sides of the vellum.<sup>1</sup> It is well known that in the case of parchment manuscripts, the ink on the flesh side tends to fade away because of the animal fats that are still preserved on it even after the preparation process of the skin. Besides, the flesh side of the parchment is most often easy to recognize with the help of other physical signs, like the absence of pilosity marks, or a brighter aspect. Here is an instructive passage concerning the identification of the hair and flesh sides of the skin, written by T.C. Skeat, an authority in manuscript studies:

Despite the superiority of the flesh side, it is usually the hair side, with its rougher and more absorbent surface, which holds the ink better than the smooth and shiny flesh side, from which ink tends to flake off. Often, when the leaves of an ancient manuscript are turned over, revealing alternate openings of flesh side, there is a surprising difference of legibility in favor of the hair side.<sup>2</sup>

However, this rule does not apply in the *editio princeps*. Someone who checks the plates can see, for example, that page 107 (= Frag. 1B) is called the flesh side, although the script is impeccably preserved. On the other hand, its verso (page 108 = Frag. 1A), whose script is very much faded, is designated as the hair side.

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<sup>1</sup> A fact already remarked by Emmel, "Righting the Order," 61.

<sup>2</sup> T.C. Skeat, "Early Christian Book Production: Papyri and Manuscripts," in J.K. Elliott (ed.), *The Collected Biblical Writings of T.C. Skeat* (Supplements to *Novum Testamentum*, 113; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2004) 33-59, at 41 (article originally published in G.W.H. Lampe, *The Cambridge History of the Bible* vol. 2 [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969] 54-79).

Although the reconstruction of the manuscript in the *editio princeps* is said to observe the so-called Gregory rule, according to which in the parchment codices flesh faces flesh side, hair faces hair side, and the first sheet of a quire is folded with the flesh side on the outside,<sup>1</sup> the reversal of the skin's sides actually influenced the codicology of P. Berol. 22220 (see below).

After the publication of the *editio princeps*, Stephen Emmel and Charles Hedrick were the protagonists of a polemic in the pages of the *Harvard Theological Review*.<sup>2</sup> The two scholars stated their options on the different possible arrangements of the surviving folios of the codex, and their respective conclusions had an impact on the order of the sequences in the text.

Emmel remarked that Hedrick's reconstruction of the manuscript's pages does not follow the "normal" quire structure. According to the "Gregory rule," which I mentioned above, the quires of a parchment codex are usually made of four superimposed sheets folded in two, so as to obtain eight folios, i.e. sixteen pages, with the hair facing the hair side and the flesh facing the flesh side. Although there are a few exceptions from the rule, this standard pattern must be taken as a working hypothesis when we reconstruct dismembered Coptic manuscripts, unless strong arguments against it occur.<sup>3</sup> As no such problem appears during the attempt to reconstruct codicologically P. Berol. 22220, we must presuppose that the quires of the manuscript were each formed of four bifolios.

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<sup>1</sup> This rule increased the aesthetic value of the manuscript when opened, since both visible pages had the same color. See C.R. Gregory, "Les cahiers des manuscrits grecs," *Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 4<sup>th</sup> ser. 13 (1885) 261-268.

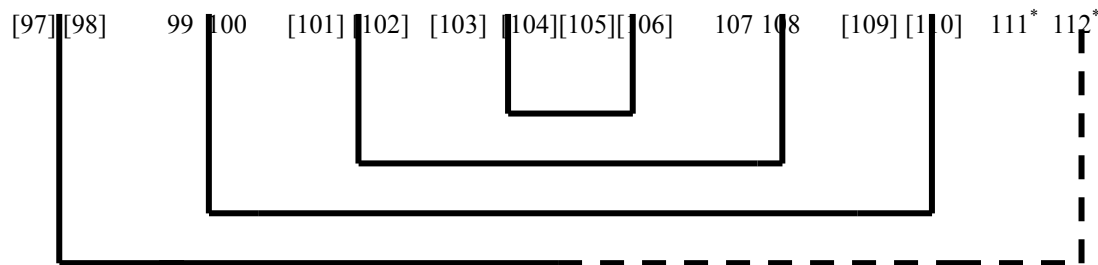
<sup>2</sup> See Emmel, "Righting the Order"; Hedrick, "Caveats to a 'Righted Order' of the Gospel of the Savior," *Harvard Theological Review* 96 (2003) 229-238.

<sup>3</sup> It may happen, rarely, that the last quire of a codex is made of less than eight leaves. This happens, for example, in New York, Pierpont Morgan M 595, whose last quire is formed of only four leaves. As the scribe was getting closer to the completion of his transcription, and realized that he did not need an entire quire of eight leaves, he made a smaller gathering. We encounter the same situation in a fragmentary White Monastery codex, which contains an encomium on the Archangel Gabriel attributed to John Chrysostom. Thus, the outermost bifolio of the last quire in this manuscript (formed of two leaves in the National Library in Vienna, K 9670 and K 351), the only portion which I have been able to recover from the codex in question, is paginated 81-82, and 87-88, respectively. This means that the last gathering comprised only four leaves. On this manuscript see H. Förster, "'Streck dich nicht mit einer Verheirateten zum Weingelage hin' (Sir 9,9a). Edition von P. Vindob. K. 9670," *Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum* 14 (2010) 273-305 and E. Lucchesi, "Deux témoins coptes de l'homélie sur l'Archange Gabriel, attribuée à Jean Chrysostome," *Analecta Bollandiana* 129 (2011) 324.

However, the first editors postulated the existence of several quires, which are in fact binions, that is, gatherings of two bifolios. On the other hand, Emmel convincingly reconstructed a single quire of four bifolios.

First of all, three bifolia (i.e., two joined leaves) have survived: Frags. 1, 2, 4. Secondly, the following page numbers can be recovered on the extant fragments: pp. 99-100 (= Frag 2A) and pp. 107-108 (= Frag 1B). Through the fortuitous occurrence of a quotation from Matthew 26:31, which starts on the hair side of Frag. 3 and continues on the hair side of Frag. 2A (pages 99-100), it can be established that these pages used to be pp. 97-98 of the manuscript. At this point, the quire can be reconstructed once we establish the folding direction of the three extant bifolia. Emmel rightly pointed out that “[t]he direction of the fold at the spine of each bifolium is determinable, with page 100 folded toward page 109, page 102 towards page 107, and page 104 toward page 105.”<sup>1</sup>

Thus, the reconstructed quire looks in the following way:



If we consider the fact that before our first preserved page, i.e. paginated [97], existed 96 others, and that each quire normally comprises 16 pages, it is easy to infer that our quire was the seventh of the codex, originally being paginated 97-112.

On the other hand, as the three surviving bifolia are wrongly indicated in the *editio princeps* as folding in the opposite direction, this mistake led to the following sequence of the manuscript’s pages:

91-92 (*leaf wanting*), 97-98, 99-100, 105-106, 107-108, 113-114, [115]-[116], [121-122]

<sup>1</sup> Emmel, “Righting the Order,” 62.

A synopsis of Emmel’s actual page numbers and those of the *editio princeps* is required for a better understanding of the references in the present edition:

<b>True pagination</b>	<b><i>Editio princeps</i></b>	<b>Fragment</b>
	91*-92*	
[97]-[98]	[97]-[98]	Frag 3 F/H
99-100	99-100	Frag 2A H/F
[101]-[102]	[113]-[114]	Frag 1A F/H
[103]-[104]	115*-116*	Frag 4B H/F
[105]-[106]	121*-122*	Frag 4A F/H
107-108	107-108	Frag 1B H/F
[109]-[110]	[105]-[106]	Frag 2B F/H
111*-112*		(leaf missing)

### **I.1.7 Orthography**

The language of the document is standard Sahidic. For Hedrick, there is only one instance where the language might have been influenced by another dialect, although this is very unlikely. Thus, the plural of “heaven,” πηγε, is written πη|ογε at 97, col. A,10-11 and 101, col. A,9-10. A possible Akhmimic or old Sahidic origin of this form of the word has been put forward, with reservation, by Hedrick.<sup>1</sup> He also mentioned in this regard Wolf-Peter Funk’s remark that if a line breaks after η, a “new line can, of course, not be started with a naked γ.”<sup>2</sup> Indeed, this rule applies in both cases mentioned above.

The same form can be found even in the late Sahidic manuscripts, in which the influences of the Akhmimic dialect or the reminiscences from old Sahidic are out of question. For example, a ca. 10<sup>th</sup> century White Monastery fragment in Venice, which contains a portion from the Sahidic version of John Chrysostom’s *In Ep. ad Hebraeos* (CPG 4440; *clavis coptica* 0169), employs the same spelling of πηγε when a line breaks: αγω εφογηη | ηζηητ

<sup>1</sup> Hedrick – Mirecki, *Gospel of the Savior*, 12.

<sup>2</sup> Private communication to Hedrick, cf. *Idem*.

ⲛⲃⲏⲡⲗⲁⲟⲓⲥ ⲛⲓⲡⲛⲗⲟⲩⲉ.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, the Sahidic Psalms manuscript published by Budge (London BL Or. 5000) provides another occurrence of this orthography: ⲁⲅⲱ ⲉⲓⲡⲉⲣⲱⲁⲗⲁⲥ ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲡⲛⲗⲟⲩⲉ ⲧⲁⲗⲣⲟ (Psalm 32:6).<sup>2</sup> Whereas other examples can be adduced, the above must suffice to show that ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲉ is not a dialectal variation of ⲡⲛⲩⲉ, but a variant spelling which conforms to the rules of Sahidic orthography.

There are also certain Greek words which display minor deviations from standard Sahidic spelling. One of them is ⲡⲛⲒⲛ, “source,” “fountain,” which on Frag. 19F,5 is written ⲡⲅⲒⲛ. Although the classical Sahidic manuscripts normally render this word as ⲡⲛⲒⲛ, we can find in them the spelling ⲡⲅⲒⲛ as well. Interestingly enough, the Chester Beatty version of the Gospel of John in MS Copt. 814, with which I compared P. Berol. 22220 in the section on the dating of the document, reads ⲡⲛⲒⲛ in John 4:6 (twice) and 4:14. However, the other Chester Beatty Sahidic manuscript of John, MS Copt. 813, which was discovered together with Copt. 814 and dates from the same period, has ⲡⲅⲒⲛ in John 4:6.<sup>3</sup> This indicates that the variant spelling ⲡⲅⲒⲛ can appear even in classical Sahidic manuscripts, albeit the lack of distinction between ⲛ and ⲅ in words of Greek origin is usually regarded as specific to later manuscripts.<sup>4</sup>

In another place (98, col. A,32), the word ἀύτεξούσιος, “free-will,” is spelled ⲁⲅⲧⲟⲗⲟⲩⲟⲩⲟⲥ. Probably the first occurrence of this rare technical term can be detected in the Coptic version of *De virginitate*, attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria (CPG 2147; *clavis coptica* 0053).<sup>5</sup> The Coptic version of this piece must be quite early because it was quoted several

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<sup>1</sup> The word appears on MS Venice, Marciana 192, fol. 79r, col. A,13-16. The fragment came from the White Monastery codex MONB.CR, which contains homilies by Chrysostom. Published in G.L. Mingarelli, *Ægyptiorum codicum reliquiæ Venetiis in Bibliotheca Naniana asservatæ* vol. 2 (Bologna: Typis Lælii a Vulpe, 1785) 282 (= no. 11).

<sup>2</sup> E.A.W. Budge, *The Earliest Known Coptic Psalter* (London: Kegan Paul, 1898) 34.

<sup>3</sup> See Quecke, *Johannesevangelium*, 92, where the editor gives the variant readings of the two Chester Beatty codices of the Gospel of John in the critical apparatus.

<sup>4</sup> ⲡⲛⲒⲛ can appear as well in later manuscripts, but rather rarely. The form ⲡⲓⲒⲛ is also recorded in the Medieval Sahidic manuscripts.

<sup>5</sup> On the writings on virginity attributed to Athanasius, which are preserved in different ancient languages, see M. Aubineau, “Les écrits de saint Athanase sur la virginité,” *Revue d’ascétique et de mystique* 31 (1955) 140-173. *Editio princeps* in L.-Th. Lefort, “S. Athanase: *Sur la virginité*,” *Le Muséon* 42 (1929) 198-274; republished in Idem, *S. Athanase. Lettres festales et pastorales en copte* 2 vols. (CSCO 150-151. *Scriptores Coptici* 19-20; Louvain: L. Durbecq, 1955) 1: 73-99 (Sahidic text), 2: 55-80 (French translation). Evaluation of the possible Athanasian authorship in D. Brakke, “The Authenticity of the Ascetic Athanasiana,” *Orientalia* 63 (1994) 17-56, at 19-25.



times by Shenoute (ca. 347-465).<sup>1</sup> In a Sahidic fragment of this work, which is kept in the National Library in Paris, the term is written like in classical Greek: ἀγρεζογχιος.<sup>2</sup> Lefort tentatively dated this manuscript to the 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> century, but, although not impossible, this might be a little too early.<sup>3</sup> The same term occurs also in the Coptic translation of the first Festal Letter of Athanasius of Alexandria (CPG 2102; clavis coptica 0054). In this case, it is written ἀγΔοζογχιον.<sup>4</sup> Here, the sonorant dental Δ is used for the deaf dental τ,<sup>5</sup> whereas ο replaces ε, like in P. Berol. 22220. This manuscript is later than the previous, being dated by Lefort to the 9<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>6</sup>

A closer variant to the orthography of ἀύτεξούσιος in P. Berol. 22220 is provided by one of the Insinger parchment fragments in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden (= MS 115v, col. A,3-4): ἀγτοζογχιον. The fragment belongs to a White Monastery codex which contains ascetic writings of the Pachomian leaders.<sup>7</sup>

At 101, col. A,25, the Greek masculine noun ἀρχάγγελος is spelled ἀρχηαγγελος. This spelling is worth noting given that even in the later non-classical Sahidic manuscripts the most common form of this word is ἀρχαγγελος.<sup>8</sup> In this regard, Hedrick's remark that ἀρχηαγγελος is used mainly in the Fayumic and later Bohairic manuscripts is interesting.<sup>9</sup> The spelling ἀρχηαγγελος appears also in the Pierpont Morgan manuscript of the Sahidic

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<sup>1</sup> L.-Th. Lefort, "Athanasie, Ambroise et Shenoute: *Sur la virginité*," *Le Muséon* 48 (1935) 55-73; Idem, "S. Athanasie: *Sur la virginité*," 269-274; Idem, *Lettres festales et pastorales*, 1: 106-109 (Sahidic text); 2: 85-87 (French translation).

<sup>2</sup> Lefort, *Lettres festales et pastorales*, 1: 84, line 16. The word appears in BnF Copte, 131<sup>2</sup>, fol. 100, col. A,23-24. The fragment belongs to codex MONB.AN.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, xix. A facsimile of page 64 of this manuscript is available in Henri Hyvernat, *Album de paléographie copte* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1888; repr.: Osnabrück: Otto Zeller, 1972) pl. IV<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Lefort, *Lettres festales et pastorales*, 1: 4, line 30. The fragment is question belongs to MONB.AR and it is part of the collection of Coptic manuscripts in the Berlin Stadtbibliothek (MS Fol. 1612, fol. 3r). This collection was moved to Hamburg for restoration work but has not returned to Berlin ever since. The manuscripts are housed in the Hamburg University Library.

<sup>5</sup> This is a very common letter permutation in words of Greek origin; cf. H. Quecke, *Untersuchungen zum koptischen Stundengebet* (Publications de l'Institut orientaliste de Louvain, 3; Louvain: Peteers, 1970) 355.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*, vi. In my opinion, a 10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> century dating would be more accurate.

<sup>7</sup> W. Pleyte – P.A.A. Boeser, *Manuscripts coptes du Musée d'antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leide* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1897) 340 (= no. 70). This codex received the sigla S<sup>3c</sup> in L.-Th. Lefort, *S. Pachomii Vitae sahidice scriptae* vol. 1 (CSCO, 99. Scriptores coptici, 8. Paris: Typographeo Reipublicae, 1933) ix-x. ἀγτοζογχιον appears on p. 331.

<sup>8</sup> In Hedrick – Mirecki, *Gospel of the Savior*, 12 it is said that the expected form would be ἀρχιαγγελος, but I take this as a typo for ἀρχαγγελος.

<sup>9</sup> Following a suggestion of Wolf-Peter Funk; cf. *idem*.

*Responsa Biblica ad Theodorum* (clavis coptica 0180), which is dated around 900 CE and its language is impregnated with Fayyumisms.<sup>1</sup>

From the amount of texts that I have been able to check for the present research, most of them coming from the White Monastery and Hamuli, the vast majority employ the usual form, ἀρχαγγελος, although these are late manuscripts (9<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> century) and, thus, of little relevance for the present purpose. As exceptions, we can quote forms such as ἀρχανγηλος or even ἀρχᾶγγελος, both attested in very idiomatic 10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> century codices.<sup>2</sup>

In more classical Sahidic manuscripts, the spelling ἀρχαγγελος can be found in the Chester Beatty codex of the Pauline epistles (perhaps early 7<sup>th</sup> century), which incidentally contains this word in 1 Thessalonians 4:16.<sup>3</sup> As stated above, this codex, discovered near Saqqara, is somewhat earlier than P. Berol. 22220. Similarly, a British Library parchment manuscript of the Pauline epistles (London BL Or. 6695), also uses the form ἀρχαγγελος.<sup>4</sup> The orthography of this manuscript is strongly classical, and it comes close paleographically to the Barcelona P. Palau Ribes 813-815, a fifth century (?) codex containing the Gospels of Luke, John and Mark.<sup>5</sup>

In conclusion, despite the few exceptions mentioned, the orthography of P. Berol. 22220 is otherwise correct throughout and it does not differ in this from the classical Sahidic manuscripts.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. New York, Pierpont Morgan M 610, fol. 25r, 28v, 45r (twice), 51v in A. van Lantschoot, *Les 'Questions de Théodore'. Texte sahidique, recensions arabes et éthiopienne* (Studi e testi, 192; Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1957) 38, 42, 60, 67.

<sup>2</sup> For example, in a White Monastery manuscript published in W. Till, *Koptische Heiligen- und Martyrerlegenden* vol. 1 (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 102; Roma: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1935) 112.

<sup>3</sup> Thompson, *Acts of the Apostles*, 226.

<sup>4</sup> This is Horner's parchment manuscript no. 1 in *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Southern Dialect* vol. 5: *The Epistles of S. Paul* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920) 580. ἀρχαγγελος occurs on fol. 31, col. B,15-16. To the same manuscript belongs London BL Or. 4917(5). See B. Layton, *Catalogue of Coptic Literary Manuscripts in the British Library Acquired Since the Year 1906* (London: British Library, 1987) 47-48 (= no. 45).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. H. Quecke, *Das Markusevangelium saïdisch. Text der Handschrift PPalau Rib. Inv.-Nr. 182 mit den Varianten der Handschrift M 569* (Papyrologica Castrocaviana, 4; Barcelona: Papyrologica Castrocaviana, 1972); Idem, *Das Lukasevangelium saïdisch. Text der Handschrift PPalau Rib. Inv.-Nr. 181 mit den Varianten der Handschrift M 569* (Papyrologica Castrocaviana, 6; Barcelona: Papyrologica Castrocaviana, 1977); Idem, *Johannesevangelium*. Quecke would date the codex to the 5<sup>th</sup> century. This dating was challenged recently by C. Askeland, *John's Gospel: The Coptic Translations of its Greek Text* (Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung, 44; Berlin – Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2012) 83-88.

## I.2 MS B: Strasbourg Copte 5-7

### I.2.1 Location and Acquisition

The papyrus fragments described in the following lines are currently housed in the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire in Strasbourg. They were purchased in 1899 by Wilhelm Spiegelberg and Richard Reitzenstein during a research mission to Egypt, whose goal was to build a papyrological collection for the Strasbourg Imperial Library. Unfortunately, the exact provenance of the fragments is unknown. The *editio princeps* was published by Adolf Jacoby in 1900.<sup>1</sup>

### I.2.2 Papyrological Description and Paleography

Strasbourg Copte 5-7 consists of about a dozen papyrus fragments, most of them of small dimension. Stephen Emmel drew attention to the fact that the fragments are currently mounted under five glass frames inventoried as Copte 4, 5, 6, 7, and 7a.<sup>2</sup> In order to avoid confusion when I cite from the bibliography related to the fragments, I will continue to refer to them with the old call numbers. These are the correspondences between the old and the new numbers: Copte Frags. 7.1, 11 = Copte 4; Copte 5 and Copte 7.9 = Copte 5; Copte 6 and Copte 7.7, 8, 10 = Copte 6; Copte 7.2, 3, 4, 6 = Copte 7; Copte 7.7 = Copte 7a.

All the fragments were copied in the same scribe's hand. The text is arranged on a single column. The largest fragment is Copte 5, having ca. 21 × 11 cm. This fragment preserves vestiges of 24 lines of text on both sides. As the bottom of the leaf is lost, the actual number of lines remains unknown.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, a portion of the left side of the recto (↓), and, consequently, of the right side of the verso (→), has disappeared. The second significant fragment in terms of size is Copte 5, which measures 11 × 15.5 cm. The fragment is paginated 157 on the recto (↓) and 158 on the verso (→).

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<sup>1</sup> See A. Jacoby, *Ein neues Evangelienfragment* (Strasbourg: Karl J. Trübner, 1900).

<sup>2</sup> S. Emmel, "Unbekanntes Berliner Evangelium = The Strasbourg Coptic Gospel: Prolegomena to a New Edition of the Strasbourg Fragments," in H.G. Bethge et al. (eds.), *For the Children, Perfect Instruction: Studies in Honor of Hans-Martin Schenke on the Occasion of the Berliner Arbeitskreis für koptisch-agnostische Schriften's Thirtieth Year* (Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies, 54; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2002) 353-374, at 366.

<sup>3</sup> Emmel, "Prolegomena," 369 suggests that the pages might have contained up to forty lines.

At the time when the *editio princeps* was published, under the number Copte 7 were inventoried eleven fragments of various sizes (nos. 1-11), which remained unplaced by Jacoby. Carl Schmidt, who studied the fragments in Strasbourg soon after their acquisition, published a bitter review of the *editio princeps*, in which, among other things, he managed to place several pieces of Copte 7:<sup>1</sup>

Ich habe diese noch einmal an Ort und Stelle untersucht und bin zu folgendem Ergebnis gelangt. Kopt. 7 nr. 7 ist, wie gesagt, direkt mit Kopt. 6 zu verbinden. Ferner füllt nr. 9 einen Teil der großen Lücke in der Mitte von Kopt. 5 aus und zwar auf Z. 10. 11, ebenso muß nr. 10 an Kopt. 6 Z. 9 direkt angesetzt werden. Die Stücke nr. 2. 6. 3. 4 gehören zu einem einzigen Papyrusblatt, welches aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach dem Blatte Kopt. 5 unmittelbar vorhergeht. Denn auf 2 Stücken liest man Reste von  $\zeta\alpha\mu\eta\eta$ , so daß das Ganze zu dem Gebet Jesu zu rechnen ist. Jesus spricht hier von seinem  $\sigma\tau\alpha\upsilon\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$  und von seinem Vater. Man wird wahrscheinlich die Verticalseite als das Verso des Blattes zu betrachten haben. So harren nur noch nr. 1, 8, 11 einer näheren Bestimmung. Nr. 1 ist unbedingt ein Fragment eines verlorenen Blattes, vielleicht gehört auch nr. 8 dazu, wenn nicht letzteres zu Kopt. 6 zu stellen ist. Nr. 11 bildet das Seitenstück eines anderen Blattes. Wir würden demnach Fragmente von 5 Blättern besitzen, von denen aber eigentlich nur 2 Blätter in Betracht kommen.<sup>2</sup>

Schmidt made these placements purely on papyrological grounds, which means that he established the relationship between the fragments of this puzzle only by checking the fiber continuity of the papyrus. One century later, when Stephen Emmel realized that P. Berol. 22220 and Strasbourg Copte 5-7 are two manuscripts of the same work and, consequently, was able to put together the pieces of the puzzle with the help of the Berlin parchment, Schmidt's hypothesis received a confirmation.<sup>3</sup> With the sole exception of the fragment 7.10, which does not seem to fit in the place indicated by Schmidt,<sup>4</sup> all the other fragments placed by him have been integrated in my edition.

The document is inscribed with rounded unimodular letters. Some notable paleographical features include:

- the  $\gamma$  is round, made of two strokes and does not extend below the line;

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<sup>1</sup> Carl Schmidt, review of Jacoby, *Evangelienfragment*, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 162 (1900) 481-506, at 486. The whole affair of the rivalry between Carl Schmidt on one side, and Adolf Jacoby and Wilhelm Spiegelberg on the other, is brilliantly reiterated in Emmel, "Prolegomena," 354-360.

<sup>2</sup> Schmidt, review of Jacoby, 486.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Emmel, "Prolegomena," 361-364.

<sup>4</sup> Although the vertical side of this fragment seems possible to attach to the recto of Copte 6, the surviving traces of letters on the horizontal side makes unlikely the placement on Copte 6's verso.

- the x is peculiar, with a long horizontal stroke which ends with a serif on the right side. Its arms are round and curved;
- the p has a small loop and the vertical stroke is slightly curved at the inferior end;
- the n is three-stroke and has a low saddle.

The script resembles a couple of papyrus manuscripts which are kept in the Egyptian Museum in Turin, notably codex GIOV.AI (see Figure 3).<sup>1</sup> This manuscript was also copied on one column. It contains the Coptic versions of three genuine homilies by John Chrysostom: *In David et Saul III* (CPG 4412.3; clavis coptica 0168), *In Ioseph Patriarcham* (CPG 4566; clavis coptica 0171), and *In Susannam* (CPG 4567; clavis coptica 0178).<sup>2</sup>

The language of Strasbourg Copte 5-7 is classical Sahidic, without idiomatic impurities. In the surviving portions of the manuscript, the scribe used as punctuation marks the raised dot (·), the comma, and the trema on iota.

### I.2.3 Dating

The Strasbourg fragments are difficult to date given that similar datable manuscripts with which they could be compared are lacking. Jacoby placed the manuscript, with reservation, in the 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>3</sup> For his part, Schmidt tentatively postulated a 4<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> century date.<sup>4</sup> Stephen Emmel dated it on the basis of codex's format "probably not later than the fifth century."<sup>5</sup>

If the abovementioned comparison with the Turin codex of the homilies of Chrysostom, who died in 407 CE, is of any help for dating the Strasbourg fragments, then at least a 4<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Perhaps these papyri codices came from a monastery situated in Upper Egypt, near Tin. On the description of the collection, see T. Orlandi, "Les papyrus coptes du Musée Égyptien de Turin," *Le Muséon* 87 (1974) 115-127 and, more recently, Idem, "The Turin Coptic Papyri," forthcoming in *Festschrift Bentley Layton*.

<sup>2</sup> The texts were published in F. Rossi, "Trascrizione con traduzione italiana dal copto di due omelie di S. Giovanni Grisostomo con alcuni capitoli dei Proverbi di Salomone e frammenti vari di due esegesi sul giorno natalizio del nostro Signore Gesù Cristo," *Memorie della Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino* 2<sup>nd</sup> ser., 40 (1890).

<sup>3</sup> Jacoby, *Evangelienfragment*, 3.

<sup>4</sup> Schmidt, review of Jacoby, 483.

<sup>5</sup> S. Emmel, "Preliminary Reedition and Translation of the *Gospel of the Savior*: New Light on the *Strasbourg Coptic Gospel* and the *Stauros-Text* from Nubia," *Apocrypha* 14 (2003) 9-53, at 30 n. 67; Idem, "Prolegomena," 369-370.

century date seems to be eliminated from the outset. In my opinion, all we can say about the age of the Strasbourg papyrus is that it possibly dates from before 600 CE.

### **I.3 MS C: The Qasr el-Wizz Codex**

#### **I.3.1 Discovery and Location**

When the High Dam was built in the 1960s, almost the entire Nile valley between Aswan and Wadi Halfa had been inundated in order to create the Lake Nasser. As the waters were rising, many archeological sites were destroyed, while others, such as the well-known temples of Abu Simbel, were removed from their original location and re-erected elsewhere.

In that period, the archeological mission of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago was trying to rescue the sites endangered by the construction of the High Dam and the Lake Nasser. In 1964, an American team led by Keith C. Seele discovered and partly excavated a Christian monastery at Qasr el-Wizz, situated just a couple of kilometers north of Faras, in Lower Nubia. As that part of the Nile became more and more complicated to navigate, Seele was obliged to leave the site before accomplishing the excavations. In October-November 1965, George Scanlon, at the time director of the American Research Center in Egypt, ventured to explore the monastic settlement in dangerous conditions, before the waters of the Nile flooded the area forever.<sup>1</sup>

Scanlon's courage was rewarded when he discovered on the floor of cell E a small parchment book written in the Sahidic dialect of Coptic. Although the binding of the manuscript was missing, its pages were in a nearly intact condition.

Several media reports appeared soon after the discovery.<sup>2</sup> Photographs were sent to Chicago and, during the summer of 1966, George R. Hughes of the Oriental Institute prepared a translation of the codex.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. the report in G.T. Scanlon – G. Hingot, “Slip-Painted Pottery from Wizz/La poterie engobée de Wizz,” *African Arts/Arts d’Afrique* 2 (1968) 8-13, 65-69; G.T. Scanlon, “Excavations at Kasr el-Wizz: A Preliminary Report,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 56 (1970) 29-57; 58 (1972) 7-42.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. Sanka Knox, “Old Coptic MS. Earthed Near Abu Simbel,” *New York Times* Dec. 24, 1965, 15; “New Words of Jesus?,” *Time Magazine* Jan. 7, 1966, 32.

After its discovery in 1965, the Qasr el-Wizz codex was kept for a period of time in the Coptic Museum in Cairo as inv. no 6566.<sup>2</sup> In 1999, the manuscript was moved to the newly founded Nubian Museum in Aswan, where it has been inventoried as Special Number 168.<sup>3</sup> The *editio princeps* of the manuscript was prepared by Péter Hubai and it was published in Hungarian in 2006 and in German in 2009.<sup>4</sup>

### I.3.2 Description and Dating of the Manuscript

The Qasr el-Wizz codex is a small format manuscript, measuring 16,7 × 10 cm.<sup>5</sup> The codicological structure is irregular and unusual. The codex is formed of four quires comprising a total of 17 leaves (= 34 pages). The first gathering has five folios: two bifolia and a leaf conjugate with a stub. This leaf, the first in the codex, must have been added on purpose to accommodate on the verso an illuminated cross, filled with interlaced stripes in the usual Coptic style. The second and the third quires are actually binions, containing four leaves (= two folded bifolia). Finally, the last fascicle is formed of a single bifolio (= two leaves), to which were added two extra folios, both of them single leaves conjugated with a stub. Another Coptic cross is drawn on the verso of the last leaf.

The Gregory rule, which states that wherever the parchment book is opened, flesh side faces flesh side and hair side faces hair side,<sup>6</sup> is not strictly observed because the first three gatherings begin with a hair side page. Moreover, the facing pages 10-11 and 26-27 are flesh/hair and hair/flesh, respectively.

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<sup>1</sup> The translation is dated July 1, 1966 and it bears the label “NOT FOR PUBLICATION.” I am grateful to Janet Johnson of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago for sending me a copy of Hughes’ translation. See also his report in G.R. Hughes, “A Coptic Liturgical Book from Qasr el-Wizz in Nubia,” *Oriental Institute Report 1965/1966* (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1966) 10-13.

<sup>2</sup> See G. Gabra, *Cairo: The Coptic Museum and Old Churches* (Cairo: Egyptian International Publishing Co.: 1993), where a photograph of fol. 1v-2r was published on p. 90.

<sup>3</sup> All these details can be found in P. Hubai, “Unbekannte koptische Apocryphe aus Nubien (Vorläufiger Bericht)”, in H. Györy (ed.), *Le lotus qui sort de terre. Mélanges offerts à Edith Varga* (Bulletin du Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts. Supplément; Budapest: Szépművészeti Múzeum, 2001) 309-323, at 312-314; Idem, *A Megváltó a keresztről. Kopt apokrifek Nubiából (A Kasr El-Wizz kódex)* (Cahiers Patristiques. Textes coptes; Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2006) 47-48; Idem, *Koptische Apokryphen aus Nubien. Der Kasr el-Wizz Kodex* (Texte und Untersuchungen, 163; Berlin – New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009) 19.

<sup>4</sup> Hubai, *Kopt apokrifek*; Idem, *Koptische Apokryphen*. As the latter, which represents the German translation of Hubai’s Hungarian book, is more easily accessible, I shall exclusively quote from this version throughout.

<sup>5</sup> Hubai, *Koptische Apokryphen*, 22.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the description of this rule in E.G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977) 56.

Although the codex is not paginated, the succession of the leaves is not problematic since they were still bound together in the moment of discovery. The script is arranged in a single column varying between 9 to 13 lines.<sup>1</sup> The letters are thin and elongated, somewhat unusual when compared to Coptic handwriting styles, but similar to the Sahidic, old Nubian and Greek manuscripts from Nubia.<sup>2</sup> If we compare paleographically the Qasr el-Wizz codex to other Sahidic codices, perhaps the closest parallel is supplied by some of the Edfu (which was in Nubia) manuscripts, which are today in the British Library, albeit their formats are different. Particularly interesting in this connection is BL Or. 6804, which contains the *Book of Bartholomew* (CANT 80; clavis coptica 0027) (see Figure 7).<sup>3</sup> Their resemblance demonstrates that there must have been a Nubian style of copying Coptic manuscripts. Unfortunately, although the British Library codex has a colophon, it is undated, thus being of little help for establishing the age of the el-Wizz manuscript. Arnold van Lantschoot roughly placed the former in the 12<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>4</sup> but this must be too late, especially if we take into consideration the fact that the dated Edfu codices range between 974<sup>5</sup> and 1053 (or 1056) CE.<sup>6</sup> I am rather inclined to think, along with others, that the Qasr el-Wizz codex can very approximately be dated around the year 1000 CE.<sup>7</sup>

The leaves of the manuscript are decorated with geometric, vegetal, zoomorphic and anthropomorphic motifs. On the left margin of fol. 4v (= page 8) is drawn a crocodile, an unmistakable mark of the encounter between Christianity and African culture.

The Qasr el-Wizz codex contains two works. The hymn of the Cross is the second text, extending from fol. 12v to fol. 17r (= pp. 24-33). As in this section I am limiting myself to

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<sup>1</sup> I do not take into consideration f. 12r (= p. 23), which, being the last page of a text, contains only five lines followed by a decoration. The remaining part of the page was left blank by the scribe.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., e.g., some of the plates in R. de Rustafjaell, *The Light of Egypt from Recently Discovered Predynastic and Early Christian Records* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1909).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the photographic reproductions in de Rustafjaell, *Light of Egypt*, pl. XLVII and E.A.W. Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (London: British Museum, 1913) pl. I-XLVIII.

<sup>4</sup> van Lantschoot, *Recueil des colophons*, fasc. 1, 218-220 (= no. 122).

<sup>5</sup> London, BL Or. 7028 + BL Or. 6780; description in Layton, *Catalogue*, 194-196 (= no. 162).

<sup>6</sup> London BL Or. 6799; description in Layton, *Catalogue*, 89-90 (= no. 83). This manuscript is dated Paone 15, 769 Year of the Martyrs (= 1053 CE) and 448 Year of Hegira (= 1056 CE). The discordance of the two Eras, make the dating of the codex problematic.

<sup>7</sup> See Emmel, "Preliminary Reedition and Translation," 25 n. 48. On the other hand, Hubai, *Koptische Apokryphen*, 36 dated it to the middle of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, but I think this is much too early.



the physical description of the manuscripts, I will not discuss here the content of the first text. Besides, a special attention will be given to this work in the following chapters.



## CHAPTER II: TITLE, CONTENT AND RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE MANUSCRIPTS

### II.1 The Title of the Work

Before discussing the relationships between the three manuscripts presented in the previous chapter, a remark is in order concerning the assignment of a title to the text which they contain. As the Berlin and Strasbourg manuscripts are fragmentary, the title of the work is lost. On the other hand, the Qasr el-Wizz codex contains an untitled, abbreviated and reworked version of only a part of the text, that is, a short recension of the hymn of the Cross. The subtitles which appear in this version, “the second hymn of the Cross” and “the fourth dance of the Cross,” refer only to the textual divisions of the hymn and certainly do not apply to the entire work.

Because of the title conventionally assigned to P. Berol. 22220 in the *editio princeps*, the text is largely known today as the *Gospel of the Savior*.<sup>1</sup> There is another fragment of an ancient Christian writing, preserved in Greek, which received the same title from its last editor,<sup>2</sup> but this work does not have anything in common with our text.

However, as I find this title unsatisfactory, I will avoid it. My main objection to the label “Gospel of the Savior” is that it suggests that the text is an apocryphal gospel, which possibly by-passed the canon. Actually, the confusion is already set in motion, and, as I will show in the chapter dedicated to the previous research on the text, the work has often been included among the lost gospels of early Christianity. However, as I will try to argue, the true context in which the text must be inserted is the literature of the 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> century post-Chalcedonian Coptic Egypt.

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<sup>1</sup> On the arguments in favor of this title see C.W. Hedrick – P.A. Mirecki, *Gospel of the Savior: A New Ancient Gospel* (California Classical Library; Santa Rosa, CA: Polebridge Press, 1999) 17.

<sup>2</sup> See M.J. Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior: An Analysis of P. Oxy. 840 and Its Place in the Gospel Traditions of Early Christianity* (Texts and Editions for New Testament Study, 1; Leiden – Boston: E.J. Brill, 2005). This papyrus fragment comes from the Oxyrhynchus excavations (P. Oxy. 840), and it was edited for the first time by C. Wessely, *Les plus anciens monuments du christianisme écrits sur papyrus* vol. 2 (Patrologia Orientalis, 18/3; Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1924) 488-490 [264-266].

The German scholarship usually calls the text the “Unbekanntes Berliner Evangelium,” according to the location of P. Berol. 22220. However, since Stephen Emmel has shown that the Strasbourg fragments belong to the same work, this title is now obsolete.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, it implies as well that the text is a gospel. Other tentative identifications of the Berlin parchment, like the *Gospel of Peter* (Hans-Martin Schenke),<sup>2</sup> the *Gospel of Andrew* (Uwe-Karsten Plisch),<sup>3</sup> or the *Gospel of the Twelve* (Stephen Emmel, Christoph Markschies)<sup>4</sup> did not receive support from scholars.

The titles that were ascribed to Strasbourg Copte 5-7 are no more helpful than those of P. Berol. 22220. Walter E. Crum called them the “Strassburg Gospel Fragments.”<sup>5</sup> The hypothesis that they belong to an apocryphal gospel lies behind the title of the *editio princeps* also.<sup>6</sup> Various attributions of the Strasbourg fragments have been suggested, all unsatisfactory: *Gospel of the Egyptians* (Adolf Jacoby),<sup>7</sup> *Gospel of the Ebionites* (Carl Schmidt and Theodor Zahn),<sup>8</sup> or *Gospel of the Twelve* (Eugène Revillout).<sup>9</sup>

Despite these shortcomings, establishing a new title for a text which has already been named in a variety of ways, would only generate more confusion. Thus, I think the most satisfactory title of the text is the one given by the *Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari*

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. already S. Emmel, “Unbekanntes Berliner Evangelium = The Strasbourg Coptic Gospel: Prolegomena to a New Edition of the Strasbourg Fragments,” in H.G. Bethge et al. (eds.), *For the Children, Perfect Instruction: Studies in Honor of Hans-Martin Schenke on the Occasion of the Berliner Arbeitskreis für koptisch-gnostische Schriften's Thirtieth Year* (Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies, 54; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2002) 353-374, at 370-372.

<sup>2</sup> H.-M. Schenke, “Das sogenannte ‘Unbekannte Berliner Evangelium’ (UBE),” *Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum* 2 (1998) 199-213.

<sup>3</sup> U.-K. Plisch, “Zu einigen Einleitungsfragen des Unbekannten Berliner Evangeliums (UBE),” *Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum* 9 (2005) 64-84.

<sup>4</sup> S. Emmel, “Ein altes Evangelium der Apostel taucht in Fragmenten aus Ägypten und Nubien auf,” *Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum* 9 (2005) 85-99, at 95; C. Markschies, “Was wissen wir über den Sitz im Leben der apokryphen Evangelien?,” in J. Frey – J. Schröter (eds.), *Jesus in apokryphen Evangelienüberlieferungen. Beiträge zu außerkanonischen Jesusüberlieferungen aus verschiedenen Sprach- und Kulturtraditionen* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, 254; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010) 61-90, at 71, 82.

<sup>5</sup> W.E. Crum, “Notes on the Strassburg Gospel Fragments,” *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 22 (1900) 72-76.

<sup>6</sup> A. Jacoby, *Ein neues Evangelienfragment* (Strasbourg: Karl J. Trübner, 1900).

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*, 27-30.

<sup>8</sup> C. Schmidt, review of Jacoby, *Evangelienfragment*, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 162 (1900) 481-506, at 500-503; T. Zahn, “Neue Funde aus der alten Kirche,” *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift* 11 (1901) 347-370, 431-450, at 366-368.

<sup>9</sup> E. Revillout, *Les apocryphes coptes. Première partie: Les Évangiles des douze apôtres et de Saint Barthélemy* (Patrologia Orientalis, 2/2; Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1904).

(= CMCL) project, directed by Tito Orlandi (Rome/Hamburg). In the CMCL database our text is called *Apocryphon Berolinense/Apocryphon Argentoratense*. This title takes into consideration, at the same time, the tenor of the text and the location of the two manuscripts in which it is preserved. As for the Qasr el-Wizz codex, this does not have to be mentioned in the title since it contains just a reworking of a part of the apocryphon. The text can be found in the *Clavis Patrum Copticorum* (= *clavis coptica*) under the number 0870.<sup>1</sup> Besides, the term “apocryphon” is much more generous than “apocryphal gospel,” because it does not set any chronological boundary. Apocryphal texts have been composed in various languages even in the second Christian millennium. Thus, unless the title of the writing is, hopefully, recovered some day, I think the most convenient way is to call it *Apocryphon Berolinense/Argentoratense*, abbreviated henceforth *ApoBA*.

## II.2 Outline of the Text

In the following lines, I shall sketch the content of *ApoBA* and the relationships between the three manuscripts described in the previous chapter.

*ApoBA* is a dialogue between Jesus, named  $\omega\tau\eta\rho$  almost everywhere in the text,<sup>2</sup> and the apostles. The dialogue was probably punctuated by some narrative episodes but this is difficult to establish because of the lacunae which make impossible a fluent reading of the text. The extant portions of *ApoBA* contain numerous verbatim quotations, allusions or paraphrases of various biblical books. The text includes a hymn addressed by Jesus to the Cross.<sup>3</sup> This hymn has the peculiar characteristic that each of Christ’s utterances is followed by an “Amen.”

The beginning of the work is missing. The surviving text starts on page 97 of the Berlin manuscript, with a discourse of Christ. As the manuscript starts in *media res*, the topic of

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<sup>1</sup> <http://cmcl.let.uniroma1.it/>.

<sup>2</sup> With three exceptions, when he is called  $\chi\omega\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ , cf. P. Berol. 22220 107, col. A,5, 12; cf. also P. Berol. 22220 97, col. A,32-col. B,1, where Andrew very likely calls him  $\pi\alpha\chi\omega\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ . The fact that Christ is called  $\omega\tau\eta\rho$  so often, was the reason why Hedrick and Mirecki decided to title the text the *Gospel of the Savior*.

<sup>3</sup> This hymnic section is preserved quite badly. It is however obvious from the existing portions that the Savior speaks to the Cross several times using the formula “O Cross!,” reminding us in this regard the interesting passage from the *Acts of Andrew* in which the apostle speaks to the cross before his martyrdom, addressing it in a similar fashion with the formula  $\omega\ \sigma\tau\alpha\upsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}$ ; see the synopsis of the various Armenian and Greek testimonies of the “discourse to the Cross” in J.-M. Prieur, *Acta Andreae. Textus et indices* (Corpus christianorum. Series apocryphorum, 6; Turnhout: Brepols, 1989) 738-745.

the speech is not immediately obvious. Perhaps this portion was at least partly focused on the kingdom of heaven since this expression appears three times in the first surviving lines (97, col. A,9-10, 13-14, 16-17). The speech of the Savior is followed by a question from the apostle Andrew. Unfortunately, his question is completely lost somewhere in the lacuna created by the damage done to most of the second column of page 97. Only a part from what seems to be the answer of Christ has survived, in which he mentions the harrowing of Hell. The text continues on page 98, perhaps with a discussion about sin and free-will. The Greek word ἀντεξούσιος appears twice at this point (98, col. A,32; col. B,7-8) and it is regrettable that the manuscript is badly damaged, making the text unintelligible.

It is possible that a new section begins after this, because at the end of page 98, col. B,14 the scribe inserted a colon. The function of this punctuation sign in P. Berol. 22220 is to point out the end of a section. If so, a new textual unit began on page 98 col. B,15, introduced by the words of the Savior to the apostles: “Arise, let us leave this place. For the one who shall hand me over has approached” (Mark 14:42; Matt 26:46). In the text that follows (98, col. B,21-99, col. A,16), the Savior anticipates his Passion and explains to the disciples the virtues of self-sacrifice. This portion is a patch-work of quotations from the New Testament:

You shall all flee and be offended because of me. You shall all flee and leave me alone, but I do not remain alone for my Father is with me. I and my Father, we are a single one. For it is written: “I shall strike the shepherd and the sheep of the flock will be scattered.” I am the good shepherd. I shall lay down my soul for you. You, yourself, lay down your souls for your companions to be pleasing to my Father, for there is no commandment greater than this: that I lay down my soul for people. This is [why] my Father loves me, because I fulfilled [his] wish.

At 99, col. B,1-8 a question of one or more apostles survived, but only in part. Apparently, the apostles want to know what they should do after the death of Jesus.

A new section started after a long lacuna which destroyed almost the entire column B of page 99. The Savior is asking his disciples to arise and pray. The scene of the dialogue seems to change at this point, because at 99, col. B,1 we understand that Christ and the apostles are now on a mountain, presumably the Mount of Olives. Here, Jesus ascends to heaven, while the apostles experience a mystical vision during which they see everything

until the seventh heaven. As the Savior is crossing the heavens, the great force of his ascent shakes everything on the way, so that the angels are distressed and think that they will be destroyed. The text is not very well-preserved here, but I think it is clear enough that, whilst Christ reaches the seventh heaven, where the tabernacle of God is situated, the other heavens remain open so that the apostles, still on the mountain, can see what occurs inside it. Thus, they recount in the first person plural that when Jesus Christ enters into the room of his Father, i.e. in the seventh heaven, he is welcomed with great pomp by the heavenly beings which surround the throne of God (101 col. A,24-col. B,11). The Son bows to the knees of his Father uttering the words of Matthew 26:39, “O my Father, if it is possible, let this cup pass from me!” This makes it clear that the entire section is an interpretation of the Gethsemane scene, but in *ApoBA* the prayer of Christ before his arrest takes place in heaven. Unfortunately, most of the details of this episode are lost because pages 103-106 of P. Berol. 22220 are the worst affected of the entire quire.

By comparison with these poorly preserved vestiges, the next two pages, i.e. 107-108, are in nearly intact condition. From the opening lines of page 107, we can infer that the scene of the dialogue changed again. The topic of the text is now the body of Christ after the resurrection. During a dialogue with the disciples on this theme, the Savior uses a version of the so-called “Agraphon of the Fire,” known from other sources as well: “The [one who is close] to me [is] close to [the] fire. The one who is far from me is far from life” (107, col. B,11-16).

A new textual unit starts at 107, col. B,17, namely the hymn of the Cross. Christ is asking his disciples to encircle him while he sings to the Cross, and dances around it. The apostles, who make a circle around him, are replying repeatedly “Amen” to the utterances of the Savior. The hymn of the Cross breaks-off at the end of page 110 of the Berlin manuscript, but its continuation, especially the final part, can be recovered on Strasbourg Copte 5 recto ↓. The verso of this fragment contains a new section of the text, which shows that the dialogue continued after the hymn. Christ is encouraging the apostles to remain and watch with him (cf. Matthew 26:41; Mark 14:28). The Strasbourg papyrus breaks-off at this point. We do not know what the *ApoBA* contained in the missing segments, but I think at least the occurrence of Passion and, possibly, resurrection, may be suggested.

An abbreviated version of the hymn of the Cross appears in the Qasr el-Wizz codex ff. 12v-17r (= pp. 24-33). The relationships between the shorter and the longer version of the hymn will be analyzed in the following section, in which I shall discuss the connections between the three manuscripts.

## II.3 The Relationships between the Three Manuscripts

### II.3.1 The Relationship between P. Berol. 22220 and Strasbourg Copte 5-7

Although certain verbatim parallels between P. Berol. 22220 and the Strasbourg fragments Copte 5-7 had been pointed out already in the *editio princeps*,<sup>1</sup> and by Schenke in his 1998 article,<sup>2</sup> it is Stephen Emmel who proposed for the first time that the two manuscripts are different copies of the same work. In a breakthrough study published in 2002, Emmel provided a series of textual parallels which demonstrates the identity of the two texts.<sup>3</sup>

The ultimate proof that the two manuscripts contain the same work is not immediately obvious when someone reads the *editio princeps* of the Strasbourg fragments. However, a clear parallel is provided by some of the fragments included in Strasbourg Copte 7, which remained unplaced in Jacoby's edition. It was by attaching together some of these scraps that Emmel realized that the two manuscripts overlap at some points word for word. He remarked in this regard: “[i]t is striking not only that they have strings of letters in common at mutually predictable intervals, but also that the two independently reconstructed manuscripts can be used to restore one another's lacunas convincingly.”<sup>4</sup>

If Carl Schmidt joined together Strasbourg Copte 7.2, 6 on the sole basis of fiber continuity,<sup>5</sup> Emmel was able to show that their recto (↓) parallel P. Berol. 22220 109, col. B,10-14, whilst the verso (→) finds a parallel in P. Berol. 22220 110, col. B,6-10. Furthermore, to the same leaf must attaches Copte 7.4 (recto ↓: parallel in P. Berol. 22220 109, col. B,19-23; verso →: P. Berol. 22220 110,16-19), and Copte 7.3 (recto ↓: parallel in P. Berol. 22220 109, col. B,31-110, col. A,2; verso →: P. Berol. 22220 110, col. B,29-

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<sup>1</sup> Hedrick – Mirecki, *Gospel of the Savior*, 23-24.

<sup>2</sup> Schenke, “Unbekannte Berliner Evangelium,” 207.

<sup>3</sup> Emmel, “Prolegomena.”

<sup>4</sup> Ibidem, 366.

<sup>5</sup> Schmidt, review of Jacoby, 486. See the passage quoted in the previous chapter, 20.



111\*,1).<sup>1</sup> The only thing that Schmidt was not able to determine was the correct identification of the recto and verso faces of the papyrus. With the help of P. Berol. 22220, which is paginated 109-110 in the parallel section, Emmel could rightly infer that the ↓ is the recto and → the verso.

The papyrological examination of the fragments led Schmidt to the conclusion that Strasbourg Copte 7 must have been followed in the original manuscript by Copte 5, which is now the best preserved leaf. As the beginning of this fragment parallels P. Berol. 22220 Frag 23H,3-7, Emmel suggested that the latter must be the first identified scrap from the pages 111-112 of the Berlin parchment.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, being the case that Copte 7 corresponds to P. Berol. 22220 109-110, and the next leaf of the papyrus codex was Copte 5, which parallels P. Berol. 22220 Frag 23, it means that the latter must necessarily be part of pages 111-112 of its codex of provenance. The parallel provided by Emmel is, in my opinion, precise enough to accept that his hypothesis must be correct:

P. Berol. 22220 Frag. 23H,1-7 (= p. 111)	Strasbourg 5 recto ↓, 1-3
<p>[πεοο]γ νακ π[ωην] εντ̄απεφκαρ[πος]            ογ[ω]ν̄ε̄ εβολ̄ χ[ε] [ε]γ[ν]ασογων̄            [ρ̄ν̄]εχωρᾱ ν̄ν̄[ωμμ]ο̄ ν̄σε†ε[οογ ν]αγ            [εβολ]</p>	<p>[...] [χε ε]γεσογων̄ ρ̄ν̄[νεχωρᾱ ν̄ν̄ω]ν̄μο̄            ν̄σε† εο[ογ ν]αγ [εβολ] ρ̄ιτ̄μπεφκαρπος̄</p>

The blessing of the Cross, described as a tree whose fruit is the crucified Christ, which appears in the first part of the fragment quoted from P. Berol. 22220, did not survive in the Strasbourg manuscript. However, this reading now finds support in a passage from the hymn of the Cross in the Qasr el-Wizz codex, which contains a series of similar, but not identical blessings:

ογεοογ νακ χε ακωτ̄ν̄ ν̄σαπεκειωτ̄ αμην̄·  
 πεοογ νακ περλοβ̄ τηρ̄ν̄ αμην̄·  
 πεοογ ν̄τμ̄ν̄τ̄νογτε̄ ρ̄θ̄· (30,4-9)

<sup>1</sup> Emmel, "Prolegomena," 361-366.

<sup>2</sup> Ibidem, 367.

Although the parallel is not literal, the quotation above contains a series of similar blessings. Compare this with the following passage in the *Book of Bartholomew* (CANT 80; clavis coptica 0027):

ΠΕΘΟΥ ΝΑΚ ΠΩΝ̄Ξ ΤΗΡ̄Ϊ ΔΜΗΝ·  
 Ω ΠΡΑΝ ΕΤΞΟΛ̄Σ ΖΔΜΗΝ·<sup>1</sup>

### II.3.2 The Relationship between the Strasbourg Fragments and the Qasr el-Wizz Manuscript

The fact that the recto ↓ of Strasbourg Copte 5 has the final part of the hymn sung by Jesus to the Cross is confirmed by the Qasr el-Wizz codex, which is an abbreviated version of this hymn. Several proposals have been put forth in the past century for the reconstruction of the lacunae which appear on the recto ↓ of Strasbourg Copte 5, but we are only now able to restore them with a higher degree of confidence due to the help given by the Qasr el-Wizz codex. Here is the reconstruction of this part of hymn, based on its corresponding version in the other manuscript:

	Strasbourg 5 recto ↓	Qasr el-Wizz, pp. 30,10-32,6
5	[ ΖΔ]ΜΗΝ· ΜΑ ΝΑΪ ΣΕ Ν̄ΤΕΚ [ΣΟΜ Ω] ΠΑΕΙΩΤ· ΧΕΚΑΔΣ [ΕΣΝΑΞ]Υ[Π]ΟΜΕΙΝΕ Ν[Μ]ΜΑΪ [ΕΧ̄ΜΠΕΣ·Ρ]ΟC ΖΔΜΗΝ[· ΔΙ]ΧΙ [ΝΑΪ Ν̄ΤΕC]ΡΗΠΕ Ν̄ΤΜΝ̄ΤΕΡΟ·	ΔΟΥΩΝ Ν̄ΤΕΚ ΧΑΡΙC Ω ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΧΕΚΑC ΕΙΕΞΥΜΝΕΥΕ ΕΠΕCΤΑΥΡΟC ΔΜΗΝ· ΔΙΧΙ ΝΑΪ Ν̄ΤΕCΡΗΠΕ Ν̄ΤΜΝ̄ΤΕΡΟ
10	[Ξ̄ΜΠΩ]Ε· ΤΕ]CΡΗΠΕ [Μ]ΠΕΤΟ [            ΟΥ]ΩΩ̄Ϊ Μ̄ΜΟΥ [            Ξ̄ΜΠΕΘ]ΒΒΙΟ· ΕΜΠΟΥΕΙ [            ] ΔΙΡ̄ΡΡΟ ΕΒΟΛ [Ξ̄ΜΠΩ]Ε· Ω Π]ΑΕΙΩΤ· ΚΝΑΤΡΕ	ΕΒΟΛ Ξ̄ΜΠΩ]Ε· ΔΜΗΝ· [            ] ΔΙΡ̄ΡΡΟ ΕΒΟΛ †ΝΑΤΡΕ
15	[ΝΑΧΔ]ΧΕ Ξ̄ΥΠΟΤΑCCE ΝΑΪ· [ΖΔΜΗΝ· Π]ΧΔΧΕ ΕΦΝΑΟΥ [ΩC̄Ϊ ΖΙΤ]Ν̄ΝΙΜ· ΖΙΤ̄ΜΠΕ [C·Ρ̄ΟC] ΖΔΜ]ΗΝ ΠΕΙΒ Μ̄ΠΜΟΥ [ΝΑΒΩ]Λ Ε]ΒΟΛ· ΖΙΤ̄Ν̄ΝΙΜ	ΝΑΧΔΧΕ Ξ̄ΥΠΟΤΑCCE ΝΑΪ ΖΔΜΗΝ· ΠΧΔΧΕ ΝΑΟΥΩC̄Ϊ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤ̄ΜΠΕ CΤΑΥΡΟC ΔΜΗΝ· ΠΕΙΒ Μ̄ΠΜΟΥ ΝΑΟΥΩC̄Ϊ ΕΒΟΛ
20	[ΖΙΤ̄ΜΠ]Μ]ΟΝΟΓΕΝΗC ΖΔ [ΜΗΝ· ΤΜ]Ν̄ΤΕΡΟ ΤΑΝΙΜ ΤΕ	ΖΙΤ̄ΜΠΜΟΝΟΓΕΝΗC Ν̄ΩΗΡΕ ΔΜΗΝ· ΤΜ̄Ν̄ΤΕΡΟ ΤΑΝΙΜ ΤΕ·

<sup>1</sup> M. Westerhoff, *Auferstehung und Jenseits im koptischen "Buch der Auferstehung Jesu Christi, unseres Herrn"* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999) 124. Cf. P. Hubai, *Koptische Apokryphen aus Nubien. Der Kasr el-Wizz Kodex* (TU, 163; Berlin – New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009) 181.

25 [ΓΑΠΩΗΡ]Ε ΤΕ ΖΑΜΗΝ· ΕΡΕ  
 [ΤΕΦΜΗΤΕΡΟ ΩΟ]ΟΠ· ΕΒΟΛ  
 [ΤΩΝ ΕΣΩΟΟΠ ΕΒΟΛ] ΖḲ  
 [ΠΩΕ ΖΑΜΗΝ ]

ΓΑΠΩΗΡΕ ΤΕ ΑΜΗΝ· ΕΡΕ  
 ΤΕΦΜΗΤΕΡΟ ΩΟΟΠ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΤΩΝ· ΕΣΩΟΟΠ ΕΒΟΛ ΖḲ  
 ΠΩ[Ε] ΑΜΗΝ·

As can be observed in the synopsis above, only the beginning of Strasbourg Copte 5 recto ↓ has been reworked by its author. Thus, while we have in Strasbourg Copte ↓ 5,5-8 μα ναϊ σε ἡτεκ[σομ ὦ] παειωτ· δεκαας [εснаε]γ[π]ομεινε η[ḡ]μαϊ [εχḡμπεс-Р]οc ζαμην (“Give me your [force, O] my Father, so that [it] shall endure with me [on the Cross], Amen”), the other manuscript reads δογων ἡτεκχαριc ὦ παειωτ δεκαc ειεζγμνεγε επεcταγροc αμην (“Open your grace, O my Father, so that I may sing to the Cross, Amen”) (Qasr el-Wizz 30,10-31,1). The remaining differences represent omissions, some of which show that the Qasr el-Wizz version is obviously secondary to the original. For example, from line 16 onwards of the Strasbourg Copte 5 recto ↓ there are a series of questions and answers regarding the powers of Christ and the Cross. In two instances (31,7-12), the Qasr el-Wizz manuscript condenses the question and the answer into a single assertion:

Strasbourg 5 recto ↓ 16-21	Qasr el-Wizz 31,7-12
<p>[The] enemy shall be [vanquished through] whom? <u>Through the [Cross], Amen. The claw of death [shall be destroyed] through whom? [Through the] Only-Begotten, Amen.</u></p>	<p>The enemy shall be annihilated through the Cross, Amen. The claw of death shall be annihilated through the Only-Begotten Son, Amen.</p>

From this point onwards, the rhetorical questions followed by answers are identical in both manuscripts. The hymn of the Cross breaks off in the Strasbourg fragment on line 24. It is likely that the missing part can be recovered, at least partially or approximately, in the Qasr el-Wizz manuscript 32,6-33,9:

Who sent him to the Cross? It is the Father, Amen! What is the Cross? From where is it? It is from the Spirit, Amen! It is from eternity forever, from the foundation of the world, Amen! I am Alpha, Amen, and O(mega), Amen, the beginning and the end, Amen! I am the unspeakable beginning and the unspeakable end and forever perfect, Amen!

The last lines of the el-Wizz codex (33,10-13) are, perhaps, just an addition of the ancient editor: “And when we heard these, we glorified God, the one whose is the glory forever and ever, Amen!”

### II.3.3 The Relationship between P. Berol. 22220 and the Qasr el-Wizz Manuscript

Comparison between Strasbourg Copte 5 recto ↓ and the el-Wizz manuscript thus reveals that the final part of the hymn in the latter is an abbreviated version of the same hymn in the former. In the following lines I will compare the first part of the hymn, as appears in the Qasr el-Wizz codex, with the beginning of the hymn in P. Berol. 22220. I will point out that some of the lacunae in the Berlin manuscript can be recovered on the basis of the parallel text in the el-Wizz manuscript.

For example, P. Berol. 22220 is badly damaged at 108, col. A,20-25, having only a little surviving text. This portion of the manuscript can be reconstructed now with a high degree of certainty with the help of the Qasr el-Wizz manuscript:

P. Berol. 22220 108, col A,20-25	Qasr el-Wizz 27,6-10
ΔΝΟΚ Π[Ε]   [ΤΕ]ΞΙ[Η] ΜΟ[ΟΦΕ]   [ΕΤ]ΣΟΥ[ΤΩΝ] ΖΑ][ΜΗ]Ν· Δ[ΝΟΚ ΠΕ]   [ΠΟ]ΞΙΚ Ν[ΔΤΜΟΥ]   ΟΥΩΜ ΝΤΕΤΝ[ΣΕΙ]   [ΖΑ]ΜΗΝ·	ΔΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΤΕΞΙΗ ΜΠΩΝΞ ΕΤΤΑΞΕΙ[ΗΥ] ΔΜΗΝ· ΔΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΟΞΙΚ ΝΔΤΜΟΥ· ΟΥΩΜ ΝΤΕΤΝΣΕΙ ΔΜΗΝ·

As can be seen in the table above, only the first logion of Jesus is changed, although the idea of Christ as “the Way” is still preserved. The second logion is precisely paralleled in the el-Wizz codex.

Similarly, P. Berol. 22220 109, col. A, 30, was accurately restored by Emmel as †[ΝΑ]†  
 ΜΠΑΟ[ΥΟΕΙ] ΞΖΟΥ(Ν) | [ΕΡ]ΟΚ ΖΔΜΗ[Ν].<sup>1</sup> This is now fully confirmed by the reading of Qasr el-Wizz 28,9-11.

<sup>1</sup> S. Emmel, “The Recently Published *Gospel of the Savior* (“Unbekanntes Berliner Evangelium”): Righting the Order of Pages and Events,” *Harvard Theological Review* 95 (2002) 45-72, at 69; Idem, “Preliminary

Emmel pointed out in another article that the badly damaged text of P. Berol. 22220 109, col. A,15-18 can be restored as [ḿ]ḡερεϣ[χ]ωκ [Δε] ε[βολ ḿτεϣ]||χο[ρια ανοϣωϣ̅β]||ḿσϣ[ϣ· χε ραμην·], providing a close text in Qasr el-Wizz 27,1-4: ḿḡερεϣχωκ Δε εβολ ḿρϣμνος· ανοϣωϣ̅β ḿσϣϣ τηρḿ χε ραμην.<sup>1</sup>

A final example is identifiable in P. Berol. 22220 110, col. A,4-5. Only a few strings of letters have survived at this point, but they suffice to reconstruct the passage on the basis of Qasr el-Wizz 29,4-5 as [ḿπḗσϣ]ḗπ [εβολ] | [ḿπαϣ]ϣμ[α ραμην].

These are some of the most important examples of lacunae restorations in P. Berol. 22220, which can be made with the help of the el-Wizz manuscript.

#### II.4 The Qasr el-Wizz Version of the Hymn of the Cross

As I showed in the two preceding sections, some of the lacunae of the Strasbourg and Berlin manuscripts can be reconstructed by comparison with the parallel passages in the Qasr el-Wizz codex. Furthermore, it can be argued that this version of the hymn of the Cross is a slightly reworked abbreviation of the longer recension of this hymn, which appears in the Berlin and Strasbourg manuscripts. This can be conveniently shown in the following synopses. Only the last part of the Qasr el-Wizz codex was omitted because it corresponds to a portion of the text which has not survived in the other two manuscripts. The Berlin and Strasbourg documents are designated as MS A and MS B, respectively:

Qasr el-Wizz Codex	Strasbourg and Berlin manuscripts
<p>ϣσϣωπε Δε ḿο[γ]ρϣοϣ ερεπσḗρ ρμοος  ρ[ι]χḿπτοοϣ ḿḿχϣ[ειτ] ḿπατοϣσταϣροϣ  ḿμοϣ ḿσιḿḿοϣΔαḿ ḿπαρανομοϣ· ανοη τηρḿ  ανοϣωϣ̅ρ ḿḿμαϣ πε· ϣϣοϣωϣ̅β εϣχω ḿμοϣ  χε (24.1-9)</p> <p>ϣ̅β ναμελοϣ ετοϣααβ· σϣωϣ̅ρ εροḿ  ḿḡαϣμνεϣε ḿπεσταϣροϣ· ϣϣω ḿḡωḡḿ  ḿτεḡḿοϣω[ϣ̅β] ḿσϣḿ· (24,9-25,2)</p>	<p>τ[ε]ḿοϣ σε σϣωϣ̅ρ [ε]ροḿ ω ναμελοϣ  [ε]τοϣααβ· ϣϣ[ρε]γ[ε] ḿτεḡḿο[γϣωϣ̅β] ḿαḿ[·]  (MS A: 107, col. B,17-21)</p>

Reedition and Translation of the *Gospel of the Savior*: New Light on the *Strasbourg Coptic Gospel* and the *Stauros-Text* from Nubia,” *Apocrypha* 14 (2003) 9-53, at 50.

<sup>1</sup> Emmel, “Ein altes Evangelium der Apostel,” 92.

<p>ΑΝΟΝ ΔΕ ΑΝ[ΡΟ]ΥΚΛΟΜ ΑΝΚΩΤΕ ΕΡΟQ· ΠΕΧΑQ  ΝΑΝ· ΔΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΕΙΖἸΤΕΤἸΜΗΤΕ ἸΘΕ ἸΝΕΙΩΗΡΕ  ΚΟΥἸ· ΠΕΧΑQ ΔΕ ΖΑΜΗΝ· ΚΕΚΟΥἸ ΠΕ ΕΙΩΟΟΠ  ΝἸΜΗΤἸ ἸΤΕΤἸΜΗΤΕ· (25,2-9)</p>	<p>[ΑΝῤΟ]Υ[ΚΛΟΜ] ΕΝΚ[ΩΤ]Ε ΕΡΟQ· ΠΕΧἈ[Q] ΝΑΝ  ΔΕ ΑΝΟΚ' Ε[ΙΖἸ]ΤΕΤἸΜΗΤΕ Ἰ[ΘΕ] ἸΝΕΙΩΗΡΕ  Q[ΗΜ·] ΠΕΧΑQ ΔΕ ΖΑΜΗ(Ν) ΚΕΚΟΥἸ ΠΕ  ΕΙΖἸΤΕΤἸΜΗΤΕ· (MS A: 107, col. B,23-31)</p>
<p>σε.χι ωο.χ.νε εροἰ (25,9)</p>	<p>[σε]χι ω[ο]χ.νε εροἰ. (MS A: 108, col. A,1)</p>
<p>ΤΕΝΟΥ· ἸΠῤΚΑΤΕΧΕ {Ἰ}ἸΜΟἸ ὦ ΠΕΣΤΑΥΡΟC·  (25,9-12)</p>	
<p>ΤΩΟΥἸ ΕΖΡΑἸ ΤΩΟΥἸ ὦ ΠΕΣΤΑΥΡΟC ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ  ΝἸΧΙCΕ Ἰ[ΜΟΚ] ὦ ΠΕΣΤΑΥΡΟC (25,13-26,3)</p>	<p>ΤΩ]ΟΥἸ ΕΖΡΑἸ [ΤΩΟΥἸ] ὦ ΠΕC[ῤOC ΔΙCΕ]  ἸΜΟΚ [ΕΖΡΑἸ ΝἸ]ΧΙCΕ ΖἸΤ[ΠΕ (MS A: 109,  col. B,19-23)</p>
<p>ΑΝ[Γ]ΟΥῤἸΜΑΟ ΑΜΗΝ· (26,3-4)</p>	<p>ΑΝῤΟΥῤἸΜΑΟ' (MS A: 109, col. B,26-27)</p>
<p>†ΝΑΑΛΕ ΕΖΡΑἸ ΕΧΩΚ ὦ ΠΕΣΤΑΥΡΟC· (26,4-6)</p>	<p>[†]ΝΑῤΑΛΕ Ε[ΖΡΑἸ Ε]ΧΩΚ ὦ ΠΕCῤOC (MS A:  109, col. B,29-31)</p>
<p>CΕΝΑΑQῤ ΕΧΩΚ ΕΥἸΜἸΤἸΜἸΤῤΡΕ ΝΑΥ· (26,6-8)</p>	<p>CΕΝΑΑQ[ῤ] ΕΡΟΚ [ΕΥἸΜἸΤἸ]ἸΤῤΡΕ [ΝΑΥ  ΖΑΜΗ]Ν· (MS A: 109, col. B,32-110, col.  A,2)</p>
<p>QΠῤ ΕΡΟΚ ὦ ΠΕΣΤΑΥΡΟC ΑΜΗΝ· (26,8-10)</p>	<p>Q[Πῤ ΕΡΟΚ] ὦ ΠΕC[ῤOC] (MS A: 110, col.  A,2-3)</p>
<p>ἸΠῤῤἸΜΕ ὦ ΠΕΣΤΑΥΡΟC· ΑΛΛΑ ΡΑQΕ ἸΤΟΥ  ἸΖΟΥΟ ΑΜΗΝ· (26,10-27,1)</p>	<p>[ἸΠῤῤ]ἸΜΕ ὦ [ΠΕCῤOC] ἈΛΛΑ ΡΑ[QΕ Ἰ]ΤΟΥ  (MS A: 110, col. A,9-11)</p>
<p>ἸῤΕΡΕQΧΩΚ ΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ ἸΖΥΜΝΟC· ΑΝΟΥQῤῤ  ΝCΩQ ΤἸΡἸ ΔΕ ΑΜΗΝ· (27,1-4)</p>	<p>[Ἰῤ]ῤΕΡΕQΧΩΚ [ΔΕ] Ε[ΒΟΛ ἸῤΕQ]ΧΟ[ΡΙΑ  ΑΝΟΥQῤῤ] ἸCΩ[Q· ΔΕ ΖΑΜΗΝ·] (MS A: 109,  col. A,15-18)</p>
<p>ΤΜΕΖCΝΑΥ ἸΖΥΜΝΟC ἸΠΕCΤΑΥΡΟC· (27,5-6)</p>	<p>[Τ]ΜΕΖCΝΤ[Ε ἸΧΟΡ]ΙΑ Ἰ[ΠΕCῤOC·] (MS A:  110, col. A,16-17)</p>
<p>ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΤΕΖἸ ἸΠΩΝῤ ΕῤΤΑΕἸ[ΗΥ] ΑΜΗΝ·  ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΟΕἸΚ ἸΑῤΤΜΟΥ· ΟΥΩΜ ἸΤΕῤἸCΕἸ  ΑΜΗΝ· (27,6-10)</p>	<p>ΑΝΟΚ Π[Ε ΤΕΖἸ]Ἰ ἸΜΟ[OQΕ Εῤ]CΟΥ[ΤΩΝ  ΖΑΜΗ]Ν· Ἀ[ΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΟ]ΕἸΚ Ἰ[ΑῤΤΜΟΥ] ΟΥΩΜ  ἸΤΕῤἸ[CΕἸ ΖΑ]ΜΗΝ· (MS A: 108, col. A,20-  25)</p>
<p>ΑΝΟΥQῤῤ ἸCΩQ ΔΕ ΑΜΗΝ· ΠΕΧΑQ ΝΑΝ ΟἸ·  ΔΕ CΩΟΥΖ ΕΡΟἸ ὦ ΝΑΜΕΛΟC ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ·  ΤΑΧΟΡΕΥΕ ἸΠΕCῤOC ἸΠΜΕΖΩΜἸΤ ἸCΟΠ·  ἸΤΕῤἸΟΥQῤῤ ἸCΩἸ ΔΕ ΑΜΗΝ· (27,10-28,5)</p>	<p><i>missing, but cf.</i> MS A: 107, col. B,17-21,  31-32 Τ[Ε]ΜΟΥ CΕ CΩΟΥΖ [Ε]ΡΟἸ ὦ ΝΑΜΕΛΟC  [Ε]ΤΟΥΑΑΒ. Χ[Ο]ΡΕ[Υ]Ε ἸΤΕῤἸ[O]ΥQῤῤ ἸΑἸ[·]  ... Ἀ[Ν]ΟΥQῤῤ ΔΕ ΖΑἸ[ΗΝ]</p>
<p>ὦ ΠΕCΤΑΥΡΟC ΕῤΜΕΖ ἸΟΥΟΕἸΝ· ΠΑΛἸΝ ΟΝ·  ΕQΝΑΦΟΡΕἸ ἸΠΟΥΟΕἸΝ ΑΜΗΝ· (28,5-9)</p>	
<p>†ΝΑ† ΠΑΟΥΟΕἸ ΕΖΟΥἸ ΕΡΟΚ ὦ ΠΕCΤΑΥΡΟC·  ΖΑΜΗΝ· (28,9-12)</p>	<p>†[ΝΑ]† ἸΠΑΟ[ΥΟΕἸ] ΕΖΟΥ(Ν) [ΕΡ]ΟΚ ΖΑΜΗ[Ν·]  (MS A: 109, col. A,30-32)</p>

<p>†νααλε εγραϊ εκωκ ευμν̄τμ̄ν̄τρε ναυ· (28,12-29,2)</p>	<p>[†]ναταλε ε[γραϊ εκ]ωκ ω̄ πε̄ς̄[Ϝ̄ο̄ς̄] сенааω[τ̄] ерок [ευμ̄н̄тμ̄]н̄тρε [наυ ζαμн]н· (MS A: 109, col. B,29-110, col. A,2)</p>
<p>ωοπ̄τ̄ ерок ω̄ пестаγρος· (29,2-3)</p>	<p>ωο[π̄τ̄ ерок] ω̄ πε̄ς̄[Ϝ̄ο̄ς̄] (MS A: 110, col. A,2-3)</p>
<p>μ̄π̄ρ̄σωλ̄π̄ εβολ̄ μ̄π̄ᾱσωμᾱ αμ̄нн· (29,4-5)</p>	<p>[μ̄π̄ρ̄σω]λ̄π̄ [εβολ]   [μ̄π̄ᾱς̄]ωμ̄[ᾱ ζαμнн·] (MS A: 110, col. A,4-5)</p>
<p>тμερ̄χ̄то̄ н̄χο̄ριᾱ μ̄п̄ε̄стаγρος· (29,6-7)</p>	
<p>ᾱνοκ̄ ο̄ῡζ̄ηκε̄ αν̄ ω̄ п̄ε̄стаγρος̄ πε̄τ̄†πο̄ῡο̄εῑн̄ αμ̄нн· †на̄π̄η̄ρο̄ῡ μ̄μο̄κ̄ ζ̄η̄та̄μ̄н̄τ̄ρ̄μ̄μ̄ᾱο̄ αμ̄нн· (29,7-30,1)</p>	<p>[ᾱн̄го̄ῡζ̄ηκε] αν̄ αλλ̄[ᾱ ᾱн̄го̄ῡρ̄μ̄]μᾱο̄· †на[μᾱξ̄κ̄ ε]βολ̄ ζ̄η̄та[μ̄н̄τ̄ρ̄μ̄]μᾱο̄· (MS A:110, col. A,18-22; cf. also 109, col. B,26- 29)</p>
<p>†νααλε εγραϊ εκωκ· (30,1-2)</p>	<p>[†]ναταλε ε[γραϊ εκ]ωκ (MS A: 109, col. B,29-31)</p>
<p>ωοπ̄τ̄ ерок ω̄ пестаγρος· (30,2-3)</p>	<p>ωο[π̄τ̄ ерок] ω̄ πε̄ς̄[Ϝ̄ο̄ς̄] (MS A: 110, col. A,2-3)</p>
<p>ο̄ῡε̄ο̄ο̄ῡ νᾱκ̄ χ̄ε̄ ᾱκ̄σω̄τ̄μ̄ н̄са̄πε̄κεῑω̄т̄ αμ̄нн· πε̄ο̄ο̄ῡ νᾱκ̄ πε̄ρ̄λο̄ς̄ т̄η̄ρ̄̄ αμ̄нн· πε̄ο̄ο̄ῡ н̄т̄μ̄н̄τ̄но̄ῡτ̄ε̄ Ϝ̄θ̄· (30,4-9)</p>	<p>[πε̄ο̄ο̄]ῡ νᾱκ̄ π[ω̄нн] ε̄н̄τ̄ᾱπε̄Ϝ̄ᾱρ[πο̄ς̄] ο̄ῡ[ω̄]н̄ε̄ εβολ (MS A: 111,1-3)</p>
<p>ᾱο̄ῡω̄н̄ н̄τε̄κ̄χᾱρῑς̄ ω̄ πᾱεῑω̄т̄ χ̄ε̄κᾱς̄ ε̄ιε̄ρ̄ῡμ̄νε̄ῡε̄ ε̄п̄ε̄стаγρος̄ αμ̄нн· (30,10-31,1)</p>	<p>μᾱ νᾱϊ̄ σε̄ н̄τε̄κ[σο̄μ̄ ω̄] πᾱεῑω̄т̄· χ̄ε̄κᾱς̄ [ε̄с̄на̄ε̄]ῡ[π]ο̄μ̄ε̄ῑνε̄ н̄[μ̄]μᾱϊ̄ [ε̄χ̄μ̄п̄ε̄ς̄Ϝ̄]ο̄ς̄ ζαμ̄нн (MS B: 5r,5-8)</p>
<p>ᾱϊ̄χῑ νᾱϊ̄ н̄τε̄σ̄ρη̄π̄ε̄ н̄т̄μ̄н̄τ̄ε̄ρο̄ εβολ̄ ζ̄η̄μ̄ω̄ε̄· αμ̄нн· (31,1-4)</p>	<p>[ᾱϊ̄]χ̄ϊ̄ [νᾱϊ̄ н̄τε̄σ̄]ρη̄π̄ε̄ н̄т̄μ̄н̄τ̄ε̄ρο̄· [ζ̄η̄μ̄ω̄ε̄·] (MS B: 5r,8-10)</p>
<p>†на̄т̄ρε̄на̄χᾱχε̄ ζ̄ῡπ̄ο̄та̄ς̄σε̄ νᾱϊ̄ ζαμ̄нн· (31,4-6)</p>	<p>κ̄νᾱт̄ρε̄[на̄χᾱχε̄ ζ̄]ῡπ̄ο̄та̄ς̄σε̄ νᾱϊ̄· [ζαμ̄нн·] (MS B: 5r,14-16)</p>
<p>π̄χᾱχε̄ νᾱο̄ῡω̄ς̄̄ εβολ̄ ζ̄ῑτ̄η̄п̄ε̄стаγρος̄ αμ̄нн· (31,7-9)</p>	<p>[π̄]χᾱχε̄ ε̄Ϝ̄на̄ο̄ῡ[ω̄ς̄̄ ζ̄ῑτ̄]η̄н̄нн· ζ̄ῑτ̄η̄п̄ε̄[ς̄Ϝ̄ο̄ς̄ ζαμ̄]нн (MS B: 5r,16-18)</p>
<p>πεῑεῑβ̄ μ̄π̄μο̄ῡ νᾱο̄ῡω̄ς̄̄ εβολ̄ ζ̄ῑτ̄η̄п̄μ̄ο̄но̄γε̄н̄н̄ς̄ н̄ω̄н̄ρε̄ αμ̄нн· (31,9-12)</p>	<p>πεῑβ̄ μ̄π̄μο̄ῡ [νᾱβ̄ω̄λ̄ ε]βολ̄· ζ̄ῑτ̄η̄н̄нн [ζ̄ῑτ̄η̄п̄μ̄]ο̄но̄γε̄н̄н̄ς̄ ζα[μ̄нн·] (MS B: 5r,18- 21)</p>
<p>т̄η̄н̄τ̄ε̄ρο̄ та̄н̄ӣм̄ т̄ε̄· та̄п̄ω̄н̄ре̄ т̄ε̄ αμ̄нн· (31,12-32,2)</p>	<p>[т̄η̄]н̄τ̄ε̄ρο̄ та̄н̄ӣм̄ т̄ε̄ [та̄п̄ω̄н̄]ε̄ т̄ε̄ ζαμ̄нн· (MS B: 5r,21-22)</p>
<p>ε̄ρε̄τε̄Ϝ̄μ̄н̄τ̄ε̄ρο̄ ω̄ρο̄п̄ εβολ̄ τ̄ω̄н̄· ε̄ς̄ω̄ρο̄п̄ εβολ̄ ζ̄η̄μ̄ω̄[ε] αμ̄нн· (32,3-6)</p>	<p>ε̄ρε̄[τε̄Ϝ̄μ̄н̄τ̄ε̄ρο̄ ω̄]ρο̄п̄· εβολ̄ [τ̄ω̄н̄ ε̄ς̄ω̄ρο̄п̄ εβολ̄] ζ̄η̄μ̄[ω̄ε̄ ζαμ̄нн] (MS B: 5r,22-25)</p>

I think these parallels clearly indicate that between the Qasr el-Wizz text and the hymn of the Cross in the Berlin and Strasbourg manuscripts may lie several steps of “reworking.” The first lines are obviously an addition meant to introduce the text: “And it happened one day, while our Savior was sitting on the Mount of Olives, before the impious Jews crucified him, (that) we were all gathered with him.” Although this part must be due to one of the compilers, it is likely to be based on the preceding part of *ApoBA*. If this hypothesis is correct, it confirms that the story takes place before the Crucifixion and, perhaps, that the Mount of Olives was mentioned in the text (cf. P. Berol. 22220 100, col. B,1).

The most remarkable difference between the two versions resides in the fact that the el-Wizz manuscript mentions a second hymn, a third and a fourth dance of the Cross. On the other hand, it is likely that the longer version, which must be the original, contained only two hymns or dances of the Cross. The first hymn starts in P. Berol. 22220 107, col. B,17 and lasts until 110, col. A,15. The second dance (χορεία) breaks off in the lacuna which follows page 110 of the Berlin parchment, but it continues shortly after, on the recto ↓ of Strasbourg Copte 5. However, the synopsis provided above shows that the third and the fourth hymns of the Qasr el-Wizz codex do not contain any significant new material. Thus, the most likely hypothesis is that the el-Wizz manuscript blended in these “new” stanzas material from the first and second hymns.

## II.5 Placing P. Berol. 22220 Frag. 9

The fact that the hymn of the Cross ended at the very bottom of the recto ↓ of Strasbourg Copte 5 is demonstrated by the fact that the first lines of the verso read: “[When he] finished the entire [hymn] of the [Cross], he turned to us.” It is interesting to note that the surviving traces of letters on the still unplaced P. Berol. 22220 Frag. 9H, col. B, 8-10 allow us to restore the text as  $\text{NTEPEYX}[OK \text{ E}][BOL \text{ E}]\text{ZYMEY}\epsilon [\bar{M}][\text{NE}]\text{P}\text{OC}$ . This reading resembles Strasbourg Copte 5 verso →, 1-2:  $[\text{NTEPEY}]\text{XOK } \text{SE } \text{EOL } [\bar{M}\text{Z}]\text{M}[\text{NOC}] \text{THP}\bar{\text{Q}} \bar{\text{M}}\text{NE}[\bar{\text{C}}\text{P}\text{OC}]$ . However, it is unlikely that the Berlin fragment would belong to this part of the text for the following reasons:

- 1) If these lines had immediately followed the hymn of the Cross, Frag. 9 would have to stand as P. Berol. 22220, pages 111-112, with the hair side as page



111 and the flesh side as page 112 (only in this way is the Gregory rule observed). This would mean that the hymn of the Cross ended somewhere on the second column (col. B) of the recto (page 111). However, in this case, the words which can still be read on the first column of the page, must find a parallel in the extant portions of Strasbourg Copte 5 recto ↓. Or, alternatively, the vestiges of the two columns of the verso (flesh side) of Frag. 9 should correspond, at least in part, to the verso → of Strasbourg Copte 5, which is not the case.

2) P. Berol. 22220 Frags. 9 and 23 (the latter placed by Emmel, cf. supra) would both have to be parts of the folio once paginated 111-112. However, the quality of the parchment varies very much between these two fragments. While the script on the flesh of Frag. 9 has flaked-off almost completely, the text on the flesh side of Frag. 23 is still very well-preserved. In conclusion, I think the surface structure of the parchment prevents us from placing the two fragments in the same folio.

Be that as it may, if the suggested restoration of Frag. 9H, col. B, 8-10 is correct, then this fragment stirs up some mystery. A few explanations are possible, although none can be proven unless a better copy of *ApoBA* comes to light:

- 1) If Frag. 9 belongs to pages 111-112, then the version of *ApoBA* in the Strasbourg manuscript differs from that of P. Berol. 22220.
- 2) Strasbourg Copte 5-7 and P. Berol. 22220 could be two different texts, which have in common only the longer version of the hymn of the Cross – cf. already Nagel.<sup>1</sup>
- 3) *ApoBA* contained several hymns of the Cross, and P. Berol. 22220 Frag. 9 comes from a different hymn than the one preserved in Strasbourg Copte 7, 5 recto ↓ and P. Berol. 22220 107, col. B, 17 ff.

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<sup>1</sup> P. Nagel, “‘Gespräche Jesu mit seinen Jüngern von der Auferstehung’ – Zur Herkunft und Datierung des ‘Unbekannten Berliner Evangeliums’,” *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 94 (2003) 215-257, at 222-223.

## II.6 Placing Strasbourg Copte 6

I already said in the first chapter that the only paginated fragment of the Strasbourg manuscript of *ApoBA* is Copte 6. The page numbers 147-148 are still visible on the upper outer corners of the pages as the manuscript was bound in antiquity. The position in the codex of the other two leaves, i.e. Copte 7 and 5, which lost their original pagination, is difficult to establish. However, Stephen Emmel has proposed that they can very approximately be calculated as pages 121-122 and 123-124 of the codex. His tentative conclusion is based on the assumption that *ApoBA* covered both codices completely when they were intact. Thus, being the case that pages 109-110 of P. Berol. 22220 correspond to Strasbourg Copte 7 recto ↓-verso →, and assuming that all previous pages of the Berlin manuscript contained the same text, Emmel stated:

Using the same average number of lines of the Berlin manuscript (57.5) per page of the Strasbourg manuscript, and assuming that the work in question began on the first page of each manuscript, FR-SU Copte 7 and 5 can be calculated very approximately to be pp. 121/122 and 123/124 of the papyrus codex. This length of some thirty-two pages accords well with the judgment of the majority of scholars who have considered the problem, that whereas the content of Copte 5 indicates a setting in Gethsemane, Copte 6 seems rather to belong to a post-resurrection appearance of the Savior.<sup>1</sup>

However, this stichometry raises certain problems, because Strasbourg Copte 6 describes the investiture of the apostles, an event which already occurred during the vision of the apostles in P. Berol. 22220 100, col. B,1ff (on the Mount of Olives). The fact that the investiture of the apostleship would be mentioned twice in the text, once before the Passion of Christ and once after his resurrection, already made Peter Nagel doubt that the Berlin and Strasbourg manuscript represent two witnesses of the same text: “Die zeitlich unterschiedliche Ansetzung, auf die Emmel nicht eingeht, bleibt ein vorerst ungelöstes Problem und ein ernstliches Hindernis hinsichtlich der Identität beider Texte, denn eine zweimalige Investitur der Apostel kann, wie gesagt, so gut wie sicher ausgeschlossen werden.”<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Emmel, “Prolegomena,” 367-368.

<sup>2</sup> Nagel, “Gespräche Jesu,” 223.

In my opinion, this is a false problem. First of all, the aforementioned stichometric investigation is very unlikely to correspond to reality, because a 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> century Coptic manuscript which would contain a single work of such length is extremely unusual. Most likely, the *ApoBA* was a text focused on the events surrounding the Passion of Christ (although it included, perhaps, the death and resurrection as well) and we do not have reasons to believe that it covered many leaves before page 97 of the Berlin codex. Therefore, the assumption that the page numbers of Strasbourg Copte 7 and 5 can be established on the basis of the Berlin witness is workable only if the latter really filled the whole codex, which is very unlikely to be the case.

Thus, being the case that Strasbourg Copte 6 and P. Berol. 22220 100-101 have so many things in common, it is possible that they actually are parallel fragments. However, as they do not correspond to one another verbatim, the two manuscripts are, naturally, slightly divergent at this point. This assumption, which is only tentative without a clear parallel between the two texts, has the advantage that it leaves untouched the hypothesis that the Berlin and the Strasbourg manuscripts are two copies of the same text.



## CHAPTER III: THE HISTORY OF THE RESEARCH ON THE *APOCRYPHON BEROLINENSE/ARGENTORATENSE*

### III.1 A New Ancient Gospel?

During the 1995 AAR/SBL Annual Meeting in Philadelphia, Charles W. Hedrick announced the discovery, in the papyrological collection of the Egyptian Museum in West Berlin, of a Coptic parchment manuscript (P. Berol. 22220), which presumably preserved an ancient Christian gospel.<sup>1</sup> The announcement was reiterated at the 6<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Coptic Studies, which took place in Munster, July 20-26, 1996.<sup>2</sup> At the Philadelphia meeting, Hedrick found out that another scholar, Paul A. Mirecki, was already working on this manuscript. Thus, the *editio princeps* of P. Berol. 22220 was published conjointly by Hedrick and Mirecki a few years later, in 1999.<sup>3</sup> Because the title has not survived in the manuscript, the editors called it conventionally the *Gospel of the Savior*.<sup>4</sup>

Already in the two preliminary reports, Charles Hedrick underlined that the manuscript contains logia of Jesus, which do not follow literally those known from the New Testament. This feature may suggest, according to Hedrick, that P. Berol. 22220 does not draw on the canonical gospels but, rather, on the oral tradition of the sayings of Christ.<sup>5</sup> Later, in the introduction to the *editio princeps*, Hedrick approximately dated the manuscript between the 4<sup>th</sup> and the 7<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>6</sup> but, as for the writing itself, he postulated a lost Greek original,

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<sup>1</sup> C.W. Hedrick, "A Newly Discovered Gospel (Berlin MSS P22220) and the Early Christian Tradition," *AARSBLA 1998* (1998) 381-382.

<sup>2</sup> C.W. Hedrick, "A Preliminary Report on Coptic Codex P. Berol. Inv. 22220", in S. Emmel et al. (eds.), *Ägypten und Nubien in spätantiker und christlicher Zeit. Akten des 6. Internationalen Koptologenkongresses, Münster, 20.-26. Juli 1996*, vol. 2: *Schrifttum, Sprache und Gedankenwelt* (Sprachen und Kulturen des Christlichen Orients, 6/2; Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1999) 127-130.

<sup>3</sup> C.W. Hedrick – P.A. Mirecki, *Gospel of the Savior. A New Ancient Gospel* (Santa Rosa: Polebridge, 1999).

<sup>4</sup> On this title cf. supra, chapter II.1.

<sup>5</sup> Hedrick, "Preliminary Report," 130.

<sup>6</sup> Hedrick – Mirecki, *Gospel of the Savior*, 15.

no older than the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE.<sup>1</sup> This earlier dating would underline the great importance of the text, which represents a product of proto-orthodox Christianity:

[...] the Gospel of the Savior was composed at a time when Christian oral traditions were still influential as written gospel texts. Thus the latest date for the composition of the Gospel of the Savior that best fits these conditions is the later half of the second century before the canonical gospels had consolidated their influence over the church and at which time the oral tradition remained a viable competitor to the written texts.<sup>2</sup>

In another contribution published a few years after the *editio princeps*, Hedrick expressed again the same view, emphasizing that the logia of P. Berol. 22220 are as venerable as those in the synoptic gospels and the *Gospel of Thomas*.<sup>3</sup>

Apparently, Mirecki's first conclusion after he checked the manuscript in Berlin was that the writing "is comprised of gospel-like material that was originally embedded in another text of a different genre, such as a homily or a letter."<sup>4</sup> However, this possibility was not explored by the first editors, who seemed to favor the hypothesis that P. Berol. 22220 was a sayings gospel, perhaps punctuated by some narrative episodes.<sup>5</sup>

According to Hedrick, the original language of such a venerable document must necessarily be Greek. He tried to find traces of the translation from Greek in the "unusual use" of the verb  $\omega\omicron\rho\pi\tau$ .<sup>6</sup> Thus, Hedrick claimed that at 110, col. B,13-15 the Coptic  $\omega\omicron\rho\pi\tau$ , which normally means "to be early to/for," renders the metaphorical sense of the Greek  $\acute{o}\rho\theta\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$ , "be eager" or "go eagerly." However, arguments against this view have been provided by Peter Nagel, who showed that, although  $\omega\omicron\rho\pi\tau$  is not recorded with this particular meaning in Crum's Coptic dictionary, the word was in fact used also in the metaphorical sense by

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibidem*, 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, 23.

<sup>3</sup> C.W. Hedrick, "An Anecdotal Argument for the Independence of the *Gospel of Thomas* from the Synoptic Gospels," in H.-G. Bethge et al. (eds.), *For the Children, Perfect Instruction. Studies in Honor of Hans-Martin Schenke on the Occasion of the Berliner Arbeitskreis für koptisch-gnostische Schriften's Thirtieth Year* (Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies, 54; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2002) 113-126, at 123.

<sup>4</sup> Hedrick – Mirecki, *Gospel of the Savior*, 19.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*, 18-19.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*, 12-13.

the Copts.<sup>1</sup> Nagel pointed out that, in conjunction with the preposition ε-, εροε, ωοριε sometimes translates the metaphorical meaning of ὀρθρίζειν πρός τινα in the Sahidic version of the Bible. Thus, by quoting several Biblical passages in which ωοριε translates the metaphorical meaning of ὀρθρίζειν, “be eager” or “go eagerly,” Nagel documented that this sense of the word was well known to the Copts and, consequently, the hypothesis of a Greek original behind the text of P. Berol. 22220 is not necessary:

Mag auch die Bedeutung ωοριε ε-, εροε, »eifrig suchen nach« letztlich auf das Muster des griechischen ὀρθρίζειν πρός τινα zurückzuführen sein, so besagt dies nichts für eine ebensolche Übersetzungsvorlage des UBE. Einem koptischen Autor, der ein so artifizielles Werk wie das UBE schaffen konnte, war die Wendung mit Sicherheit aus den Psalmen bekannt, ohne daß er die Septuagintavorlage konsultieren müßte.<sup>2</sup>

In conclusion, ωοριε/ὀρθρίζειν does not constitute a decisive argument that P. Berol. 22220 was translated from Greek.

Immediately after the announcement concerning the rediscovery of the manuscript, and presumably because the label ‘ancient gospel’ has been attached to it, discussions were stirred up both among scholars of early Christianity and public at large.<sup>3</sup> Henry W. Leathem Rietz wrote in a 1997 issue of the *Religious Studies News*:

Fragments of a previously unknown Coptic gospel have been identified in a Berlin museum. Paul A. Mirecki, associate professor of religious studies at the University of Kansas, and Charles W. Hedrick, professor of religious studies at Southwest Missouri State University, announced in March their discovery of a previously unknown Christian gnostic gospel that provides an important witness to Jesus traditions and attests to the rich diversity of Christianity in the early period.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> P. Nagel, “‘Gespräche Jesu mit seinen Jüngern von der Auferstehung’ – Zur Herkunft und Datierung des ‘Unbekannten Berliner Evangeliums’,” *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 94 (2003) 215-257, at 227-229.

<sup>2</sup> Ibidem, 229.

<sup>3</sup> The public at large was informed via Reuters agency, who released a media announcement on March 13, 1997, stating that the text “probably belonged to one of the so-called Gnostic groups of the first or second century” (the words actually belong to the late William Brashear, at that time the curator of the Berlin Papyrussammlung).

<sup>4</sup> H.W.L. Rietz, “Scholars Announce Discovery of New Gnostic Gospel,” *Religious Studies News* 12:2 (May 1997) 4.

The title *Gospel of the Savior* attracted rapidly also the attention of mass media, who presented the new “gospel” as a sensational discovery. In a media report, Paul Mirecki stated that “[t]his lost gospel presents us with more primary evidence that the origins of early Christianity were far more diverse than medieval church historians would tell us ... Early orthodox histories denigrated and then banished from political memory the existence of these peaceful people and their sacred texts, of which this gospel is one.”<sup>1</sup>

In April 2006, when the *Gospel of Judas* was presented by the National Geographic Society, the *Gospel of the Savior* had already gained its place among the apocrypha, being quoted in the list of writings which did not make it into the New Testament. About the same period, Bart D. Ehrman remarked: “In the 1980s a book called the Gospel of the Savior turned up, which narrates Jesus’ last hours and his final words delivered... to the cross! And now there is the Gospel of Judas, another Gnostic dialogue that discusses the ‘secret revelation’ Jesus gave to Judas Iscariot.”<sup>2</sup> The view that the text is a gospel which escaped from the canon was expressed by the same author in another book.<sup>3</sup>

Perhaps the Gnosticizing elements, timidly suggested already in the *editio princeps*, were the reason why David M. Scholer included P. Berol. 22220 in the “Nag Hammadi Bibliography.”<sup>4</sup> In her already classic book on the critique of Gnosticism as an ancient phenomenon, Karen L. King mentioned, in passing, the *Gospel of the Savior* as an ancient testimony, one of the “evidence[s] of early stages of the Jesus tradition.”<sup>5</sup> In another article, King noted about the same text that it “evinces a wide variety of theological and philosophical perspectives ... giving a remarkable glimpse into the cultural hybridity of ancient urban pluralism.”<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Available on the Internet at <http://www.oread.ku.edu/Oread97/OreadMarch7/page5/researchers.html>.

<sup>2</sup> B.D. Ehrman, *The Lost Gospel of Judas Iscariot: A New Look at Betrayer and Betrayed* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006) 179.

<sup>3</sup> B.D. Ehrman, *Lost Christianities: The Battles for Scripture and the Faiths We Never Knew* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003) 50: “[The *Gospel of the Savior* is] the most recent non-canonical gospel discovery.” Cf. also the remarks of the same author in B.D. Ehrman, *Lost Scriptures: Books That Did Not Make It Into the New Testament* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 52-53

<sup>4</sup> D.M. Scholer, *Nag Hammadi Bibliography 1995-2006* (Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies, 65; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2009) 68-70.

<sup>5</sup> K.L. King, *What is Gnosticism?* (Cambridge – London: Harvard University Press, 2003) 151 n. 10, 163.

<sup>6</sup> K.L. King, “Gnosticism,” in S. Iles Johnston (ed.), *Religions of the Ancient World: A Guide* (Cambridge – London: Harvard University Press, 2004) 652-655, at 654.



For her part, April DeConick thought she could discern in P. Berol. 22220 early Christian ideas inherited from Jewish apocalypticism. She confessed: “When Paul Mirecki asked to consult with me on this find in the spring of 1998, I was both delighted and shocked with the manuscript. Here we have a splendid example of early Christian text exhibiting features associated with Jewish mystical ascent traditions.”<sup>1</sup> As regards the origin of the document, she postulated “an early second-century Syrian text that was involved in the continuing debate between those Christians who identified themselves with the Syrian vision mystics and those Christians who supported the perspective of the Johannine faith mystics.”<sup>2</sup>

A possible Jewish or Jewish-Christian connection of the text was explored by Claire Clivaz in two articles.<sup>3</sup> She suggested that P. Berol. 22220 102, col. A,2-6; col. B,6-10, where Jesus is described mourning in the garden of Gethsemane, could be based on an interpretation of Hebrews 5:7: “in the days of His flesh, when He had offered up prayers and supplications, with vehement cries and tears to Him who was able to save Him from death.” According to Clivaz, in *ApoBA* Christ prays to his Father and supplicates in tears on behalf of the people of Israel,<sup>4</sup> a literary theme for which she postulated a Jewish origin.

There are, however, several problems with this hypothesis. First of all, why should we see the mourning of Christ in the garden of Gethsemane in our text as an interpretation of Hebrews 5:7, when we read in Matthew 26:37/Mark 14:33 that “He began to be sorrowful and deeply distressed (ἤρξατο λυπεῖσθαι καὶ ἀδημονεῖν)” and, one verse later, that he was exceedingly sorrowful (περίλυπός) (Matthew 26:38/Mark 14:34)? Secondly, in *ApoBA* Christ does not mourn and supplicate God only for others but also for himself. The Coptic text makes clear at this point that Jesus is afraid of being killed by the Jews. While Clivaz

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<sup>1</sup> A. DeConick, *Voices of the Mystics: Early Christian Discourse in the Gospel of John and Thomas and Other Ancient Christian Literature* (Journal for the Study of the New Testament. Supplement Series, 157; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001) 136-137.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, 151.

<sup>3</sup> C. Clivaz, “L’Évangile du Sauveur, He 5,7 et la prière de supplication: en quête d’autres traditions sur la prière au Mont des Oliviers,” *Apocrypha* 18 (2007) 109-138; Idem, “Hebrews 5.7, Jesus’ Prayer on the Mount of Olives and Jewish Christianity: Hearing Early Christian Voices in Canonical and Apocryphal Texts,” in R. Bauckham et al. (eds.), *A Cloud of Witnesses. The Theology of Hebrews in its Ancient Contexts* (Library of New Testament Studies; New York: T & T Clark, 2008) 187-209.

<sup>4</sup> Clivaz, “L’Évangile du Sauveur,” 113: “Jesus pleure ... et explique que cette tristesse est due à son souci et à son amour pour le peuple d’Israël.” Cf. already J. Frey, “Leidenskampf und Himmelsreise. Das Berliner Evangelien-Fragment (Papyrus Berolinensis 22220) und die Gethsemane-Tradition,” *Biblische Zeitschrift* 46 (2002) 71-96, at 89ff.

favors a reading of the theme of Christ's mourning in an early Christian context, I think a later setting is more suitable.

In my opinion, this theme points to the 5<sup>th</sup> century debates concerning the human qualities of Christ. According to Cyril of Alexandria's view, shared by the Coptic church, Jesus Christ was identical to us in all things, sin excepted. A good example is provided by Cyril's *First Letter to Succensus* (CPG 5345): "The scripture says that he was wearied from the journey, experienced sleepiness, anxiety, pain, and all the blameless human passions."<sup>1</sup> This passage in *ApoBA* is meant to underline the frailty and, consequently, the reality of Christ's human nature. Although divine, he was seized with fear in the face of death. This portion of the text should be compared to the similar treatment of the Gethsemane scene in a still unpublished Coptic apocryphal Passion narrative, inserted in a homily attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem (*De passione I*; CPG 3598; clavis coptica 0114).<sup>2</sup>

All these examples taken from secondary literature indicate that Hedrick and Mirecki's proposal concerning an early dating of the text of P. Berol. 22220 radically influenced the scholarship. The examples can be easily multiplied: Philip Jenkins called it "[t]he most recent candidate for a primitive gospel,"<sup>3</sup> whereas second or early third century origins have been postulated by Arthur J. Dewey,<sup>4</sup> Birger A. Pearson,<sup>5</sup> Timothy Paul Jones,<sup>6</sup> PHEME Perkins,<sup>7</sup> John S. Kloppenborg,<sup>8</sup> and Hans-Josef Klauck.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Translation in J.A. McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria: The Christological Controversy. Its History, Theology, and Texts* (Supplements to *Vigiliae Christianae*, 23; Leiden – New York – Köln: E.J. Brill, 1994) 357.

<sup>2</sup> Text in Pierpont Morgan codex M 595, f. 10r.

<sup>3</sup> P. Jenkins, *Hidden Gospels: How the Search for Jesus Lost Its Way* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001) 230.

<sup>4</sup> A.J. Dewey, "The Gospel of the Savior: A Gem in a Jigsaw Puzzle," *Proceedings: Eastern Great Lakes and Midwest Biblical Societies* 22 (2002) 1-15.

<sup>5</sup> B.A. Pearson, *Gnosticism and Christianity in Roman and Coptic Egypt* (Studies in Antiquity & Christianity; London – New York: T & T Clark, 2004) 58: "sometime early in the third century."

<sup>6</sup> T.P. Jones, *Misquoting Truth: A Guide to the Fallacies of Bart Ehrman's Misquoting Jesus* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2007) 133: "Not only *Gospel of Peter* but also other post-apostolic accounts of the life and teachings of Jesus – *Gospel of Judas*, *Gospel of Mary*, *Gospel of Philip*, *Gospel of the Egyptians*, *Gospel of the Savior*, *Gospel of Truth* and several others – emerged in the second and third centuries..."

<sup>7</sup> She dedicates to P. Berol. 22220 an entire section in the chapter "Gospels from the Second and Third Centuries" in her *Introduction to the Synoptic Gospels* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2007) 281-287.

<sup>8</sup> J.S. Kloppenborg, *Q, the Earliest Gospel: An Introduction to the Original Stories and Sayings of Jesus* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2008) viii: "The discovery of new extra-canonical Gospels in the past sixty years – the *Gospel of Thomas*, the *Gospel of Philip*, the *Gospel of the Savior*, the *Gospel of Judas* –

While Hedrick and Mirecki's edition was still in press, Hans-Martin Schenke published an article on *ApoBA*, or 'Unbekanntes Berliner Evangelium', as he called it, based on a conference he held in Halle in 1998.<sup>2</sup> Schenke translated the text into German and added to the translation some commentaries and observations. A slightly modified version of his translation was published later by Uwe-Karsten Plisch.<sup>3</sup>

In his article, Schenke proposed, very carefully, a tentative identification of *ApoBA* with a part of the *Gospel of Peter*. The arguments would be: 1) *ApoBA* is written in the first person plural, which could mean that Peter, one of the twelve apostles, is recounting the story using "we"; 2) in both texts the Jews are blamed for crucifying Christ; 3) the theme of the *Descensus ad inferos*; 4) the personification of the Cross. In order to argue for the last point, Schenke offered a few examples in which Christ addresses to the personified Cross in *ApoBA*. Of interest to note in this regard is that he preferred to translate P. Berol. 22220, col. B,13-15, [ω]ορῖκ ἐποι ᾧ [π]ε̅ϛ̅ϛ̅. ἀνοκ ρ[ω] †ναωορῖτ̅τ̅ ε̅ροκ, as "You go in front of me, I, myself, shall go in front of you,"<sup>4</sup> comparing this passage to *Gospel of Peter* 42, where the resurrected Christ walks in front of the Cross.<sup>5</sup>

Schenke supplied also a series of points on which *ApoBA* and the *Gospel of Peter* differ in details.<sup>6</sup> In my view, in order to show that two texts are identical, it is the details which are the significant elements, not the general ideas. Judith Hartenstein, who compared in a paper the *ApoBA* with the *Gospel of Peter*, rightly pointed out concerning Schenke's hypothesis:

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has made it clear that the Jesus movement was variegated and diverse, with early Jesus groups constituting themselves around differing sets of traditions, differing ethnocultural identities, and differing ecclesial practices."

<sup>1</sup> H.-J. Klauck, *The Apocryphal Gospels. An Introduction* (London: T&T Clark, 2004) 28: "External indications suggest a dating of the codex between the fourth and the seventh centuries; the balance of probabilities tilts slightly towards the sixth century ... Initially, an early date (between 100 and 150 CE) was suggested, but more cautious counsels have prevailed: the earliest plausible date is the close of the second or early third century."

<sup>2</sup> H.-M. Schenke, "Das sogenannte 'Unbekannte Berliner Evangelium' (UBE)," *Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum* 2 (1998) 199-213. Following Schenke, the German scholars preferred to identify the text as "Unbekanntes Berliner Evangelium" and we can find this designation even now in German publications.

<sup>3</sup> U.-K. Plisch, *Verborgene Worte Jesu – verworfene Evangelien. Apokryphe Schriften des frühen Christentums* (Berlin: Evangelische Haupt-Bibelgesellschaft und von Cansteinsche Bibelanstalt, 2000) 27-34. Cf. more recently H.-M. Schenke, "Das Unbekannte Berliner Evangelium, auch 'Evangelium des Erlösers' genannt," in C. Marksches – J. Schröter (eds.), *Antike christliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung* vol. 1/2: *Evangelien und Verwandtes* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012) 1277-1289.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. supra the discussion of the translation of ωορῖκ.

<sup>5</sup> Schenke, "'Unbekannte Berliner Evangelium'," 205-207.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*, 207.

“Allerdings handelt es sich jeweils um eine Parallelität von Motiven, nicht um Zitate oder Anlehnungen, die eine Kenntnis des Textes zwingend voraussetzen.”<sup>1</sup>

Another tentative identification of *ApoBA* was proposed by Uwe-Karsten Plisch in an article published in 2005 in the *Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum*.<sup>2</sup> Following Schenke’s suggestion, Plisch considered the *Gospel of Peter* as the most important source of *ApoBA*, except for the Gospels of Matthew and John.<sup>3</sup> As to the identification of the work, he advanced the hypothesis that P. Berol. 22220 could have been part of the lost *Gospel of Andrew*. Plisch pointed out that, in the *Acts of Andrew* (CANT 225), the Cross is also personified, like in the *Gospel of Peter* and *ApoBA*. Moreover, in the *Acts of Andrew* and *ApoBA*, the two protagonists, Andrew and Christ, address to the Cross before their death. Plisch tried to show that some of the words in the speech of the apostle to the Cross are recognizable in a passage from the Berlin parchment. The occurrence of the name Andrew in P. Berol. 22220 97, col. A,31-32 would be another argument that *ApoBA* is related to the literature connected to this apostle. Finally, in the 5<sup>th</sup> century *Decretum Gelasianum*, the *Gospel of Bartholomew*, which, perhaps, Plisch assumes to be the same text as the Coptic *Book of Bartholomew* (CANT 80; clavis coptica 0027), is mentioned directly before the *Gospel of Andrew*. This would explain the connection between the *Book of Bartholomew* and *ApoBA*, which has been convincingly demonstrated by Stephen Emmel.<sup>4</sup> In Plisch’s view, all these arguments could indicate that the Berlin document belonged to the lost *Gospel of Andrew*, which presumably served as a source for the *Acts of Andrew* as well.

The connection between the address to the Cross in the *Acts of Andrew* and *ApoBA*, which was mentioned only in relation to a minor detail in the *editio princeps* of the Berlin parchment, is definitely a valuable observation.<sup>5</sup> However, the other arguments listed above are not very convincing. First of all, the influence of the *Gospel of Peter* on *ApoBA* is not

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<sup>1</sup> J. Hartenstein, “Das Petrus-evangelium als Evangelium,” in T.J. Klaus – T. Nicklas (eds.), *Das Evangelium nach Petrus. Text, Kontexte, Intertexte* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007) 159-181, at 170.

<sup>2</sup> U.-K. Plisch, “Zu einigen Einleitungsfragen des Unbekannten Berliner Evangeliums (UBE),” *Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum* 9 (2005) 64-84.

<sup>3</sup> Plisch, “Einleitungsfragen,” 72: “Eine weitere (und neben Joh und Mt die wichtigste) Quelle des UBE ist nämlich das Petrus-evangelium.” Cf. his arguments on the literary relationships between *ApoBA* and the *Gospel of Peter* on 76-78.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. S. Emmel, “The Recently Published *Gospel of the Savior* (“Unbekanntes Berliner Evangelium”): Righting the Order of Pages and Events,” *Harvard Theological Review* 95 (2002) 45-72, at 48 *et passim*.

<sup>5</sup> Hedrick – Mirecki, *Gospel of the Savior*, 116.

clear. As I have already said, the parallels provided up till now are too vague and general. As to the occurrence of the name of the apostle Andrew in P. Berol. 22220 97, col. A,31-32 there is, in my view, a logical argument to dismiss the hypothesis that the *ApoBA* was connected to him in a particular way. As, on one hand, the writing makes reference to “we, the apostles” (P. Berol. 22220 101, col. A,2-3), being thus written in the first person plural, and Andrew is referred in the third person singular in P. Berol. 22220 97, col. A,31-32, on the other, we can be fairly certain the text was not attributed to him.

Last but not least, it is doubtful that the *Decretum Gelasianum* would be helpful for this argument because *ApoBA* does not have literary contact to the *Gospel of Bartholomew* mentioned therein, but rather with the *Book of Bartholomew* preserved in Sahidic (CANT 80; clavis coptica 0027), which is a different text.

Except for the extravagant theories of Eugène Revillout, who thought he found vestiges of the *Gospel of Bartholomew* in Sahidic fragments, even the most optimistic scholar could not identify the *Gospel of Bartholomew* with the Coptic *Book of Bartholomew* or the *Book of the Resurrection of Christ by Bartholomew the Apostle*, as it is sometimes called. For their part, André Wilmart and Eugène Tisserant said in an old article that the Coptic text is “une pauvre rhapsodie,” “une rédaction métaphrastique, et notablement divergente”<sup>1</sup> of the *Gospel of Bartholomew*. However, even this hypothesis must be dismissed since the studies of Jean-Daniel Kaestli and Pierre Cherix revealed that the Sahidic *Book of Bartholomew* is an independent writing whose only point of contact with the other works related to Bartholomew is that it regards this apostle as a depositary of divine secrets.<sup>2</sup>

All these arguments make it unlikely that *ApoBA* would be in any way related to the *Acts* or the *Gospel of Andrew*.

The interpretation of the Bible in *ApoBA*, especially the numerous parallels to the farewell discourse in the Gospel of John, have been explored by Jörg Frey<sup>3</sup> and Titus Nagel.<sup>1</sup> The

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<sup>1</sup> A. Wilmart – E. Tisserant, “Fragments grecs et latins de l’Évangile de Barthélémy,” *Revue biblique* n.s. 10 (1913) 161-190, at 169, 170.

<sup>2</sup> J.-D. Kaestli, “Où en est l’étude de l’Évangile de Barthélémy?” *Revue biblique* 95 (1988) 5-33; J.-D. Kaestli – P. Cherix, *L’Évangile de Barthélémy* (Collection Apocryphes; Turnhout: Brepols, 1993).

<sup>3</sup> Frey, “Leidenskampf und Himmelsreise.”

research carried out independently by the two scholars led to the conclusion that the text of the apocryphon depends on the canonical gospels and not on the oral sayings tradition, as it was suggested in the *editio princeps*. For example, Titus Nagel concluded, after he analyzed the parallels to the Gospel of John in *ApoBA*:

Die beste Möglichkeit zur Erklärung der zahlreichen Wortlautübereinstimmungen mit dem Joh (aber auch mit dem Mt), die teilweise als Zitate zu bezeichnen sind und insgesamt in hoher Dichte auftreten, stellt die Annahme der literarischen Abhängigkeit dar, und zwar Abhängigkeit in dem Sinne, daß das UBE ohne die vorgenannten Texte nicht in der vorliegenden Form hätte verfaßt werden können.<sup>2</sup>

### III.2 Other Documents Emerge: The Strasbourg Fragments and the Qasr el-Wizz Codex

A real impetus to further developments of the research on *ApoBA* was given by several articles published by Stephen Emmel. He reconstructed the Berlin manuscript on codicological grounds, which led to a better understanding of the order of the events in *ApoBA*.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, he studied the literary dependence between P. Berol. 22220 and other Coptic documents.

Firstly, he argued, convincingly in my view, that P. Berol. 22220 and Strasbourg Copte 5-7<sup>4</sup> are two copies of the same work.<sup>5</sup> Studying the parallels between the two manuscripts, Emmel remarked that “this newly discovered text (i.e. P. Berol. 22220) is, in fact, a second witness to the work that has been known for a century from the ‘Strasbourg Coptic Gospel

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<sup>1</sup> T. Nagel, “Das ‘Unbekannte Berliner Evangelium’ und das Johannesevangelium,” *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 93 (2002) 251-267.

<sup>2</sup> Ibidem, 264.

<sup>3</sup> Emmel, “Righting the Order”; cf. chapter I supra.

<sup>4</sup> On the Strasbourg Coptic fragments see chap. I supra and the following bibliography: A. Jacoby, *Ein neues Evangelienfragment* (Strasbourg: Karl J. Trubner, 1900); W.E. Crum, “Notes on the Strassburg Gospel Fragments,” *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 22 (1900) 72-76; W. Spiegelberg – A. Jacoby, “Zu dem Strassburger Evangelien-fragment. Eine Antikritik,” *Sphinx* 4 (1901) 171-193; W. Schneemelcher, “The Strasbourg Coptic Papyrus,” in W. Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha* vol. 1: *Gospels and Related Writings* (Cambridge: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1991) 103-105; D. Bertrand, “Papyrus Strasbourg copte 5-6,” in F. Bovon – P. Geoltrain, *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens* vol. 1 (Bibliothèque de la Pléiade; Paris: Gallimard, 1997) 425-428.

<sup>5</sup> See S. Emmel, “Unbekanntes Berliner Evangelium = The Strasbourg Coptic Gospel: Prolegomena to a New Edition of the Strasbourg Fragments,” in H.-G. Bethge et al. (eds.), *For the Children, Perfect Instruction. Studies in Honor of Hans-Martin Schenke on the Occasion of the Berliner Arbeitskreis für koptisch-gnostische Schriften’s Thirtieth Year* (Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies, 54; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2002) 353-374.

Fragments’.”<sup>1</sup> In order to defend his hypothesis, he showed that the hymn of the Cross displays word for word parallels in both manuscripts. These parallels have been discussed previously, in chapter II of this dissertation.

Secondly, Emmel identified yet another text which has literary connections with the Berlin parchment. This document was discovered by the archeological mission of the Oriental Institute in Chicago in 1965 at Qasr el-Wizz, near the Sudanese border.<sup>2</sup> The little Coptic book includes two texts: A) a revelation dialogue of Jesus with the apostles on the Mount of Olives, which, except for the literary style and some particular expressions, like the appellation of the disciples by the vocative “O my holy members,” does not parallel *ApoBA*; B) a hymn that Christ sings to the Cross, which, as I showed in chapter II, is an abbreviated version of the hymn in P. Berol. 22220 107, col. B,17ff. and Strasbourg Copte 7 + 5r.

As to the dating of the document and its relevance in the context of early Christian literature, Emmel followed the hypothesis of other scholars in assuming that it “is an invaluable witness to older Christian traditions that bypassed the canon.”<sup>3</sup> In his most recent article on this issue, he carefully suggested that the text may be the *Gospel of the Twelve Apostles* known by Origen and Jerome.<sup>4</sup>

Unfortunately, at the beginning of his research on *ApoBA*, Emmel did not have access to the Qasr el-Wizz codex, except for photographic reproductions consisting of only a few pages. Thus, he speculated that the first text in this codex might coincide with *ApoBA*. Since then, the manuscript has finally been published by the Hungarian scholar Péter

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<sup>1</sup> Ibidem, 13. See also Idem, “Preliminary Reedition and Translation of the *Gospel of the Savior*: New Light on the Strasbourg Coptic Gospel and the Stauros-Text from Nubia,” *Apocrypha* 14 (2003) 9-53, at 15: “the parchment manuscript in Berlin and the papyrus manuscript in Strasbourg are two copies of one and the same ancient work.”

<sup>2</sup> The discovery has been announced in mass media and in several academic publications of the period: Knudstad, in *Kush* 14 (1966) 171; Leclant, in *Orientalia* 36 (1967) 159-60; Hughes, in *The Oriental Institute Report for 1965/66*, 10-13; Browne, in *Proceeding of the Fifth International Conference of the Society for Nubian Studies, Heidelberg, 20-25 September 1982*; G.T. Scanlon – G. Hingot, “Slip-Painted Pottery from Wizz,” *African Arts* 2 (1968) 10; S. Knox in *New York Times* from 24<sup>th</sup> December 1965. George R. Hughes, translated the manuscript in 1966, but his work remained unpublished. Cf. supra chap. I.3.

<sup>3</sup> Emmel, “The Recently Published”, 51.

<sup>4</sup> Emmel, “Ein altes Evangelium der Apostel taucht in Fragmenten aus Ägypten und Nubien auf,” *Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum* 9 (2005) 85-99, at 95.

Hubai, which offered the opportunity to document the relationships between this codex and *ApoBA*, and, in so doing, to dismiss this possibility.<sup>1</sup>

The first text of the el-Wizz codex is introduced as “A discourse which our savior and our Lord, Jesus Christ, told to his glorious saints, the apostles, before he was taken up, about the power, assurance and the way of being of the glorious and life-giving Cross.” The apostles are gathered together on the Mount of Olives, four days before the Ascension. As Christ promised to reveal everything to them, Peter questions him concerning the mystery of the Cross and its role at the Last Judgment, so that the apostles might proclaim it to the whole world. It follows a revelatory speech in which Jesus explains to the apostles the way in which he will judge the righteous and the sinners at the end of times in the valley of Jehoshaphat.

This revelation discourse is the Coptic version of a text which has been known for a long time in Nubian. The Nubian text was published in 1913 by Francis Llewellyn Griffith after the manuscript Berlin MS Or. 1020.<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to remark that, whilst in the Qasr el-Wizz codex the revelation of Jesus is followed by the abbreviated version of the hymn of the Cross in *ApoBA*, in the Nubian manuscript it follows an excerpt from the homily *In venerabilem crucem sermo* (CPG 4525), attributed to John Chrysostom. This hymn comprises an extensive *Laus Crucis*, which is an assembly of epithets and appellations for the Cross.

Although *In venerabilem* is not a genuinely Chrysostomic piece, it must have been composed relatively early, perhaps even during John Chrysostom’s lifetime. Thus, the text

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<sup>1</sup> Hubai published a preliminary report in “Unbekannte koptische Apocryphe aus Nubien (Vorläufiger Bericht),” in H. Györy (ed.), *Le lotus qui sort de terre. Mélanges offerts à Edith Varga* (Bulletin du Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts. Supplément; Budapest: Szépművészeti Múzeum, 2001) 309-323. The edition was first published in Hungarian as P. Hubai, *A Megváltó a keresztről. Kopt apokrifek Nubiából* (A Kasr el-Wizz kódex) (Cahiers patristiques. Textes coptes; Budapest: Szent István társulat, 2006). A German translation from Hungarian is now available: *Koptische Apokryphen aus Nubien. Der Kasr el-Wizz Kodex* (Texte und Untersuchungen, 163; Berlin – New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009). Cf. also the following reviews: A. Jakob in *Apocrypha* 18 (2007) 342-344 (review of the Hungarian version); P.-H. Poirier in *Laval théologique et philosophique* 67 (2011) 187-189 (review of the German version).

<sup>2</sup> F.L. Griffith, *The Nubian Texts of the Christian Period* (Abhandlungen der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Jg. 1913. Phil.-hist. Classe, 8; Berlin: Reimer, 1913) 41-53; see also his article “Some Old Nubian Christian Texts,” *Journal of Theological Studies* 10 (1909) 545-551, esp. 545f. The text was reedited by G.M. Browne, “Griffith’s Stauros-Text,” *Studia Papyrologica* 22 (1983) 75-119. The manuscript was purchased in Cairo in 1906 by Carl Schmidt.



belongs to the Latin collection of thirty-eight homilies attributed to Chrysostom, which was known to Augustine very early in the 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1</sup> *In venerabilem* had a wide diffusion, as testified by the translations preserved in Latin,<sup>2</sup> Syriac,<sup>3</sup> Old Nubian,<sup>4</sup> Arabic,<sup>5</sup> Ethiopic,<sup>6</sup> Slavonic,<sup>7</sup> and Armenian.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, the popularity of *In venerabilem* litanies of the Cross is further documented by the so-called Ethiopic ሐጸ-ረ: መስቀል: (Ḥaşurā mäsqäl), the *Rampart of the Cross*, which is an imitation of the pseudo-Chrysostomic hymn.<sup>9</sup> Although no Coptic manuscript of *In venerabilem* has been discovered as yet, it is possible that the text existed in Coptic as well, and it served as a source for the Nubian translation. This is suggested not only by the Arabic manuscripts of Egyptian provenance, but also by several similar anaphoras of the Cross, which appear in Coptic.<sup>10</sup>

### III.3 Reframing the Apocryphon Berolinense/Argentoratense

Until now, we have seen that most of the scholars who studied P. Berol. 22220 suggested an early Christian provenance of the text. However, a different approach has been

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<sup>1</sup> A. Wilmart, “La collection des 38 homélies latines de Saint Jean Chrysostome,” *Journal of Theological Studies* 19 (1918) 305-327, at 315; B. Altaner, “Beiträge zur Geschichte der altlateinischen Übersetzungen von Väterschriften,” *Historisches Jahrbuch* 61 (1941) 208-226; S. Voicu, “Le prime traduzioni latine di Crisostomo,” in *Cristianesimo latino e cultura Greca sino al sec. IV. – XXI incontro di studiosi dell’antichità cristiana, Roma, 7-9 maggio 1992* (Studia ephemeridis ‘Augustinianum’, 42; Rome: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 1993) 397-415.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the preceding note.

<sup>3</sup> G.M. Browne, “Ps.-Chrysostom, *In venerabilem crucem sermo*: The Syriac Version,” *Le Muséon* 99 (1986) 39-59, Idem, “Ps.-Chrysostom, *In venerabilem crucem sermo*: The Greek Vorlage of the Syriac Version,” *Le Muséon* 103 (1990) 125-139.

<sup>4</sup> G.M. Browne, *Chrysostomus Nubianus: An Old Nubian Version of Ps.-Chrysostom*, *In venerabilem crucem sermo* (Papyrologica Castroctaviana, 10; Rome – Barcelona: Papyrologica Castroctaviana, 1984).

<sup>5</sup> M. Geerard – J. Noret, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum: Supplementum* (Corpus Christianorum; Turnhout: Brepols, 1998) 293.

<sup>6</sup> The Ethiopic translation is not mentioned in the *clavis graeca*, but see now D.V. Proverbio, *La recensione etiopica dell’omelia pseudocrisostomica De ficu exarata ed il suo tréfonds orientale* (Äthiopistische Forschungen, 50; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1998) 75, 90, 96. Cf. also W. Witakowski, “John Chrysostom,” in S. Uhlig (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* 3 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 2007) 293-295, at 294.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. M. Geerard, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* vol. 2: *Ab Athanasio ad Chrysostomus* (Corpus Christianorum; Turnhout: Brepols, 1974) 548 and Geerard – Noret, *CPG: Supplementum*, 293.

<sup>8</sup> Geerard, *CPG* 2, 548.

<sup>9</sup> S. Grébaud, “Litanies de la Croix,” *Aethiopica* 3 (1925) 187-190; D. Lifchitz, *Textes éthiopiens magico-religieux* (Travaux et mémoires de l’Institut d’ethnologie, 38; Paris: Institut d’ethnologie, 1940). On the general tenor of these Ethiopic texts, see B. Burtea, “Ḥaşurā mäsqäl,” in S. Uhlig (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* 2 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2005) 1045-1046.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. the sources quoted in A. Suci, “Ps.-Theophili Alexandrini *Sermo de Cruce et Latrone* (CPG 2622): Edition of Pierpont Morgan M595 with Parallels and Translation,” *Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum* 16 (2012) 181-225, at 194-197.

advocated by Peter Nagel, Joost Hagen, Pierluigi Piovanelli and myself. According to this perspective, *ApoBA* would be a writing probably composed in the 5<sup>th</sup> century at the earliest.

The first attempt to reframe the context of P. Berol. 22220, was made by Peter Nagel, who, in his response to the arguments advanced by Hedrick and Mirecki in their *editio princeps*, argued that the so-called “gospel” might in fact be a genuinely Coptic composition.<sup>1</sup> In his opinion, this is suggested by the quotations from the New Testament, which follow throughout the Sahidic version.<sup>2</sup> As to the dating of the work, Nagel pointed out that the Christology of *ApoBA* bear the marks of the 5<sup>th</sup> century debates concerning the person of Jesus. In this sense, he compared a passage from P. Berol. 22220, in which Christ says “I am the King, Amen! I [am] the [Son] of the King, Amen!” (108, col. A,17-20), with a similar idea that appears in the homily of Shenoute *And We Will Also Reveal Something Else* (clavis coptica 0821):<sup>3</sup> “The Lord, the king Christ, and the Son of the King.” Moreover, Nagel remarked that the views about the Eucharist in *ApoBA* (“The one who does not [receive] my body [and] my blood, this is a stranger to me,” P. Berol. 22220 109, col. A,11-15) are congruent with those expressed by Shenoute.<sup>4</sup> Finally, he compared paleographically P. Berol. 22220 with manuscripts from the Monastery of Apa Shenoute (i.e., the White Monastery) and concluded that the former might also come from the same source. Thus, all these similarities caused Nagel to suggest that *ApoBA* was produced somewhere in Upper Egypt in an environment familiar with the theology of Shenoute, sometimes in the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> or early 6<sup>th</sup> century.

Although his conclusions are, in my opinion, correct, there are a few criticisms which could be raised. The most important is that the content of the text does not necessarily show any direct influence from the works of Shenoute. Rather, they share similar literary *topoi* because they sprung from the same cultural milieu. For example, as I will try to show later, the similarity of the passages in which Christ is portrayed as King and, at the same time, as

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<sup>1</sup> Nagel, “‘Gespräche Jesu’.” Doubts concerning the gospel genre of the document were suggested to Charles Hedrick by Wolf-Peter Funk and Tito Orlandi, see Hedrick – Mirecki, *Gospel of the Savior*, 19 n. 24. It is also stated in the same place that “[t]his was Mirecki’s initial, but tentative, assessment of the fragments in 1991.”

<sup>2</sup> Nagel, “‘Gespräche Jesu’,” 234-238.

<sup>3</sup> For all the necessary bibliography on this sermon, cf. S. Emmel, *Shenoute’s Literary Corpus* vol. 2 (CSCO, 600. Subsidia, 112; Louvain: Peeters, 2004) 657

<sup>4</sup> Nagel, “‘Gespräche Jesu’,” 246-247.

Son of the King, is due to the fact that both Shenoute and the anonymous author(s) of *ApoBA* rely on a common interpretation of Psalm 71:1 (LXX): τὸ κρίμα σου τῷ βασιλεῖ δὸς καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην σου τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ βασιλέως. The Christological interpretation of this quotation appears already in Origen's *Commentary on John* (CPG 1453),<sup>1</sup> but it becomes common only from the 4<sup>th</sup> century onwards, in the context of the Christological debates of the period. In Coptic sources, Christ the King and the Son of the King is already a cliché. It appears often in the Coptic literary documents and its possible source could be the Sahidic Euchologion (the main priestly book, equivalent of the Roman Missal), which addresses to Christ at one point with the formula "You are the King and the Son of the King" (ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡ̅ⲣⲟ ⲁⲮⲱ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̅ⲡ̅ⲣⲟ).<sup>2</sup> In conclusion, the parallel provided by Nagel does not necessarily point to an influence of Shenoute upon *ApoBA*.

In a paper which I delivered at Laval University in 2006, during the meeting of the *Groupe de recherche sur le christianisme et l'Antiquité tardive* (GRECAT), I showed that there are many literal parallels between *ApoBA* and other Coptic texts.<sup>3</sup> The most notable of them is the expression "O my holy members," which Christ uses three times in the surviving parts of P. Berol. 22220 to designate his apostles (cf. 100, col. A,3-4; 107, col. B,18-19; Frag. 9F, col. A,5-6). This formula appears in at least two dozen other texts, either preserved in Coptic, or in Old Nubian, Arabic and Ethiopic. In the latter cases, it can be proven that the texts go back to Coptic originals. As it is well-known, many Christian Arabic texts preserved in Egyptian exemplars are translations from Coptic. From Arabic, these texts passed into Ethiopic during the acculturation of the Abyssinian church by the Alexandrian patriarchate.<sup>4</sup>

In my paper, I remarked that *ApoBA* is very likely to be one of the numerous Coptic texts which claim to be written by the apostles or their disciples. The principal characteristic of

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<sup>1</sup> C. Blanc, *Origène, Commentaire sur Saint Jean* (Sources chrétiennes, 120; Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1966) 156-157.

<sup>2</sup> E. Lanne, *Le Grand Euchologe du Monastère Blanc* (Patrologia Orientalis, 28/8; Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1958) 376 [112].

<sup>3</sup> A. Suci, "The 'Gospel' of the Savior in Its Context: Jesus and His Apostles in Coptic Apocryphal Literature" (unpublished).

<sup>4</sup> Many translations were made in the 14<sup>th</sup> century under Abba Salama II. Cf. A. van Lantschoot, "Abbā Salāma, métropolitaine d'Éthiopie (1348-1388) et son rôle de traducteur," in *Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Etiopici* (Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Quaderni, 48; Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1960) 397-401.

all these writings is their assertion that they are apostolic books or memoirs that record some of the original sayings of Jesus. They appear in the form of revelation dialogues between Christ and the apostles,<sup>1</sup> usually placed on the Mount of Olives. Jesus refers in his revelatory discourses to different topics (angelic beings, his birth, passion and resurrection, saintly figures or places), which all happen to coincide with specific events in the Coptic calendar. The apostles record the revelation and deposit the book, most often, in the library of Jerusalem for the benefit of future generations.

The relationship between *ApoBA* and some “apostolic diaries” has been explored in depth by Joost Hagen in a seminal article.<sup>2</sup> He showed that the expression “we, the apostles” in *ApoBA* (cf. P. Berol. 22220 101, col. A,2-3) does not have anything to do with a hypothetical *Gospel of the Twelve*. Rather, he was able to point out fourteen or fifteen other similar Coptic revelation dialogues which take place on the Mount of Olives and share a series of literary topoi. Hagen remarked about these little-known Coptic writings, which are fairly obscure outside a small circle of Coptologists:

Diese koptischen Texte sind offenbar eine Terra incognita der Apokryphenforschung, was auf eine Kluft zwischen Theologen und Koptologen (der auch der jetzige Autor, ein Koptologe, unterliegt) zurückgehen könnte. Bis jetzt hat man dadurch viele Zeichen für die wahre Art des fragmentarisch erhaltenen „Evangeliums des Erlösers“ nicht erkannt. Denn meines Erachtens ist nur die Gruppe dieser „neuen“ koptischen Schriften der wahre Kontext dieses „apokryphen Evangeliums“.<sup>3</sup>

As to the genre of the text, Hagen challenged the gospel label applied by previous studies, remarking that all the other texts which he used for comparison are, rather, homilies.

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<sup>1</sup> These revelation dialogues are often embedded in homiletic texts attributed to different Fathers of the Coptic church. Cf. already T. Orlandi, “Gli Apocrifi copti,” *Augustinianum* 23 (1983) 57-71, at 70-71.

<sup>2</sup> J. Hagen, “Ein anderer Kontext für die Berliner und Straßburger ‘Evangelienfragmente.’ Das ‘Evangelium des Erlösers’ und andere ‘Apostelevangeliien’ in der koptischen Literatur,” in J. Frey – J. Schröter (eds.), *Jesus in apokryphen Evangelienüberlieferungen. Beiträge zu außerkanonischen Jesusüberlieferungen aus verschiedenen Sprach- und Kulturtraditionen* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, 254; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010) 339-371. See also Idem, “The Diaries of the Apostles: ‘Manuscript Find’ and ‘Manuscript Fiction’ in Coptic Homilies and Other Literary Texts,” in M. Immerzeel – J. van der Vliet (eds.), *Coptic Studies on the Threshold of a New Millennium. Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Coptic Studies, Leiden, 27 August – 2 September 2000* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta; 133; Leuven – Paris – Dudley: Peeters, 2004) 349-367, although this study does not mention *ApoBA*.

<sup>3</sup> Hagen, “Ein anderer Kontext,” 348.

In a recent contribution on *ApoBA*, Pierluigi Piovanelli studied the hymn of the Cross and the similar composition which appears in the *Acts of John*.<sup>1</sup> To these sources, he added the hymn in the Qasr el-Wizz codex, which he thinks to be different from the one in the Berlin and Strasbourg manuscripts.

Piovanelli considers *ApoBA* as a late antique, rather than early Christian writing, elaborated in monastic circles. In defense of this position, Piovanelli remarked the

compilatory, not to mention novelistic, nature of the *Gospel of the Savior*, whose narrator does not hesitate to blend different traditions taken from both canonical (especially the gospels of Matthew and John) and extra-canonical sources ... In other words, the narrator of the *Gospel of the Savior* is painting a great narrative fresco of Christian origins, in which all the omissions and/or contradictions of the canonical accounts are explained for the benefit of the monks, nuns, and other late antique faithful.<sup>2</sup>

He pointed out that the interpretation of John 10:30 in *ApoBA* seems to fit better into the late antique context, namely into the Christological debates over Christ's two natures. According to Piovanelli, the author of the text comes from a long Egyptian exegetical tradition of John 10:30, which regarded this passage "as a proof of the hypostatic identity of the natures of the Son and the Father, as well as a sign of Christ's divine will that will allow him to triumph over all his human weaknesses in the garden of Gethsemane."<sup>3</sup>

The present research gravitates around the same axis and proposes a fresh look at the text from the angle of Coptic literature.

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<sup>1</sup> P. Piovanelli, "Thursday Night Fever: Dancing and Singing with Jesus in the *Gospel of the Savior* and the Dance of the Savior around the Cross," *Early Christianity* 3 (2012) 229-248.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, 237.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, 239.



## **CHAPTER IV: THE PLACE OF THE *APOCRYPHON BEROLINENSE/ARGENTORATENSE* IN COPTIC LITERATURE**

### **IV.1 “We, the Apostles.” The *Apocryphon Berolinense/Argentoratense* and Other Revelation Dialogues in Coptic Literature**

As I have already remarked, the narrative voice of *ApoBA* uses the first person plural to recount the events. Thus, we often find expressions such as “he said to us” (P. Berol. 22220 100, col. A,2), “we, too” (Ibidem, col. B,1-2), “we saw” (Ibidem, 17; 101, col. A,13), “we, the apostles” (Ibidem, 101, col. A,2-3), “we said to him” (Ibidem, 107, col. A,4), “he turned to us” (Strasbourg 5v,3) etc. Due to the fragmentary state of the Berlin and Strasbourg manuscripts, it is not clear whether the narrators are the apostles as a group or, rather, an individual apostle who speaks on behalf of his companions.

This peculiar characteristic, that is, the disciples of Christ relating in the first person plural the dialogues which they had with the Savior, is found in a well-defined, although little-known, category of texts. Tito Orlandi was the first to draw attention to this literary genre, peculiar to Coptic literature, which is formed of alleged writings attributed to the apostles or to one of their disciples.<sup>1</sup> Joost Hagen, who dedicated several studies to some of these texts, called them the “diaries of the apostles.”<sup>2</sup> Due to the fact that some of the writings in question are attributed to the seventy-two disciples, perhaps this formula is a bit too

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<sup>1</sup> T. Orlandi, “Gli apocriphi copti,” *Augustinianum* 23 (1983) 57-71, which calls these texts “i veri e propri apocriphi tramandati della letteratura copta” (71).

<sup>2</sup> J.L. Hagen, “The Diaries of the Apostles: ‘Manuscript Find’ and ‘Manuscript Fiction’ in Coptic Homilies and Other Literary Texts,” in Mat Immerzeel – J. van der Vliet (eds.), *Coptic Studies on the Threshold of a New Millennium. Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Coptic Studies, Leiden, 27 August – 2 September 2000* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 133; Leuven – Paris – Dudley: Peeters, 2004) 349-367; Idem, “‘The Great Cherub’ and His Brothers. Adam, Enoch and Michael and the Names, Deeds and Faces of the Creatures in Ps.-Chrysostom, *On the Four Creatures*,” in N. Bosson – A. Boud’hors (eds.), *Actes du huitième Congrès International d’études coptes. Paris, 28 juin – 3 juillet 2004* vol. 2 (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 163; Louvain: Peeters, 2007) 467-480; Idem, “Ein anderer Kontext für die Berliner und Strassburger ‘Evangelienfragmente.’ Das ‘Evangelium des Erlösers’ und andere ‘Apostelevangeliien’ in der koptischen Literatur,” in J. Frey – J. Schröter (eds.), *Jesus in apokryphen Evangelienüberlieferungen. Beiträge zu außerkanonischen Jesusüberlieferungen aus verschiedenen Sprach- und Kulturtraditionen* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, 254; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010) 339-371.

narrow. However, for the sake of convenience, I shall use this expression from time to time in the following pages.

Thus, numerous works ascribed to the apostles Peter, John, Bartholomew, James the Just, to the disciples Stephen the Protomartyr, Evodius, Gamaliel and Prochorus, or to the apostles as a group have survived. Some of these writings are lost in Coptic, but they can be recovered either in Arabic manuscripts of Egyptian provenance, or in Old Nubian and Ethiopic, the two languages used in the churches which were under the direct influence of the Alexandrian patriarchate.

Often after its completion, the book is deposited by the disciples in a library from the holy land. In most of the cases, the ancient writing is discovered later by one of the Fathers of the Coptic church, who copies it and includes his transcription in a sermon. The books allegedly contain first-hand testimonies of the apostles and disciples concerning the deeds and words of Christ. As it happens also in *ApoBA*, these writings include much gospel-like material and logia of Jesus. Due to these features, but also because of the fragmentary state in which most Coptic manuscripts are preserved, some fragments of the apostolic memoirs have been published in the past without proper identification as apocryphal gospels or apocalypses.<sup>1</sup> As I tried to show in chapter III, the Berlin and Strasbourg fragments of *ApoBA* have suffered a similar process, through which an imaginary new gospel has been created. Pierluigi Piovanelli rightly remarked that the publication of Coptic manuscript fragments must be done with caution:

before attributing ancient dates to Coptic fragmentary texts copied in medieval manuscripts, one should think of past failures and recall that, in spite of Eugène Revillout's claims about the antiquity of the so-called *Gospel of the Twelve*

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<sup>1</sup> Noteworthy is the case of E. Revillout, who published several fragments of the Sahidic apostolic books under the misleading title *Gospel of the Twelve Apostles*, see his "L'Évangile des XII Apôtres récemment découvert," *Revue biblique* 1 (1904) 167-187, 321-355; Idem, *Les apocryphes coptes. Première partie: Les Évangiles des douze apôtres et de Saint Barthélemy* (Patrologia Orientalis, 2/2; Paris: Firmin Didot, 1904) 131-184. Paulin Ladeuze and Anton Baumstark criticized Revillout's publication and considered that most of the fragments published by the French scholar actually come from the *Gospel of Gamaliel*, cf. P. Ladeuze, "Apocryphes évangéliques coptes. Pseudo-Gamaliel; Évangile de Barthélemy," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 7 (1906) 245-268; A. Baumstark, review of Revillout, *Les apocryphes coptes I*, in *Revue biblique* 3 (1906) 245-265. In their turn, Adolf von Harnack and Carl Schmidt edited a Berlin fragment from the *Book of Bartholomew* as a Moses-Adam apocalypse, cf. A. Harnack – C. Schmidt, "Ein koptisches Fragment einer Moses-Adam Apokalypse," *Sitzungsberichte der königlichen Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Classe* 28, 2 (1891) 1045-1049.



*Disciples*, the fragments that he published in 1904 are from a variety of different texts, including a late antique or early medieval homily. A better knowledge of the evolution of Coptic culture and literature sometimes can lead to a different appreciation of the documents under examination, and, needless to say, not every Coptic fragment necessarily derives from no longer extant second century and/or “Gnostic” texts.<sup>1</sup>

In my view, the analysis of those pseudo-memoirs of the apostles and disciples which are fully-preserved is necessary for a better understanding of the similar texts which survived only fragmentarily, like the *Apocryphon Berolinense/Argentoratense*. For example, the examination of the fully-preserved apostolic books allows us to identify in them echoes of 5<sup>th</sup> century Christological debates, a feature which should warn against regarding them as early documents.

The literary genre of these texts is not easy to discern. While many of them are introduced as “homily,” “exegesis,” or “discourse” of one of the church Fathers, the gospel-like material and certain apocryphal traditions which they incorporate have made many scholars to include them among Christian apocrypha. Concerning this issue, the remarks of Paulino Bellet about this kind of texts are still useful:

La homilía copta tiene, en general, un carácter compósito; junto al desarrollo del tema que es motivo de la exposición parenética, incluye otras varias narraciones sin conexión con la material de la homilía, y ama la inclusión de tradiciones inspiradas en los apócrifos, cuando no en antiguas leyendas populares ... la homilética copta acostumbra tratar su texto con máximas libertad y añadir narraciones de fantasía del gusto de los oyentes.<sup>2</sup>

Tito Orlandi characterized in similar terms this category of writings, drawing attention at

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<sup>1</sup> P. Piovanelli, “The Reception of Early Christian Texts and Traditions in Late Antiquity Apocryphal Literature,” in L. DiTommaso – L. Turcescu (eds.), *The Reception and Interpretation of the Bible in Late Antiquity. Proceedings of the Montréal Colloquium in Honour of Charles Kannengiesser, 11-13 October 2006* (Bible in Ancient Christianity, 6; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2008) 429-439, at 432.

<sup>2</sup> P. Bellet, “Testimonios coptos de la aparición de Cristo resucitado a la Virgen,” *Estudios bíblicos* 13 (1954) 199-205, at 202. See also the interesting comments on Coptic homilies by D. Brakke, “The Egyptian Afterlife of Origenism: Conflicts over Embodiment in Coptic Sermons,” *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 66 (2000) 277-293, at 279; F.H. Hallock, “Coptic Apocrypha,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 52 (1933) 163-174, at 163: “...they (i.e. the Coptic apocryphal writings) were of frequent homiletic use ... In many cases they are simple expansions of Biblical narrative, adding what may have been quite possible in much the same way that a modern preacher would reconstruct a scene in imagination.” On the survival of Jewish apocryphal motifs in later Coptic monastic literature, hagiography and martyrdoms, someone may consult D. Frankfurter, “The Legacy of Jewish Apocalypses in Early Christianity: Regional Trajectories,” in J.C. VanderKam – W. Adler (eds.), *The Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage in Early Christianity* (Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum, III/4; Assen – Minneapolis: Van Gorcum – Fortress Press, 1996) 129-200, esp. 174-196.

the same time to the problem of their fragmentary character, which can be often misleading when we try to establish the nature of the entire text on the basis of disparate fragments: “In realtà parlare di questi testi copti come di apocrifi è il frutto di un equivoco, generato in parte dal particolare stato frammentario in cui sono pervenuti i manoscritti copti, ed in parte dal disconoscimento dell’opera della scuola letteraria copta del VII e VIII secolo.”<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps the dating proposed by Orlandi (7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> century) is a bit too late, but it is nevertheless interesting to observe that the gospel genre and the revelation dialogue could still be used freely at a relatively late period, whether the purpose of the text was to make specific Christological dogmatic points by putting them into the mouth of Christ himself, or simply general edification.

The repetitive usage of expressions such as “we, the apostles,” the gospel-like material, and certain expressions like “O my holy members,” seems to indicate that our text is in fact one of the Coptic books whose putative authors are the apostles or their disciples.

Most often, the alleged apostolic records are found by a church Father in the library of the house of Mary, mother of John Mark (cf. Acts 12:12), but other locations, like the library of Jerusalem, that of Alexandria, or the house of Prochorus, the disciple of John, appear as well. The incorporation of these apocrypha in sermons attributed to the grand figures of Coptic Miaphysite orthodoxy, such as Cyril of Jerusalem, John Chrysostom, Basil of Caesarea, Timothy Aelurus, Theodosius of Alexandria etc., assured their success.

A prolific discoverer of ancient books is a certain Cyriacus, bishop of Behnesa (Oxyrhynchus), who found during his pilgrimages to Jerusalem the books of Nicodemus and Gamaliel, the Jewish Law teacher of Paul and friend of the apostles, those of Prochorus, and even a book of Joseph the carpenter. Cyriacus transcribed them in his sermons delivered on specific feasts of the Coptic calendar. It is clear that, attributing these texts, at the same time, to the church Fathers, but also to the apostles and their contemporaries, the authors gained for their writings double authority and prestige. Sometimes, the extraordinary manuscript discovery is not mentioned. This is the case, for example, with the three Coptic sermons attributed to Evodius, one of the seventy-two

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<sup>1</sup> Orlandi, “Apocrifi copti,” 68.

disciples and the successor of Peter to the Roman episcopate, with the *History of Joseph the Carpenter*, the *Book of Bartholomew* etc.

In the following pages I shall describe them and analyze their content in relationship with *ApoBA*.

#### **IV. 1.1 The Discovery of the Pseudo-Apostolic Writings by the Fathers of the Coptic Church**

The transcription of many pseudo-apostolic memoirs is attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem. Already in the Coptic period, Cyril was a prominent Father of the Egyptian church. Until now, many of his genuine works have survived only in fragments of the sixth catechetical oration (CPG 3585; clavis coptica 0112). However, it is likely that the Copts had other authentic texts by Cyril of Jerusalem that are still lost or unidentified.

For a long time, only one Coptic fragment from the authentic catecheses of Cyril was known to exist. This fragment, which is kept today in the Heidelberg University Library (P. Heid. inv. kopt. 450), was published by the German papyrologist Friedrich Bilabel, but it was identified only later by Carl Schmidt.<sup>1</sup> The Heidelberg papyrus contains a portion from the 6<sup>th</sup> *Catechetical Oration*. In 1974, Tito Orlandi published nine fragments in the National Library in Vienna (K 8502a-i), which all belong to the same catechesis, the sixth. The Vienna material came from a different papyrus codex than the one published by Bilabel.<sup>2</sup>

To these two codices can be added other debris in Heidelberg and Vienna, which passed unnoticed. For example, supplementary Viennese fragments from Cyril's catecheses were published by Orlandi in the same volume but as appendices to the fragments from the Coptic translation of the *Plerophories* of John Rufus (clavis coptica 0183), the bishop of Maiuma. I have been able to identify two new fragments, both from the 7<sup>th</sup> *Catechetical Oration*, which was previously unattested in Coptic. Thus, fragment K 2502e belongs to

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<sup>1</sup> F. Bilabel, *Ein koptisches Fragment über die Begründer des Manichäismus* (Veröffentlichungen aus den Badischen Papyrus-Sammlungen, Heft 3; Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1922) 8-16; identified in C. Schmidt, review of Bilabel in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 28 (1925) 378-379. The fragment was reedited in P. Nagel, "Ein koptisches Fragment aus Kyrill von Jerusalem (Cat. VI 22-24) über die Anfänge des Manichäismus (P. Heid.Inv.Kopt. 450)," in *Études Coptes IV: Quatr. journée d'études* (Cahiers de la bibliothèque copte, 8; Paris – Louvain: Peeters, 1995) 40-52.

<sup>2</sup> T. Orlandi, *Papiri copti di contenuto teologico/Koptische Papyri theologischen Inhalts* (Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, 9; Wien: Brüder Hollinek, 1974).

*Oration* 7.1-2.<sup>1</sup> An additional fragment of the same *Oration* is Vienna K 7343 (*Catechetical Oration* 7.9).<sup>2</sup> In the Heidelberg papyrological collection, the unpublished fragments P. Heid. inv. kopt. 267 and some of the scraps mounted between glass plates as P. Heid. inv. kopt. 268, all belong to the sixth catechetical oration.<sup>3</sup> The White Monastery library also possessed a codex of the *Catecheses* of Cyril of Jerusalem, vestiges of which have surfaced recently. Until now, fragments from the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> *Catechetical Orations* have been identified in Naples, Paris and Oslo and New York.<sup>4</sup>

Although the documentation concerning the genuine works of Cyril of Jerusalem in Coptic is scarce, the spurious writings transmitted under his name are numerous.<sup>5</sup> In the following pages, I shall refer only to those works which are connected to the apostolic books. It is likely that the important place which Cyril of Jerusalem plays in this kind of literature is due to the fact that his episcopal see was in Jerusalem. Thus, he allegedly had access to the books written by the apostles and hidden in the library of Jerusalem or in the house of Mary, mother of John Mark.

For example, in a homily *On the Life and the Passion of Christ* attributed to Cyril (CPG 3604; clavis coptica 0113), the author pretends to transcribe the words “which we found written in the writings of our fathers, the holy apostles, which they wrote in this holy city of Jerusalem.”<sup>6</sup> Ps.-Cyril says that a certain Theodosius the deacon found in the house of

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibidem*, 120.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, 118-119.

<sup>3</sup> K 267 belongs to *Cat.* 6.8-9; K 268 to *Cat.* 6.14. I identified these fragments on the basis of photographs which were sent to me by Sister Antonia from the Monastery of St. Damiana, near Damietta, in October 2012. She worked on the fragments in question during the 4<sup>th</sup> International Summer School *in* Coptic Papyrology, which took place August 26-September 9, 2012 in Heidelberg, and is planning to publish them in the near future.

<sup>4</sup> On this codex, see A. Suciú – H. Lundhaug, “The Coptic Parchment Fragments in the Collection of the Oslo University Library: A Checklist,” forthcoming.

<sup>5</sup> In general on the literary heritage of Cyril of Jerusalem in Coptic see T. Orlandi, “Cirillo di Gerusalemme nella letteratura copta,” *Vetera Christianorum* 9 (1972) 93-100, to which must be added the results obtained during the past decades. On the apocryphal traditions incorporated in the Sahidic sermons attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem, see G. Aranda, “Tradiciones marianas apócrifas en las homilias coptas del Pseudo-Cirillo de Jerusalén: I. Origen e infancia de María, nacimiento de Jesús,” *Scripta de Maria* 4 (1981) 101-121.

<sup>6</sup> Translation in R. van den Broek, *Pseudo-Cyril of Jerusalem, On the Life and the Passion of Christ. A Coptic Apocryphon* (Supplements to *Vigiliae Christianae*, 118; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2013) 127. This writing is preserved only in Sahidic, in a complete manuscript (New York, Pierpont Morgan M 610) and several palimpsest fragments in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania (call number E 16262). See the preliminary report of van den Broek on this text in “An Early Chronology of Holy Week in Pseudo-Cyril of Jerusalem’s *On the Passion* (Pierpont Morgan Library, M 610),” in S. Emmel et al. (eds.), *Ägypten und*

Mary, the mother of John Mark, a little parchment book (οὔκογι ν̄χωωμε ἡμεβρανον, sic!) written by the apostles while they were hiding in that place together with the Virgin because of the Jews who were trying to kill them. During this period, the apostles wrote several books:

Listen to me, oh my honoured children, and let me tell you something of what we found written in the house of Mary, the mother of John, who is called Mark. ... They (scil. the apostles) deliberated with each other and wrote down all the things that had happened and the sufferings which our Saviour and our Life had endured until he rose from the dead and redeemed us.<sup>1</sup>

Cyril is not able to read the ancient manuscript, but he gives it to Bachios, who is said to come from a monastery near Ascalon, and is an expert in old writings. This character is recurrent in other texts from the Coptic cycle of Cyril of Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup> To Bachios are ascribed a homily on the apostles (clavis coptica 0067), which contains apocryphal insertions,<sup>3</sup> and another one on the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace (clavis coptica 0068).<sup>4</sup> The putative author of the book deciphered by him in the sermon of Ps.-Cyril is the apostle Peter, who narrates the events of the Holy Week in the first person plural. Joost Hagen remarked that a passage in this text, in which Christ ascends to heaven while the apostles are sitting on the Mount of Olives, contains a clear parallel to *ApoBA* and the *Book of Bartholomew* (CANT 80; clavis coptica 0027):<sup>5</sup>

<i>Apocryphon Berolinense/Argentoratense P. Berol. 22220 100, col. B,17-24</i>	<i>Book of Bartholomew Westerhoff, p. 152</i>	<i>Cyril of Jerusalem, On the Passion van den Broek, p. 50</i>
ΑΝΝΑΥ ΕΠΕ(Ν)[C]ΩΤΗΡ΄ ΕΑΥΧΩΤΕ [ἡ]ἡΠΗΥΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ.	ΑΝΘΩΥΤ̄ ΑΝΝΑΥ ΕΠΕΝΧΗΡ ΕΠΕΥΩΜΑ ΜΟΩΥΕ ΕΞΡΑΪ	ΑΝΘΩΥΤ· ΑΝΝΑΥ ΕΠΩΤΗΡ ἡΘΕ ΝΟΥΣΤΥΛΛΟC ἡΚΩΞΤ·

*Nubien in spätantiker un christlicher Zeit. Akten des 6. Internationalen Koptologenkongresses, Münster, 20.-26. Juli 1996* vol. 2: *Schrifttum, Sprache und Gedankenwelt* (Sprachen und Kulturen des Christlichen Orients, 6/2; Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1999) 101-108. Cf. also Orlandi, “Cirillo di Gerusalemme,” 100.

<sup>1</sup> van den Broek, *Pseudo-Cyril of Jerusalem*, 127.

<sup>2</sup> T. Orlandi, “Bacheus,” in A.S. Atiya (ed.), *The Coptic Encyclopedia* vol. 2 (Macmillan: New York, 1991) 324a-b.

<sup>3</sup> Edited in F. Morard, “Homélie copte sur les apôtres au Jugement Dernier,” in D.H. Warren et al. (eds.), *Early Christian Voices in Texts, Traditions and Symbols. Essays in Honor of François Bovon* (Biblical Interpretation Series, 66; Boston – Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2003) 417-430.

<sup>4</sup> U. Zanetti, “Le roman de Bakhéos sur les trois jeunes saints de Babylone. Fragments coptes sahidiques,” in B. Janssens et al. (eds.), *Philomathestatos: Studies in Greek and Byzantine Texts Presented to Jacques Noret for his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 137; Louvain: Peeters, 2004) 713-747.

<sup>5</sup> Hagen, “Ein anderer Kontext,” 362-363.

[ερενεφο]γερητε [ταχρηγ ε]χμηπτο[ου νημαν] ερε[τεφαπε χω]τε [ητμερσαφ]γε μηε·	εμηπηγε ερενεφογερητε ταχρηγ εχμηπτοου νημαν·	αγω νερενεφογερητε εχμηπτοου νημαν· ατεφαπε πως φασεραϊ ετπε εφο νκωστ τηρϥ
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The literary motif of the discovery of an ancient book and Bachios' knowledge of old scripts are further developed in the sermon attributed to him on the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace. The Sahidic version is fragmentary, but Ugo Zanetti offered a *résumé* of the Arabic version, which is complete. The Arabic text mentions that Bachios received from the Babylonian Christians several ancient books written in their language. As we have already seen in the homily of Ps.-Cyril of Jerusalem *On the Passion*, Bachios was able to read ancient writings, presumably Syriac as well. Thus, he found among the old books the life of the Three Hebrew Saints, Ananias, Azarias and Misael, written by Jechonias, who was a witness of the events. Bachios decides to translate this book into Coptic.<sup>1</sup> It is very likely that the Sahidic version is supposed to be his translation from Syriac.

In another Coptic homily of Ps.-Cyril of Jerusalem, this one on Mary Magdalene (CANT 73; clavis coptica 0118), the patriarch finds a book concerning the life of the Magdalene in the library of Jerusalem. Interestingly enough, the book is written in Coptic: †ουωω εουωνε ηητε(η) εβολ μηβιος ητειαγεια ηγενναια θαγια μαρια τμακδαλινη μηθε ηταιρε εροϥ εητβιβλιοθηκη ηθαγια μηπολις. εϥχηε νεκηπτιος (“I wish to reveal to you the life of this holy noble, Saint Mary Magdalene, and the way in which I found it in the library of the holy city, written in Egyptian”).<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, the manuscript breaks-off at this point and

<sup>1</sup> Zanetti, “Le roman de Bakhéos,” 717-718.

<sup>2</sup> R.-G. Coquin, “Un encomion copte sur Marie-Madeleine attribué à Cyrille de Jérusalem,” *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 90 (1990) 169-212, at 176. Coquin edited the text after two fragmentary Sahidic codices. From the first manuscript survived ten folios, which are kept today in the collection of IFAO, in Cairo (inv. no. 186-187; 190-197). From the second only three fragments are extant, two in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, and one which formerly belonged to Sylvestre Chauleur and was later acquired by Gérard Godron. Description of the IFAO leaves in C. Louis, *Catalogue raisonné des manuscrits littéraires coptes conservés à l'IFAO du Caire. Contribution à la reconstitution de la bibliothèque du Monastère Blanc* (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, École Pratique des Hautes Études, Section des Sciences Religieuses: Paris, 2005) 285-287 (= no. 61); description of the Pierpont Morgan material in Depuydt, *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library* vol. 1 (Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts, 4; Oriental Series, 1; Leuven: Peeters, 1993) 213 (= no. 110). The ex-“Chauleur fragment” was published in S. Chauleur, “Deux pages d'un manuscrit sur la Sainte Vierge,” *Cahiers Coptes* 12 (1956) 3-5. For further information on the Pierpont Morgan fragments see the following note.

we do not know the circumstances in which Ps.-Cyril found the book. It is, however, clear that the book was allegedly written by a certain Simon the Eunuch, who is introduced as a disciple of the apostles.<sup>1</sup> The book contains extensive extracts from a well-known apocryphal writing, namely the *Cave of Treasures* (CAVT 11).<sup>2</sup> The Coptic version embedded in this sermon is introduced as a revelation of the Archangel Gabriel to Mary Magdalene and Theophilus. This character seems to be the same as the one to whom are dedicated the Gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles.<sup>3</sup>

In a sermon of Ps.-Cyril of Jerusalem on the Virgin (clavis coptica 0005), which survived fragmentarily in three Sahidic codices, the author claims that he is recounting the life of Mary “as we read it in the writings of our fathers the apostles” (κατα θε εντενωω ρηνηςυνταγμα εννεειοτε ναποστολος).<sup>4</sup>

The same theme appears in a homily on the Dormition of the Virgin attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem, which is known to me only in Arabic. Cyril examines the books of the apostles and discovers a letter which John sent to his disciple, Prochorus. The Arabic text is still unpublished, but here is an extract from Ms. Paris. arab. 150, f. 173r:<sup>5</sup>

اقول لكم يا اولادي الاحبا انا كيرلس اني كنت افتش في كتب الابا القديسين الرسل الاطهار فوجدت في كتاب شرح نياحة الست السيدة العذري الطاهره وصعود جسدها الي الفردوس في مثل هذا اليوم المبارك الذي هو السادس عشر من شهر مسري بحط ابروخورس من قول يوحنا ابن زبدي الانجيل مكتوب هكذا ان السيدة العذري الطاهره مرتمريم

<sup>1</sup> I am not sure who this Simon is meant to be, but he introduces himself as “a eunuch secretary,” see Coquin, “Encomion sur Marie-Madeleine,” 197, 201. The author of the encomium says that when the father of Mary Magdalene died, he appointed Simon as administrator of his heritage. Simon belonged to the group of disciples which witnessed the miracle of feeding the multitude and refers to the apostles as “my fathers.”

<sup>2</sup> P.-H. Poirier, “Fragments d’une version copte de la Caverne des trésors,” *Orientalia* 52 (1983) 415-423 (edition of the two Pierpont Morgan fragments). On the relationships between this Coptic text and the *Cave of Treasures* cf. Coquin, “Marie-Madeleine,” 169, 173; A. Su-Min Ri, *Commentaire de la Caverne des Trésors. Étude sur l’histoire du texte et de ses sources* (CSCO, 581. Subsidia, 103; Louvain: Peeters, 2000) 67-69.

<sup>3</sup> P.-H. Poirier, “Note sur le nom du destinataire des chapitres 44 à 54 de la *Caverne des Trésors*,” in *Christianisme d’Égypte. Hommages à René-Georges Coquin* (Cahiers de la bibliothèque copte, 9; Louvain – Paris: Peeters, 1995) 115-122.

<sup>4</sup> F. Robinson, *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels. Translations Together with the Texts of Some of Them* (Text and Studies, 4/2; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1896) 4. The text is not identified in Robinson, but see now E. Lucchesi, “Les sept Marie dans une homélie copte et l’origine du malk’ éthiopien,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 127 (2009) 9-15. Lucchesi indicated that this sermon exists in Arabic as well.

<sup>5</sup> Description in G. Troupeau, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes 1: Manuscrits chrétiens* vol. 1 (Bibliothèque Nationale. Département des manuscrits; Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1972) 117. Cf. also G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur* vol. 1 (Studi e testi, 118; Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica, 1944) 336.

I am telling you, O my beloved sons, I, Cyril, that I was searching through the books of the holy fathers, the pure apostles, and I found in a book the explanation of the Dormition of the Lady, the Pure Virgin, and of the assumption of her body in paradise in such a blessed day, the 16<sup>th</sup> of the month of Mesore. Prochorus wrote that this is what John the Evangelist, the son of Zebedee relates about the holy lady, the pure Mary...

The letter of the apostle John is written in the first person plural and narrates the circumstances in which the body of Mary had been transferred to heaven after her death. The text features many apparitions of the Savior and revelatory discourses.

Prochorus wrote down the story of the Dormition of the Virgin in a book, which Cyril will discover later in the house of Mary, the mother of John Mark, just like in the homily on the passion.

*Ex codice Parisino arabico 150, f. 191r:*

اكتب هذا الخبر جميعه في كتاب واجعله في خزائن الكتب حتي يبشر به في العالم اجمع تدكارا للست  
السيده العذري الطاهرة مرتمريم حسب ما امر به سيدنا يسوع المسيح له المجد هذه شهادة ابي يوحنا  
العمود النور المضى وما عاينته انا بعيني انا ابروخوروس تلميذه وقد اعلمتكم به يا احباي والنعمة معكم  
امين هذا الذي وجدنا وكتبوه الرسل الاطهار ووضعوه في بيت مريم ام يوحنا يدعي الذي مرقس وانا ابنيكم  
كيرللس تبعت اثار تعلمهم وجميع الشهادات الذي وجدتها مشروحه قد اعلمتكم بها

“...Write this whole story in a book and put it in the library to explain to the whole world the commemoration of the Lady, the pure Virgin Mary according to the orders of our Lord Jesus Christ, glory to him. This is the testimony of my father John, the illuminated pillar of light, and what I saw with my eyes. I am Prochorus, his disciple and I am the one who reported it. Grace be with you, Amen!” This is what I found, that which the pure apostles wrote and put in the house of Mary, mother of John, called Mark. I, your father Cyril, I have followed the footsteps of their teachings and all the testimonies which I found I explained (and) I taught you.

The apostolic library in the house of Mary, the mother of John Mark, appears also in Ps.-Chrysostom’s *On the Four Bodiless Creatures* (CPG 5150.11; clavis coptica 0177).<sup>1</sup> This apocryphal writing contains a dialogue of Christ with the apostles concerning the establishment of the Four Bodiless Creatures on the 8<sup>th</sup> of the month of Hathor. The revelation dialogue is embedded in a homily attributed to John Chrysostom. The text is

<sup>1</sup> This theme, as it appears in the homily of Ps.-Chrysostom, is analyzed in Hagen, “Diaries of the Apostles,” 354-359. Cf. also Idem, “The Great Cherub.”



preserved in Sahidic,<sup>1</sup> Old Nubian,<sup>2</sup> Arabic<sup>3</sup> and Ethiopic (*Dersān za-arbā'ettu Ensesā*).<sup>4</sup> The alleged author travels to Jerusalem and finds an apostolic writing in the house of the same Mary:

It happened to me that, after I had left Athens and before I entered the life of monasticism, that is, the life of philosophy, my heart moved me to go to Jerusalem, the shrine of the saints, to pray in the shrine of the saints and worship in the tomb of the Savior. I also went to the banks of the Jordan, where our Savior was baptized. I returned to *the house of Mary mother of John, who is called Mark*, where the apostles had gathered. I spent four months there to become worthy of the Resurrection of our Savior Jesus Christ by studying *the holy ancient constitutions* (ΝΕΧΗΝΤΑΓΜΑ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΝΑΡΧΑΙΟΣ). *A written tome* (ΤΩΜΑΡΙΟΝ) *came into my hands in which the apostles wrote as follows*.<sup>5</sup>

This pseudo-Chrysostomic homily has several points in common with *ApoBA*. For example, the apostles relate in the first person plural the conversations which they had with the Savior. The text begins with the words “It happened one day when we, the apostles (ΑΝΟΝ ΠΕ ΝΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC), were gathered on the Mount of Olives that, behold, the Savior came mounted on the cherubs.”<sup>6</sup> Jesus calls the apostles several times using vocatives such as Ω ΝΑΩΒΗΡΜΕΛΟC ΕΤΤΑΙΝΥ (Wansink 21), Ω ΝΑΩΒΗΡ ΗΜΕΛΟC (Wansink 26), Ω ΝΑΜΑΘΗΤΗC ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ (Wansink 31). As we shall see later, these expressions are related to the formula Ω ΝΑΜΕΛΟC ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ, which appears three times in P. Berol. 22220.

In a sermon on the Archangel Michael attributed to Timothy II, patriarch of Alexandria († 477) (CPG 2529; clavis coptica 0404),<sup>7</sup> the pretended author finds a writing of the apostle

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<sup>1</sup> On the Sahidic manuscripts of *On the Four Bodiless Creatures* by Ps.-Chrysostom see E. Lucchesi, “Fausses attributions en hagiographie copte,” *Le Muséon* 113 (2006) 233-254, at 243-247.

<sup>2</sup> G.M. Browne, “An Old Nubian Version of Ps.-Chrysostom, *In quatuor animalia*,” *Altorientalische Forschungen* 15 (1988) 215-219.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Graf, *GCAL* 1, 545.

<sup>4</sup> On the Ethiopic see G. Lusini, “Appunti sulla patristica greca di tradizione etiopica,” *Studi classici e orientali* 38 (1988) 469-493, at 487-488.

<sup>5</sup> Edition of Sahidic text and translation by C.S. Wansink in L. Depuydt (ed.), *Homiletica from the Pierpont Morgan Library* 2 vols. (CSCO, 524-525. *Scriptores coptici*, 43-44; Louvain: Peeters, 1991) 1: 31-32 (Sahidic text); 2: 32 (English translation).

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*, 1: 32, 2: 32.

<sup>7</sup> Although this sermon is attributed to Timothy I, pope between 378-384, in CPG, I think that the alleged author is Timothy II Aelurus (pope between 457-460). He is the only one of the three patriarchs named Timothy which left traces in Coptic literature, several writings being attributed to him. His future memory was assured by the important role he played in the Christological debates of the epoch and in the anti-Chalcedonian resistance of the Coptic Church.

John transcribed by his disciple, who is called Proclus in the only Sahidic witness presently known:

Now it came to pass that I, the least of all men, Timothy your father, went up to Jerusalem to worship the Cross of our Savior, and [His] life-giving tomb, and the holy places wherein our Savior walked about. Afterwards I went into the house of the mother of Proclus, the disciple of John the Evangelist, and I dwelt therein, and I found a parchment book (ΟΥΧΩΜΕ ΜΜΕΜΒΡΑΝΟΝ) which Proclus, the disciple of John, had written; and the people who were in the house had taken it and were using it as a phylactery.<sup>1</sup>

Although this text is attested in a single Sahidic manuscript, it is extant in many Ethiopic exemplars.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, it is likely that the *mīmar* on Michael attributed to Timothy in several Arabic codices is the same text.<sup>3</sup> Under the title “Vision de Saint Jean l’évangéliste racontée par le patriarche Timothée,” Amélineau published a slightly different Arabic version of the text, but, with his usual carelessness, he omitted to say which manuscript he used.<sup>4</sup> Be that as it may, the Arabic version clarifies that the name of John’s disciple, Proclus, which appears in the Sahidic manuscript edited by Budge, is a mistake. As in the case of the aforementioned sermon of Ps.-Cyril of Jerusalem on the Assumption of the Virgin, in the Arabic text translated by Amélineau, the one who transcribed the apocryphal book of John is his disciple Prochorus.<sup>5</sup> The Ethiopic recension of EMMML 1433 indicates that the book was discovered by Demetrius (ደሜትሮስ)<sup>6</sup> in “the house of the mother of the

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<sup>1</sup> Translation in E.A.W. Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (London: British Museum, 1915) 1022, with modifications. Coptic text in *Ibidem*, 513.

<sup>2</sup> This homily belongs to the Ethiopic collection Dərsāna Mikā’el, see e.g. W. Wright, *Catalogue of the Ethiopic Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired Since the Year 1847* (London: British Museum, 1877) 146 (= no. CCXIX<sup>1</sup>); Vat. Eth. 82; EMMML 646; EMMML 570; EMMML 1433; EMMML 569 etc. For the content and other manuscripts of this collection see P. Marrassini, “I manoscritti etiopici della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana di Firenze,” *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* 31 (1987) 69-110, at 77-87 (= no. 14).

<sup>3</sup> Three Arabic manuscripts in the Coptic Museum in Cairo are listed in Graf, *GCAL* 1, 464.

<sup>4</sup> É. Amélineau, *Contes et romans d’Égypte chrétienne* vol. 1 (Collection de contes et chansons populaires, 13; Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1888) 11-19. On the identification of the two texts cf. C.G.D. Müller, *Die Engellehre der koptischen Kirche. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der christlichen Frömmigkeit in Ägypten* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1959) 161 n. 951. Cf. also the analysis of the homily in Idem, *Die alte Koptische Predigt* (Berlin: Darmstadt, 1954) 106-112.

<sup>5</sup> This identification of the disciple of John had already been made in W. Speyer, *Die literarische Fälschung im heidnischen und christlichen Altertum. Ein Versuch ihrer Deutung* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, 1/2; Göttingen, 1970) 48 n. 5; Hagen, “Diaries of the Apostles,” 351-352 n. 11.

<sup>6</sup> “Demātēwos” must be a mistake for “Timotheos,” which occurred during the transmission of the text in Ethiopic.

disciple of John the Evangelist” (ቤተ: እሙ: ለረድኦ: ዮሐንስ: ወንጌላዊ:).<sup>1</sup> Alessandro Bausi drew attention to another identical Ethiopic witness, according to which Demetrius found the book in the house of Mary, the mother of John who is called Mark. The apostolic memoir was allegedly written by John the Evangelist.<sup>2</sup>

The same Prochorus also transcribed the revelation of Christ to his apostles in a homily on the Dormition of the Virgin attributed to a certain Cyriacus of Behnesa (CANT 147; 153), which survived in Arabic and Ethiopic.<sup>3</sup> Although the Arabic text remains unpublished, the present enquiry references the text found in the manuscript Vat. arab. 170.

*Ex codice Vaticano arabico 170, fol. 324r-325r:*

ولما كان في ايام ابينا انتاسيوس الرسولي خطر فكر ببال كثيرين من الاخوه الساكنين ببريت شيهات لكي يمضوا الي بيت المقدس ليتباركوا بالقيامة المقدسه وسجدوا في الاتارات الشريفه وايضا بارادت الله سرننا مع كثير من الناس واسترنا الي المدينه المقدسه لننظر الي الحدود وجميع الاتارة المقدسه التي اظهرتهم الملكه المومنه هيلاسر وابنها البار قسطنطين الملك وتباركنا من القيامه والقبر الشريف واقمنا اياما قلائل وكان حاضرا من جملة لمجمع المقدس اخا يسما ارشلاوس معلم فاضل من الاتنا سيين معه كتابا مقدس فتحة وبدا يقرأ

هذه الشهادات كلها وضعهم الرسل من اجل قصة سيدنا مريم العذري وبشروا في الخليقه كلها

وايضا ان ابروخورس وضع هذه الشهادات في كتاب الاولين تابعا في ذلك العامود المنير ابي يوحنا الانجيلي المتكلم بالالهيات قال ان لما ماتت العذري مثل ساير الناس اجتمعوا عندها الرسل وكفونها

And it happened in the days of our father Athanasius the Apostolic, that many of the brothers who were living in the wilderness of Scetis thought to go to Jerusalem to be blessed by the holy Resurrection and to kneel before the venerable relics. By the will of God, we left also with a lot of people and we hastened to the holy city to see the nails and all the venerable relics that had been revealed by Helen and her righteous son, king Constantine. We received blessings from the Resurrection and the venerable tomb and we remained for a few days. And there was a brother in the assembly, called Archelaos, an

<sup>1</sup> EMMML 1433, f. 5v. I am indebted to Adam McCollum of the Hill Museum and Manuscript Library for checking this manuscript for me.

<sup>2</sup> A. Bausi, “A First Evaluation of the ‘Arabic Version of the *Apocalypse of Paul*’,” *Parole de l’Orient* 24 (1999) 131-164, at 154.

<sup>3</sup> Summary of the Arabic text in A. van Lantschoot, “L’Assomption de la Sainte Vierge chez les Coptes,” *Gregorianum* 27 (1946) 493-526, at 509-511. The Ethiopic version is available in V. Arras, *De transitu Mariae apocrypha aethiopice* 2 vols. (CSCO, 351-352. *Scriptores aethiopici*, 68-69; Louvain: Secrétariat du CSCO, 1974) 1: 34-55 (Ethiopic text), 2: 26-42 (Latin translation); republished after a different manuscript by S. Bombeck, *Die Geschichte der heiligen Maria in einer alten äthiopischen Handschrift* 2 vols. (Dortmund: Praxiswissen, 2004-2010) 1: 322-346 (Ethiopic text), 2: 176-188 (German translation).

excellent teacher of the people of Athens, who had *a holy book*. He opened it and began to read ...

All these testimonies were *written by the apostles* to tell the story of our Lady, the Virgin Mary, and to preach it to the whole creation.

And then *Prochorus put all these testimonies in the book of the fathers*, following the illuminated pillar, my father John, the Evangelist and Theologian, who said that when the Virgin Mary died like all humans, the apostles gathered around her, and wrapped her.

The first passage quoted above reveals an interesting detail concerning the alleged date of Cyriacus' episcopacy, which has been much debated in contemporary research. Certain Arabic and Ethiopic manuscripts have transmitted under the name of this author eight homilies and an anaphora of Mary.<sup>1</sup> Many scholars who studied the Arabic and the Ethiopic texts which survived under his name believed that Cyriacus originally wrote in Arabic. The latest hypothesis belongs to Ève Lanchantin, who placed Cyriacus' episcopacy sometime between the 14<sup>th</sup> and the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>2</sup> This is, however, contradicted by the homily on the Dormition of the Virgin, in which the author states explicitly that he is a contemporary of Athanasius of Alexandria.<sup>3</sup> Although it is likely that Cyriacus is only the putative author of the texts attributed to him, he clearly belongs to the literature of the Coptic period.

The only work attributed to Cyriacus which has survived in Coptic is a homily on the *Lament of Mary* (CANT 74). However, because much of the research devoted to Cyriacus of Behnesa until now had placed this character in the late Arabic period, and because the name of the author had not been preserved in the few Sahidic fragments of the *Lament of Mary* which survived,<sup>4</sup> it has been thought that the work must have been transmitted in Coptic under another name. Philippe Luisier, for example, suggested that behind the

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<sup>1</sup> On the list of works transmitted under Cyriacus' name, see R.-G. Coquin, "Cyriacus," in A.S. Atiya (ed.), *The Coptic Encyclopedia* vol. 3 (New York: Macmillan, 1991) 669b-671a, at 670a-b; È. Lanchantin, "Une homélie sur le *Martyre de Pilate*, attribuée à Cyriaque de Behnessa," *Apocrypha* 13 (2002) 135-202, at 145-146.

<sup>2</sup> Lanchantin, "*Martyre de Pilate*," 142-144.

<sup>3</sup> The parallel Ethiopic version of the passage above was quoted against Lanchantin's hypothesis by Philippe Luisier in his review to Beylot, *Le Martyre de Pilate*, *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 61 (1995) 251.

<sup>4</sup> See A. Suci, "A British Library Fragment from a Homily on the Lament of Mary and the So-Called Gospel of Gamaliel," *Aethiopica. International Journal of Ethiopian and Eritrean Studies* 15 (2012) 53-71. There are fragments of two different codices, one from the White Monastery and the other from the Monastery of St. Mercurius, situated near Edfu, in Nubia.

mysterious figure of Cyriacus of Behnesa lies Judas Cyriacus, the legendary bishop of Jerusalem who was martyred under Julian the Apostate.<sup>1</sup>

In the *Lament of Mary*, Cyriacus of Behnesa is only transcribing a book of Gamaliel and Nicodemus, which he found in Jerusalem. Besides Sahidic, the text is preserved in Arabic (including Garšūnī manuscripts) and Ethiopic.<sup>2</sup> The *Lament of Mary* is an apocryphal Passion narrative which has literary connections with other similar texts such as the *Acts of Pilate* (CANT 62), the *Book of the Cock* (ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲗⲁ: ⲉⲤⲓⲡⲓ),<sup>3</sup> the Coptic *Book of Bartholomew*, the *Martyrdom of Pilate*, and some of the Sahidic homilies on the Passion attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem. The work narrates the events surrounding the Resurrection of Christ, interwoven with large portions in which Virgin Mary is portrayed as stricken by grief, weeping over the death of her son. She occupies a prominent place in the text, the *Lament of Mary* sharing with certain other Coptic writings the claim that the first witness of the resurrected Christ was not Mary Magdalene, but rather Mary the Mother.<sup>4</sup> The homily tends to absolve Pilate from the guilt of condemning Jesus Christ, putting the whole

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<sup>1</sup> P. Luisier, "De Pilate chez les Coptes," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 62 (1996) 411-425, at 411-412.

<sup>2</sup> For the Arabic see A. Mingana, "The Lament of the Virgin," in *Woodbrooke Studies* vol. 2 (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1928) 163-240 (= reprint from the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 12 [1928]). Other Arabic manuscripts are mentioned in Graf, *GCAL* 1, 248; for Ethiopic see M.-A. van den Oudenrijn, *Gamaliel. Äthiopische Texte zur Pilatusliteratur* (Spicilegium Friburgense, 4; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1959) 2-83 (Ethiopic text and German translation). Other Ethiopic manuscripts of the *Lament of Mary* are mentioned in A. Bausi, "I manoscritti etiopici di J. M. Wansleben nella Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze," *Rassegna di studi etiopici* 33 (1989) 5-33, at 19. On the Ethiopic version, check also S. Weninger, "Laḥa Maryam," in *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* vol. 3: *He-N* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007) 477a-b.

<sup>3</sup> On the Ethiopic version of this text see, e.g., M. Chaîne, "Le Livre du Coq ('Matzḥafa Dorho')," *Revue sémitique d'épigraphie et d'histoire ancienne* 13 (1905) 276-281; R.W. Cowley, "The So-Called 'Ethiopic Book of the Cock': Part of an Apocryphal Passion Gospel. 'The Homily and Teaching of Our Fathers the Holy Apostles'," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 1 (1985) 16-22; P. Piovanelli, "Exploring the Ethiopic *Book of the Cock*: An Apocryphal Passion Gospel from Late Antiquity," *Harvard Theological Review* 96 (2003) 427-454; French translation in Idem, "Livre du coq," in P. Geoltrain – J.-D. Kaestli (eds.), *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens* vol. 2 (Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 516; Paris: Gallimard, 2005) 135-203. An Arabic version has been identified by Enzo Lucchesi, see his "La 'Vorlage' arabe du *Livre du coq* éthiopien," *Orientalia* 74 (2005) 91-92.

<sup>4</sup> See, e.g., Bellet, "Testimonios coptos"; P. Devos, "L'apparition du Ressuscité à sa Mère. Un nouveau témoin copte," *Analeccta Bollandiana* 96 (1978) 388; E. Lucchesi, "Identification de P. Vindob. K. 2644," *Orientalia* 76 (2007) 174-175. The episode of the encounter between Jesus and his mother near the empty tomb is analyzed in T. Abraha – D. Assefa, "Apocryphal Gospels in the Ethiopic Tradition," in Frey – Schröter (eds.), *Jesus in apokryphen Evangelienüberlieferungen*, 611-653, at 643-644.

responsibility on the Jews.<sup>1</sup> Convinced by the miracles which occurred during Crucifixion and Resurrection, Pilate confesses Jesus' divine nature and becomes his follower.

The *Lament of Mary* has affinities with the *Martyrdom of Pilate* (CANT 75), another work which survives in Arabic and Ethiopic under the name of Cyriacus of Behnesa.<sup>2</sup> The *Martyrdom* constitutes the continuation of the *Lament of Mary*, narrating the circumstances which ultimately lead to the death of Pilate and his family as Christian martyrs. In the Garšūnī manuscript of the *Martyrdom of Pilate* published by Mingana, Christ calls the apostles "O my beloved and my members."<sup>3</sup> Both stories were allegedly written by Gamaliel the Elder, and later retold by Cyriacus, who found them in books deposited in the library of Jerusalem. They contain extensive revelations of Jesus to his apostles and gospel-like material.

Possibly, these two books of Gamaliel are mentioned in a homily of Ps.-Basil of Caesarea on the building of the first church dedicated to the Virgin (CPG 2970; clavis coptica 0073), which incorporates a letter whose purported author is the evangelist Luke. The text has survived in the Bohairic dialect of Coptic, Arabic and Ethiopic.<sup>4</sup> Basil travels to Jerusalem and discovers in the house of Mary, the mother of John Mark, "a multitude of ancient

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<sup>1</sup> Luisier, "De Pilate chez les Coptes"; see also E. Cerulli, "Tiberius and Pontius Pilate in Ethiopian Tradition and Poetry," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 59 (1975) 141-158; R. Beylot, "Bref aperçu des principaux textes éthiopiens dérivés des *Acta Pilati*," *Langues orientales anciennes, philologie et linguistique* 1 (1988) 181-195; Cowley, "Book of the Cock," 20.

<sup>2</sup> Arabic version in E. Galtier, *Le martyre de Pilate* (MIFAO, 27; Cairo: IFAO, 1912); Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies* 2, 241-333; È. Lanchantin, "Martyre de Pilate," 166-199 (only translation into French); the Ethiopic version was published in van den Oudenrijn, *Gamaliel*, 112-180; R. Beylot, *Le Martyre de Pilate. Édition critique de la version éthiopienne et traduction française* (Patrologia Orientalis, 45/4; Turnhout: Brepols, 1993). On the Ethiopic, cf. also A. Bausi, "Su alcuni manoscritti presso comunità monastiche dell'Eritrea," *Rassegna di studi etiopici* 38 (1994) 13-69, at 26-27.

<sup>3</sup> Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies* 2, 276. The Ethiopic manuscript published by van den Oudenrijn does not contain this portion of the text. The one edited by Beylot offers a different lection (p. 672): አፍቁራንዮ፡ ቅዱሳን፡ ወንጹሳን፡ ("O my beloved holy and pure").

<sup>4</sup> Two Bohairic manuscripts from the Wadi 'N Natrun are attested. The Bohairic text is published in M. Chaîne, "Catéchèse attribuée à Saint Basile de Césarée. Une lettre apocryphe de Saint Luc," *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 23 (1922/23) 150-159, 271-302, after a Vatican manuscript. Another witness, part of the Tischendorf collection in Leipzig, is signalled in W.E. Crum, "Hagiographica from Leipzig Manuscripts," *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 29 (1907) 289-296, 301-307, at 304. For the Arabic see U. Zanetti, *Les manuscrits de Dair Abu Maqar: inventaire* (Cahiers d'Orientalisme, 11; Geneva: Patrick Cramer, 1986) nos. 377, 378, 413, 480; W.F. Macomber, *Catalogue of the Christian Arabic Manuscripts of the Franciscan Center of Christian Oriental Studies, Muski, Cairo* (Studia Orientalia Christiana; Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1984) 45. An Ethiopic version is attested in EMMML 2044; 2461-1; 4355 etc. The Ge'ez version was edited and translated in Bombeck, *Geschichte der heiligen Maria*, 1: 398-423 (Ethiopic text), 2: 213-223 (German translation).

books” (οὐμνησ ἡλχωμ ἡαρχεον), those written by Josephus the writer (συγγραφεύς), Gamaliel the Teacher, Luke the scribe, and Nicodemus the Levite.”<sup>1</sup> If this hypothesis is correct, the sermon of Ps.-Basil must have been written after the *Lament of Mary* and the *Martyrdom of Pilate*, the books attributed to Gamaliel in the homilies of Cyriacus of Behnesa.

In a homily of the same Cyriacus on the Flight of the Holy Family to Egypt (no clavis number), the author says that he found in Jerusalem a book on this topic written by Joseph the carpenter, in which the earthly father of Jesus related the deeds of the members of the Holy Family while they were hiding in Egypt.<sup>2</sup>

We do not know exactly who Archelaos was, the teacher of Athens, who features in the above quoted passage from the homily on the Dormition of Mary attributed to Cyriacus. The text indicates that he possessed a book of John transcribed by Prochorus. Notably, another pseudo-apostolic writing is embedded in a homily on the Archangel Gabriel, attributed to the mysterious figure of a certain Archelaos (clavis coptica 0045).<sup>3</sup> We cannot be sure whether this character and Archelaos from the homily of Cyriacus are one and the same, although this hypothesis is likely to be true. In the Sahidic and Bohairic versions of the homily on Gabriel, Archelaos is said to be the bishop of Neapolis, which has to be identified with Nablus, situated near Mount Gerizim.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, in the Ethiopic collection Dersāna Gabre’ēl, in which this homily is included, the author is said to be bishop of Dāḥnā. In the Arabic version, the town of Archelaos bishopric is called Irā.

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<sup>1</sup> The connection between the books of Gamaliel and the *Martyrdom of Pilate* attributed to Cyriacus of Behnesa has already been suggested by Philippe Luisier, see his “De Pilate chez les Coptes,” 412-413. In different Sahidic homilies attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem references are made to certain books of Irenaeus the Historiographer and Josephus, which the bishop consulted. This theme has been documented in van den Broek, *Pseudo-Cyril of Jerusalem*, 118-119.

<sup>2</sup> The Arabic text is available in كتاب ميامير وعجائب العدرا (Cairo, 1902) 73-95; second edition, with the same title, published in Cairo, 1927, 106-139. Cf. the summary in P. Dib, “Deux discours de Cyriaque évêque de Behnésa sur la Fuite en Égypte,” *Revue de l’Orient chrétien* 15 (1910) 157-161. Cf. also Graf, *GCAL* 1, 232-234.

<sup>3</sup> On this homily see Müller, *Predigt*, 103-104, 156-166; Idem, *Engellehre*, 218-220.

<sup>4</sup> See, e.g., B. Burrell, *Neokoroi. Greek Cities and Roman Emperors* (Cincinnati Classical Studies, n.s. 9; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2004) 260-265.

Until now, only the Bohairic text of Ps.-Archelaos' sermon on the Archangel Gabriel has been published critically,<sup>1</sup> although multiple Sahidic,<sup>2</sup> Arabic<sup>3</sup> and Ethiopic<sup>4</sup> exemplars are attested as well. During a pilgrimage to the holy land, Ps.-Archelaos discovers in the library of the monastery of St. Romanos a book written by the apostles: ἀφὶ ἐτοῦτεν ἄχϣουχϣωμ ναρχεον. ερεζανσυνταγμα ἡῆητηϣ. ἡτενεῆῆιοϣ εῶουαβ ἡαποστολος (“It came to our hand an ancient book, which had in it writings of our holy fathers, the apostles”). The apostolic book begins on the Mount of Olives, where the apostles are sitting. Christ appears and reveals to them “great hidden mysteries” (ζαῆννιωϣ ἡμϣστηριον εϣῆηη). The monastery of Romanos in which Ps.-Archelaos found the alleged memoirs of the apostles must be the Palestinian monastery led for a period by Severus of Antioch, the great champion of Miaphysite orthodoxy.<sup>5</sup>

In a sermon for the celebration of the Dormition of the Virgin attributed to Theodosius of Alexandria (CPG 7153; clavis coptica 0385),<sup>6</sup> preserved in two Bohairic manuscripts from Scetis,<sup>7</sup> but also in Arabic,<sup>1</sup> we find the following passage:

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<sup>1</sup> H. De Vis, *Homélie coptes de la Vaticane* vol. 2 (Coptica, 5; Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Roghandel-Nordisk Forlag, 1929) 246-291. De Vis published the text after Vaticanus Copticus LIX, ff.30r-49v.

<sup>2</sup> The Sahidic version of the homily of Ps.-Archelaos on the Archangel Gabriel is still unpublished. This recension is known in a complete copy kept in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, and a fragmentary codex from the White Monastery (manuscript MONB.CU). Description of the Morgan codex in Depuydt, *Catalogue*, 325-332 (= no. 164).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Graf, *GCAL* 1, 544, where several Arabic manuscripts of this text are enumerated.

<sup>4</sup> The Ethiopic manuscripts of this work are numerous. See, e.g., A. Dillmann, *Verzeichniss der abessinischen handschriften* (Die Handschriften-verzeichniss der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, Bd. 3; Berlin: Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1878) 56 (= no. 66<sup>8</sup>); EMMML 3142; EMMML 3527; EMMML 3986; EMMML 4545; EMMML 4510; EMMML 1311; EMMML 2107; EMMML 4147 etc.

<sup>5</sup> On the connection between the monastery mentioned in the homily of Ps.-Archelaos and the Miaphysite monk Romanos, who rejected the Council of Chalcedon, see Crum, “Hagiographica from Leipzig Manuscripts,” 294; Hagen, “Diaries of the Apostles,” 352 n. 11.

<sup>6</sup> Summary in van Lantschoot, “Assomption,” 504-506.

<sup>7</sup> A Vatican manuscript (Vat. copt. LXVI.4) of this sermon was published in M. Chaîne, “Sermon de Théodose patriarche d’Alexandrie sur la dormition et l’assomption de la Vierge,” *Revue de l’Orient Chrétien* 29 (1933/34) 272-314; description in A. Hebbelynck – A. van Lantschoot, *Codices coptici Vaticani, Barberiniani, Borgiani, Rossiani* vol. 1: *Codices coptici Vaticani* (Rome: Bibliotheca Vaticana, 1937) 421-423. An incomplete transcription and translation was published in Robinson, *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels*, 90-127. The debris of another Bohairic manuscript of this sermon are scattered among different collections in Manchester, Leipzig and Cairo, see H.G. Evelyn White, *The Monasteries of the Wadi 'N Natrûn* part 1: *New Coptic Texts from the Monastery of Saint Macarius* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition; New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1926) 60-62. Spanish translation in G. Aranda Pérez, *Dormición de la Virgen. Relatos de la tradición copta* (Apócrifos cristianos, 2; Madrid: Editorial Ciudad Nueva, 1995) 177-228.



Let us turn to the theme which is laid down for us of this great festival, which is spread out for us today; that we may bring into the midst her who is worthy of all honor: beginning from the dispensation of Christ unto the death of this holy Virgin and her assumption: even as I found it in detail (ιστορικῶς) *in ancient records* (ἩΕΝἩΑΝΣΥΝΤΑΓΜΑ ΝΑΡΧΕΟΣ) *in Jerusalem*, which came into my hand in the *library of the holy Mark at Alexandria*.<sup>2</sup>

It is clearly stated in the lines above that Theodosius is only a mediator who transcribes an authentic document, which turn out to be written by the apostles. The manuscript contains the classical Coptic topoi related to the *Transitus Mariae*, the narrators being the apostles Peter and John. Expressions such as “we, too, the apostles” (ΑΝΘΝ ΔΕ ΖΩΝ ἩΑΝΙΔΠΟCΤΟΛΟC)<sup>3</sup> are recurrent in the text.

In the title of the *Encomium on Abbaton*, the Angel of Death (CPG 2530; *clavis coptica* 0405),<sup>4</sup> attributed to Timothy Aelurus, it is said that

the archbishop wishing to learn concerning this fearful and terrifying being (scil. Abbaton), whom God made ... when he went to Jerusalem to worship the Cross of our Savior, and his life-giving tomb, on the seventeenth day of the month Thoth, searched through the books which were in *the library of Jerusalem, and which had been made by our holy fathers the apostles*, and deposited by them therein, until he discovered [the account of] the creation of Abbaton.<sup>5</sup>

The encomium is preserved in a single Sahidic manuscript in the British Library (BL Or. 7025),<sup>6</sup> but it seems that at least an Arabic version existed as well. Thus, in the *Kitāb al-īdāh*, a Copto-Arabic catechetical work written perhaps in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, and formerly attributed to Severus ibn al-Muqaffa,<sup>7</sup> there are some polemical references to an apocryphal

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<sup>1</sup> Vaticanus arabicus 698, ff. 85-102; dated 1371 AD. Another Arabic exemplar is in the Franciscan Center in Cairo, cf. Macomber, *Catalogue*, 45.

<sup>2</sup> Translation taken from Robinson, *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels*, xxvi. Cf. the Bohairic text in Chaîne, “Sermon de Théodose,” 282.

<sup>3</sup> Robinson, *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels*, 116.

<sup>4</sup> See the analysis of this text in Hagen, “Diaries of the Apostles,” 359-364.

<sup>5</sup> Translation taken from E.A.W. Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (London: British Museum, 1914) 475.

<sup>6</sup> This manuscript, which is dated 981 CE, comes from the Monastery of St. Mercurius at Edfu. Description in B. Layton, *Catalogue of Coptic Literary Manuscripts in the British Library Acquired Since the Year 1906* (London: British Library, 1987) 135-136 (= no. 121).

<sup>7</sup> Mark Swanson would rather ascribe it to an anonymous author, probably from the 11<sup>th</sup> century; see his “Recent Developments in Copto-Arabic Studies, 1996-2000”, in Immerzeel – van der Vliet (eds.), *Coptic Studies*, 239-267, at 245.

homily of Theophilus of Alexandria, which seems to be identical with our *Encomium on Abbaton*.<sup>1</sup>

The text is a homily for the 13<sup>th</sup> of Hathor, when the Coptic church celebrates Abbaton, the Angel of Death (cf. Revelation 9:11). Christ, who, like in *ApoBA*, is named throughout Savior and Lord, explains to the apostles gathered around him how the angel Muriel was established by God as the Angel of Death. He says to them:

O you whom I have chosen from out of the whole world, I will hide nothing from you, but I will inform you how My Father established him (i.e. Abbaton) ... For I and My Father are one (ΑΝΟΚ ΜΗΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΑΝΟΝ ΟΥΑ)<sup>2</sup> ... And now, O my holy members (Ω ΝΑΜΕΛΟC ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ), whom I have chosen from out of the whole world, I will hide nothing from you”.<sup>3</sup>

After this speech, he sends them to proclaim the gospel in all parts of the world, a current theme in this kind of literature, which is linked to the idea of apostolic authority.

There are other pseudo-apostolic books embedded in sermons attributed to different church Fathers. I shall briefly mention only the testaments of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (CPG 2183; clavis coptica 0063; cf. also CAVT 88, 98-99; clavis coptica 0542, 0350) allegedly discovered by Athanasius in the library of Alexandria,<sup>4</sup> a book of the Virgin concerning her adventures with the apostle Matthias in the town of Bartos, part of a homily by Ps.-Cyril of

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<sup>1</sup> This section of the text is analyzed in M. Swanson, “The Specifically Egyptian Context of a Coptic Arabic Text: Chapter Nine of the *Kitab al-Idah* of Sawirus ibn al-Muqaffa,” *Medieval Encounters* 2 (1996) 214-227, at 218-220. Cf. also A. van Lantschoot, “Fragments coptes d’une homélie de Jean de Paralos contre les livres hérétiques,” in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati* vol. 1: *Bibbia. Letteratura cristiana antica* (Studi e testi, 121; Vatican: Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana, 1946) 296-326, at 297 n. 7; Graf, *GCAL* 1, 467.

<sup>2</sup> John 10:30; cf. also P. Berol. 22220 98, col. B,28-30: ΑΝΟΚ ΜΗΠΑΙΩΤ ΑΝΟΝ ΟΥΑ ΝΟΥΩΤ. Both Ps.-Timothy and P. Berol. 22220 are quoting from the Coptic version of the New Testament, which uses the possessive παῖωτ, whereas the Greek text reads only ὁ πατήρ. On the interpretation of John 10:30 in *ApoBA*, which points to the Christological debates of the 4<sup>th</sup> century and later, see P. Piovanelli, “Thursday Night Fever: Dancing and Singing with Jesus in the *Gospel of the Savior* and the Dance of the Savior around the Cross,” *Early Christianity* 3 (2012) 229-248, at 239.

<sup>3</sup> Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms*, 231 (Sahidic text), 480 (English translation).

<sup>4</sup> Extant in Coptic, Arabic and Ethiopic. For the Coptic (Bohairic) see I. Guidi, “Il *Testamento di Isacco* e il *Testamento di Giacobbe*,” *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei* s. 5, vol. 9 (1900) 223-264. For the Arabic and Ethiopic texts, cf. M. Heide, *Die Testamente Isaaks und Jakobs. Edition und Übersetzung der arabischen und äthiopischen Versionen* (Aethiopistische Forschungen, 56; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000). New Ethiopic manuscripts signaled in T. Erho, “New Ethiopic Witnesses to Some Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 76 (2013) 1-23, at 16-21.

Jerusalem (BHO 654; CANT 281.2);<sup>1</sup> a book of James, the brother of the Lord, inserted in a homily on John the Baptist attributed to John Chrysostom (CPG 5150.3; CANT 184; clavis coptica 0170);<sup>2</sup> another book allegedly written by James, this one on the Dormition of the Virgin, included in a sermon by Ps.-Cyril of Alexandria.<sup>3</sup> The examples listed here are enough to demonstrate that all these texts belong to the same category.

#### IV.1.2 Pseudo-Apostolic Memoirs Without Homiletic Framework

However, the apocryphal apostolic writings are not always embedded in pseudo-Patristic sermons. In a few cases, we find pseudo-apostolic memoirs similar to *ApoBA*, but without the homiletic framework. This is, for example, the case with the so-called *History of Joseph the Carpenter* (BHO 532-533; CANT 60; clavis coptica 0037), which is probably the best known of the texts introduced here.<sup>4</sup> Other related writings include the *Stauros-Text*, the *Enthronement of Michael* (clavis coptica 0488), the *Enthronement of Gabriel* (clavis coptica 0378), the *Mysteries of John* (clavis coptica 0041), the *Book of Bartholomew* (CANT 80; clavis coptica 0027) etc. Although the apocryphal writings in this group lack

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<sup>1</sup> Preserved in Coptic, Arabic and Ethiopic. The Arabic version was translated into French in R. Basset, *Les apocryphes éthiopiens V. Les prières de la Vierge à Bartos et au Golgotha* (Paris: Librairie de l'art indépendant, 1895) 48-71; further details in Graf, *GCAL* 1, 253-255. Ethiopic text in C. Conti Rossini, "La redazione etiopica della preghiera della Vergine fra i Parti," *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* ser. 5,5 (1896) 457-476. Several Bohairic fragments of the same text were edited in A. van Lantschoot, "Miracles opérés par la S. Vierge à Bartos (fragments bohairiques)," *Studia Anselmiana* 27-28 (1951) p. 504-511. A lithographed transcription of two Sahidic leaves in the Vatican was published in E. Revillout, *Apocryphes coptes du Nouveau Testament* (Études égyptologiques, 7; Paris: F. Vieweg, 1876) 12-14; reedited with an English translation in Forbes Robinson, *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels*, 20-25.

<sup>2</sup> E.A.W. Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (London: British Museum, 1913) 128-145 (Sahidic text), 271-302 (English translation). This text is also preserved in a fragmentary White Monastery codex (MONB.DB), fragments of which were published in E.O. Winstedt, "A Coptic Fragment attributed to James the Brother of the Lord," *Journal of Theological Studies* 8 (1907) 240-248. The fragments published by Winstedt had been identified in W. Till, "Johannes der Täufer in koptischen Literatur," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 16 (1958) 310-332, at 313. Anne Boud'hors published a French translation of this apocryphal writing in F. Bovon – P. Geoltrain (eds.), *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens* vol. 1 (Bibliothèque de la Pléiade; Paris: Gallimard, 1997) 1552-1578. Arabic version signaled in Zanetti, *Abu Maqar*, no. 379.

<sup>3</sup> See the description in van Lantschoot, "Assomption," 508-509. According to van Lantschoot, this text is just an adaptation of the Syriac *transitus*.

<sup>4</sup> The text is readily accessible in many collections of New Testament apocrypha: A. de Santos Otero, *Los Evangelios apócrifos* (Biblioteca de autores cristianos, 148; Madrid: Editorial Católica, 1956, 1988<sup>6</sup>) 358-378; M. Erbetta, *Gli Apocrifi del Nuovo Testamento* vol. 1/2 (Turin: Marietti, 1981) 186-205; Geoltrain – Kaestli (eds.), *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens* 2, 27-59; B.D. Ehrman – Z. Pleše, *The Apocryphal Gospels: Texts and Translations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011) 157-193 (Coptic text and English translation); see also the *résumé* of the text in M.R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924, 1963<sup>8</sup>) 84-86.

the homiletic framework, they are nevertheless interrelated with the former category. This is ascertained not only by the literary style of the documents, i.e. revelation dialogues, but, what is more, verbatim parallels which can be identified indicate that the texts in the two groups had been produced in the same milieu, that is, the post-Chalcedonian Coptic Egypt.

The *History of Joseph* survived in Coptic (both in Sahidic<sup>1</sup> and Bohairic<sup>2</sup>) and Arabic.<sup>3</sup> As an “apostolic book,” the *History of Joseph* purports to be a revelation of Jesus Christ to his disciples on the Mount of Olives concerning the death of his earthly father on Epep 26 (July 20)<sup>4</sup> at the age of 111. The title of the work indicates that the book was written by the apostles and deposited in the library of Jerusalem:

This is the departure from the body of our father Joseph, the carpenter, the father of Christ according to the flesh, who lived one hundred and eleven years, and whose entire life our Savior related to the apostles on the Mount of Olives. *The apostles, for their part, wrote down these words and deposited them in the Library at Jerusalem.*<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The Sahidic fragments came from five different codices, four of them from the Monastery of Apa Shenoute. Published in L.-Th. Lefort, “À propos de ‘L’Histoire de Joseph le Charpentier,’” *Le Muséon* 66 (1953) 201-223; new fragments in A. Suci, “New Fragments from the Sahidic Version of the *Historia Iosephi Fabri Lignarii*,” *Le Muséon* 122 (2009) 279-289; Idem, “A Coptic Fragment from the *History of Joseph the Carpenter* in the Collection of Duke University Library,” *Harvard Theological Review* 106:1 (2013) 93-104.

<sup>2</sup> The Bohairic version is preserved in two manuscripts, one complete and the other fragmentary, both from the Monastery of St. Macarius in Scetis. *Editio princeps* in P. de Lagarde, *Aegyptiaca* (Göttingen: D.A. Hoter, 1883; reed. Osnabrück: Otto Zeller, 1972) 1-37. De Lagarde’s edition of the Bohairic text served as a basis for virtually all the other translations in modern languages which followed. Cf. also Robinson, *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels*, 130-147 (translation based on the autoptic examination of the manuscript in the Vatican). See further G. Klameth, “Über die Herkunft der apokryphen *Geschichte Josephs des Zimmermanns*,” *Angelos* 3 (1928) 6-31 (partial translation of the Sahidic and Bohairic texts published by de Lagarde); S. Morenz, *Die Geschichte von Joseph dem Zimmermann* (Texte und Untersuchungen, 56/1; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1951). Two fragments of another Bohairic codex were identified by Forbes Robinson in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, see Robinson, *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels*, xxviii.

<sup>3</sup> *Editio princeps* of the Arabic in G. Wallin, *Qissat Yusuf an-naggar, sive historia Iosephi fabri lignarii* (Leipzig: Andrea Zeidler, 1722), which was republished, with or without emendations, many times. Now this is replaced by A. Battista – B. Bagatti, *Edizione critica del testo arabo della Historia Iosephi fabri lignarii e ricerche sulla sua origine* (Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Collectio Minor, 20; Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1975).

<sup>4</sup> On this day, the Coptic Church celebrates Saint Joseph the Carpenter; cf. the notice in the Coptic synaxary (Epep 26) in J. Forget, *Synaxarium alexandrinum. Pars posterior* 2 vols. (CSCO, 67, 90. Scriptores arabici, 11, 13; Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1926) vol. 1: 246-247 (Arabic text), vol. 2: 241-242 (Latin translation); R. Basset, *Le synaxaire arabe Jacobite (rédaction copte). Les mois de baounah, abib, mesoré et jours complémentaires* (Patrologia Orientalis, 17/3; Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1923) 690-691.

<sup>5</sup> Translation of the Bohairic taken from Ehrman – Pleše, *Apocryphal Gospels*, 163.

The Stauros-Text, which opens the Qasr el-Wizz codex, is also a pseudo-apostolic record.<sup>1</sup> The text uses throughout the first person plural (cf. e.g. the occurrence of ἀνοι ἡποστολοσ at 21,5) to relate a conversation which Christ had with the apostles on the Mount of Olives concerning the role of the Cross at the Final Judgment. The disciples are called by Jesus “O my holy members” (ω ἡμελοσ ετογᾶβ cf. 20,5-6).

The *Enthronement of Michael* is ascribed to John the Evangelist.<sup>2</sup> The text is preserved in Coptic (Sahidic<sup>3</sup> and Fayyumic<sup>4</sup>), Old Nubian,<sup>5</sup> and Ethiopic.<sup>6</sup> Jesus describes to the apostles how the angels and the first human couple were created, the fall of Satan, who refused to worship Adam, and the enthronement of the Archangel Michael in Satan’s place on the 12<sup>th</sup> of Hathor. The Coptic church celebrates the Archangel Michael on the 12<sup>th</sup> of every month, but that of Hathor is the most important of the feasts dedicated to him. It is interesting that this writing was rejected as apocryphal around the year 600 CE by John of Parallos in his *Contra Libros Haereticorum* (clavis coptica 0184).<sup>7</sup> This indicates that at that time the *Enthronement of Michael* was already circulating in Coptic monasteries.

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<sup>1</sup> P. Hubai, *Koptische Apokryphen aus Nubien. Der Kasr el-Wizz Kodex* (Texte und Untersuchungen, 163; Berlin – New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009); Nubian version in F.L. Griffith, *The Nubian Texts of the Christian Period* (Abhandlungen der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Jg. 1913. Phil.-hist. Classe, 8; Berlin: Reimer, 1913) 41-53; G.M. Browne, “Griffith’s Stauros-Text,” *Studia Papyrologica* 22 (1983) 75-119.

<sup>2</sup> Summary in Müller, *Engellehre*, 187-208.

<sup>3</sup> One complete manuscript from the Monastery of the Archangel Michael in the Fayyum, kept today in the Pierpont Morgan Library as M 593). Edited by C.D.G. Müller, *Die Bücher der Einsetzung der Erzengel Michael und Gabriel* 2 vols. (CSCO, 225-226. Scriptores coptici, 31-32; Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1962). An extract based on Müller’s edition was published in R.G. Hall, “The Installation of the Archangel Michael,” *Coptic Church Review* 5 (1984) 108-111. A whole quire from a different parchment manuscript in Sahidic is preserved in the collection of the French Institute, Cairo. See R.-G. Coquin, “Le fonds copte de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale du Caire,” in *Écritures et traditions dans la littérature copte. Journée d’études coptes, Strasbourg 28 mai 1982* (Cahiers de la bibliothèque copte, 1; Peeters: Louvain, 1983) 9-18, at 12. Description in Louis, *Catalogue IFAO*, 211-213 (= no. 41). The IFAO fragments were edited and translated into English in D. Tibet, *The Investiture of Michael. A Diplomatic Edition of the Coptic Text of P. IFAO ff. 145-148* (unpublished M.A. thesis, Faculty of Arts, Macquarie University: Sidney, 2009).

<sup>4</sup> There is one Fayyumic manuscript of this text, which belonged to the Monastery of the Archangel Michael near Hamuli. The manuscript is preserved today in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (MS M 614). Edited in Müller, *Bücher der Einsetzung*.

<sup>5</sup> A fragmentary parchment leaf from Qasr Ibrim published in G.M. Browne, “An Old Nubian Version of the *Liber Institutionis Michaelis*,” in W. Godlewski (ed.), *Coptic Studies. Acts of the Third International Congress of Coptic Studies, Warsaw, 20-25 August, 1984* (Warsaw: Éditions scientifiques de Pologne, 1990) 75-79.

<sup>6</sup> EMMML 4633.

<sup>7</sup> The polemical writing of John of Parallos is preserved in a single fragmentary manuscript from the Monastery of Shenoute (codex MONB.CM); edited in van Lantschoot, “Jean de Parallos.” John was ordained bishop of Parallos during the episcopate of pope Damian (569-605). On his life and works see van Lantschoot’s article and Graf, *GICAL* 1, 466-468.

However, the harsh criticism of John of Parallos was not fully successful since the writing continued to be copied, as attested by the Coptic manuscripts, which are dated to the 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> centuries. Possibly, the *Enthronement of Michael* was envisaged also by the author of the Sahidic sermon *On the Devil and the Archangel Michael*, attributed to Gregory of Nazianzus (CPG 3110; clavis coptica 0193).<sup>1</sup> This text refutes as heretical the doctrine according to which when Satan (called Mastema) refused to worship Adam, he was expelled from heaven and Michael was enthroned in his place.

The celestial journey of the apostles which is described in this text (CSCO 225, pp. 59-60) has already been mentioned by Stephen Emmel as having features in common with the vision on the mount in P. Berol. 22220 100, col. B, 1ff.<sup>2</sup> The narrative is in the first person plural (cf. ἀνων νεαποστολος in CSCO 225, p. 30, 36, 38 etc.). Christ addresses his apostles with the vocative ω ναμελος ετογλαβ at several points (CSCO 225, p. 14, 22, 24, 36 etc.)

The *Enthronement of Gabriel* (clavis coptica 0378) is attributed to the Archdeacon Stephen the Protomartyr. The Monastery of the Archangel Michael in the Fayyum possessed at least two Sahidic copies of this text, of which only one survived completely,<sup>3</sup> and one fragmentarily.<sup>4</sup> There is another Sahidic fragment of unknown provenance, previously unidentified, which is kept in the John Rylands Library in Manchester.<sup>5</sup> This papyrus leaf corresponds to the Sahidic text in CSCO 225, p. 61. An Arabic version also exists.<sup>6</sup>

In this apocryphon, Christ has a colloquium with the apostles concerning the angelic world. One by one, the twelve angels appointed over the hours of the day appear to the apostles, each one revealing its name and function. They are followed by two other orders (τάξις) of

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<sup>1</sup> Edited with a Latin translation in G. Lafontaine, "Une homélie copte sur le Diable et sur Michel, attribuée à Grégoire le Théologien," *Le Muséon* 92 (1979) 37-60.

<sup>2</sup> S. Emmel, "The Recently Published *Gospel of the Savior* ('Unbekanntes Berliner Evangelium'): Righting the Order of Pages and Events," *Harvard Theological Review* 95 (2002) 45-72, at 54.

<sup>3</sup> This is New York, Pierpont Morgan codex M 593, ff. 31r-50r. Published in Müller, *Bücher der Einsetzung*, 1: 61-82 (Sahidic text), 2: 74-100 (German translation).

<sup>4</sup> Description and transcription in Depuydt, *Catalogue*, 189-190 (= no. 98).

<sup>5</sup> Published in W.E. Crum, *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the Collection of the John Rylands Library Manchester* (Manchester – London: Manchester University Press – Bernard Quaritch et al., 1909) 42-43 (= no. 86).

<sup>6</sup> A. Khater – O.H.E. Khs-Burmester, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Christian Arabic MSS preserved in the Cloister of Saint Menas at Cairo* (Publications de la Société d'archéologie copte. Bibliothèque de manuscrits, 1; Cairo: Imprimerie de l'IFAO, 1967) 57 (= Theol. 18).

five angels each. Finally, Gabriel also appears to the apostles. Just like in many other texts presented here, including *ApoBA*, expressions like “we, the apostles” (ἀποστολος) and “O my holy members” (ὦ ἁγιος μέλος ἐτοῦ ἁγίου) are common in the *Enthronement of Gabriel*.

The *Mysteries of John the Evangelist* (clavis coptica 0041) is part of the cycle concerning the establishment of angelic beings, to which belongs the *Enthronements* of the Archangels Michael and Gabriel discussed above, but also the homily of Ps.-Timothy Aelurus on Abbaton. This apocryphal writing survived in Coptic, both in Sahidic<sup>1</sup> and Bohairic<sup>2</sup> exemplars. The text treats the subject of the establishment of another category of angelic beings, namely the Cherubs. The apostles are brought riding on clouds from all over the world on the Mount of Olives. While they remain there, John has a long vision in which a Cherub unveils to him the mysteries of the other heavens.<sup>3</sup>

An apostolic memoir which has clear parallels with *ApoBA* is the *Book of Bartholomew* (CANT 80; clavis coptica 0027), attested only in the Sahidic dialect of Coptic. The text came to us in four, more or less, fragmentary manuscripts. The best preserved of these is currently housed in the British Library.<sup>4</sup> This manuscript belongs to the lot of Sahidic codices which came from the Monastery of St. Mercurius near Edfu, in Nubia. The first folios of the codex are missing and it is imperfect at the edges. The library of the Monastery of Apa Shenoute near Atripe possessed at least two manuscripts of this apocryphon. Marginal peculiarities indicate that both manuscripts were copied in the scriptorium of Touton, in the Fayyum.<sup>5</sup> Like all the other White Monastery codices, these

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<sup>1</sup> Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha*, 59-74 (Sahidic text), 241-257 (English translation). Budge edited a complete manuscript from the Monastery of St. Mercurius at Edfu, which is kept today in the British Library (BL Or. 7026). The manuscript is dated 1005 CE. Description in Layton, *Catalogue*, 190-192 (= no. 160).

<sup>2</sup> A small Bohairic fragment from the Monastery of St. Macarius in Scetis was identified and published in Evelyn White, *New Coptic Texts*, 51. The fragment is currently in the collection of the Coptic Museum in Cairo (inv. no. 47).

<sup>3</sup> On the possible influence of the Old Testament Apocryphon ‘Books of Adam and Eve’ upon the *Mysteries of John*, see O.H.E. Burmester, “Egyptian Mythology in the Coptic Apocrypha,” *Orientalia* 7 (1938) 355-367, at 356-358.

<sup>4</sup> Translated for the first time into English by W.E. Crum in R. de Rustafjaell, *The Light of Egypt from Recently Discovered Predynastic and Early Christian Records* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1909) 110-136. Coptic text edited with an English translation in Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha*, 1-48 (Coptic text), 178-215 (English translation).

<sup>5</sup> τοῦτων was in the Coptic period the name of ancient Tebtunis in the Fayyum; cf. É. Amélineau, *La géographie de l’Égypte à l’époque copte* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1893) 527-529, without identifying it

manuscripts survived only fragmentarily, with the leaves scattered among several collections around the world. The CMCL project has given them the sigla MONB.EZ and MONB.FP.<sup>1</sup>

The most complete edition of the *Book of Bartholomew* is still that of Matthias Westerhoff,<sup>2</sup> although several new fragments have been identified since its publication. For example, a single fragment in Berlin, which belongs to a fourth codex of the *Book of Bartholomew*, has been published by Ian Gardner.<sup>3</sup> It must be pointed out that the two British Library fragments announced by Gonnie van den Berg-Onstwedder in a 1997 article as part of the

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however with Tebtunis; S. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit* vol. 6 (Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Beihefte 41/6; Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 1992) 2887-2892. On the manuscripts copied in Touton, see Depuydt, *Catalogue*, cx, cxii-cxvi; C. Nakano, "Indices d'une chronologie relative des manuscrits coptes copiés à Toutôn (Fayoum)," *Journal of Coptic Studies* 8 (2006) 147-159.

<sup>1</sup> Different fragments of these two codices were identified and edited in P. Lacau, *Fragments d'apocryphes coptes* (MIFAO, 9; Cairo: Imprimerie de l'IFAO, 1904) 23-77; O. von Lemm, "Kleine koptische Studien XXVI-XLV: XLIV. Eine neue Bartholomäus-Apokalypse," *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg* 21,3 (1904) 151-167 (repr. in Idem, *Kleine koptische Studien I-LVIII* [Subsidia Byzantina, 10; Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat, 1972] 333-349); Idem, "Kleine koptische Studien XLVI-L: L. Zum Berliner Fragment einer Bartholomäus-Apokalypse," *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg* 25,5 (1906) 185-193 (repr. in *op. cit.*, 457-465); republished in A. Kropp, *Ausgewählte koptische Zaubertexte* vol. 1: *Textpublikation* (Brussels: Édition de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1931) 79-81 (Coptic text), vol. 2: *Übersetzungen und Anmerkungen*, 249-251 (German translation); Harnack – Schmidt, "Einer Moses-Adam Apokalypse"; C. Wessely, *Griechische und koptische Texte theologischen Inhalts IV* (Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde, 15; Leipzig: Haessels Verlag, 1914) 139-142 (= no. 244a-d); E. Lucchesi, "Feuillets coptes non identifiés du prétendu *Évangile de Barthélemy*," *Vigiliae Christianae* 51 (1997) 273-275, two leaves in Paris, BnF Copte 132<sup>1</sup>, ff. 37 and 40. The fragments identified by Lucchesi are now edited in I. Gardner – J. Johnston, "The Passover Litany of the *Liber Bartholomaei*: Edition of Bibliothèque Nationale Copte 132<sup>1</sup> F. 40," *Journal of Coptic Studies* 11 (2009) 61-70; Idem, "The *Liber Bartholomaei* on the Ascension: Edition of Bibliothèque Nationale 132<sup>1</sup> F. 37," *Vigiliae Christianae* 64 (2010) 74-86.

<sup>2</sup> M. Westerhoff, *Auferstehung und Jenseits in koptischen 'Buch der Auferstehung Jesu Christi, unseres Herrn'* (Orientalia Biblica et Christiana, 11; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999).

<sup>3</sup> The fragment formerly belonged to the Egyptian Museum in West Berlin. Identified and published in I. Gardner, "A Codex Leaf from a Short Recension (Rec. D) of the *Liber Bartholomaei* (LB)," in E.A.J. Hoogendijk – B.P. Muhs (eds.), *Sixty-Five Papyrological Texts Presented To Klaas A. Worp on the Occasion of His 65<sup>th</sup> Birthday* (Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava, 33; Leiden – Boston: E.J. Brill, 2008) 19-28. Another fragment in the National Library in Vienna (K 9574) has been published in H. Förster, "Ein bisher unediertes Fragment des Ms B des *Liber Bartholomaei*. Edition von P. Vindob. K. 9574," *Journal of Coptic Studies* 6 (2004) 55-75.



*Book of Bartholomew*<sup>1</sup> actually belong to the sermon *In divini corporis sepulturam* by Ps.-Epiphanius (CPG 3768; BHG 808e).<sup>2</sup>

The comparison between the four manuscripts of the *Book of Bartholomew* reveals that they do not offer a uniform text, but rather several different recensions.

Perpetrating confusion, this text is sometimes called still today the “Gospel of Bartholomew,” suggesting that it is the writing with the same name mentioned by Jerome in his *Preface to the Gospel of Matthew* and in the *Decretum Gelasianum*. However, this title is not accurate. Jean-Daniel Kaestli and Pierre Cherix showed that the Coptic text is certainly not the *Gospel of Bartholomew*, whose closest related text has sometimes thought to be the *Questions of Bartholomew* (CANT 63). The two francophone scholars stated that the Coptic text “n’a rien de commun avec la forme littéraire du dialogue qui caractérise de bout en bout les *Questions de Barthélemy*.”<sup>3</sup> Moreover, if there are indeed some resemblances, they should be explained “par le recours indépendant à un même fonds traditionnel”.<sup>4</sup> In my opinion, the only connection between the two texts lies in the fact that Bartholomew is portrayed as recipient of special heavenly revelations which occurred soon after the resurrection of Christ.

As all the manuscripts of this work survived acephalous, the title remained unknown until recently. There is a subscription which appears in the best preserved manuscript of the work: παῖ πε πχωωμε ἡταναστας ἡς πεχς πενχοεις. Because of this, some scholars preferred to call the text the ‘Book of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ.’ Only recently, Enzo Lucchesi has identified the relevant title page of a White Monastery codex. In this

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<sup>1</sup> G. van den Berg-Onstwedder, “A New Fragment of the Apocryphon of Bartholomew the Apostle,” *Göttinger Miszellen* 150 (1996) 37-41. The fragments in question are London, British Library Or. 6954(44)-(45). I am currently preparing with Jean-Daniel Kaestli an edition of these fragments, as well as of the other codicologically related pieces from *In divini corporis sepulturam*.

<sup>2</sup> Migne PG 43, coll. 439-464. See the CPG for the bibliography related to the Syriac, Coptic, Arabic, Georgian, Armenian and Old Slavonic versions of this Patristic sermon. The only version properly published in the Slavonic one, see A. Vaillant, “L’homélie d’Épiphane sur l’ensevelissement du Christ. Texte vieux-slave, texte grec et traduction française,” *Radovi staroslavenskog instituta* 3 (1958) 6-100.

<sup>3</sup> J.-D. Kaestli – P. Cherix, *L’évangile de Barthélemy* (Collection Apocryphes; Turnhout: Brepols, 1993) 20-21.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*, 24.

manuscript, whose current whereabouts are unknown, the text is introduced as “a book (τόμος) of Bartholomew.”<sup>1</sup>

Stephen Emmel remarked that *ApoBA* “may have played a role in the complex development of another elaborate gospel, the *Gospel of Bartholomew*”<sup>2</sup> (i.e. the *Book of Bartholomew*), and revealed several textual parallels between the two apocryphal writings.

Last but not least, the three books of Evodius which survived in Coptic should also be counted among the memoirs attributed to the disciples. They do not belong to the ‘manuscript find’ series, but rather to the second category of texts, that is, apocryphal writings not framed by a pseudo-Patristic sermon. According to some Christian writers, Evodius was a disciple of the apostle Peter and his immediate successor on the episcopal see of Antioch.<sup>3</sup> It is interesting, however, that in the Coptic tradition Evodius is said to be the bishop of Rome. As far as I am aware, there is only one Coptic text which speaks about “Evodius of Antioch” (ⲁⲡⲁ ⲈⲮⲠⲟⲘⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲟⲩⲁ), namely the homily *On Riches* (CPG 1659; clavis coptica 0311), attributed to Peter of Alexandria.<sup>4</sup> In the texts attributed to him, Ps.-Evodius portrays himself as an eye-witness of the apostolic times and keeper of certain words of the Savior and of his disciples which are not recorded in the New Testament. In one of the texts which survived under his name, he introduces himself as the brother of Cleopas, one of the disciples who encountered Jesus on the road to Emmaus (Luke 24:13).<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> E. Lucchesi, “Regards nouveaux sur la littérature copte,” in P. Buzi – A. Camplani (eds.), *Christianity in Egypt: Literary Production and Intellectual Trends. Studies in Honor of Tito Orlandi* (Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum, 125; Rome: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 2011) 369-414, at 389-395. Lucchesi has found the photos of this fragment in the personal archive of Jean Doresse. The fragment was once in the possession of Doresse but apparently he sold it and the current possessor is unknown.

<sup>2</sup> Emmel, “Righting the Order,” 48.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eusebius *Hist. eccl.* 3.22. On the other hand, a little bit further in the same book (3.36.2), Eusebius says that the first successor of Peter was Ignatius of Antioch. On these two contrasting traditions, see G. Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria from Seleucus to Arab Conquest* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1961) 284ff. The name of Evodius is mentioned as well in the list of apostles and disciples attributed to Epiphanius of Salamis, see a French translation of it in Geoltrain – Kaestli (eds.), *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens* 2, 473-480, at 480.

<sup>4</sup> This homily exists in Coptic (Sahidic and Bohairic) and Arabic. List of fragments and edition in B. Pearson – T. Vivian, *Two Coptic Homilies attributed to Peter of Alexandria. On Riches, On the Epiphany* (CMCL; Rome: C.I.M., 1993) 9-144. New Sahidic fragments signaled in E. Lucchesi, “Pierre l’Apôtre ou Pierre d’Alexandrie?,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 117 (1999) 285-288, at 285 n. 5. For the Arabic version see J.-M. Sauget, “La collection homilético-hagiographique du manuscrit Sinaï arabe 457,” *Proche Orient Chrétien* 22 (1972) 129-167, at 145f. n. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Depuydt, *Homiletica*, 1: 104, 2: 111.

Three homilies of Ps.-Evodius are extant:<sup>1</sup> one on the Dormition of the Virgin (CANT 133; clavis coptica 0151) and two on the Passion of Christ (clavis coptica 0149 and CANT 81;<sup>2</sup> clavis coptica 0150).<sup>3</sup>

The last two texts are exclusively transmitted in Sahidic manuscripts. As for the sermon on the Dormition, this has been known to survive in many Sahidic and Bohairic exemplars.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, to these we can now add at least one Arabic copy, which is preserved in a manuscript in the Franciscan Center of Christian Oriental Studies in Cairo.<sup>5</sup>

The second homily on the Passion (CANT 81; clavis coptica 0150) is an apocryphal narrative which recounts the last days of Jesus' life. Among other things, it mentions the episode of the resurrection of Lazarus, in which the author has inserted a long apocryphal dialogue between Christ and the apostle Thomas. The episode of the investiture of Peter as head on the apostles on a mountain, during which the heavens open up and all the heavenly

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<sup>1</sup> T. Orlandi, "Evodius of Rome," in A.S. Atiya (ed.), *The Coptic Encyclopedia* vol. 4 (Macmillan: New York, 1991) 1078b-1079b.

<sup>2</sup> A Turin papyrus manuscript in Sahidic was published a long time ago in F. Rossi, "Trascrizione con traduzione italiana dal testo copto di un sermone sulla Passione del nostro Signore Gesù Cristo con vari altri frammenti copti del Museo Egizio di Torino," *Memorie della R. Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ser., 42 (1892) 111-143; Paul Chapman edited and translated into English a better preserved parchment manuscript of this sermon, kept in the Pierpont Morgan Library: Depuydt (ed.), *Homiletica*, 1: 79-106 (Coptic text), 2: 83-114 (English translation). Ps.-Evodius' homily *On the Passion* is attested also by at least four fragmentary White Monastery codices, whose debris are scattered today among various deposits of Coptic manuscripts. Cf., e.g., Suci, "Gamaliel," 58. A passage in this sermon is analyzed in R. van den Broek, "Four Coptic Fragments of a Greek Theosophy," *Vigiliae Christianae* 32 (1978) 118-142, at 134-138.

<sup>3</sup> The text is preserved in several fragmentary codices, but, unfortunately, the title has not survived in any of them. However, both Tito Orlandi and Enzo Lucchesi have provided good arguments that it was attributed to Evodius. See Orlandi, "Evodius," 1079a; E. Lucchesi, "Un évangile apocryphe imaginaire," *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 28 (1997) 167-178, at 174-175. Cf. also S. Shoemaker, *Ancient Traditions of the Virgin Mary's Dormition and Assumption* (Oxford Early Christian Studies; Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press, 2003) 397-407.

<sup>4</sup> There are at least nine Sahidic and three Bohairic manuscripts of this text. A full directory of the extant fragments has not been compiled yet. The manuscripts attest the existence of several different recension of Ps.-Evodius' sermon on the Virgin. Cf., e.g., Evelyn White, *New Coptic Texts*, 59-60; de Lagarde, *Aegyptiaca*, 38-63; Robinson, *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels*, 44-67; W. Spiegelberg, "Eine sahidische Version der Dormitio Mariae," *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* 25 (1903) 1-15; S. Shoemaker, "The Sahidic Coptic Homily on the Dormition of the Virgin Attributed to Evodius of Rome. An Edition from Morgan MSS 596 & 598 with Translation," *Analecta Bollandiana* 117 (1999) 241-283; M. Sheridan, "A Homily on the Death of the Virgin Mary Attributed to Evodius of Rome," in Immerzeel – van der Vliet (eds.), *Coptic Studies*, 393-406. The Sahidic and Bohairic version are translated in Spanish in Aranda Pérez, *Dormición de la Virgen*, 91-176.

<sup>5</sup> According to Macomber's catalogue, MS 213, ff. 100a-119b in this location, an early 19<sup>th</sup> century homiliary, contains a homily of Anbā Awḥīṭus, Patriarch of Rome, second successor of St. Peter, on the Virgin. See Macomber, *Catalogue*, 45.

beings are participating, has points of contact with the consecration of the apostles on the Mount of Olives in *ApoBA*.

Large portions of this New Testament apocryphon were published a long time ago by Eugène Revillout under the inaccurate title *Gospel of the Twelve Apostles*.<sup>1</sup> Another French editor, Pierre Lacau, called it simply “Apocryphal Gospel.”<sup>2</sup> Several other collections of New Testament apocrypha included the “gospel” of Ps.-Evodius.<sup>3</sup> However, Enzo Lucchesi raised serious doubts concerning the narrative style of the document and indicated that it is rather a homily with apocryphal insertions: “même s’il véhicule des traditions apocryphes anciennes et inconnues par ailleurs, le texte n’a rien d’un évangile apocryphe *stricto sensu* et relève plutôt du genre homilétique.”<sup>4</sup>

Since Ps.-Evodius claims to be an eye-witness of the events which took place in the apostolic times, the sermons attributed to him are written in the first person plural, the author speaking in the name of the apostles. For example, in the first homily on the Passion (clavis optica 0149) he declares that he witnessed the Resurrection of Christ with his own eyes: “we have seen him with the eyes after he rose ... Indeed, it is not a stranger who told me this. Rather, I too was there when this was about to happen.”<sup>5</sup> We find a similar statement in the homily on the Dormition of the Virgin, where the author says that Evodius witnessed the deeds of Christ: “I saw them with my own eyes, I Evodius, the least, who is speaking now in this exposition (ἐξήγησις): I and my Fathers the apostles and the seventy-two disciples.”<sup>6</sup> And again in the same homily: “And all the things that I will say, no one

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<sup>1</sup> Revillout, “L’Évangile des XII Apôtres”; Idem, *Les apocryphes coptes*, 131-184.

<sup>2</sup> Lacau, *Fragments*, 79-108.

<sup>3</sup> L. Moraldi, *Apocrifi del Nuovo Testamento* vol. 1 (Classici delle religioni, 5; Turin: UTET, 1971) 391-405; Erbetta, *Apocrifi del Nuovo Testamento* vol. 1/2, 320-326. Robinson, *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels*, 168-179. There is also a French translation made by Françoise Morard in Geoltrain – Kaestli (eds.), *Écrits apocryphes* 2, 103-134 under the title “Homélie sur la vie de Jésus et son amour pour les apôtres.” A new fragment has been published by Enzo Lucchesi, see his article “L’homélie copte d’Évode de Rome en l’honneur des Apôtres: un feuillet nouveau,” *Orientalia* 76 (2007) 379-384.

<sup>4</sup> Lucchesi, “L’homélie copte d’Évode de Rome,” 379 n. 1. Cf. also Idem, “Un évangile apocryphe,” 175.

<sup>5</sup> Translation taken from Depuydt, *Homiletica*, 2: 85. See also what he says in the homily on the Dormition of the Virgin: “And as for me, Evodius, the disciple of my father Peter, the great Apostle, no one told me these things, but I was there just as all these things were happening.” Translation taken from Shoemaker, “The Dormition of the Virgin Attributed to Evodius of Rome,” 279.

<sup>6</sup> Translation taken from Shoemaker, “The Dormition of the Virgin Attributed to Evodius of Rome,” 259.

else who saw them has told me about them, but I saw them with my own eyes, and I touched them with my own hands.”<sup>1</sup>

In the homily on the Dormition of the Virgin the first person plural narrative is maintained. It is also interesting to notice that in the memoirs of Ps.-Evodius, Jesus Christ addresses the apostles and disciples with “O my holy members” several times.

Undoubtedly, other alleged memoirs of the apostles and their disciples, which are similar to *ApoBA* and the writings presented above, have escaped my notice. As for these, they are not hidden in the library at the house of Mary, mother of John Mark, or in that of Jerusalem, but rather in the *mare magnum* of unstudied Coptic, Arabic and Ethiopic manuscripts.

#### **IV.2 Possible Models for the Pseudo-Memoirs of the Apostles and Disciples**

The sources listed here are enough to allow some conclusions. First of all, it is worthy to note that many of the pseudo-memoirs use the first person plural in order to show that their authors are first-hand witnesses of the deeds they recount. This feature is very rarely found elsewhere than in the Coptic stories of the apostles and their disciples. Some possible sources for this peculiar characteristic of the Coptic apostolic books are offered here.

For example, this narrative style appears in the 4<sup>th</sup> century *Apostolic Constitutions* (CPG 1730),<sup>2</sup> which are preserved in Coptic as well (clavis coptica 0088), but in a distinct redaction.<sup>3</sup> In this composite work, we read passages such as this: “Wherefore we, the twelve apostles of the Lord, who are now together” (*Apost. Const.* VII,2,4), which emphasize the purported apostolic origin of the document.<sup>4</sup> The Egyptian Church had its own reworking of the Greek canons. The most important Sahidic manuscript, which is

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<sup>1</sup> Ibidem, 269.

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., M. Metzger, *Les Constitutions apostoliques* vol. 1 (Sources Chrétiennes, 320; Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1985) 307ff. Cf. also the interesting remarks on the use of the first person plural in the *Constitutions* in Idem, 53.

<sup>3</sup> On the Coptic recension of the apostolic canons, different in some regards from the Greek one, see R.-G. Coquin, “Canons, Apostolic,” in Atiya (ed.), *Coptic Encyclopedia* vol. 2, 451-453; A. Baumstark, “Die nichtgriechischen Paralleltexzte zum achten Buche der Apostolischen Konstitutionen,” *Oriens Christianus* 1 (1901) 98-137; L.-T. Lefort, “Note sur le texte copte des Constitutions Apostoliques,” *Le Muséon* 12 (1911) 23-24; F.X. Funk, “Das achte Buch der Apostolischen Konstitutionen in der koptischen Überlieferung,” *Theologische Quartalschrift* 86 (1904) 429-442.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the analysis of this topos in B.D. Ehrman, *Forgery and Counterforgery. The Use of Literary Deceit in Early Christian Polemics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013) 14-19.

intact, is a parchment codex in the British Library (BL Or. 1320), dated 1005-1006 CE.<sup>1</sup> Like the Greek original, the Sahidic version is written in the first person plural.<sup>2</sup>

Another text attributed to the apostles which was certainly known in Coptic Egypt is the *Epistula apostolorum* (CANT 22; clavis coptica 0034). This writing is fully preserved in Ethiopic<sup>3</sup> and fragmentarily in Latin<sup>4</sup> and in the Akhmimic dialect of Coptic.<sup>5</sup> The *Epistula apostolorum* is a revelation dialogue written in the first person plural, the narrators being the apostles. Possibly, the text was directed against certain “Gnostics” since Simon Magus and Cerinthos are explicitly mentioned as enemies of the true faith. The *Epistula* rejected Docetism and advocated the reality of the resurrection of the flesh.

Some ancient testimonies describe now lost apocryphal gospels that were attributed to the apostles as a group. However, we do not have evidence that any of them existed in Coptic.<sup>6</sup> Among these, the *Gospel of the Twelve* mentioned by Origen (*Comm. in Lucam* 1.1) and Jerome (*Comm. in Matt.*; *Ad. Pelag.* 3.2) is, perhaps, the most notorious. As I already pointed out, Stephen Emmel<sup>7</sup> and Christoph Marksches<sup>8</sup> have speculated that the reference

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<sup>1</sup> Edited in de Lagarde, *Aegyptiaca*, 209-291; description in W.E. Crum, *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1905) 52-53 (= no. 162). The text printed in de Lagarde’s edition was translated into English by G. Horner, *The Statutes of the Apostles or Canones Ecclesiastici* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1904) 295-363. German translation in W. Till – J. Leipoldt, *Der koptische Text der Kirchenordnung Hippolyts* (Texte und Untersuchungen, 58; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1954). U. Bouriant, “Les Canons Apostoliques de Clément de Rome. Traduction en dialecte copte thébain d’après un manuscrit de la bibliothèque du Patriarche jacobite du Caire,” *Recueil des travaux* 5 (1884) 199-216, 6 (1885) 97-115 (translation of a late Sahidic manuscript).

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., Ecclesiastical Canon 63: “These gifts, therefore, that were first given to us, the apostles” (νεχαρισμα θε ετε και νε αγταυ και νωροφι ανων ηαποστολος). Translation by Horner, *Statutes*, 333, slightly modified; Coptic text in de Lagarde, *Aegyptiaca*, 267.

<sup>3</sup> L. Guerrier – S. Grébaut, *Le Testament en Galilée de Notre Seigneur Jésus Christ* (Patrologia Orientalis, 9/3; Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1913); J.-N. Pèrès, *L’Épître des apôtres et le Testament de notre Sauveur Jésus-Christ* (Apocryphes, 5; Turnhout: Brepols, 1994); Idem, “Épître des apôtres,” in Bovon – Geoltrain (eds.), *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens* vol. 1, 357-392.

<sup>4</sup> J. Bick, *Wiener Palimpseste* vol. 1: *Cod. Palat. Vindobonensis 16, olim Bobbiensis* (Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philosophisch-historische Klasse, 159/7; Vienna: Hölder, 1908) 314.

<sup>5</sup> C. Schmidt, *Gespräche Jesu mit seinen Jüngern nach der Auferstehung* (Texte und Untersuchungen, 43; Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1919). Cf. also K. Lake, “The Epistola Apostolorum,” *Harvard Theological Review* 14 (1921) 15-29.

<sup>6</sup> W. Schneemelcher, “Gospels Attributed to the Apostles as a Group,” in W. Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha* vol. 1: *Gospels and Related Writings* (trans. by R. McL. Wilson; Louisville – London: James Clarke – Westminster John Knox Press, 1991<sup>2</sup>) 374-382.

<sup>7</sup> S. Emmel, “Ein altes Evangelium der Apostel taucht in Fragmenten aus Ägypten und Nubien auf,” *Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum* 9 (2005) 85-99, at 95.

<sup>8</sup> C. Marksches, “Was wissen wir über den Sitz im Leben der apokryphen Evangelien?,” in Frey – Schröter (eds.), *Jesus in apokryphen Evangelienüberlieferungen*, 61-90, at 71, 82.

to “we, the apostles” in P. Berol. 22220 could be a sign that the text belongs to the *Gospel of the Twelve*. However, I think that the numerous writings reviewed above, in which the first person plural voice is used, shows that this feature belongs to a well-defined genre of Coptic literature. Attributing these texts to the apostles, the author(s) granted them the necessary antiquity and authenticity in order to establish their popularity among believers.

One common feature in some of the texts introduced in the previous section is the occurrence of Prochorus, the disciple of John the evangelist, as writer of the memoirs. Possibly, we have here a vague influence of the *Acts of John* attributed to Prochorus (CANT 218; BHG 916-917z), which, judging from the quantity of the surviving Sahidic manuscripts, was popular in Coptic Egypt. Originally composed in Greek, the *Acts of John* by Ps.-Prochorus were translated into Latin and virtually all languages of the Christian East.<sup>1</sup> In Sahidic, they were sometimes copied together with the *Metastasis (Dormitio) Johannis* (CANT 215.II; BHO 476; clavis coptica 0572).<sup>2</sup> It is possible that this popular text attributed to Prochorus represented the reason why Coptic authors put so many of the memoirs under the name of John’s disciple. If this is correct, they must have been composed after the *Acts of John* by Ps.-Prochorus, which are usually dated around the 5<sup>th</sup> century CE.

### **IV.3 Peculiar Expressions in Coptic Literature: “O My Holy Members,” “O My Honored Members.” Apostles, Martyrs and Monks.**

Three times in P. Berol. 22220 the Savior calls his disciples by the vocative “O my holy members”:

The Savior said to us: “O my holy members, my blessed seeds” (P. Berol. 22220 100 col. A,2-6); “But now gather to me, O my holy members, dance

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<sup>1</sup> Edition of the Greek text in T. Zahn, *Acta Joannis* (Erlangen: Andreas Deichert, 1880). Analysis of the text in R.A. Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden* vol. 1 (Braunschweig: C.A. Schwetscheke, 1883) 355-408; E. Junod – J.-D. Kaestli, *Acta Iohannis. Praefatio, Textus alii, Commentarius, Indices* vol. 2 (Corpus Christianorum. Series Apocryphorum, 2; Turnhout: Brepols, 1983) 718-749.

<sup>2</sup> The complete Sahidic version of the *Metastasis Johannis* was published in Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha*, 51-58 (Sahidic text), 233-240 (English translation). There are also several White Monastery manuscripts which contain this text; for their codicological reconstruction, see E. Lucchesi, “Contribution codicologique au corpus copte des actes apocryphes des apôtres,” in P.-H. Poirier, *La version copte de la Prédication et du Martyre de Thomas* (Subsidia hagiographica, 67; Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1984) 7-24. The *Acts of John* by Ps.-Prochorus precede the *Metastasis* in the Pierpont Morgan codex M 576 and in the White Monastery codex MONB.DO.

(χορεύειν) and [answer to me]” (P. Berol. 22220 107 col. B,17-21); He said to us: “O my holy members, [blessed are you]” (P. Berol. 22220 Frag. 9F, col. A,5-6).

This designation for the apostles reminds one of the ecclesiastical theology of the Pauline and Deutero-Pauline letters, where Christ is the head of the Church and the faithful are his members. As I already pointed out several times when I discussed the memoirs of the apostles and disciples, the expression “O my holy members” is a standard formula in this kind of literature and represents one of the features shared by most of the texts related to *ApoBA*.

This vocative does not appear elsewhere except for Coptic, Old Nubian, Arabic and Ethiopic sources, in the latter cases only in texts which go back to a Coptic original. The occurrence of “O my holy members” in P. Berol. 22220 constitutes another important argument that this text belongs to the Coptic pseudo-memoirs of the apostles and disciples.

In his critical notes to the text, Paul Mirecki indicated some occurrences of the word μέλος as a mystical designation for the members of a religious community in early Christian literature, suggesting that the expression could be traced back ultimately to the Pauline ecclesiology.<sup>1</sup> From all the references quoted therein, only that from the *Apocalypse of Paul* (BHG 1460; CANT 325; clavis coptica 0030) provides a literal parallel to our text. As I will show later, whereas the expression occurs indeed in the *Apocalypse of Paul*, it does not appear in the Greek original, nor in the other known versions, but only in the Coptic *adagio* to this text. This fact strengthens the hypothesis concerning a Coptic provenance of the address.

Another occurrence of this appellation is provided by the *Book of Bartholomew* and it has already been signaled by Stephen Emmel, who called it “an unusual form of address.”<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the publication of the Stauros-Text from the Qasr el-Wizz codex has revealed yet another example of this address. However, the expression “O my holy members” has

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<sup>1</sup> C.W. Hedrick – P. A. Mirecki, *Gospel of the Savior. A New Ancient Gospel* (Santa Rosa: Polebridge, 1999) 95-96, where Mirecki quotes 1 Cor 6:15; 12:12-31; Rom 12:3-5; Eph 4:25; 5:30; Ignatius *Epistle to the Ephesians* 4:2; Ignatius *Epistle to the Trallians* 11:2; *Apocalypse of Paul*.

<sup>2</sup> Emmel, “Righting the Order,” 54; Idem, “Preliminary Reedition and Translation of the *Gospel of the Savior*: New Light on the *Strasbourg Coptic Gospel* and the *Stauros-Text* from Nubia,” *Apocrypha* 14 (2003) 9-53, at 35.



not stirred up much interest, perhaps because its occurrence in these three texts has been regarded as natural since they have been considered interrelated.

When I first approached the *Apocryphon Berolinense/Argentoratense* in 2005, this expression was decisive to start looking at the text from the angle of Coptic literature. Thus, I began to collect texts which contain the address “O my holy members” and I soon realized that the literary genre of these documents resemble very much that of *ApoBA* (i.e. colloquia of Christ with the apostles on different topics). Joost Hagen arrived, independently, to the same conclusion and, in his article on the Berlin and Strasbourg fragments listed no less than nine Coptic ‘apostolic diaries’ which employ “O my holy members” as a designation for the apostles.<sup>1</sup> Thus, he pointed out that, besides *ApoBA*, the *Book of Bartholomew* and the *Stauros-Texts*, the formula appears in the *History of Joseph the Carpenter*, the *Book of the Enthronement of Michael*, the *Book of the Enthronement of Gabriel*, Ps.-Chrysostom’s sermon on the Four Bodiless Creatures, that of Ps.-Timothy Aelurus on Abbaton, and the homily of Ps.-Theodosius of Alexandria on the Dormition of the Virgin.

In the present section I will further enrich the *dossier* of texts which contain the address ω ναμελος ετογααβ and I will show that it often coexists in the same writing with other similar vocatives. Remarkably, these expressions are confined to Coptic literature or to texts which have been translated from Coptic, namely into Old Nubian, Arabic and Ethiopic. Finally, I shall suggest a possible monastic provenance of this form of address.

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The most common form in which Christ addresses the apostles, but also the disciples, in the Coptic pseudo-memoirs is by using the vocative ω ναμελος ετογααβ. As can be seen above, this form of the address appears no less than three times in the Berlin manuscript. Exactly the same form is used twice in the *Book of Bartholomew*: “He raised his hand upon

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<sup>1</sup> Hagen, “Ein anderer Kontext.”

them (and) he blessed them saying: ‘O my holy members, take courage, do not be afraid’;” “[he] sealed them [...]: ‘O my holy members’.”<sup>1</sup>

It is interesting to remark that the St. Mercurius manuscript (Westerhoff’s Ms. C) of the *Book of Bartholomew* contains yet another similar form of address: “Greetings, my honored fellow-members which I have chosen one by one” (χαίρε ναϝβ̅ρ̅με̅λο̅[c] ε̅τ̅ται̅νη̅ ν̅ται̅σο̅τ̅πο̅υ̅ ο̅γ̅α̅ ο̅γ̅α̅).<sup>2</sup> Compare this saying with what we find, for example, in the *Encomium on Abbaton*, by Ps.-Timothy Aelurus: “O my holy members, which I have chosen out of the entire world” (ω̅ να̅με̅λο̅ς̅ ε̅το̅υ̅α̅α̅β̅·̅ να̅ϊ̅ ν̅ται̅σο̅τ̅πο̅υ̅ ο̅υ̅τε̅ π̅κο̅σ̅μο̅ς̅ τη̅ρ̅ῶ̅),<sup>3</sup> or with another expression in the same sermon: “O these which I have chosen out of the entire world” (ω̅ ν̅ται̅σο̅τ̅πο̅υ̅ ο̅υ̅τε̅ π̅κο̅σ̅μο̅ς̅ τη̅ρ̅ῶ̅).<sup>4</sup> A form of address which combines what we find in the *Book of Bartholomew* and in Ps.-Timothy’s sermon on Abbaton is used in the encomium on the Four Bodiless Creatures by Ps.-Chrysostom: “The Savior said to the apostles: ‘I told you since the beginning that you are my fellows. Now, O my honored fellow-members which I have chosen out of the entire world’” (ω̅ να̅ϝβ̅η̅ρ̅ ἡ̅με̅λο̅ς̅ ε̅τ̅ται̅νη̅ και̅ ν̅ται̅σο̅τ̅πο̅υ̅ ο̅υ̅δε̅ π̅κο̅σ̅μο̅ς̅ τη̅ρ̅ῶ̅).<sup>5</sup> Similarly, in the homily of Ps.-Evodius of Rome on the Dormition of the Virgin we read thus: “O my honored fellow-members which I have chosen out of the entire world” (ω̅ να̅ϝβ̅η̅ρ̅ ἡ̅με̅λο̅ς̅ ε̅τ̅ται̅νη̅ και̅ ν̅ται̅σο̅τ̅πο̅υ̅ ο̅υ̅δε̅ π̅κο̅σ̅μο̅ς̅ τη̅ρ̅ῶ̅).<sup>6</sup>

At Bala’izah in Upper Egypt has been discovered a parchment fragment which seems to contain one of the still unidentified pseudo-apostolic memoirs. From the little surviving text, we can infer that Christ reveals to the apostles the way in which the Devil has been expelled from heaven. The topos of the chosen apostles who are called “holy members” appears in this fragment as well: “Behold, then, my holy members, I have chosen you (and)

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<sup>1</sup> Westerhoff, *Buch der Auferstehung*, 172-173.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, 170-172.

<sup>3</sup> Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms*, 231 (Sahidic text).

<sup>4</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>5</sup> Coptic text in Depuydt (ed.), *Homiletica*, 1: 32. Just a bit later in the same text (p. 33 of the edition) appears the expression ω̅ να̅ϝβ̅η̅ρ̅ ἡ̅με̅λο̅ς̅.

<sup>6</sup> Sahidic text in Shoemaker, “The Dormition of the Virgin Attributed to Evodius of Rome,” 272.

I have revealed to you all my mysteries” ([εἰς]ἤντη σε [ν]α[μ]ελος ετ[ογα]αβ· αἰσεῖπ[τη]γτῆ αἰογω[ῆζ] ερωτῆ ἡναμγστηριον τηρου).<sup>1</sup>

In a parchment fragment published by Charles W. Hedrick, which is, perhaps, an extract from one of the pseudo-memoirs of the apostles, a similar expression is used, but this time the one who has chosen the apostles is not Christ, but God: “Greetings, apostles, my honored chosen ones, my holy fellow-members (ναωβημελος ετογα[α]β) which my Father has chosen.”<sup>2</sup> The Bohairic recension of the *History of Joseph the Carpenter* employs the same topos: “Now it happened one day, when our good Savior was sitting on the Mount of Olives and his disciples were gathered to him, that he spoke to them, saying, ‘O my beloved brothers and sons of my good Father, these which *He has chosen out of the entire world*’.”<sup>3</sup> However, the Sahidic version of this apocryphon is closer to what we read in the other texts presented above. Thus, the one who has chosen the apostles is, again, Christ: “O my beloved brothers, these which I have chosen out of the entire world” (ναἰ ἡταισοτπογ εβολ ζῆπκοσμοσ τηρῆ).<sup>4</sup> And, again, in the homily of Ps.-Archelaos of Neapolis on Gabriel: “O my brothers which I have chosen out of the entire world” (ω νασνηγ ἡταισοτπογ εβολ ζῆπκοσμοσ τηρῆ).<sup>5</sup>

The Bohairic manuscript of the *History of Joseph* in the Vatican uses both “O my honored members” (ω ναμελος ετταιηογτ) and “O my holy members” (ω ναμελος εθογααβ), which shows that these expressions belong to the same inventory. Thus, while it is true that ω ναμελος ετογααβ is more widely spread than other forms of address in the pseudo-apostolic memoirs, it is not the only one used.

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<sup>1</sup> Fragment translated for the first time by Walter E. Crum in W.M. Flinders Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh* (London: School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1907) 39; *editio princeps* of the Sahidic text in P.E. Kahle, *Bala'izah. Coptic Texts from Deir el-Bala'izah in Upper Egypt* vol. 1 (London: Oxford University Press, 1954) 403-404. It is interesting to remark that Crum translated the first fragmentary lines “Lo, then, my (?) holy angels,” a reading which was taken over by Kahle, who restored the text as [εἰς]ἤντη σε [ν]α[μ]ελος ετ[ογα]αβ. However, given the parallels to this expression and the fact that the theme of the angels elected by Christ seems improbable, I think the reading proposed above is more logical.

<sup>2</sup> C.W. Hedrick, “A Revelation Discourse of Jesus,” *Journal of Coptic Studies* 7 (2005) 13-15, at 14.

<sup>3</sup> De Lagarde, *Aegyptiaca*, 1.

<sup>4</sup> Suci, “New Fragments *Historia Josephi*,” 285.

<sup>5</sup> Sahidic text in Pierpont Morgan MS M 583, f. 2v, col. B, lines 17-20. The Bohairic text is virtually identical: ω νασνηογ εταισοτπογ ζεπκοσμοσ τηρῆ, De Vis, *Homélie coptes* 2, 250.

It is interesting to remark the following similarity between one of the Sahidic manuscripts of the *History of Joseph the Carpenter* and *ApoBA*:

**P. Berol. 22220 100, col. A,3-6**

ⲱ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟϥⲁⲁⲃ  
ⲛⲁⲥⲫⲉⲣⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲥⲙⲁⲙⲁⲁⲧ

***History of Joseph*<sup>1</sup>**

ⲱ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟϥⲁⲁⲃ  
ⲛⲁⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲥⲙⲁⲙⲁⲁⲧ

The fact that the Coptic memoirs attributed to the apostles and disciples are closely related, although they treat very different subjects, is obvious when we compare the use of the vocatives in the following five texts:

<b>Ps.- Chrysostom, On the Four Bodiless Beasts<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>Ps.-Timothy, On Abbaton<sup>3</sup></b>	<b><i>Enthronement of Michael<sup>4</sup></i></b>	<b><i>Enthronement of Gabriel<sup>5</sup></i></b>	<b><i>Stauros-Text Qasr el-Wizz<sup>6</sup></i></b>
ⲧⲈⲚⲞϮ ⲆⲈ ⲱ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏϮ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲣⲁⲧⲉ ⲧⲁϫⲉⲟⲉⲓⲱ ⲙ̀ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣ̄	ⲧⲈⲚⲞϮ ⲆⲈ ⲱ ⲛⲁⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟϥⲁⲁⲃ ... ⲧⲁϫⲉⲟⲉⲓⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϫ ⲛ̀ⲧⲙ̀ⲛ̀ⲧⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲧⲏⲣ̄ⲥ	ⲧⲈⲚⲞϮ ⲆⲈ ⲱ ⲛⲁⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲧⲱⲟϥⲛ ⲙⲟⲟϫⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̀ⲧⲁϫⲉⲟⲉⲓⲱ	ⲧⲈⲚⲞϮ ⲆⲈ ⲱ ⲛⲁⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲥⲙⲁⲙⲁⲁⲧ ⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲙ̀ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣ̄	ⲧⲈⲚⲞϮ ⲆⲈ ⲱ <u>ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ</u> <u>ⲉⲧⲟϥⲁⲁⲃ ⲃⲱⲕ</u> ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̀ⲧⲁϫⲉⲟⲉⲓⲱ ⲙ̀ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣ̄

Here we find a variety of similar vocatives, including ⲱ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟϥⲁⲁⲃ. Even more importantly, I think that such striking parallels do not indicate that the texts influenced each other but, rather, that they were produced in the same milieu by applying an identical pattern: ⲧⲈⲚⲞϮ ⲆⲈ + vocative + proclamation of the apostles.

To continue the analysis of the address ⲱ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟϥⲁⲁⲃ, it should be specified that this features a prominent place in the homilies attributed to Evodius of Rome. Thus, it appears

<sup>1</sup> This reading appears on the Sahidic fragment Vatican, Borg. copt. 109, cass. 25, fasc. 121. Description and *editio princeps* in G. Zoega, *Catalogus codicum Copticorum manu scriptorum qui in Museo Borgiano Velitris adservantur* (Rome, 1810; repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1973) 227 (= no. 121); republished in De Lagarde, *Aegyptiaca*, 26; Lefort, "L'Histoire de Joseph le charpentier," 213, who gives a wrong transcription: ⲱ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟϥⲁⲁⲃ; Robinson, *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels*, 158 (English translation).

<sup>2</sup> Depuydt (ed.), *Homiletica*, 1: 35.

<sup>3</sup> Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms*, 243.

<sup>4</sup> Müller, *Bücher der Einsetzung*, 1: 59

<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*, 81.

<sup>6</sup> Hubai, *Koptische Apokryphen*, 13. Same in the Nubian version, cf. Browne, "Griffith's Stauros-Text," 89.

twice in the surviving portions of his second sermon on the Passion (CANT 81; *clavis coptica* 0150): “But when Jesus saw that the heart of the apostles was weak, he told them: ‘My holy members (ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟϩⲁⲁⲃ), do not be saddened’;”<sup>1</sup> “Have I agreed with you, O my holy members and my brothers (ⲱ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟϩⲁⲁⲃ ⲁϥⲱ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲅ) to eat with you at the table of the kingdom of this world?”<sup>2</sup>

In Ps.-Evodius’ homily on the Dormition, which is attested in multiple Sahidic and Bohairic redactions, the expression occurs several times under different forms. It appears, for example, in a fragment from the White Monastery codex MONB.GA: “The Savior said: ‘O my holy members, I was amazed at you because of the word that you have said’” (ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲔⲈ ⲱ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟϩⲁⲁⲃ ⲁⲓⲣⲱⲡⲏⲣⲉ ⲓⲙⲱⲧⲏ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲱⲗⲁⲔⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲧⲉⲧⲏⲗⲟⲟϩ).<sup>3</sup> In another codex (MONB.NW) of the same writing, other related expressions are used: ⲱ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲏⲅ, ⲛⲧⲱⲧⲏ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲏⲅ.<sup>4</sup> These are close to the vocative which occurs in the homily of Ps.-Bachios of Maiuma on the apostles: ⲱ ⲛⲁⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟϩⲁⲁⲃ ⲛⲁⲟⲃⲏⲣⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲉⲏⲅ.<sup>5</sup> As I have said, Bachios appears sometimes in the sermons of Ps.-Cyril of Jerusalem, being connected with the apostolic books.

In the *Martyrdom of Pilate* attributed to Cyriacus of Behnesa, which claims to transcribe a book of Gamaliel, Jesus Christ comforts the apostles, who are grieving over the death of Virgin Mary: “And the Savior replied saying: ‘O my beloved and my members, do not be sad on account of the passing away of my mother from you.’”<sup>6</sup> Similarly, in the Arabic version of Vatic. arab. 698 of the sermon on the Dormition of Mary attributed to

<sup>1</sup> Sahidic text of London, BL Or. 3581B, fol. 26. Published by Crum, *Catalogue BM*, 137 (= no. 309).

<sup>2</sup> Sahidic text of Vatican, Borg. copt. 109, cass. 25, fasc. 113. Description in Zoega, *Catalogus*, 222 (= no. 113). Published in I. Guidi, “Frammenti copti VI,” *Atti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei* ser. 4, vol. 3,2 (1887) 368-384, at 381-384; translated in Robinson, *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels*, 176-178; Revillout, *Les apocryphes coptes* 1, 151-155 [35]-[39].

<sup>3</sup> For the codicological reconstruction of this codex see T. Orlandi, *Coptic Texts Relating to the Virgin Mary. An Overview* (CMCL. Letteratura copta, serie Studi; Rome: C.I.M., 2008) 22. ⲱ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟϩⲁⲁⲃ appears in Naples IB.13, fol. 60. This fragment belonged to the Borgian collection in the Vatican but it is now in Naples. Description in Zoega, *Catalogus*, 621 (= no. 273) and, more recently, P. Buzi, *Catalogo dei manoscritti copti borgiani conservati presso la Biblioteca Nazionale “Vittorio Emanuele III” di Napoli* (Accademia dei Lincei – Memorie, Ser. IX, 25/1; Rome: Scienze e lettere, 2009) 269-270. Published in Robinson, *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels*, 66-69 (Sahidic text and English translation).

<sup>4</sup> Robinson, *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels*, 74, 78. On the reconstruction of the White Monastery codex MONB.NW see A. Suci, “The Borgian Coptic Manuscripts in Naples: Supplementary Identifications and Notes to a Recently Published Catalogue,” *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 77 (2011) 299-325, at 311.

<sup>5</sup> Morard, “Homélie copte sur les apôtres,” 423.

<sup>6</sup> English translation taken from Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies* vol. 2, 276.

Theodosius of Alexandria we have the following *lectio*: السلام لكم ياخلاي الاعضاء “Greetings to you, my beloved members” (f. 100r).<sup>1</sup>

In his commentary to the *editio princeps* of P. Berol. 22220, Paul Mirecki stated that the expression “O my holy members” is found in the Greek *Apocalypse of Paul*. Actually, the address does not feature in the Greek text or in any of the other versions of this apocalypse, except in Coptic. Until now, the only known Sahidic manuscript of the *Apocalypse of Paul* has been a parchment codex dated to the late 10<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>2</sup> Two small parchment fragments from a different manuscript surfaced in 2011 in a private collection in Finland.<sup>3</sup> Besides, the National Library in Vienna possesses a leaf from the *Apocalypse of Athanasius*, which is basically identical with the *Apocalypse of Paul*, except for the name of the seer.<sup>4</sup>

The *Apocalypse of Paul* is longer in Sahidic than in the other versions. In the Sahidic recension, after the last revelation of the *angelus interpretis*, Paul is taken to the Mount of Olives, where the apostles are gathered. He recounts them the visions he had and the apostles are commissioning Mark and Timothy to write down the revelation. Christ appears to them on a chariot of Cherubs. The beginning of the discourse of Jesus finds a close parallel in two passages from the *Book of Bartholomew*:

Book of Bartholomew <sup>5</sup>	Apocalypse of Paul – versio sahidica <sup>6</sup>
Greetings, Peter, my bishop, the crown of the apostles. Greetings, my honored fellow-	Greetings, my holy apostles, these which I have chosen out of the world. Greetings,

<sup>1</sup> Which means that the Coptic copy which lies behind this Arabic translation very likely had  $\chi\epsilon\rho\epsilon$   $\mu\eta\tau\bar{\iota}$   $\mu\alpha\mu\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon$   $\bar{\iota}\mu\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ . Similarly, in the *Martyrdom of Pilate* attributed to Cyriacus of Behnesa we find the syntagm “O my beloved and my members,” see Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies* 2, 276. The Bohairic version of Ps.-Theodosius’ sermon has a different reading:  $\tau\epsilon\tau\iota\rho\eta\eta\eta$   $\mu\omega\tau\epsilon\eta$   $\mu\alpha\omega\phi\eta\eta$   $\bar{\iota}\mu\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ .

<sup>2</sup> This manuscript comes from the Monastery of St. Mercurius at Edfu and it is kept in the British Library (BL Or. 7023 + Or. 6806A). Description in Layton, *Catalogue*, 186-188 (= no. 159). Edited in Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 534-574 (Sahidic text), 1043-1084 (English translation). A new edition of the text appeared in K.B. Copeland, *Mapping the Apocalypse of Paul: Geography, Genre and History* (Ph.D. thesis; Princeton, NJ: Princeton University, 2001) 185-313. On the codicology of the manuscript, see L.R. Lanzillotta, “The Coptic Manuscript Ms. Or 7023 (Partly, Layton 158). An Assessment of its Structure and Value,” *Le Muséon* 119 (2006) 25-32.

<sup>3</sup> The new fragments are two strips of parchment which were cut-off from a folio and reused in order to strengthen the leaves of another manuscript. They offer an interesting recension of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, which is written in the third person singular. I identified these fragments together with Antti Marjanen and we are currently preparing them for publication.

<sup>4</sup> This is K 9653. Identified and published in E. Lucchesi, “Une (pseudo-)Apocalypse d’Athanasie en copte,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 115 (1997) 241-248.

<sup>5</sup> Westerhoff, *Buch der Auferstehung*, 170-172, 190.

<sup>6</sup> Sahidic text in Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 573.



it appears, works which are not directly related with the pseudo-memoirs of the apostles and disciples. Thus, we find it in the *Martyrdom of St. Shenoufe* (clavis coptica 0302),<sup>1</sup> an Egyptian saint martyred under Diocletian, who is not mentioned elsewhere except for Coptic (and Copto-Arabic) sources. This martyrdom belongs to the Coptic cycle of Julius of Aqfahs.<sup>2</sup>

While Shenoufe and his eleven brothers were in the prison waiting for their death, they are visited by Christ in a vision: “And lo, the Lord Jesus came from heaven with a multitude of angels, and he went to the saints, and said to them, ‘Be strong, all of you, O my holy parts (ⲱ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟϩⲁⲁⲃ)! Lo, I established your thrones, and have garlanded your crowns and your robes.’”<sup>3</sup>

Here must be a little mistake which occurred during the textual transmission of the *Martyrdom of Shenoufe*, caused by the fact that the Greek words μέλος and μέρος are interchangeable due to their phonetic proximity. The case is not unique. For example, in one of the passages from the Sahidic *History of Joseph the Carpenter* quoted above, Christ calls the apostles ⲱ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟϩⲁⲁⲃ, although the expression ⲱ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟϩⲁⲁⲃ is also attested in this text. Moreover, μέλος is used in its turn as a designation for the faithful in the *Martyrdom of Shenoufe*. When Christ appeared to Shenoufe while the saint was still in his house, before choosing to become a martyr, he greeted him χαίρε ωἱοϥε παⲱⲃⲣ̅μεⲟⲥ

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<sup>1</sup> The complete text was edited by E.A.E. Reymond – J.W.B. Barns, *Four Martyrdoms from the Pierpont Morgan Coptic Codices* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973) 83-127 (Sahidic text), 185-222 (English translation); cf. also H. Munier, “Fragments des actes du martyre de l’Apa Chnoubé,” *Annales du Service des antiquités de l’Égypte* 17 (1917) 145-159; K. Sethe, “Zu den Märtyrerakten des Apa Schnube,” *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* 57 (1922) 139-140; J. Horn, “Der erste Märtyrer. Zu einem Topos der koptischen Märtyrerliteratur (mit zwei Anhängen),” in G. Koch (ed.), *Studien zur spätantiken und frühchristlichen Kunst und Kultur des Orients* (Göttinger Orientforschungen, 2; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1982) 31-55.

<sup>2</sup> Many Coptic martyrdoms are ascribed to this Egyptian saint, which would later suffer himself the death of the martyrs; cf. e.g. É. Amélineau, *Les actes des martyrs de l’Église Copte* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1890) 123-161; P. Dib, “Jules d’Aqfahs,” *Revue de l’Orient chrétien* 15 (1910) 301-306; T. Mina, *Le martyre d’Apa Epima* (Service des antiquités de l’Égypte, 3; Cairo: Imprimerie Nationale, 1937) xi-xv; Idem, “Jules d’Aqfahs et ses œuvres. À propos d’une icône conservée dans l’Église d’Abou’s-Seifein,” *Bulletin de la Société d’archéologie copte* 3 (1937) 41-47. See also Tito Orlandi’s remarks in the article “Cycles,” in A.S. Atiya (ed.), *The Coptic Encyclopedia* vol. 3 (New York: Macmillan, 1991) 666a-668b, at 668a.

<sup>3</sup> Translation taken from by Reymond – Barns, *Four Martyrdoms*, 212.



(“Greetings, Shenoufe, my fellow-member”). As we have seen, in the *Book of Bartholomew* Jesus greets the apostles in an identical way:  $\chi\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon\ \eta\alpha\upsilon\theta\epsilon\rho\eta\mu\epsilon\lambda\omicron[c]$ .<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps it is useful to remark that Shenoufe and his eleven brothers resemble the twelve apostles and this could be a reason why the author applied to them a form of address which we usually find in the apostolic pseudo-memoirs: “For you shall receive a great inheritance. You and your eleven brothers have yourselves received the type of my twelve disciples.”<sup>2</sup>

In an IFAO fragment from the Sahidic *Martyrdom of Cosmas and Damian* (clavis coptica 0266), the two  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\upsilon\rho\omicron\iota$  physicians, Christ appears to the martyrs before their trials and encourages them: “Do not be afraid, O my holy members ( $\omega\ \eta\alpha\mu\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\lambda\upsilon$ ), I am Christ...”<sup>3</sup> This recension of the martyrdom of Cosmas and Damian is not attested in any other language except Coptic.

Until now, we have seen that the expression  $\omega\ \eta\alpha\mu\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\lambda\upsilon$  and  $\omega\ \eta\alpha\mu\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\tau\tau\alpha\iota\eta\gamma\upsilon$  are the most common forms of address in the memoirs attributed to the apostles and disciples, but also in some martyrdoms. The noun  $\eta\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  appears often in these texts joined to  $\theta\upsilon\eta\eta\rho$ . All these occurrences testify that the expressions under scrutiny are very common in Coptic literature.

It is interesting to note that in certain Coptic monastic sources, the monks are in their turn often called  $\theta\upsilon\eta\eta\rho\eta\mu\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  or  $\theta\upsilon\eta\eta\rho\ \eta\mu\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ . For example, in a catechesis directed against a spiteful monk, attributed to Pachomius (CPG 2354.1; clavis coptica 0241),<sup>4</sup> the same word

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<sup>1</sup> Westerhoff, *Buch der Auferstehung*, 170.

<sup>2</sup> Translation (with modifications) taken from Raymond – Barns, *Four Martyrdoms*, 190.

<sup>3</sup> Cairo, IFAO inv. no. 77v, lines 31-33. Description, edition and French translation in Louis, *Catalogue IFAO*, 215-219.

<sup>4</sup> This text is preserved in Sahidic and Arabic, but only the former has been published until now. In Sahidic it survived in a single codex, which belonged to the Monastery of St. Mercurius at Edfu. *Edition princeps* and English translation in Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha*, 144-176 (Sahidic text), 352-382 (English translation). Reedition and French translation in L.-T. Lefort, *Œuvres de S. Pachôme et de ses disciples* (CSCO, 159-160. *Scriptores coptici*, 23; Louvain: Imprimerie orientaliste L. Durbecq, 1956) 1: 1-26 (Sahidic text), 2: 1-26. Spanish translation in E. Contreras – D. Menapace, “Catequesis de San Pacomio a propósito de un monje rencoroso,” *Cuadernos Monásticos* 103 (1992) 503-536; German translation in C. Joest, “Übersetzung von Pachoms Kathechese ‘An einen grollenden Mönch’,” *Le Muséon* 120 (2007) 91-129. An Arabic (Garšūnī) manuscript in the National Library in Paris was signaled already in Lefort, *Œuvres Pachôme*, 1: vi-vii. See further K. Samir, “Témoins arabes de la catéchèse de Pachôme ‘À propos d’un moine rancunier’ (CPG 2354.1),” *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 42 (1976) 494-508. Cf. also A. de Vogüé, “Deux réminiscences du livre de Josué dans la première catéchèse de saint Pachôme,” *Studia monastica* 36 (1994) 7-11; P.

combination is used: “then in how great danger we are if we hate each other, our fellow-members (ⲛⲉⲛⲟⲩⲃⲏⲣⲏⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ) that are united to us, the sons of God, the branches of the true vine, the sheep of the spiritual flock.”<sup>1</sup>

A part of this catechesis attributed to Pachomius was incorporated in a sermon on love and temperance by Ps.-Athanasius of Alexandria (CPG 2151; *clavis coptica* 0447).<sup>2</sup> In this work, the parallel to the texts quoted above is even more striking: “then in how great danger we are if we hate our brothers, (who are) also our holy members and our fellow-inheritors” (ⲛⲉⲛⲕⲉⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲁⲅⲱ ⲛⲉⲛⲟⲩⲃⲏⲣⲏⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ). The joining of the last two designations for the monks is noteworthy being the case that in the *Enthronement of Michael*, Christ calls his apostles precisely “O my holy members and my fellow-inheritors” (ⲱ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲁⲅⲱ ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲃⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ). Similarly, in the *Book of Bartholomew*, the Stauros-Text from Qasr el-Wizz, and in the *Martyrdom of Shenoufe*, in which we have seen that it is used the formula ⲱ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ/ⲙⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ, Jesus calls the disciples also ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲃⲏⲣⲏⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ.<sup>3</sup>

The *Life of Phib* (*clavis coptica* 0256),<sup>4</sup> attributed to Papohe, recounts the deeds of Phib the Anchorite, the friend of Apa Apollo, the renowned founder of the Monastery of Bawit. In

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Tamburrino, “Les Saints de l’Ancien Testament dans la 1<sup>re</sup> catéchèse de Saint Pachôme,” *Melto* 4 (1968) 33-44.

<sup>1</sup> My translation of the text published in Lefort, *Œuvres de Pachôme*, 1: 15.

<sup>2</sup> This work is transmitted in a single Sahidic palimpsest in the British Library (BL Or. 8802, ff. 1-4); description in Layton, *Catalogue*, 216-218 (= no. 175). A. van Lantschoot, “Lettre de Saint Athanase au sujet de l’amour et de la tempérance,” *Le Muséon* 40 (1927) 265-292. Republished in L.-T. Lefort, *S. Athanase. Lettres festales et pastorales en copte* (CSCO 150-151. *Scriptores Coptici* 19-20; Louvain: L. Durbecq, 1955) 1: 110-120 (Sahidic text), 2: 88-98 (French translation). Lefort suggested that this homily is an authentic Athanasian piece, but his hypothesis did not gain support, see L.-Th. Lefort, “S. Athanase écrivain copte,” *Le Muséon* 46 (1933) 1-33. Evaluation of the possible Athanasian authorship on D. Brakke, “The Authenticity of the Ascetic Athanasiana,” *Orientalia* 63 (1994) 17-56, at 34-36.

<sup>3</sup> Westerhoff, *Buch der Auferstehung*, 190; Hubai, *Koptische Apokryphen*, 10; Reymond – Barns, *Four Martyrdoms*, 122. ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲃⲏⲣⲏⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ, which translates the Greek συγκληρονόμοι, comes from Romans 8:17.

<sup>4</sup> Sahidic text edited and translated into Italian in T. Orlandi – A. Campagnano, *Vite dei monaci Phif e Longino* (Testi e documenti per lo studio dell’Antichità, 51; Milano: Cisalpino – Goliardica, 1975) 11-37. This edition follows the manuscript New York, Pierpont Morgan M 633, a codex which came from the Monastery of St. Mercurius at Edfu. The translation was revised and republished in T. Orlandi, *Vite di monaci copti* (Collana di testi patristici, 41; Rome: Città Nuova Editrice, 1984) 41-50. There is also an English translation made after the edition of Orlandi, see T. Vivian, “Monks, Middle Egypt, and *Metanoia*: The *Life of Phib* by Papohe the Steward (Translation and Introduction),” *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 7 (1999) 547-571; reprinted in Idem, *Words to Live By. Journeys in Ancient and Modern Egyptian Monasticism* (Cistercian Studies Series, 207; Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 2005) 203-255. Fifteen unpublished fragments of a papyrus codex containing the *Life of Phib* are today in the British Library, cf. the description in Layton,

this ascetic *vita* it is said that, while Papohe and Apa Apollo were heading to the Monastery of Pamin, Christ appeared to Apollo and addressed him with an expression which we have already encountered many times in the pseudo-apostolic memoirs: “Peace be to you, O my honored fellow-member (Ὁ ΠΑΩΒΗΡ ΜΕΛΟΣ ΕΤΤΑΙΝΥ), the beloved of my Father.”<sup>1</sup> During the same vision, Christ calls Apa Phib ΩΒΗΡΜΕΛΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΦΙΩ.<sup>2</sup>

The address ΩΒΗΡΜΕΛΟΣ is common in Coptic monastic sources.<sup>3</sup> Of course, it is not surprising to find it used by the members of a *coenobium*, but it is interesting to see that this formula, which perhaps was first used in Egyptian monastic circles, crept into another kind of literature and it came to be applied to the apostles, disciples and martyrs in texts like the *Apocryphon Berolinense/Argentoratense*. I think the parallels between *ApoBA* and its related texts on one hand, and the monastic literary works on the other are not fortuitous. It is likely that the source of this expression, which used (ΩΒΗΡ)ΜΕΛΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ and (ΩΒΗΡ)ΜΕΛΟΣ ΕΤΤΑΙΝΥ as forms of address, originated in the monasteries of Egypt. Even closer to monastic vocabulary is the syntagm “brother-members” (ΧΕΡΕ ΝΑΣΝΗΟΥ ΞΜΕΛΟΣ), with which Christ calls the apostles in the Vatican manuscripts of the Bohairic version of Ps.-Theodosius of Alexandria’s sermon on the *Dormitio Mariae*.<sup>4</sup> The Arabic version of the text in Vatic. arab. 698 has a different lection at this point: السلام لآخوتي وأخلايي الأعضاء الكريمة “Greetings to my brothers, my beloved honored members” (f. 98v).

If we look at the problem from this angle, it is not surprising anymore to find it so often in writings which had presumably been composed in Coptic monasteries. Thus, my suggestion is that the most likely origin of *ApoBA* and of the related memoirs attributed to the apostles and disciples is the Coptic monastic milieu.

This would explain also the ascetic tone of *ApoBA*, in which Christ urges the apostles several times to fight against this world and not to let matter rule over them.

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*Catalogue*, 157-158 (= no. 137). An Arabic version was signaled in R.-G. Coquin, “Apollon de Titkooh ou/et Apollon de Bawit,” *Orientalia* 46 (1977) 435-446, at 435.

<sup>1</sup> Orlandi – Campagnano, *Vite dei monaci*, 28. This syntagm is considered a “curieuse expression” by Coquin, “Apollon de Titkooh,” 440, n. 31, who pointed out several other occurrences.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, 30.

<sup>3</sup> ΩΒΗΡΜΕΛΟΣ appears often in the works of Shenoute as a designation for the monks, see the index in H. Behlmer, “Index der Lehnwörter und Namen in Amélineau, *Œuvres de Shenoudi*,” *Enchoria* 24 (1997/8) 1-33, at 18, s.v. μέλος.

<sup>4</sup> Chaîne, “Sermon de Théodose,” 296; Robinson, *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels*, 120.

#### IV.4 The Function of the Coptic Pseudo-Memoirs of the Apostles and Disciples

Joost Hagen rightly remarked that the Coptic pseudo-memoirs of the apostles and disciples do not offer a complete picture of Jesus' life, but they narrate only some precise events:

Diese Schriften sind nun aber keineswegs „vollständige Evangelien“, sondern „Episodenliteratur“: egal wie kurz oder lang der Text ist, Kern oder Rahmen ist immer ein Gespräch Jesu mit den Aposteln, vor oder nach der Auferstehung, nicht jedoch etwa seine „ganze“ Lebensgeschichte, wie in den kanonischen Evangelien. Handelt es sich hier überhaupt um „apokryphe Evangelien“?<sup>1</sup>

This is, indeed, true. The Coptic pseudo-apostolic stories are developing certain details, which happen to coincide with feasts in the liturgical calendar. The impression someone gets when reading them together is that they were written in order to serve as fundamentals for the liturgical celebration. Perhaps the numerous hymns and anaphoras which they contain are also relevant in this regard.

Thus, the homily of Ps.-Cyril of Jerusalem on the Passion (CPG 3604; *clavis coptica* 0113) is meant for the Holy Week; the one on Mary Magdalene, attributed to the same author, is for the feast of this saint;<sup>2</sup> Ps.-Cyril of Jerusalem's *Dormition of the Virgin* in Ms. Paris. arab. 150 was composed for Mesore 16 (Assumption of the Virgin); those of Cyriacus of Behnesa and Ps.-Theodosius of Alexandria are for the same feast; the sermon of Ps.-Chrysostom, *On the Four Bodiless Creatures* is meant for Hathor 8, the day when the Coptic Church celebrates them; the sermon of Ps.-Timothy Aelurus on Michael is for the day of the Archangel; the one on Abbaton attributed to the same author is celebrating the Angel of Death; in the homily of Ps.-Archelaos of Neapolis, Jesus tells to the apostles that the Archangel Gabriel must be celebrated on Choiak 22; in the letter of Luke which is inserted in the sermon of Ps.-Basil of Caesarea, the disciples are gathered together by Christ in order to build and consecrate the first church in the world dedicated to the Virgin. As a matter of fact, to this event is reserved a day in the Coptic calendar (Paone 21). Similarly, the *History of Joseph the Carpenter* treats a specific topic: the death of Joseph,

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<sup>1</sup> Hagen, "Ein anderer Kontext," 341.

<sup>2</sup> The title of the encomium mentions that the commemoration of the Magdalene is on Paone 23, but the Arabic synaxary published by Basset gives Epep 28 as the day of her commemoration. See R. Basset, *Le synaxaire arabe Jacobite: (réduction copte)* vol. 5: *Les mois de baounah, abib, mesoré et jours complémentaires* (Patrologia Orientalis, 17/3; Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1923) 693-694. This difference is due to the changes which were made in the Coptic calendar during history.

the father of Jesus, on Epep 26. As for *ApoBA*, the most likely context for which it was written is the Holy Week.

Although it is possible to imagine that the pseudo-memoirs had Greek models like the *Canons of the Apostles* or the *Epistula apostolorum*, I think it is more likely that they are texts composed directly in Coptic in order to legitimate certain feasts celebrated during the liturgical year.

But what reason could lie behind such an original literary genre? Actually, the answer to this question is given in one the pseudo-memoirs. Thus, in the sermon on the Passion (clavis coptica 0149), allegedly written by Evodius, the author justifies why he has chosen to insert “apocryphal” features in his text. It is worth quoting the passage in question in its entirety:

But surely someone who is thorough among the brothers will tell me, “*You have added to the words of the holy gospel.*” I, on my part, will try to persuade him by means of an example.

The wool provided for the purple cloth of the king, before its mixtures, with which it is dyed, are applied to it, can be made useful by being fabricated into clothing and being worn as one pleases. Yet when it is worked upon and dyed in colorful mixtures, it becomes exceedingly brilliant and becomes radiant clothing, so that the king wears it. Thus the holy gospels, when he who will be ordained a shepherd acts according to their words and reveals them, become illuminated exceedingly. And they are very brilliant in the heart of those who listen.

Indeed, the king will not find fault if beautifully crafted plaits are added to his garments, but he will commend those who have added them exceedingly, so that everyone might praise the garment because of the plaits which are on it. Thus, *the Lord Jesus will not find fault with us if we add a few embellishments to the holy gospels*, but he will commend us all the more and bless those who will bear fruit through them.

For *there are many matters which the holy gospels have passed by. The customs of the church have established them.* Just as we have not been told the day on which he was born, habit determines that these two catholic festivals be celebrated. Justly the loved one of Christ, John, said in the holy gospel, “There are many other signs which Jesus did before his disciples. As for these, they are not written in this book. These things,” he said, “when they are written down, the world will not be able to hold the books which will be written.”

It is like gold: if you mix it with topaz, it shines all the more, so that no darkness occurs at all in the place in which it will be put. Thus, when the embellishment of the words of the Holy Spirit, through the teachers, is added to the holy gospels, they shine forth exceedingly and cast forth lightning.<sup>1</sup>

The most likely hypothesis is that these writings tried to lay an apostolic foundation for the different liturgical celebrations of the Coptic church. As the liturgical year became more and more elaborated and the number of the feasts increased, the Coptic church felt the necessity to claim apostolic authority for its religious celebrations. For example, the gospels mention the birth and the death of Jesus Christ, but they do not tell anything about the exact day of his birth, nor about the precise succession of events during the Holy Week. The scriptures are vague concerning the Four Bodiless Creatures, the Archangels Michael and Gabriel or Abbaton, the Angel of death. Yet in the apostolic books, Christ talks to his apostles on the Mount of Olives about all these issues in great detail and sends them to preach to the whole world their significance.

#### **IV.5 The “Copticity” of the Pseudo-Apostolic Memoirs**

The analysis of the Coptic books of the apostles and disciples reveals that they had been composed following certain patterns, which are proper to these writings. Most often, a book written by the apostles or their disciples is found in the library at the house of Mary, mother of John Mark. Of course, the theme of the extraordinary discovery of apocryphal books is not rare in ancient literature.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the most notorious example is that of the *Apocalypse of Paul* (the *Visio Pauli*), which according to its prologue, was discovered in the cellar of Paul’s house in Tarsus, by the new owner after a series of dreams in which an angel revealed to him the hiding place of the book.<sup>3</sup>

However, the writings presented hereby have certain original features in common, which suggest that they had been elaborated in the same cultural setting. The theme of an apocryphal book hidden in Jerusalem, which is later discovered by a church Father is very

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<sup>1</sup> Translation by P. Chapman in Depuydt (ed.), *Homiletica*, 2: 95-96.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. W. Speyer, *Bücherfunde in der Glaubenswerbung der Antike. Mit einem Ausblick auf Mittelalter und Neuzeit* (Hypomnemata, 24; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht: Göttingen, 1970); Idem, *Literarische Fälschung*.

<sup>3</sup> P. Piovanelli, “The Miraculous Discovery of the Hidden Manuscript, or The Paratextual Function of the Prologue to the *Apocalypse of Paul*,” in J.N. Bremmer – I. Czachesz (eds.), *The Visio Pauli and the Gnostic Apocalypse of Paul* (Studies on Early Christian Apocrypha, 9; Leuven: Peeters, 2007) 23-49.

peculiar and does not occur elsewhere outside this category of texts. Besides, the *Apocryphon Berolinense/Argentoratense* and the other pseudo-apostolic memoirs have in common some otherwise unusual expressions like “we, the apostles,” or “O my holy members,” which strengthen the hypothesis that these apocryphal writings had been composed in the same milieu. The occurrence of the address “O my holy (fellow-) members,” and the designation of the monks in Coptic monastic literature with similar terms, point, in my view, to a Coptic provenance of these documents.

Other arguments for a Coptic origin of the apostolic books can be brought forward. For example, if Peter Nagel showed that *ApoBA* follows the Sahidic version of the Bible,<sup>1</sup> the same is true for the other related texts. To give only one example, the encomium on the Four Bodiless Creatures, attributed to John Chrysostom calls Nineve the rich man from the parable in Luke 16:19-31: “Take Nineve, who hated Lazarus. He asked for a drop of water to cool his tongue, but it was not given to him.”<sup>2</sup> As already pointed out a long time ago by Louis-Théophile Lefort, it is only the Sahidic version of the New Testament that calls “Nineve” the rich man from the parable of Lazarus:<sup>3</sup> ογρωμε δε ρρ̄ιμαδο επεφραν πε νινεγη.<sup>4</sup> In Greek, only the Bodmer Papyrus XIV (P75) reads something similar: ἄνθρωπος δέ τις ἦν πλούσιος ὀνόματι Νευης.<sup>5</sup> Even though Neves has been connected by some scholars<sup>6</sup> with Nineve of the Sahidic version, the latter form of the name had an illustrious tradition only in Coptic literature.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> P. Nagel, “Gespräche Jesu mit seinen Jüngern vor der Auferstehung’ – zur Herkunft und Datierung des ‘Unbekannten Berliner Evangeliums’,” *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 94 (2003) 215-157.

<sup>2</sup> Translated by Craig S. Wansink in Depuydt (ed.), *Homiletica*, 2: 46.

<sup>3</sup> L.-T. Lefort, “Le nom du mauvais riche (Lc. 16.19) et la tradition copte,” *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 37 (1939) 65-72.

<sup>4</sup> H. Quecke, *Das Lukasevangelium saïdisch* (Papyrologica Castroctaviana, 6; Barcelona: Papyrologica Castroctaviana, 1977) 220.

<sup>5</sup> V. Martin – R. Kasser, *Papyrus Bodmer XIV. Évangile de Luc chap. 3-24* (Cologne – Geneva: Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, 1961) 119. See also page 26, where it is stated that “La différence entre les deux noms propres (i.e. Neves and Nineve) peut provenir d’haplographie ou de dittographie.”

<sup>6</sup> See e.g. H.J. Cadbury, “A Proper Name for Dives,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 81 (1962) 399-404; Idem, “The Name for Dives,” *Journal for Biblical Literature* 84 (1965) 73; J.A. Fitzmyer, “Papyrus Bodmer XIV: Some Features of Our Oldest Text of Luke,” *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 24 (1962) 170-179; K. Grobel, “... Whose Name was Neves,” *New Testament Studies* 10 (1963-1964) 373-382; J.R. Royse, *Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri* (New Testament Tools. Studies and Documents, 36; Leiden – Boston: E.J. Brill, 2008) 687-690.

<sup>7</sup> To the list found in Lefort, “Mauvais riche,” 68 someone could add the passage quoted above from Ps.-Chrysostom’s *On the Four Bodiless Creatures* and Ps.-Shenoute, *On Christian Behavior* (K.H. Kuhn,

It should also be noted that the existence of many of the memoirs ascribed to the apostles can be explained only in the context of Coptic hagiography. For example, Abbaton, the Angel of Death, to whom is dedicated the apostolic memoir inserted in the homily of Ps.-Timothy Aelurus, was originally celebrated only in the Coptic church. It was only later, under the influence of the Alexandrian patriarchate, that the Abyssinian church adopted this feast. Abbaton, who is the angel of the Abyss in Revelation 9:11 (τὸν ἄγγελον τῆς ἀβύσσου, ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἐβραϊστὶ Ἀβαδδὼν, καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἑλληνικῇ ὄνομα ἔχει Ἀπολλύων), appears very rarely in Greek sources. However, he features in no less than four pseudo-apostolic memoirs, which proves that he was popular among the authors of these texts. Thus, beside the encomium which Ps.-Timothy Aelurus dedicated to him, the *Book of Bartholomew* records a long colloquim of Christ with Abbaton during the *descensus ad inferos*.<sup>1</sup> In one of the Sahidic manuscripts of the *History of Joseph the Carpenter*, Abbaton is a psychopomp angel who comes with a host of other angels to carry the soul of Joseph to heaven.<sup>2</sup> Abbaton is mentioned as well in the homily on the Dormition of the Virgin attributed to Cyriacus of Behnesa. In the Arabic version of Vaticanus Arabicus 170, his name appears as افلاطون (f. 331v). The Ethiopic version simply transcribes the Arabic form of the name (*Aflāton*) as አፍላጦን.<sup>3</sup>

Similarly, the Four Bodiless Creatures play a minor role in Christian hagiography, but they are very prominent figures in Coptic and Ethiopic churches, the only ones who dedicate them a feast day. This explains why the book of the apostles included in the homily of Ps.-Chrysostom is dedicated to them. Christ promises therein forgiveness for the Christians who shall honor these heavenly creatures.

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*Pseudo-Shenoute, On Christian Behavior* [CSCO, 206-207. *Scriptores coptici*, 29-30; Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1960] 1: 54, 2: 50) On the occurrence of the name of the rich man in this sermon, see also E. Lucchesi, “Un nouveau témoin copte du *Sermon sur la conduite chrétienne* du Pseudo-Chenouté,” *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 66 (2000) 419-422, at 421. Two acephalous manuscripts, mentioned by Lefort as containing Nineve’s name, can be now attributed to Shenoute. Thus, Paris BnF 131<sup>4</sup>, f. 154 belongs to codex MONB.ZM, whereas Vienna K 9295 was part of codex MONB.DU. The text of the Vienna leaf is paralleled in another codex, kept in the French Institute, in Cairo. The Coptic text of the Cairo manuscript was published by É. Chassinat, *Le quatrième livre des entretiens et épîtres de Shenouti* (Mémoires publiés par les membres de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 23; Cairo: Imprimerie de l’IFAO, 1911) 153-209, esp. 158; translated into English by D. Brakke, “Shenute: On Cleaving to Profitable Things,” *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 20 (1989) 115-141, at 121-122 (and n. 16).

<sup>1</sup> Westerhoff, *Buch der Auferstehung*, 60-61, 74-75, 88-89.

<sup>2</sup> Lefort, “L’Histoire de Joseph,” 212.

<sup>3</sup> Arras, *De Transitu Mariae* II, 47.



Another original Egyptian feature which appears in some apostolic books is the positive light in which Pilate is portrayed. It is noteworthy that originally only the Coptic church venerated Pilate as a saint. The figure of the Roman prefect was later integrated into the Ethiopic hagiography as well, under the influence of the Alexandrian church.<sup>1</sup> Pilate is portrayed as a saint in the books of Gamaliel, inserted in the homilies of Cyriacus of Behnesa (*Lament of Mary* and *Martyrdom of Pilate*), in the second sermon on the Passion by Ps.-Evodius, and in Ps.-Cyril of Jerusalem, *On the Life and the Passion of Christ*. Remarkably, in Ps.-Evodius' sermon and in the *Martyrdom of Pilate*, the governor is even said to be an Egyptian who speaks Coptic.<sup>2</sup>

#### **IV.6 Dating the Pseudo-Apostolic Memoirs. Their Christology**

Unfortunately, as the study of the history of Christian literature in the Coptic period is still in its beginning and it has numerous blank pages, it is not an easy task to place chronologically this mass of texts which are all pseudonymous.

It must be pointed out that several pseudo-memoirs of the apostles are embedded in sermons attributed to major figures of the Alexandrian Miaphysite church, like Timothy Aelurus († 477) or Theodosius of Alexandria († 567). As for Fathers like Cyril of Jerusalem, John Chrysostom or Basil of Caesarea, they are seen as orthodox not only by the Chalcedonian, but also by the anti-Chalcedonian party. Moreover, the Monastery of Romanos in whose library Ps.-Archelaos discovered the book of the apostles on the Archangel Gabriel was known to be from the very beginning a bastion of the anti-Chalcedonian resistance.

Along the same lines, I think that the Christology of the Coptic pseudo-apostolic books bear the marks of the 5<sup>th</sup> century polemics concerning the person of Christ. In some cases,

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<sup>1</sup> Luisier, "Pilate chez les Coptes"; Beylot, "Bref aperçu"; E. Cerulli, "Un hymne éthiopien à Pilate sanctifié," *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 49 (1975-1976) 591-594; Idem, "Tiberius and Pontius Pilate"; E. Nestle, "Pilatus als Heiliger," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 53 (1899) 540; J.-N. Pérès, "Les traditions éthiopiennes relatives à Pilate," *Apocrypha* 21 (2010) 83-92; O. Volkoff, "Un saint oublié: Pilate," *Bulletin de la Société d'archéologie copte* 20 (1969) 167-195.

<sup>2</sup> Morard, "Homélie sur la vie de Jésus," 130; Lanchantin, "*Martyre de Pilate*," 173. On Pilatus the Egyptian, see W.E. Crum, "Some Further Meletian Documents," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 13 (1927) 19-26 at 23; Luisier, "Pilate chez les Coptes," 420; Lucchesi, "L'homélie copte d'Évode," 379 n. 2.

the Coptic Miaphysite position is expressed by the authors of these texts, which indicates that they had been composed after the council of Chalcedon (451 CE).

Thus, the parchment fragment published by Charles Hedrick features a Miaphysite credo inserted in a short revelation of Christ, which contains the address “my holy fellow-members”:

Peace, O apostles, my chosen ones, [who] are honored, *my holy fellow-members* (ΝΑΩΒΗΡΜΕΛΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ) whom my Father has chosen. I am Jesus the Son of the Almighty. I have come to this world to save from [death]. *My corporeal divinity was not parted from my humanity by a blink of an eye* (ΤΑΜΗΤΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΗΗΤ ΣΩΜΑΤΙΚΟΣ ΜΠΕΣΠΩΡΧ ΕΤΑΜΗΤΡΩΜΕ ΝΟΥΡΙΚΕ ΝΒΑΛ) ... *My divinity is within me concealed within my inner part. It was not divided from my humanity by a blink of an eye* (ΝΟΥΡΙΚΕ ΝΒΑΛ). It was constant in me, until the Jews lifted me up on the Cross. When my [humanity] tastes death [within] me, my divinity [remains] within my [inner] part.<sup>1</sup>

Hedrick rightly remarked that the expression “my corporeal divinity was not parted from my humanity by a blink of an eye” is an approximate quotation from the Coptic liturgy of St. Basil: “Truly I believe that His divinity parted not from his humanity for a single moment nor by a blink of an eye.”<sup>2</sup> This reflects the Miaphysite Christology of the Coptic church, according to which the humanity and the divinity of Christ have never been separated, not even by a blink of an eye, but they have always formed a single, inseparable nature. The same quotation from the liturgy of St. Basil appears in the homily of Ps.-Cyril of Jerusalem on the Dormition of Mary (Parisinus arabicus 150, ff. 171r-192v), which incorporates a letter of John the Evangelist transcribed by Ps.-Prochorus: “We believe and we confess that *his divinity has not been separated from his humanity by a blink of an eye, but his divinity was united with the humanity* while he was in the womb of Saint Mary, the pure Virgin” ( وَنُؤْمِنُ وَنَعْتَرِفُ اَنَّ لَاهُوتَهُ لَمْ يَفَارِقْ نَاسُوتَهُ طَرْفَةَ الْعَيْنِ بِلِ اللّاهُوتِ مَتَحَدًّا بِالنَّسُوتِ حَيْنَ حَلِّ فِي ) (احثشا مرتّمريم الطاهره البثول (Par. arab. 150, f. 171v).<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Hedrick, “Revelation Discourse,” 14-15.

<sup>2</sup> Ibidem, 13, quoting from *The Coptic Liturgy of Saint Basil*, Cairo, 1993, 277-278.

<sup>3</sup> The humanity which has not been separated from his divinity not even by a blink of an eye is a cliché in Coptic texts. See, e.g., Ps.-Celestinus of Rome, *Encomium on the Archangel Gabriel*: “His divinity not being separated from His humanity by the blink of an eye” (W. Worrell, *The Coptic Manuscripts in the Freer Collection* [University of Michigan Studies. Humanistic Series, 10; New York – London: MacMillan, 1923] 329); anonymous Bohairic panegyric on the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace: “we confess that the

A similar Christological position is expressed by Ps.-Evodius in his sermon on the Virgin: “he was a human being whose humanity has joined with his divinity.”<sup>1</sup> In the *History of Joseph the Carpenter*, the human and divine condition of Christ is expressed by the author(s) of the text through Joseph, his earthly father: “You are Jesus Christ, truly Son of God and son of man at the same time” (*Hist. Joseph* 17.17).

In the *ApoBA*, traces of a 5<sup>th</sup> century Christology can be detected in the Gethsemane scene, where Christ is portrayed fearful in front of his imminent death. The fear of death is vanquished by the divine aspect of the Savior, who chooses to die voluntarily. Another important Christological position of the author(s) of the *ApoBA* is identifiable in the words of Jesus “I am the king, Amen, I [am] the [Son] of the King, [Amen].” (P. Berol. 22220 108, col. A,17-20). This passage will be discussed in the final section of this chapter.

#### **IV.6.1 The Christology of the *Apocryphon Berolinense/Argentoratense*: Christ as King and Son of the King. The Dating of the Work**

Peter Nagel<sup>2</sup> pointed out that a passage from P. Berol. 22220 finds a very close parallel in the sermon *And We Will Also Reveal Something Else* by Shenoute of Atripe (clavis coptica 0821):<sup>3</sup>

<b>P. Berol. 22220 108, col.A,17-19</b>	<b>Shenoute</b>
I am the king, Amen	The Lord, the king Christ
I [am] the [Son] of the King, [Amen]	and the Son of the King

Actually, both texts are alluding to Psalm 71:1 (LXX), “give your judgment to the king, and your righteousness to the son of the king” (τὸ κρίμα σου τῷ βασιλεῖ δὸς καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην σου τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ βασιλέως), conferring to it a Christological meaning. I will try to show in the following pages that this typological interpretation of Psalm 71:1 is not an isolated case. Like in *ApoBA*, in other Sahidic sources the reference to the kingship of

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divinity of Monogenes was not separated from his humanity by the blink of an eye” (De Vis, *Homélie coptes*, 2: 110); Ps.-Cyril of Jerusalem, *On the Cross*: “his divinity did not change his humanity a single moment or a blink of an eye (Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 228); Copto-Arabic text on Stephen the Protomartyr: “his divinity was not separated from his humanity by the blink of an eye (Y. ‘Abd al-Masîḥ – A. Khater, “An Arabic Apocryphon of Saint Stephen the Archdeacon,” *Studia Orientalia Christiana. Collectanea* 13 [1968/69] 161-198, at 188-189).

<sup>1</sup> Translation taken from Shoemaker, “The Dormition of the Virgin Attributed to Evodius of Rome,” 267.

<sup>2</sup> Nagel, “Gespräche Jesu,” 240-243.

<sup>3</sup> For all the necessary bibliography on this sermon, cf. S. Emmel, *Shenoute’s Literary Corpus* vol. 2 (CSCO, 600. Subsidia, 112; Louvain: Peeters, 2004) 657.

Christ as announced in Psalm 71:1 is embedded in hymns, suggesting that the saying could have had a liturgical usage in the Coptic church.

The kingship of Jesus is explicitly linked with Psalm 71:1 in another sermon attributed to Shenoute, conventionally called *De iudicio supremo* (clavis coptica 0367):<sup>1</sup>

(143, 14-28) Jesus is our king from eternity, as the Saint testifies about this from the beginning: “God, give your judgment to the king, and your righteousness to the son of the king” (Psalm 71:1). But as the Lord reigns from the wood (Psalm 96:10), according to that which is written ... (147, 51-148, 4) We have learned that the Lord has reigned from the tree. *He himself is the King and the Son of the King*, the God which is (and) will be forever, Amen.<sup>2</sup>

It is not without importance to remark that, just like Shenoute, in the hymn of the Cross which appears in *ApoBA*, not only Psalm 71:1 is interpreted Christologically, but also Ps 96:10.

In the *Book of Bartholomew*, in the first hymn of the angels which is heard by the apostle Bartholomew, the celestial beings are singing to Christ:

Holy, Holy, Holy is *the King*, the Son of God, *the Son of the King*.  
ϣⲟϥⲁⲁⲃ ϣⲟϥⲁⲁⲃ ϣⲟϥⲁⲁⲃ ⲛⲃⲓⲡⲓⲣⲟ ⲡⲟⲩⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟϥⲧⲉⲃⲟⲩⲉ ⲙⲡⲓⲣⲟ<sup>3</sup>

It is remarkable that both in the *Book of Bartholomew* and in the *Apocryphon Berolinense/Argentoratense*, Christ is called “king” and “son of the king” in a hymnic section.

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<sup>1</sup> This work was published for the first time by Francesco Rossi after a papyrus manuscript in Turin, see his “Trascrizione con traduzione italiana dal copto di un sermone sulla necessita della morte e sul giudizio finale,” *Memorie della Reale accademia delle scienze di Torino* 2<sup>nd</sup> ser., 41 (1891) 1-121; the Turin papyrus was reedited by H. Behlmer, *Schenute von Atripe: De iudicio* (Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino. Serie prima – Monumenti e testi, 8; Turin: Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali – Soprintendenza al Museo delle Antichità Egizie, 1996). Six leaves from a parchment codex containing the same piece were identified and published by A. Shisha-Halevy, “Unpublished Shenoutiana in the British Library,” *Enchoria* 5 (1975) 53-108. Enzo Lucchesi identified a few bilingual (Greco-Coptic) fragments in the British Library and Bodleian Library in Oxford, see E. Lucchesi “Chénouté a-t-il écrit en grec?,” in *Mélanges Antoine Guillaumont. Contributions à l'étude des christianismes orientaux* (Cahiers d'Orientalisme, 20; Geneva: Patrick Cramer, 1988) 201-210. The fragments came from a White Monastery parchment codex. To them should be added two new fragments which surfaced recently in the collection of the Oslo University Library, see Suciú – Lundhaug, “Coptic Parchment Fragments.”

<sup>2</sup> My own translation of the Coptic text published by Behlmer, *De iudicio*, 119, 123-124.

<sup>3</sup> Coptic text in Westerhoff, *Buch der Auferstehung*, 124. The parallel between the form of the saying in P. Berol. 22220 and the *Book of Bartholomew* was already pointed out by Emmel, “The Recently Published,” 58.

In another pseudo-apostolic memoir, the *Enthronement of Michael*, while Christ and the apostles are visiting the places where the souls are judged, the Devil appears on the Mount of Olives to the group of the lesser-disciples (νεκοῦϊ Ἰμαθητης) in the form of one of the apostles. He tries to tempt them to abjure Christ, but Bibros, the disciple of John, realizes the trickery. The disciples are taking an olive tree which Jesus previously carried with him to heaven, and Bibros says: “We praise you, olive tree that was worthy of this great honor, that *the King, the Son of the King* lifted up.”<sup>1</sup> As to the identity of Bibros, we recognize in this name the deacon Verus (Βῆρος), which features in the *Acts of John* (chaps. 30, 61, 110). Similarly, Ignatius mentions in his *Epistles to the Ephesians* 2 a certain deacon named Byrrhus. In the Sahidic version of the *Metastasis Johannis*, the disciple of John is called Birros (βῆρος).<sup>2</sup> In the Sahidic text of a homily on the Virgin attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem (CPG 3603; clavis coptica 0117), Bibros is said to be the disciple of Peter.<sup>3</sup>

The Christological interpretation of Psalm 71:1 occurs again in a hymn to Jesus from the *Martyrdom of Shenoufe*, a text which I already quoted among the writings which contain the address ω ναμερος ετογααβ.<sup>4</sup> The night before the martyrdom of Shenoufe and his brothers, the saint sings to Jesus a hymn in which each verse begins with the sequence †смоу ерок (“I praise you”). This symmetrical arrangement makes one think that the author of the martyrdom took the anaphora from a liturgical book. Here we encounter again the typological interpretation of Psalm 71:1 as referring to the kingship of Jesus:

I praise you, King and Son of the King  
†смоу ерок п̄рро аѠω п̄Ѡнре Ἰп̄рро<sup>5</sup>

The juxtaposition of “king” and “son of the king” in Coptic anaphoras and hymns, might indicate that the authors of these texts could have extracted the Christological titles in

<sup>1</sup> Müller, *Bücher der Einsetzung*, 1: 34.

<sup>2</sup> Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha*, 54.

<sup>3</sup> His name variously written as βῆρος, βῆρος in London, British Library Or. 6784, see Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 69; βῆρος in New York, Pierpont Morgan M 597, see S. Bombeck, “Pseudo-Kyrrillos *In Mariam virginem*. Text und Übersetzung von Pierpont Morgan M 597 fols. 46-74,” *Orientalia* 70 (2001) 40-88, at 62; βῆρος in the Vatican fragments of the White Monastery codex MONB.FD, see Robinson, *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels*, 36. Cf. also A. Campagnano, *Ps. Cirillo di Gerusalemme. Omelie copte sulla Passione, sulla Croce e sulla Vergine* (Testi e documenti per lo studio dell’antiquità, 66; Milano: Cisalpino – Goliardica, 1980) 186-187.

<sup>4</sup> See supra, 112-113.

<sup>5</sup> Coptic text in Reymond – Barns, *Four Martyrdoms*, 121.

question from certain liturgical sources. An important argument in this sense is adduced by the Sahidic *euchologion to mega* (the equivalent of the Roman Missal), which was the main liturgical book of the Coptic priest. The Euchologion to which I will refer is preserved in a single fragmentary parchment codex, which comes from the White Monastery in Upper Egypt.<sup>1</sup> The Christological interpretation of Psalm 71:1 occurs in the Sahidic Euchologion at the end of an anonymous prayer of which only the final part has survived. This part contains an anaphora of Christ which was used during the Eucharistic liturgy, each verse being introduced by ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲛⲉ (“You are”):

You are the lamb...  
 You are the physician...  
 You are the pilot...  
 You are the lion...  
 You are the King and the Son of the King  
 ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲓⲣⲟ ⲗⲮⲱ ⲡⲱⲛⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲓⲣⲟ<sup>2</sup>

Although there is no decisive argument that the authors of the texts quoted above (including *ApoBA*) were directly influenced by the Sahidic Euchologion, I think that the occurrence of the sentence “You are the King and the Son of the King” in the main book used by the Coptic priests leaves open this possibility. Perhaps this would explain why the formulas concerning Jesus’ kingship appear so often in Coptic texts, especially in hymnic sections.

Can we circumscribe chronologically this Christology? The fact that it appears in Shenoute’s sermon *And We Will Also Reveal Something Else* and in *De iudicio*, which can be dated around the 5<sup>th</sup> century, is a first clue. Indeed, Peter Nagel indicated that this kind of Christology points to the 5<sup>th</sup> century debates concerning the person of Christ.<sup>3</sup> Thus, the expression must be translated at the level of dogma as an affirmation that Christ is at the

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<sup>1</sup> E. Lanne, *Le Grand Euchologe du Monastère Blanc* (Patrologia Orientalis, 28/8; Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1958); see also H. Hyvernat, “Fragmente der altcoptischen Liturgie,” *Römische Quartalschrift* 1 (1887) 330-345; H. Lietzmann, “Sahidische Bruchstücke der Gregorios- und Kyrillos-Liturgie,” *Oriens Christianus* 16 (1920) 1-19; H. Engberding, “Untersuchungen zu den jüngst veröffentlichten Bruchstücken sa'idischer Liturgie,” *Oriens Christianus* 43 (1959) 59-75; K. Zentgraf, “Eucharistische Textfragmente einer koptisch-saidischen Handschrift,” *Oriens Christianus* 41 (1957) 67-75; 42 (1958) 44-54; 43 (1959) 76-102. As we have another manuscript copied by the same scribe and dated 990 CE, the Euchologion codex can be confidently dated toward the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> or early 11<sup>th</sup> century, see A. Suci, “À propos de la datation du manuscrit contenant le Grand Euchologe du Monastère Blanc,” *Vigiliae Christianae* 65 (2011) 189-198.

<sup>2</sup> Lanne, *Grand Euchologe*, 376 [112].

<sup>3</sup> Nagel, “Gespräche Jesu,” 240-243.

same time “God” and “Son of God.”<sup>1</sup> Even if Nagel has not pointed out that this Christology was based on an interpretation of Psalm 71:1, his argument is nevertheless accurate. What I will try to show in the following lines is that this Christological statement presupposes also that Christ is God (i.e., King), but, as son of the king David, also human.

This Christological interpretation of Psalm 71:1 was popular especially during the 4<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> century CE. The only earlier author who seems to know it was Origen, who saw in this psalm a reference to the natures of Christ. In his *Commentary on John* (CPG 1453), the Alexandrine theologian says that Psalm 71 prophesies about Christ (περὶ Χριστοῦ προφητεύεται). Further on, Origen interprets the term “king” as a reference to Christ’s superior part, whereas “son of the king” would designate the human side which the divinity assumed.

I think therefore that “king” refers to the preeminent nature of the firstborn of all creation, in as much as judgment is given to him on account of his superiority, and “king’s son,” the man whom that nature assumed, formed in accordance with justice and modeled by that nature. And I am led to admit that this so because the two are united in a single utterance and the remainder of the passage not longer proclaims two such figures, but one (I, 195).<sup>2</sup>

In his *Expositions of the Psalms* (CPG 2140; *clavis coptica* 0061), which is preserved also in Sahidic,<sup>3</sup> Athanasius of Alexandria comments the same Psalm saying that “he is Christ, the King and the Son of the King” (Αὐτὸς δέ ἐστιν ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ βασιλέως).<sup>4</sup> Athanasius’ disciple, Apollinaris of Laodicea, gives also a similar interpretation to the same passage, saying that Christ is King, but he is at the same time son of the king because he belongs to the kingly seed of David (Καὶ βασιλεύς ἐστι καὶ υἱὸς βασιλέως τοῦ Δαυὶδ ὁ δεσπότης Χριστὸς κατὰ τὴν σάρκα).<sup>5</sup> John Chrysostom was, in his turn, familiar with this typological interpretation. In his 26<sup>th</sup> homily on the Gospel of John,

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<sup>1</sup> Ibidem, 243.

<sup>2</sup> Translation with modifications taken from J.W. Trigg, *Origen* (The Early Church Fathers; New York, NY: Routledge, 1998) 135. Greek text in C. Blanc, *Origène, Commentaire sur Saint Jean* (Sources chrétiennes, 120; Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1966) 156-157. Cf. also similar interpretations of Ps 71:1 in *Selecta in Psalmos* (Migne PG 12, coll. 1069, 1524).

<sup>3</sup> Fragments of a White Monastery codex are known, see J. David, “Les éclaircissements de Saint Athanase sur les Psaumes: Fragments d’une traduction en copte sahidique,” *Revue de l’Orient Chrétien* 24 (1924) 3-37.

<sup>4</sup> Migne PG 27, col. 324.

<sup>5</sup> Apollinaris of Laodicea, *Fragmenta in Psalmos*, frag. 101a, in E. Mühlenberg, *Psalmenkommentare aus der Katenenüberlieferung* vol. 1 (Patristische Texte und Studien, 15; Berlin – New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1975) 38-39.

Chrysostom writes: οὗτος δὲ Δεσπότης, καὶ βασιλεὺς, καὶ βασιλέως Υἱὸς ὧν ... συνῶν ἀεὶ τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ ὁρῶν αὐτὸν διηλεκτῶς (“But he, the Lord, the King, and the Son of the King ... who lives forever with his Father and sees him perpetually”).<sup>1</sup> In the 5<sup>th</sup> century, Theodoret of Cyrus writes that “the Lord Christ is King and Son of the King (Καὶ βασιλεὺς ἐστι, καὶ υἱὸς βασιλέως ὁ Δεσπότης Χριστός) ... For he is not only King, but also Son of the King. For as God, he was generated by God king of the universe, and as man, he has the king David as progenitor.”<sup>2</sup> Ps.-Macarius employs the binom “King”/“Son of the King” in several of his *Spiritual Homilies*:

Hom. 15 Ὁ θεὸς οὖν καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι εἰς τὴν σὴν σωτηρίαν ἦλθον. βασιλεὺς γὰρ, υἱὸς βασιλέως συμβούλιον ἐποιήσατο μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀπεστάλη ὁ λόγος καὶ σάρκα ἐνδυσάμενος καὶ κρύψας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θεότητα, ἵνα διὰ τοῦ ὁμοίου τὸ ὅμοιον σώσει, ἔθηκε τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ.

Hom. 26 Αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος, ὅς ἐστιν ὁδὸς καὶ θεός, ἐλθὼν οὐ δι’ ἑαυτόν, ἀλλὰ διὰ σέ, ἵνα σοι τύπος γένηται παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ, βλέπε εἰς ποίαν ταπείνωσιν ἦλθε, «μορφὴν δούλου λαβών», θεὸς υἱὸς θεοῦ, βασιλεὺς υἱὸς βασιλέως, διδοὺς μὲν αὐτὸς ἰαματικὰ φάρμακα καὶ θεραπεύων τοὺς τετραυματισμένους ἔξωθεν δὲ ὡς εἷς τῶν τετραυματισμένων φαινόμενος.<sup>3</sup>

God and his angels came to save you. *The King, the Son of the King*, held council with his Father, and the Word was sent, clothed with flesh, his divinity hidden, so that the like might be saved by the like, and he gave his life on the Cross.

The Lord himself, who is the Way and God, when He came for your sake, not for his own, to be a model to you in every good thing – see to what humiliation he came, taking the form of a slave, he who is God, the Son of God, *King, the Son of the King*. He himself gave healing remedies and he cured those that are wounded, when he appeared outwardly as one of the wounded.

The examples can be multiplied, but the passages quoted above show that, even though the typological interpretation of Psalm 71:1 appears already in Origen, it became common only during the 4<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> century CE. The Christian theologians who interpreted this passage conferred to it a Christological meaning: Jesus Christ is God and man at the same time. As a Coptic text, the passage in P. Berol. 22220 108, col. A,17-20 is best explained in the context of the Christological polemics of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, possibly in the post-Chalcedonian

<sup>1</sup> Migne PG 59, col. 97.

<sup>2</sup> Theodoret, *Interpretatio in Psalmos*, in Migne PG 80, col. 1429.

<sup>3</sup> Greek text in H. Dörries – E. Klostermann – M. Kroeger, *Die 50 geistlichen Homilien des Makarios* (Patristische Texte und Studien, 4; Berlin: De Gruyter, 1964).



period. Moreover, the fact that in the Berlin manuscript the allusion to Psalm 71:1 is integrated in a hymnic section, like in the *Book of the Bartholomew* or the *Martyrdom of Shenoufe*, suggests that it might rely upon a liturgical source similar to the Euchologion.

The peculiar features just described indicate once more that, for a better understanding of the *Apocryphon Berolinense/Argentoratense*, this text must be integrated in its proper context, namely, that of post-Chalcedonian Coptic literature.



## TEXT AND TRANSLATION

As P. Berol. 22220 is badly damaged, it is impossible to know exactly how many lines comprised each column of text. However, the four columns of pages 107-108 and, very likely, those of pages 101-102, contain 32 lines of text. This being the case, I decided to use for the sake of convenience 32 lines per column throughout the manuscript. It should be remarked, however, that the numbering of the manuscript's lines is tentative in most cases and does not necessarily reflect their actual number when the manuscript was still in good condition.

The terminology “recto” and “verso” in the case of the Strasbourg fragments does not follow the papyrological conventions, according to which → is the recto and ↓ the verso, but rather codicological criteria. Thus, ↓ is the right-hand page (recto) and → the left-hand one (verso).

The leaves of the Qasr el-Wizz codex had not been paginated by the scribe. However, as the manuscript was discovered in a nearly perfect physical condition, with the folios still bound together, their order does not pose a problem. Thus, I decided to supply the page numbers written in Coptic numerals followed by an asterisk (\*) in the edition, while in the translation I used Arabic numerals between parentheses.

In the index the names of the manuscripts are abbreviated as follows: P. Berol. 22220 = A; Strasbourg Copte 5-7 = B; Qasr el-Wizz codex = C.

### *Abbreviations used in the critical apparatus*

HM	Charles W. Hedrick – Paul A. Mirecki, <i>Gospel of the Savior: A New Ancient Gospel</i> (California Classical Library; Santa Rosa, CA: Polebridge Press, 1999)
Schenke	Hans-Martin Schenke, “Das sogenannte ‘Unbekannte Berliner Evangelium’ (UBE),” <i>Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum</i> 2 (1998) 199-213
Em	Stephen Emmel, “The Recently Published <i>Gospel of the Savior</i> (“Unbekanntes Berliner Evangelium”): Righting the Order of Pages and Events,” <i>Harvard Theological Review</i> 95 (2002) 45-72
Em <sup>1</sup>	Stephen Emmel, “Unbekanntes Berliner Evangelium = The Strasbourg Coptic Gospel: Prolegomena to a New Edition of the Strasbourg Fragments,” in H. G. Bethge et al. (eds.), <i>For the Children, Perfect Instruction: Studies in Honor of Hans-Martin Schenke on the Occasion of the Berliner Arbeitskreis für koptisch-gnostische Schriften’s Thirtieth Year</i> (Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies, 54; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2002) 353-374
Em <sup>2</sup>	Stephen Emmel, “Preliminary Reedition and Translation of the <i>Gospel of the Savior</i> : New Light on the <i>Strasbourg Coptic Gospel</i> and the <i>Stauros-Text</i> from Nubia,” <i>Apocrypha</i> 14 (2003) 9-53
Em <sup>3</sup>	Stephen Emmel, “Ein altes Evangelium der Apostel taucht in Fragmenten aus Ägypten und Nubien auf,” <i>Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum</i> 9 (2005) 85-99
Em <sup>4</sup>	Stephen Emmel, private communication (December 12, 2012)
Funk	Wolf-Peter Funk, Unpublished transcription of P. Berol. 22220 based on HM, Em and Em <sup>2</sup> , with some improvements
Plisch	Uwe-Karsten Plisch, “Zu einigen Einleitungsfragen des Unbekannten Berliner Evangeliums (UBE),” <i>Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum</i> 9 (2005) 64-84
Jac	Adolf Jacoby, <i>Ein neues Evangelienfragment</i> (Strasbourg: Karl J. Trübner, 1900)
Sch	Carl Schmidt, review of Jacoby, <i>Evangelienfragment</i> , <i>Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen</i> 162 (1900) 481-506
Ber	Daniel A. Bertrand, “Papyrus Strasbourg copte 5-6,” in F. Bovon – P. Geoltrain (eds.), <i>Écrits apocryphes chrétiens</i> vol. 1 (Bibliothèque de la Pléiade; Paris: Gallimard, 1997) 425-428
Rev	Eugène Revillout, <i>Les apocryphes coptes. Première partie: Les Évangiles des douze apôtres et de Saint Barthélemy</i> (Patrologia Orientalis, 2/2; Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1904)
Crum	Walter Ewing Crum, “Notes on the Strassburg Gospel Fragments,” <i>Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology</i> 22 (1900) 72-76
Hubai	Péter Hubai, <i>Koptische Apokryphen aus Nubien. Der Kasr el-Wizz Kodex</i> (Texte und Untersuchungen, 163; Berlin – New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009)

Hughes  
Piovanelli

George R. Hughes, unpublished translation of the Qasr el-Wizz codex (dated July 1, 1966)  
Pierluigi Piovanelli, "Thursday Night Fever: Dancing and Singing with Jesus in the *Gospel of the Savior* and the Dance of the Savior around the Cross," *Early Christianity* 3 (2012) 229-248

Frag. 3 (flesh side)

[z̄]		[qz]
[ ]		[εic ]
[ ]		[ ]
[ ]		[ ]
[ ]		[ ]
[ ]	5	[ ]
[ ]θ[ ]		[ ]
[ ]ξε[ ]		[ ]
[ε]ρογ[η ]		[ ]
[ ]ον α[ τμ]		[ ]
ἄτερο γα[ρ ἡμῶν]	10	[ ]
οὐκ· ἡμῶν[ ]		[ ]
ῥιτῆπεο[οὐ ε]		[ ]
ρετῆτερο ἡ[μῶν]		[ ]
πῆγε ἡσαοῦναμ		[ ]
ἡμῶν· ναῖατῆ	15	[ ]
ἡπετναοῦμα		[ ]
ἡμαῖ ῥῆτῆτ		[ ]
ερο ἡμῶν· ἡ		[ ]
τῶν πε περσοῦ		[ ]
ἡκαρ αῶ ντω	20	[ ]
τῆ πε τλαμπα		[ ]
ετῆροεῖν επκο		[ ]
σμο· ἡπῆρῆ[β]		[ ]
οὐδε ἡπῆρῆ ρε[κ]		[ ]να εγ[ ]
ρικε ω[αντ]ετ[ῆ]	25	εωδε πακκοῦ[ος]
† ριτ[τ]ῆτῆ ἡ		αἰθεραπεγε [ἡμο]
ῥεναγμα ντῆ		οὐ. ωδε εροῖ οἱ
τερο παῖ ενταῖ		εωκ επεσητ ε
ωοῖ ῥῆπεσνοῦ		αμντε ετβε ἡκο
ἡπελολε: αῖ	30	οὐε ετῆρ ῥῆπ
οὐωῖβ [ῆ]βιανδρε		μα ετῆμαγ τε
[α]с πεχαῖ ῥε παχο		νοῦ σε πετεωδε

col. A: 6 ]θ[ : ]ε . [ HM | 8 [ε]ρογ[η ] : ]ρογ . [ HM | 9 ]ον α[ : ]οναα[ HM | 12 ριτῆπεο[οὐ] : ριτ ἡπε . [ HM | 24-25 ρε[κ]|ρικε Em<sup>2</sup> : ρκ|ρικε HM | 25-26 ω[αντ]ετ[ῆ]|† ριτ[τ]ῆτῆ Em Em<sup>2</sup> : ω[ . . . ] ετῆε . . . τ . . . . η HM | 29 ωοῖ is certain, but Schenke would emend it to ωοῖ | col. B: 24 ]να εγ[ : ] . ηνε . . . [ HM | 29-30 [ῆκο]οὐε Em Em<sup>2</sup> : ἡψ[χο]οὐε HM |

Frag. 3 (hair side)

[QH]

[πε	]		[πε	]
[	]		[	]
[	]		[	]
[	]		[	]
[	]	5	[	]
[	]		[	]ω[ ]
[	]		[	αγτο]ζο[γ]
[	]		[cioc	]α φαρ[ ]
[	]		[	]γ ερχο[ει]
[	]	10	[c ερωτῆ] τενογ σε	
[	]		[ῆρο]σον τετῆ	
[	]		[ωοο]π ῆμπεωμ[α]	
[	]		ῆπῆρτρεογλη ῆ	
[	]		χοεις ερωτῆ:	
[	]	15	τωογν μαρον ε	
[	]		βολ ῆμπεῖμα· αφ	
[	]		ρων γαρ' ερογν ῆ	
[	]		σιπετναπαραδι	
[	]		δου ῆμοι· αγω	
[	]	20	ῆτωτῆ τετνα	
[	]		πωτ τηρτῆ ῆτε	
[	]		τῆσκανδαλιζε	
[	]...[ ]		ῆρητ' τετνα	
[ε]φβ nim ῆνογ[ω]		25	ῆωτ τηρτῆ ῆτε	
ρx· ανοκ ζω †να			[τ]ῆκ[αατ] μαγαατ	
σωλπ νητῆ εβολ			αλλα ῆ†σεετ' μαγ	
ῆνογραφε· †co			αατ αν xε παῖωτ	
ογν γαρ xε ογνω			ωοοπ ῆμμαῖ· α	
σομ ῆμωτῆ εῆ			νοκ ῆῆπαῖωτ α	
ρων nim ῆνογρα	30		νον ογα ῆογωτ'	
φε· πρωμε γαρ			φχηγ γαρ xε †να	
ογαγτοζογcioc			ρωετ ῆπωωc ῆ	

col. A: 1 [πε Funk 23 ] . . ω[ HM | col. B: 1 [πε] HM | 9-10 ερχο[ει]||[c ερωτῆ] : ερχο[ει]||[c ερωτῆ] Funk : ερχο[ . ]||[ . . . . ] HM |

Frag. 2A (hair side)

σεχωωρε εβολ		ἡνῆσαογῆρ ἡο[γ]
ἡσινεσοογ ἡπο		οειω· ἡ ἡμον ἡγ
ζε· ανοκ σε πε		ῤπενμεεγε ἡγ[τῆ]
πφωσ ετνανογφ		νοογ ἡσων, ἡγν
†νακω ἡταψγχη	5	τῆν εβολ ἔμπκο
ζαρωτῆν ἡτωτῆν		σμο[σ·] ἡτῆει φα
ζωττηγτῆν κω		ροκ [ ]φ· [ ]·
ἡνετῆψγχη ζα		τῆ[ ]
νετῆωβε[ε]ρ. χε		· [ ]
κασ [ε]τετνεῤα	10	[ ]
ναφ ἡπαῖωτ· χε		[ ]
ἡνετολη εν[α]		[ ]
ααφ εταῖ ετρα		[ ]
κω ἡταψγχ[η ζαῆ]		[ ]
ρω[η]ε· ετβε [παῖ]	15	[ ]
παῖωτ με ἡμοῖ χε		[ ]
αῖχωκ εβολ ἡπε[φ]		[ ]
ογωω· χε αν[γ·ογ]		[ ]
νογτε· αῖῤρω[με]		[ ]
ετβε . [ ]	20	[ ]
ογατ[ ]		[ ]
τεη[ ] ε		[ ]
ροῖ [ ]		[ ]
τεη[ ]		[ ]
ἡτε[ ]	25	[ ]
· [ ]		[ ]
[ ]		[ ]
[ ]		[ ]
[ ]		[ ]
[ ]	30	[ ]
[ ]		[ ]
[ ]		[ ]

col. A: 9 νετῆωβε[ε]ρ Em<sup>2</sup> : νετῆωβε[ε]ρε HM || 16 πα- added later by the same scribe 22 τεη[ : τε . [ HM || 22-23 [ε]ροῖ : [ ]ερο ἡ[ HM || 24 τεη[ογ σε Funk || 25 ἡτε[ρεπσωτηρ] Em<sup>2</sup> : ἡτε[τῆ Funk ||

Frag. 2A (flesh side)

ῑ

οὐ νοῖπρωτηρ[.]		εχῑπρωου ἀνο[η]
πεχαϗ ναν· χε		ρωων ἀνῑρε ῑ
ω ναμελος ετ		νισωμα ῑπῑα·
ογααβ' νασπερ		ἀνεμβαλ ογωη ῑ
μα ετςμαμα	5	σασα νημ· ἀπμα
ατ. τωο[γ]ῑ ῑτε		τηρῑ ϑωῑπ εβολ
ϗ[ ]ῑε[ ]ῑ χε		ῑπενῑτο εβολ·
[ ]ωληλ		ἀνη[α]γ εμπηγε
[ ]·	10	αγο[γ]ων ε[ρ]ραῖ ῑ
[ ]		σανεγερ[η]γ νετ
[ ]		ροεις εμπγλη αγ
[ ]		ωτορῑρ· ἀναγ
[ ]		γελος ῑροτε αγ
[ ]		[π]ωτ' επι[σ]α ῑη[π]αῖ
[ ]	15	[εγ]μεεγε χε εγ
[ ]		ναβωλ' εβολ τη
[ ]		ρογ· ἀннаγ επε(η)
[ ]		[σ]ωτηρ' εαϗχωτε
[ ]		[ῑ]ῑπηγε τηρογ.
[ ]	20	[ερενεϑο]γερητε
[ ]		[ταχρηγ ε]χῑπτο
[ ]		[ογ ῑῑμαν] ερε
[ ]		[τεϑαπε χω]τε ῑ
[ ]		[τμερσαω]ϑε ῑπε·
[ ]	25	[ ]ῑαῑ
[ ]		[ ]· ε
[ ]		[ ]
[ ]		[ ]
[ ]		[ ]
[ ]	30	[ ]
[ ]		[ ]
[ ]		[ ]

col. A: 1 οὐ νοῖ : οὔνοϗ Em Em<sup>2</sup> : οὔη[[ο]]`α'γ HM; νοῖ uncertain; Em and HM's second ο seems to be a σ, with traces of the upper stroke still visible. There are traces of ink on the upper margin between η and ϑ | 6-7 τωο[γ]ῑ ῑτε[[τ]ῑ Em Em<sup>2</sup>, but no traces of a supralinear stroke lie above the letter Emmel reads as η on line 7. ϗ more likely, cf. τω . [ . ] . ῑτε|ϗ[ . . ] HM | col. B: 1 ε smaller and written in ekthesis, perhaps added later 8-10 ἀνη[α]γ εμπηγε | αγο[γ]ων ε[ρ]ραῖ ῑ|σανεγερ[η]γ Em Em<sup>2</sup> : “während sie sich gegenseitig öffneten” Schenke : ἀνη[ω]ῑ εμπηγε αγτ[ω]ων ε[ρ]ραῖ ῑσανεγερ[η]γ HM | 14 επι[σ]α ῑη[π]αῖ Em<sup>2</sup> : επι[ . ] . ῑ . . . HM | 15 [εγ]- Em<sup>2</sup> : [αγ]- HM | 19 [ῑ]ῑπηγε Em<sup>2</sup> : [εῑ]ῑπηγε HM | 20-24 [ερενεϑο]γερητε usque ad ῑπε Em Em<sup>2</sup> | 25 ]αῑ : ]ῑαῑ Funk |



Frag. 1A (flesh side)

[P̄A]

εβολ ρ̄ν̄ιπηγε		ετ̄ῑ[πβολ ῖπκα]
τηροϋ: τοτε α		ταπε[τασμα ῖπῑωτ]
νον ναποστολος		ρ̄γ̄μη[εγε ανεπρε]
απεικοσμος ωω		σβγτερ[ος ετ̄μο]
πε̄ ῖθε̄ ῖνικακε	5	ος ρ̄ινεϋ[θρονος]
ῖ[ν]ᾱρ̄ρᾱν· αν̄ρ̄θε̄		αγ̄νοϋχε̄ ῖ[νεϋ]
[ῖν]ε̄τ̄ρ̄ν̄ναιων		κлом επε[σнт]
[ῖατ]μοϋ· ερενε(ν)		ρ̄ῑθ̄ν ῖπε[θρονος]
β[αλ χ]ωτε ῖῖ̄πῑ		ῖ̄πῑωτ α[νετοϋ]
ο[γε τ]ῖ[ρ]οϋ[·] ερε	10	ααβ τηρ[οϋ χι ῖοϋ]
τ[σο]ῖ [ῖ̄τε]ν̄μ̄ν̄τ̄		στολη [αγω]
α[π]οστολος ρ̄ιω		ῖ̄τερ̄ο[γ̄σοολεϋ απ]
[ω]ν· αγω αν̄ναϋ		ω̄η̄ρ[ε παρ̄τ̄ῖ]
[ε]πενσωτηρ ῖ		ε̄χ̄[ῖῖ̄πατ ῖπεϋ]
[τ]ερεϋπωρ ετ̄με[ρ]	15	ῖ̄ωτ [ ]
[σα]ωϋε ῖ̄πε. α[ ]		[ ]
[ ]· εϋ· [ ]		[ ]
[ ]		[ ]
[ ]· [ ]		[ ]
[ ]· ν· [ ]	20	[ ]
[ ]ε· [ ]		..· ε̄τ̄βε [οϋ σε ε]
[ ]ῖ[ ]		κρ̄ῑμε. αγ[ω εκμο]
χε̄ αν̄[π̄ηϋ]ε̄ ω̄τ[ορ]		κ̄ρ̄ ῖ̄ρη̄τ̄ ῖ̄τ[οκ]
τ̄ρ· α[ναγ]γε̄λος		ρ̄ω̄στε ῖ̄τε[ταγ]
ῖῖ̄αρ̄χη̄ᾱγ̄τε	25	γε̄λ̄ικ̄η̄ τ[η]ρ̄ς [ωτορ]
λος παρ̄τοϋ ε̄χ̄ῖ		τ̄ρ· ᾱφοϋω[ω̄β]
π[ε]γ̄ρ̄[ο αν]ε̄χε		[δε ῖ̄τε̄ι]ρε. χε [ ]
ρο[γ]β[ι]μ παρ̄τοϋ]		[ ]..ε· [ ]
ραπεϋ[ ]		[ ]να[ ]ε [ ]
με· α[νσεραφ̄ιμ]	30	[ ]... [ ]
κα νεϋτ[ῖ̄ρ̄ επε]		[ ]· α[ ]
σнт· αναγ[ε]λος		[ ].. [ ]

col. A: 8 [ῖατ]μοϋ Em Em<sup>2</sup>: [ῖπε]οοϋ HM | 9 [βαλ χ]ωτε Em Em<sup>2</sup> | 11 τ[σο]ῖ [ῖ̄τε]ν̄μ̄ν̄τ̄- Em Em<sup>2</sup>: τ[ . . . ] . †[ῖ̄τε]ν̄μ̄ν̄τ̄- HM | 16 [σα]ωϋε Em Em<sup>2</sup>: [ρ̄]ῖ̄τ̄οε HM | 22 ]ῖ[ HM | 23 χε̄ Funk; αν̄[π̄ηϋ]ε̄ Em Em<sup>2</sup>: “die Unterwelt” (αν̄[π̄ηϋ]ε̄) Schenke | 26 παρ̄τοϋ Em Em<sup>2</sup>: ῖ̄ωτ̄ εϋ- HM | 27 π[ε]γ̄ρ̄[ο Em Em<sup>2</sup> | 31 κα νεϋτ[ῖ̄ρ̄ Em Em<sup>2</sup>: καν̄ εϋτ[ῖ̄ει HM | 32 αναγ[ε]λος Em<sup>2</sup> | col. B 1-15 ετ̄ῑ[πβολ *usque ad* ῖ̄πεϋ]]ῖ̄ωτ̄ Em<sup>2</sup>, partly reconstructed already in Em | 21 ε̄τ̄βε [οϋ ε<sup>2</sup>-] Plisch Funk; *post* οϋ *add.* σε Plisch | 26 ᾱφοϋω[ω̄β] Em Em<sup>2</sup>: ῖ̄[τ]ᾱφοϋω[ω̄β] HM | 27 [δε] Em Em<sup>2</sup> | 28 ]..ε· [ : ] . ῖ̄η̄τ̄[ HM | 29 ]να[ ]ε : ν̄χ[ . ]ε HM | 30 .. ο[ . ] HM | 31 ]· α[ : ] αν̄[ HM | 32 ] ᾱκ̄χ̄ . [ HM |

Frag. 1A (hair side)

[PB]

[ ] ος ἐπεῖ		εμοῦ γῆνογραφε
[ ] α εἶμο		αγω ταπωρτ̄ ε
[κ̄ε̄ ἡρητ̄ ε] ματε		βολ ἡπασνοφ ε
[ ] μογοῦτ		χῆπγενος ἡῆ
[ ] ριτῆπλα	5	ρωμε· ἀλλὰ [ε]ῖ
[ος ἡπ]ἡῆλ̄ ω πα		ριμε ἡματ[ε ε]τ
[ἰωτ] εφχε οῦν		βε ναμερα[τε] ε
[ωσομ] ἡαρεπεῖα		τε ναῖ νε [αβραρα]μ
[ποτ с]ἄατ. μαροῦ		ἡῆσαακ [ἡῆ]α
[ ] . ριτῆκε	10	κωβ· χε ς[ενα]
[ ] . ἡρεφ̄		αρερα[το]γ [ρῆπ]ε
[ ] . εγωα(η)		ροογ ἡπραπ [ε]ῖ
[ ] ἡἡῆλ̄		ναρμοος ριπ[α]
[ ] α		ερονος τα†ε[απ]
[ ]	15	επκοσμος ς[ενα]
[ ]		[χ]οος ἡαῖ χε ε
[ ]		[ ] αθ . . [ ]
[ ]		[ ]
[ ]		[ ] . . [ ]
[ ]	20	[ ] αχ[ ]
[ ]		[ ] ἄῖ [ ]
[ ]		[ ] ἄ . [ ]
[ ]		κ . [ ] . τ . [ ] . . α
[ ]		σω . . [ετ]βε πε
[ ]	25	οογ ἡταγτααφ
[ ]		ναῖ ριχῆπκαρ̄
[ ]		ω πα[ἰωτ ε]ω[χ]ε
[ ]		[οῦῆωσομ] [μα]ρε
[ ]		[πεῖαποτ] ῆαατ:
[ ]	30	[πεχε πειωτ] ναφ ἡ
[ ]		[πμερς]επснаγ
[ ]		[χε ω] παωρηε ἡῆ

col. A: 4-5 [χε ενα]μογοῦτ | [ἡνοῖ] ριτῆ- Plisch | 10-12 [ροτβ]τ̄ ριτῆκε[λαος or: γενος] ἡρεφ̄[ἡνοβε] Plisch | 11-12 ἡρεφ̄[ἡνοβε] Funk | 12 ]ε HM | 20-21 χε][κας ερ]ε- Em Em<sup>2</sup> | 22 [ναω]ωπε : [ω]ωπε Plisch | 24 [το]τε οη Em Em<sup>2</sup>: “Wahrlich, ... wiederum” Schenke : [ε]ε οη HM | 26 [ἡ]- Em<sup>2</sup> : [ε]- HM | 27-28 χ[ε ω παει][[ω]τ HM Em<sup>2</sup> | 32 ]τ †ο[γωω] Funk : ]τ †ε[βτωτ] HM : [εῖ] Plisch | col. B: 8 ναῖ without trema : 10 ς[ενα]- Em Em<sup>2</sup> : ε[γνα]ω- HM : ε[γνα]- Plisch : “Denn wenn sie” Schenke | 11 [ρῆπ]ε- Em<sup>2</sup> : [ῆπ]ε- HM | 15 ς[ενα]- HM : ε[γνα]- Em Em<sup>2</sup> | 17 ]αθ . . [ : ]αθη . [ HM | 21 ]ἄῖ : η]ἄῖ . [ HM | 23 . κ [ . . . . ] . τ . να HM | 24 [ετ]βε HM | 27 ε]ω[χ]ε Em Em<sup>2</sup> : ε]ω[ωπ]ε HM | 30 [πεχε πειωτ] Funk : [αἰωτ οῦαωβ] Em Em<sup>2</sup> | 32 [χε ω] παωρηε Em<sup>2</sup> |

*Frag. 4B (hair side)*

			[π̄r]
[να	]		[ ]
[	]		[ ]
[	]		[ ]
[	]		[ ]
[	]	5	[ ]
[	]		[ ]
[	]		[ ]
[	]		[ ]
[	]		[ ]
[	]	10	[ ]
[	]		[ ]
[	]		[ ]
[	]		[ ]
[	]	15	[ ]
[	]		[ ]
[	]		[ ]
[	]		[ ]
[	]	20	[ ]
[	]		[ ]
[	]		[ ]
·[	]		[ ]
ρ[	]		[ ]
ε[	]		[ ]
·[	]	25	[ ]
ο[	]		[ ]
να[	]		[ ]
ν . [	]		[ ]
Δπω̄ηρε ο[γω̄ϖ̄β]			[ ]
̄η̄πμε̄ζω̄ϖ̄[μ̄η̄τ]		30	[ ]
̄η̄σοπ. χε̄ ω̄ [πᾱι]			[ ]
ωτ' εω̄χε π[ ]			[ ]

col. A: 1 [να<sup>2</sup>] Funk | 25 η[ HM | 28 ηϖ[ HM | 29 ο[γω̄ϖ̄β] Em Em<sup>2</sup> |

*Frag. 4B (flesh side)*

[P $\Delta$ ]

[	]		[	]
[	]		[	]
[	]		[	]
[	]		[	]
[	]	5	[	]
[	]		[	]
[	]		[	]
[	]		[	]
[	]		[	]
[	]	10	[	]
[	]		[	]
[	]		[	]
[	]		[	]
[	]	15	[	]
[	]		[	]
[	]		[	]
[	]		[	]
[	]	20	[	]
[	]		[	]
[	]		[	]
[	]		[	]
[	]		[	]
[	]		[	]
[	]		[	]
[	]	25	[	]
[	]		[	]
[	]		[	]
[	]		[	]
[	]		[	]
[	]		[	]
[	]		[	]
[	]		[	]
[	]	30	[	]
[	]		[	]
[	]		[	]
[	]		[	]

col. B: 28 ] ρς HM | 29-30 λϰ|[τρα]ζωκ εβολ Funk : λϰ[ει ε]ζωκ εβολ Em<sup>2</sup> | 31-32 φλ(η)|[τῆβ]ωκ Em<sup>2</sup> : φλ(η)|[τβ]ωκ Funk |

*Frag. 8 + 4B (flesh side)*

		[Pε]
[ . εβολ		επω[τῆ
[ ] τηροῦ		τῆ[ ]
[ ] ἔμπτ		αἰν[ ]
[ ] ἄ δ		ἦτο[ ]
[ ] . η:	5	ἦα . [ ]
[ ] .		. [ ]
[ ]		[ ]
[ ]		[ ]
[ ]	10	[ ]
[ ]		[ ]
[ ]		[ ]
[ ]		[ ]
[ ]		[ ]
[ ]	15	[ ]
[ ]		[ ]
[ ]		[ ]
[ ]		[ ]
[ ]		[ ]
. [ ]		[ ]
ε[ ]	20	[ ]
ε[ ]		[ ]
. [ ]		[ ]
. [ ]		[ ]
. [ ]		[ ]
. [ ]	25	[ ]
οὔ[ ]		[ ]
τρ[ ] . [ ]		[ ]
προφητῆ[ς· πε]		[ ]
χαρ ναλ ἠδ[ιπρωτ]ῆρ		[π]αε ἦ[ ]
χε μῆκλῆρ[ος ο]γ	30	παε ἦ[ ]
οτῶ επωτῆ. οὔ[δε]		παε ἦ[ ]
μῆεοοῦ εφχο[ς·ε]		παε . [ ]

col. A: 5 ]δλ: Em : ζδμ]ῆν: HM || 19 ε . [ HM || 22 οὔ[ HM || 27-28 πε]προφητῆ[ς· Funk || 29 ἠδ[ιπρωτ]ῆρ Em Em<sup>2</sup> || col. B: 29 [π]αε ἦ : [ . ] . ε ἦ[ HM || 30 παε ἦ[πεε·ῥος . . ] Funk || 32 παε[ρ] HM ||



Frag. 1B (hair side)

ρζ

[μει ε]ναγ εροογ· μ[π̄ρωτο]ρ̄τρ σε ετε[τ̄ν]ωανναγ εροι[·] πεχαν ναγ		γραϊ φα[π]αϊω[τ ε] τε πετ[̄νι]ωτ [πε·] αγω π[ανογτε ε] τε πετ̄ννογτε πε·
Δε πχ[ο]εις εκνα ογρη[ρ]κ ερον η̄ [α]ω̄ η̄σμοτ η̄ εκ [η]δει ρ̄ναω̄ η̄σω̄ [μ]α ματαμον:	5	αγω παχοεις ετε πετ̄νχοεις πε· εωωπε δε ερω[α](η) ογα` ρω̄[η] ερο[γην] εροι, φνα[ρ]ω[κρ̄]. [α]νοκ πε πκ[ωρ̄τ̄] [ε]τ̄χερο· π[ετρηη] ερογην ερο[ι εφ] ρηη ερογη̄ ε[πκ]ω ρ̄τ· πετογηγ ε
[Δ]φογοω̄β η̄σιω ρ̄ανηης πεχαγ· χε πχοεις εκωα(η) ει εκναογρη̄κ ερον. η̄πρωγο η̄κ ερον ρ̄μπεκ	10	5
εοογ τηρ̄φ· αλλα πωωνε η̄πεκ·ε οογ εκεερογ· χε κας· εη̄δεωφι ρα ροφ· μη[πο]τε η̄ τ̄η̄ναγ ε[ροκ η]τ̄η̄ κα το[οτ̄η̄ εβολ] ραοοτ[ε·]	20	20
Δφογ[ωω̄β η̄σιπσω] τηρ· χε †[ηαφ]ι ε[βο]λ η̄μωτ̄η̄ [η̄θο]τε ταϊ ετε[τ̄η̄]ο η̄ρο τε ρ̄ητ[ε] χεκας η̄τετ̄η̄ναγ· η̄τε τ̄η̄πιστεγε· αλ	25	25
λα η̄π̄ρ̄χωρ̄ η̄τοφ εροι ω̄αν†βωκ` ε	30	30
		Τ[ε]νογ σε σωορ̄ [ε]ροι ω̄ ναμελος [ε]τογααβ· χο[ρε]γ [ε] η̄τετ̄η̄ο[γω] [ω̄β] η̄αι[·] αφ[ ] [ ]· η̄σιπς[ωτηρ·] [αφαρερ]ατ̄η̄ [αν̄ρ̄] [ο]γ[κλον] ενκ[ω] [τ]ε εροφ· πεχα[φ] ναν χε ανοκ· ε[ιρ̄η̄] τετ̄η̄μη̄τε η̄[θε] η̄νωρηε ω[ημ·] πεχαγ χε ρ̄αμη(η) κεκογι πε ειρ̄η̄ τετ̄η̄μη̄τε· α[η] ογωω̄β χε ρ̄αμ[ηη]

col. A: 19 εη̄δεωφι Em Em<sup>2</sup> : εη̄εωφι HM | 25 †[ηαφ]ι Em<sup>2</sup> : φ[ωτε] Em | 26 [η̄θο]τε Em<sup>2</sup> | col. B: 19-21 χο[ρε]γ[ε] η̄τετ̄η̄ο[γωω̄β] | [η̄η̄]η̄αι[·] : χε [ . . ]γ[ . ]η̄τετ̄η̄ . [ HM | 20-21 η̄τετ̄η̄ρ̄[γηνε]]|[ογε<sup>2</sup>] η̄αι<sup>2</sup> Funk | 23 η̄π]ατ̄η̄ [ HM | 31 α[η]- Em<sup>2</sup> : “[Wir] antworteten” Schenke : α[φ]- HM |

Frag. 1B (flesh side)

	ρ̄η	
	[σε]χι ω[ο]χνε εροϊ. [ἄσι]ν[ετ]ογωω [εκα πκο]ςμος ἄ ςωϊ δε ἀν̄γοϋωμ μο εροϋ· ειςεν	5
	ητε σε τеноυ † [λ]υπη ετβε ἄνο [βε] ἄπκοςμος. [αλλ]α †[ρ]αϋε ετβε [τηγτ]ἄ δε ἀτετἄ [μωε] καλως ρἄ [πκος]μος· σογ(η) τ[ηγ]τἄ σε δεкас ετετνε†ζηγ ἄ μοϊ. αγω τара	10
	ϋε εχ̄μπετἄζωβ: ἀνοκ πε π̄ρρο [ρ]α μην· ἀνοκ [π]ε π[ωη]ρε ἄπ̄ρρο [ρ]α [μην·] ἀνοκ π[ε] [τερι]η ἄμο[ωε] [ετ]σογ[των ρα] [μη]ν· ἀ[νοκ πε] [πο]εικ ἄ[ατμογ] ογωμ ἄτετἄ[σει] [ρα]μην· †μωε [εχ]ἄτηγτἄ. ἄτω [τἄ]ζωττηγτἄ αριπολεμος ρα μην· σεχοογ	15
	ἄμ̄μοϊ ἀνοκ ρω † [ο]γωω εχεγτηγ	20
		25
		30
		τἄ ραμην[· ετβε] Ογ ω ρω[με ] ἄ μωτἄ. [ ] . . . † Ογωω εχ[π]ο ητηἄ ἄπραϋε [ε]χ̄μ̄πκο ςμος· ἀλλ̄α λγ πι ἄτοϋ ετβε [πκο] ςμος ρωσ ρω ε[μ] πετἄνωκ ερο[γην] εροϋ ραμην[· ἄ] Π̄ρριμε χ̄ινη[ο]γ ἀλλ̄α ραϋε ἄτοϋ· ραμην· ἀιχρο επκοςμος· ἄτω τἄ δε ἄπ̄ρτρε πκοςμος χρο ε ρωτἄ ραμην· ἀι π̄ρ̄μ̄ε[ε] ρἄπκοςμος ἄτ[ω]τἄ ρωττηγ τἄ [αρι]μ̄ε εβολ· ἄ[μοϋ ρ]αμην:— [ἀνοκ σε]νατσοϊ ἄ [ογρ̄μ̄χ μη]ἄογχο [λη ἄτωτ]ἄ δε χ̄ι [μη]τἄ ἄπ[ωη]ε ἄμ̄ πεμ[το]η ραμην(η)· Сенак[он]ε̄τ̄ ἄογ λογχη [ἄπ]ασιρ· пентаγ̄μ̄αγ. μα ρεφ̄ρ̄μ̄ητρε. αγ ω ογμε̄ τε τεϋ μἄτἄητρε ραμην(η)·

col. A: 1 [σε]χιω[ο]χνε Em Em<sup>2</sup> : [ . . ] . ω[ο]χνε HM | 2 [ἄσι]ν[ετ]ογωω Em Em<sup>2</sup> emend the text thus. The manuscript reads ογωω : [ . . ]ογω ω HM | 11 [μωε] Em<sup>2</sup> : “gekämpft” Schenke : [ωск] HM | 21 [τηγτ]η ἄ[π]μο[ο]γ Em. This line is in ekthesis (Em) | 23 ἀ[νοκ πε] Em Em<sup>2</sup> | 24-25 [πο]εικ ἄ[ατμογ] | ογωμ ἄτετἄ[σει] : cf. MS C, 27,8-10 | col. B: 1 post ραμην add. [ετβε] Funk | 2 ογ ω ρω[με μη] Em Em<sup>2</sup> | 4 εχ[π]ο Em Em<sup>2</sup> : εχ̄ω HM | 5 [ε]χ̄μ̄- or [α]χ̄μ̄- Em | 6-7 ἀλλ̄α λγ[π] Em Em<sup>2</sup> | 11 τεν[ο]γ : MS reads τενη; ο written perhaps above η, in lacuna | 18 ρἄ- HM | 20 [αρι]μ̄ε Em Em<sup>2</sup> : [ερ̄]μ̄ε HM | 21-25 [ἀνοκ σε]νατσοϊ ἄ[ογρ̄μ̄χ. μη]ἄογχο[λη ἄτωτ]ἄ δε χ̄ι | [μη]τἄ ἄπ[ωη]ε Em Em<sup>2</sup>; at the end of line 23 HM reads ογλο |





*Frgs. 2B + 5 + 7 + 11 (hair side)*

[P1]		
[εγμῆτμ]ῆτρε		ε[βολ ]
[ναγ ραμη]ν' ωο		[ ]
[πῑτ εροκ] ὦ πεῖ[ϜOC]		[ ]
[ῆπῑρσω]λπ [εβολ]		[ ] με
[ῆπας]ωμ[α ραμην']	5	[ ] . n
[ ]		[εῖναγ εροκ εῖς]ωβε'
[ ] ]n ῆπῑ		[ρᾶ]ρ ῆλα[οc ο]n αγ
[ ] ]ωαγε		σωωτ [εβο]λ ρῆτκ·
[νεα· ῆπῑ]ριμε ὦ		ογα εφ[σωβ]ε αγω
[πεῖϜOC] ἄλλα ρα	10	εφραωε [κ]εογα`
[ωε ῆ]τῑοϕ ῆγσοϕ(n)		εφριμε ε[φῑρ]εῖ
[πεκ]χῑοεῖς εφην[γ]		[α]γω εφνερῑε·
[ωαρ]οκ· χε οϕρῑ		[ω]ορῑκ εροῖ ὦ [π]ε
[ραω] πε αγω εφθ[β]		ῑϜOC. ἀνοκ ρ[ω]
[βι]ῆγ ραμη[n']	15	†ναωορῑτ εροκ·
[Τ]μερσντ[ε ῆχορ]		ῆτ[ο]κ ῆμ[μ]αῖ ὦ
[ι]α ῆ[πεῖϜOC· ]		[πεῖϜOC] [αν]ον ρε(n)
[ ] ἀῆγοϕ]		[ ] αν]ον ρε(n)
[ρηνκε] ῆν ἀλλ[α ἀῆτ]		[ωῆμο μῆρ]εῖν . .
[οϕρῑ]μαο· †να	20	[ ]
[μαῑκ ε]βολ ρῆτα		[ ]
[μῆτρῑ]μαο· κε		πε[ ]
κῑ[γῑ] πε ὦ πεῖϜOC		νο[ ]
ῆτεπετωαατ		π[ ]
χωκ· αγω ῆτε	25	[ ]
πετσοχβ μοϕρ·		[ ]
κεκοῑ πε ὦ πε		[ ]
ῑϜOC ῆτεπεν		[ ]
τᾶϕ[ρε] τωοϕν·		[ ] ἀνο]κ ῆ[ῆ]
[κεκο]ῑ πε ὦ πε	30	μα[κ ὦ π]εῖϜOC] ῆμον
ῑϜOC ῆτεπεπλη		πε[το]γηνϕ εβο[λ] ῆ
ρωμα [τ]ῆρϕ χωκ		μ[οκ] εφοϕηϕ [ε]

col. A: 1-5 [εγμῆτμ]ῆτρε *usque ad* ραμην' Em<sup>2</sup> Em<sup>1</sup> | 8-9 ωαγε|[νεα· Funk | 10-15 ἄλλα *usque ad* εφθ[β][βι]ῆγ Em Em<sup>2</sup> : “erkenne, [was der] Herr [besitzt], wenn er dich verherrlichen wird. Denn er ist reich und er wird [...]” Schenke | 16-19 [τ]μερσντ[ε *usque ad* ῆν Em<sup>3</sup> | 19-22 ἀλλ[α] *usque ad* [μῆτρῑ]μαο : HM Em<sup>1</sup> | col. B: 1 ε[βολ HM | 6-7 [εῖναγ εροκ εῖς]ωβε' | [ρᾶ]ρ ῆλα[οc ο]n Em<sup>2</sup> Em<sup>1</sup> | 11 ε[φῑρ]εῖ Em Em<sup>2</sup> Em<sup>1</sup> : ε[φῑρ]εῖ HM | 12 *post* εφνερῑε *add* [ακ]- HM | 14 ρ[ω] Em Em<sup>2</sup> Em<sup>1</sup> : ρ[ωωτ] HM | 16 ῆτ[ο]κ ῆ[ῆ]μαῖ ὦ Em Em<sup>2</sup> : ῆ . [ . ] κῑ ῆ[ . ] αῖω HM | 17-19 [αν]ον *usque ad* μῆρ]εῖν Em<sup>1</sup>, on the basis of letter traces in Strasbourg Copte 7 | 30-32 ὦ π]εῖϜOC] ῆμον | πε[το]γηνϕ εβο[λ] ῆ|μ[οκ] εφοϕηϕ [ε] \* [βολ ῆμοι·] Em Em<sup>2</sup> Em<sup>1</sup> |

p. 111

1a [βολ ἡμοῖ]

*Frag. 23 (hair side)<sup>1</sup>*

p. 111

[πεοο]Υ ΝΑΚ Π[ΩΗΗ]	1
ΕΝΤΑΠΕΦΚΑΡ[ΠΟΣ]	
ΟΥ[Ω]Ν̄Ξ ΕΒΟΛ Χ[Ε]	3
[Ε]Υ[Ν]Α.ΣΟΥΩΝ̄	
[Ξ̄Ν̄Η]ΕΧΩΡΑ Ν̄Ν̄	5
[Ω̄ΜΜ]Ο Ν̄ΞΕ†Ε	
[ΟΟΥ Ν]Α.Υ [ΕΒΟΛ]	7

*Frag. 23 (flesh side)*

p. 112

[ ]Υ ΝΤΣ .	
[ ] . [ ] . ΩΠΕ΄ ΔΥ	
[Σ]ΞΑΪ ἸΝΕΤ[ΝΡ]ΑΝ	
ΕΝΕΤ̄ΝΣΤΟ[Λ]Η [ΕΥ]	
ΝΗΥ ΕΠΕΣΗ[Τ ΕΥ]	
ΠΩΡ̄Ω Ν̄ΝΕ[ ]	
[ ]ΚΩ[ ]	

111: 3-7 Em<sup>1</sup>, restored according to Strasbourg Copte 7 | 112: 3-6 Em<sup>2</sup> |

**Unplaced fragments of P. Berol. 22220**

*Frag. 6 (hair side)*

] . ἡπε[	1
] . . [	2

*Frag. 6 (flesh side)*

] ΞΙΧ.Μ[	
] . [	

*Frag 9 (hair side)*

[ ]ς .	1
[ ]ΡΟ ΟΥΑ	
[ ] ΝΤΣΟΦΙ	3
[Δ ΔΥΝΑ]ΜΙΣ· ΠΩΕ	
[ ]ΠΤΗΡ̄	5
[ ΕΒ]ΟΛ ἸΝΕ	
[ ]ΩΟΥ·	7
[ ]	
[ ]	9
[ ]	

[ ]	
[ ]	
. [ ]	
ΣΕΝΑΩ . [ ] . Ω [ ]	
ΑΝ Ν̄ΣΙΖΕΝΜΗ[ΩΕ]	
ΕΙΜΗΤΙ ΠΕΤΝΑ[ ]	
[ Τ]ΥΠΟΣ ἸΜ[ ]	
[ ]ΝΤΕΡΕΦΧ[ΩΚ Ε]	
[ΒΟΛ Ε]ΞΥΜΝΕΥΕ [Μ]	
[ΠΕΣ]-†ΟΣ Ἰ[ ]	

<sup>1</sup> Although the fact that this fragment originally belonged to pages 111-112 is relatively certain when compared to the parallel version in MS B, its precise position is still unclear.

**Frag. 9 (flesh side)**

[ ]	1	μῆνῆ[ ]ω[ μῆ]
[ ]		νωος ἡ[πατριαρ]
[ ] . [ ] σμντῆ	3	χης μῆ[νεπρο]
[ε]ρον· πεχλαν να(ν)		φητη[ς ετε ναῖ νε]
[χ]ε ω̄ ναμελος ετ	5	αβρα[ζαμ μῆσα]
ογααβ· να[ιαττη]γ		ακ ἡ[ῆιακωβ ]
[τ]ῆ̄ χε απαῖω[τ ]	7	[ ]
[ ]ετηγτῆ̄ [ ]		[ ]
[ ] . [ ]χ . [ ]	9	[ ]

col. B, 2-6 ἡ[πατριαρ]|χης *usque ad* ἡ[ῆιακωβ] Em |

**Frag. 10 (hair side)**

[ ]	1	[ ] αβρα]
[ ]		ζαμ [μῆσαακ μῆ]
[ ]	3	ῆιακωβ [μῆμωγ]
[ ] . .		χης π . [ ]
[ ]εαγ	5	νωα . [ ]
[ ]εροκ		ντε[ ]
[ ]κ·	7	α . [ ]

col. B: 1-4 αβρα]|ζαμ *usque ad* [μῆμωγ]|χης Em |

**Frag. 10 (flesh side)**

[ ] κ̄αλωϛ	1	[ ]
[ ] . τσο		[ ]
[ ]εβ]ολ ῆ̄τεε	3	το[ ]
[ ]μ̄ ετ		τεη[ ]
[ ]ν̄ αε	5	ρ εβο[λ ]
[ ] . .		[ ]

col. A: 1 κ̄αλωϛ : αλλωϛ HM |

**Frag. 12 (hair side)**

[ ] . [ ]εβ̄τ[ ]	1
[ ] . χε ντερ[ ]	2

**Frag. 12 (flesh side)**

[ ]εν . . [ ]
[ ]ταχρηγ[ ]

*Frag. 13 (hair side)*

]κνα . [ 1

*Frag. 13 (flesh side)*

] . ωωω[

*Frag. 14 (hair side)*

[ ]ρο . [ ] 1  
 [ ] . νε ἦμ[αθη]  
 [τ]ης· ερε[ ] 3  
 [ ]ρενογο[ ]  
 [ ]ρεῖτοπο[λις ε] 5  
 [τμ]ῆαγ· α[νחנוג]  
 [ἦπ]σωτηρ[· δε αω] 7  
 τε τεῖπολ[ις· πε]  
 χαφ ναη[· δε ταῖ] 9  
 τε θῆλημ [ ]  
 [τ]πολις [ ] 11  
 [ ] . τετ . [ να]  
 мерате [ ] 13  
 [ ]δσ . ωη . [ ]  
 [ ]ενασω . [ ] 15

*Frag. 14 (flesh side)*

[ ] . . [ ]  
 [ ]χογο . [ ]  
 [ ]μῆλα[γ]  
 [ ]εροφ' ογ[ ]  
 [ ]λαγ αη[ ]  
 [ ]οφ ριτη[ ]  
 [ ]· ανחנוγ[ ]  
 [ενη]ω ἦμος δε  
 [αω πε π]εῖμα ετ  
 [ ] . τ ετπε .  
 [ ]πεχαφ [χε]  
 [ταῖ τε] τεσκη[νη]  
 [ἦπαει]ωτ χιητα  
 [ρη] εροφ[η]  
 [ρε ]τε εσω[ ]

**Hair side:** 6-7 α[νחנוג] | [ἦπ]σωτηρ Em : α[νחנוס] | [δε επ]σωτη[ρ] HM | 9 [ταῖ] Em : [ῆτος] HM || **Flesh side:** 2 ]χογον[ε] HM | 4-6 ογ[τε μῆλ]αγ αη[αε]||[τε ἦμ]οφ ριτη[η] HM | 11-13 πεχαφ *usque ad* [ἦπαει]ωτ Em |

*Frag. 15 + 17 (hair side)*

[ ]	1	[ ] . [ ]
[ ]		[ ]ωη
[ ] .	3	ρ[η ] . προ
[ ]οσ		φ[ητης ]μοογ
[ ]βε	5	[ ]δικαιος·
[ ]		[ ] . εροφ·
[ ]	7	[ ] . . . [ ]

**NB:** these two columns are from the same sheet, but from two different leaves, being separated by the spine. According to HM, the folding direction of the sheet was with the hair side on the outside, in which case the right hand column used to be column A of a page, while the left hand one stood as column B of another page. The distance between the two pages in the original manuscript is unknown.

*Frag. 15 + 17 (flesh side)*

[ ] . [ ]	1	[ ]	]
νη . [ ]		[ ]	]
ει[ ]	3	. [ ]	]
εκρη[οος ετοϋ]		. [ ]	]
ναμ η̄[π̄ιωτ ριχ.]η̄	5	. [ ]	]
πεκρη[ονος ]γ		ρ[ ]	]
[ ]ε . [ ]	7	[ ]	]

**NB:** Fragments of the same bifolio, but of two different leaves. Cf. supra.

*Frag. 16 (hair side)*

]ω[	1
] . . [	
] . [	3
] . [	

*Frag. 16 (flesh side)*

] . [
[ ]
] . [
] . [

*Frag. 18 (hair side)*

] . νε[	1
ρ]οτρη [	
] ρ . α[	3

*Frag. 18 (flesh side)*

νο[
σιχ[
ᾱι . [

*Frag. 19 (hair side)*

[ ]η . [ ]	1
π.χ.ω.ω.με η̄π[ω]	
η̄ρ̄ . η̄νεϋρ̄πμ[ε]	3
εϋε η̄τεϋ[γε]η̄[εα]	
ερετεϋς[ρη]μ̄ε [η̄α]	5
ρ̄χηρα . [η̄τενεϋ]	
[ω]η̄ρε ω[ωπε η̄ορ]	7
[φαν]οϋ [ ]	

*Frag. 19 (flesh side)*

[ ] . . . [ ]
[ ] . νε ϸ† ερωτε [κε]
οϋειε ϸ† εβιω η̄
τ̄ω[τ̄η̄] η̄τον η̄μω
[τ]η̄ [ρη]η̄ππγην η̄
[μοοϋ] η̄πωη̄ρ̄ .
[ ]τε ε[ ]
[ ] . . [ ]

**Hair side:** 7-8 ωωπε η̄ορ][φαν]οϋ : [ω]η̄ρε ω[η̄μ ρ̄ατεη̄][ωτ . ]εε[ ΗΜ |

*Frag. 20 (hair side)*

[ ] . . [ ] Ν ΔΕ[	1
[ ] ΠΙΣΩΤΗΡ. ΔΥ . [	
[ ] Ε ΖΩΣ ΕΦΟ ΝΒΑ[Β	3
[ ] ΔΥΠΩΤ' ΕΖΟ[ΥΝ]	
[Π]ΕΧΕ ΠΙΣΩΤ[ΗΡ ΝΑΥ.]	5
[ΧΕ] Ω ΙΟΥΔ[ΑΣ ]	
[ ] ΟΥΒΑ[Β ]	7

*Frag. 20 (flesh side)*

]ΠΕΣ[ ] Ε . [	
. Ε ΕΡΕΣΖΙΜΕ . [	
Μ]ΠΙΣΤΗ ΝΑΣΩ[	
]ΜΕΤΑΝΟΙ[Δ	
] . ΤΟΟΤΕ [	
]ΝΣΩΟΥ[	
]ΜΝΕΥ[	

*Frag. 21 (hair side)*

] . ΕΚ[ ] . [	1
] . ΕΖΟΥΝ ΖΑΝ . [	
]ΝΖ ΝΓΡΖΑΪΒΕΣ [	3
]Ο[ ] . ΕΠΑΝΤΙΚΙ	
[Μ]Ε[ΝΟ]Σ ΕΤΕ ΠΑ[Ι]	5
[ΠΕ ]ΧΕ ΨΗΕ[	
[ ] ΚΑΤ[Δ	7

*Frag. 21 (flesh side)*

] . [ ] ΓΑΡ [	
] ΚΟΣΜΟΣ, ΟΥ . [	
]Ε ΠΕ' ΠΕΚΩ . [	
] ΝΤΟΥ ΝΤΗ . [ ]Δ[	
] . ΔΥ. ΟΥΩ[ ]Π[	
] . ΜΗΝΕ[	
] . Ζ' [	
] . [	

Hair side: 4-5 ΠΑΝΤΙΚΙ|[Μ]Ε[ΝΟ]Σ Em I

*Frag. 22 (hair side)*

[ ] . . Μ[ ] ΕΙ	1
ΜΗΤΙ ΝΤΕΤΝ[	
[ ] . ΤΗΥΤΗ Μ[ ]	3
[ ] ΩΩΠΕ. Π . [	
[ ] ΤΠΕ' Μ[	5
[ ] ΕΟΥΑ' ΧΟ[	
[ ] . ΔΥ . [	7
[ ] ΕΡΟ[	

*Frag. 22 (flesh side)*

[ ] . [ ]	
[ ] ΕΥΚΗΡΥΓΜ[Δ]	
[ ] ΓΑΦΕΟΕΙΩ Μ[	
[ ] ΖΗΠΚΟΣ[ΜΟΣ]	
[ΤΗΡ]Υ' Η ΕΤΒ[Ε ]	
[ ] Λ ΞΝΗΣ . [ ]	
[ ] . ΤΕ[ ]	
[ ] ΕΚ[ ]	

*Frag. 24 (hair side)*

] . [	1
]Ε ΜΠΚΟ[ΣΜΟΣ	
]ΟΥ ΝΑΣ Ε[	3
]ΝΤΕΣΚ[	
Τ]ΗΡΣ ΕΤ[	5
]· ΔΥΩ ΝΕ[	
]ΝΩ[	7
]ΔΖΗ[	

*Frag. 24 (flesh side)*

] . Ε . ΟΝ . [	
]Υ† ΕΡΟΥ [	
]ΛΙΤΡΑ Ν[	
]ΛΙΤΡΑ Ν[	
]ΘΕ ΝΛΙΤ[ΡΑ	
]ΛΙΤ[ΡΑ	
]ΩΕ[	
] . . [	

*Frag. 25 (hair side)*

]κ[ ]οϣ[	1
]ρω εἰς ρῆ[η]τε	
αϣ]ξῖ ωοχνε ε[ρῶῖ	3
] . μοϣοϣτ[	
] τῆνοϣ σῆ[	5
]ωωπ[ε	
] . [ ] . . . [	7

*Frag. 25 (flesh side)*

]ϣ[ ] . α[	
τενο]ϣ σῆ ω πα[	
]οκ ρῆνοϣεῖ[	
]εῖον ρῆνο[ϣ	
] . ερραῖ επ[	
] αϣω [	
] . . [ ] . [	

**Hair side:** 3 ξῖ ωοχνε ε[ρῶῖ : αῖ ωοχνε ε[ HM I

*Frag. 26 (hair side)*

]ορφ[	1
]λα[ ]ν[	
]κ᾽ εβο[λ	3
] . [ ] . . [	

*Frag. 26 (flesh side)*

] . εϣ[	
]ε[ ] . ρ[	
]ϣ᾽ αν[	
]ε . . [	

**Hair side:** 1 ]ορφ[ανος : ]ορφ[ HM I

*Frag. 27 (hair side)*

]ν[	1
] . ρ . [	
]ϣν[	3
]ρῆ[	
]ῆ[	5
]ε ᾠ[	
] . ε . πα[	7
] . [	

*Frag. 27 (flesh side)*

]κ[	
]μα[	
]πο . [	
]ε ῆ . [	
] . . [	
]να[	
]χε ῆ . [	
] . . [	



## Strasbourg Copte 5-7

### Copte 6 + 7.7

recto ↓

PNZ

	ΩΝ̄Ξ ΝΗΤ̄Ν ΕΒΟΛ ἡπαεοογ	
	ΤΗΡ̄Ϟ· ΑΥΩ Ν̄ΤΑΤΑΜΩΤ̄Ν ΕΤΕ	
	ΤΝΣΟΜ ΤΗΡ̄Ϟ Μ̄ΠΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ	
	ἡτεῖῖμ̄μ̄ν̄ταποστολ[οϞ· ἡ]	
5	τε[ΥΝΟΥ ΑΦΟΥΩ]ἡ̄Ξ ΝΑΝ ΕΒ[ΟΛ]	
	. [ ]†νεμαρ[ ]	
	[ ]μα ΝΑΝ [ ]	
	[ ]ζιχ.]ἡ̄π̄τοο[Υ]	
	[ ]· ε ἡ̄πεϞ	
10	[ ]ο̄Ρ̄	
	[ ]σομ	
	[ ]ε	
	[ ]ρηε	

3 ΤΝΣΟΜ Sch Crum Ber : [Ϟ]σομ Jac | 6 “[ich] habe dir gegeben, Mar[ia]” Sch | 8 ζιχ.]ἡ̄π̄τοο[Υ] Sch : ἡ̄π̄τοο[Υ] Jac : εχ.]ἡ̄π̄τοοϞ also possible |

verso →

PNH

	ΑΝΕΝΒΑΛ ΧΩΤΕ Ξ̄Μ̄ΝΑ ΝΙΜ·	
	ΑΝΕΙΩΡ̄Ξ· ἡ̄πεοογ, ἡ̄τεϞμ̄ν̄τ̄	
	ΝΟΥΤΕ· ἡ̄ν̄πεοογ, ΤΗΡ̄Ϟ ἡ̄	
	[τεϞ]ἡ̄ν̄τ̄·χοειϞ· ΑϞ†ζιϞΩΝ	
5	ἡ̄τσομ ἡ̄τε[ἡ̄μ̄ν̄ταπ]οϞ	
	τολοϞ· ἡ̄ [ ]	
	ΑῩΡ̄ΘΕ ἡ̄π̄ [ ]	
	ο̄γοειν . [ ]	
	μαϞ· ω [ ]	
10	σετ [ ]	
	νο [ ]	
	χι [ ]	
	τ [ ]	



20 [ζιτῆπιμ]ονογενης ζα  
 [μην· τι]ντερο τανιμ τε  
 [ταπωρη]ε τε ζαμην· ερε  
 [τεφμντερο φ]οπ· εβολ  
 [των εσωοοπ εβολ] ζῆ  
 25 [πωε ζαμην ]

1-3 [χε ε]γесоγωῆς *usque ad* ζιτῆπεφκαρπος Em<sup>1</sup> Sch (partly) : εγ[εσογωῆς] ζῆ[νεφκαρπ][[πος ἦφ]]ῆμο· ἦσε†  
 εο[ογ] ναφ | [εβολ] ζιτῆπεφκαρπος Jac : εγ[εσογωῆς] ζα[ζτη παπ]ωμμο νσε† с[ογωῆς] εβολ  
 ζιτῆπεφκαρπος Rev | 4-5 [φογотв] εογμνηφε ἦτεп[η][[πος Jac : [φογотв] εογμνηφε ἦτεп[χα]] [χε Rev |  
 6 [сом] Sch Em<sup>4</sup> Ber (“puissance”): номте Jac | 7-8 suggested Em<sup>4</sup> : “[damit sie] mit mir [die Welt]  
 ertragen” Sch Ber : [ἦпκοσμ]oc on line 8 suggested also by Crum : [ἦπετзупо]μεινε н[μ]μαῖ [εναγαθ]oc  
 Rev | 10-13 “das] Diadem desen, welcher ist ..., [indem man] sie [in ihrer] Niedrigkeit verachtete, da man  
 [sie] nicht [erkannt] hat” Sch : [ετε τε]ερηпе [ἦνε]το[ἦζ τε λγс]ωφῶ ἦμοογ | [ζῆπεφ]ωβιο· емпоуе[не  
 ἦμοογ] Jac : [ται τε]ερηпе [ἦνε]το[γνταγ] сωφῶ μμοογ [змпеу]ωβιο емпоуе [εпмтон] Rev : е[μ  
 proposed by Crum on lines 12-13 | 13-14 аῖррго εβολ | [ζιгоотк] Jac Sch Rev Ber | 14-15 κναтре |  
 [нахахе : κναтре | [πειχαхе Jac Rev : κναтре | [ζωв ним Sch Ber | 17-18 ζιτῆπε[χр (sic!) Jac [χс Sch  
 Crum Rev Ber | 19 [εφωλ ε]βολ Jac Rev Ber | 22-25 ερε | [ζωв ним φ]οп εβολ | [ζιτῆним ζιτῆπωρп][[μисε  
 Jac Rev |

verso →

[ντερεφ]αωκ σε εβολ [ἦζγ]  
 м[нос] τηρῆ ἦπε[с̄р̄ос]  
 αφκοτῆ ερον πεχα[φ ναη]  
 χε αсζων εζογн ἦσι[тоγ]  
 5 νογ· ετογναφит· ἦт[ἦτηγ]  
 τῆ· πεпῆα мен ро[ογт пе]  
 тса[рз Δ]ε оγасθен[нс те бω]  
 σε ἦ[т]ετῆроеис [ἦμмаῖ]  
 ανон [Δ]ε ἦαπος[толос αν]  
 10 риме е[н]αω ἦмо[с χε εφ]  
 χε κр̄[ζот]ε σε [ἦток пωη]  
 ре ἦппоуге· е[ ]  
 ζωων ογ пе . [ ]  
 αφογωφв· пе[χαφ ναη]  
 15 χε ἦпр̄р̄ζот[ε χε тетна]  
 вωλ εβολ αλλα [ραφε]  
 ἦтоφ ἦζογo· ἦ[пр̄р̄ζоте]  
 зηтс ἦтезoγс[ia ἦпмоγ]  
 арипмеεγe ἦн[εпгаixо]  
 20 ογ нηтῆ τηρο[γ χε εφ]  
 χε λγпωт ἦс[ωi сена]  
 пωт ἦсаτηγ[тῆ ἦτωтῆ]  
 σε раφe χε аῖ[χρο епкoc]  
 мoc· аῖ[ ]

**1-2** [ἡ̄τερει]χωκ σε εβολ | ἡ̄[πρω] τηρῆ̄ ἡ̄πε[φωνε̄] Jac : [ν̄τερει]χωκ σε εβολ [πειωλη] τηρῆ̄ ἡ̄πε[φειωτ] Rev : [ἡ̄τερει]χωκ σε εβολ [ἡ̄βιπ̄] ἡ̄[πεοογ̄?] τηρῆ̄ ἡ̄πε[φειωτ] Sch Ber | **5-6** ἡ̄τ[ἡ̄τηγ]τῆ̄ Sch Ber : ἡ̄τ[οοτηγ]τῆ̄ (sic!) Jac : ἡ̄τ[οοτηγ]τῆ̄ Crum (unlikely) Rev | **11-13** δε [ἡ̄π]ῤ̄[νοση]εσ ε[ρον πωη]ρε ἡ̄ππογτε· ε[ρεπ̄η̄τελος] | ζωων ογ πε ι[ησογς δε] etc. Jac : δε [να ναη] σε [ω πωη]ρε ἡ̄ππογτε ε . . . [δνον] ζωων ογ πε πεη[ρω] Rev : κῤ̄ certain on line 11, where fragment 7.9 integrates (cf. Sch) | **15-18** suggested by Sch : ἡ̄π̄ῤ̄ροτ[ε δε †να]βωλ εβολ· αλλα [τωκ ἡ̄ρητ] ἡ̄τογ ἡ̄ρογο· ἡ̄[π̄ῤ̄ροτε] | ρητ̄ ἡ̄τεζογς[ια ἡ̄πμογ] Jac : ἡ̄π̄ῤ̄ροτε ρητῆ̄ ἡ̄πβωλ εβολ· αλλα ἡ̄τογ ἡ̄ρογο ἡ̄π̄ῤ̄ροτε ρητ̄ε ἡ̄τεζογςια Rev | **21-22** αγπωτ ἡ̄ς[ωῖ σενα]πωτ ἡ̄σατηγ]τῆ̄ Sch Ber (cf. John 15:20) : αγπωτ ἡ̄ς[ωῖ ἡ̄θε ἡ̄ταγ]πωτ ἡ̄σατηγ[ Jac : αγ]πωτ ἡ̄ς[ωῖ αγω εγε]πωτ ἡ̄σατηγ]τῆ̄ Rev |

## The Hymn of the Cross According to the Qasr el-Wizz Codex

κα\*

2 λσϱωπε δε νο[γ]ρ<ο>ογ  
 ερεπσ̄ηρ ρμοος ρ[ι]  
 χ̄μ̄πτοογ ν̄ν̄χοε[ιτ]  
 4 ἡπατογσταγρογ ἡ  
 μογ ν̄σῑν̄ιογδαῖ ἡ  
 6 παρνομος· ανον τη  
 ρ̄ν̄ ανσωογρ ν̄μ̄μαϩ  
 8 πε· αφογωϱβ̄ εϩ  
 χω ἡμος χε ω̄ να  
 10 μελος ετογααβ· σω  
 ογρ εροῖ ἡταργμνεγε  
 12 ἡπεσταγρος· αγω

1 α in *ekthesis*, enlarged and decorated : νο[γ]ρσογ, but there are not traces of the first ο |

κε\*

2 ἡτωτ̄η̄ ντετ̄η̄ογω  
 [ϱβ̄] ἡσωῖ· ανον δε' αν  
 [ρο]γκλομ ανκωτε ε  
 4 ροϩ· πεχαϩ ναη· χε  
 ανοκ ειρ̄η̄τετ̄η̄μητε  
 6 ἡθε ἡνειϱηρϩ κογῖ·  
 πεχαϩ χε ραμνη· κε  
 8 κογῖ πε ειϱοοη̄ ἡ  
 μητ̄η̄ ἡτετ̄η̄μητε·  
 10 σεχι ϱοχνε εροῖ τε  
 νογ· ἡπ̄κατεχε {ἡ}  
 12 ἡμοῖ ω̄ πεσταγρος· τω  
 ογν ερραῖ τωογν

1-2 ἡτετ̄η̄ογω | [μη]ἡσωῖ Hubai. This reading was proposed by Jitse Dijkstra in Piovanelli p. 240 n. 42 |

κς\*

2 ω̄ πεσταγρος ετογα  
 αβ ν̄γ̄χισε ἡμ[οκ]  
 ω̄ πεσταγρος ανῖ

4 οὐρῆμαο ἀμην: †  
 νααλε εἰραϊ ἐχωκ  
 6 ᾠ πεσταγρος· σена  
 αωτ̄ ἐχωκ εὐμῆ  
 8 τμη̄τρε ναγ· ωο  
 πτ̄ εροκ ᾠ πεσταγ  
 10 ρος ἀμην: ἡπ̄ρι  
 με ᾠ πεσταγρος· ἀλ  
 12 λα ραωε ἡτοϋ ἡ

2 ἡμοκ cf. MS A, 109, col. B,22 : ἡμοῖ Hubai Hughes ||

κz\*

2 ρογο ἀμην: ἡτερεϋ  
 χωκ δε εβολ ἡργ  
 μνος· ἀνογωωβ̄ η  
 4 σωϋ τηρῆ δε ἀμην:  
 πμερснаγ ἡργμνος  
 6 ἡπεσταγρος· ἀнок πε  
 τερην ἡπωνε̄ ετταειη[γ]  
 8 ἀμην: ἀнок πε ποεικ  
 ἡατμογ· ογωμ ἡ  
 10 тет̄σει` ἀμην: ἀη  
 ογωωβ̄ ἡσωϋ δε α  
 12 μην: πεχαϋ ναη  
 οῆ· δε σωογρ εροῖ ᾠ

κн\*

2 ναμελος ετογααβ·  
 тахореуе ἡпес̄т̄ос̄  
 ἡπμερωομη̄т̄ ἡ  
 4 сог· ἡтет̄ноγωωβ̄  
 ἡσωῖ δε ἀμην: ᾠ  
 6 πεσταγρος ετμερ ἡ  
 ογοειν· παλιν οη·  
 8 ернафореи ἡпоγο  
 ein ἀμην: †на†  
 10 паογοει` ερογн ε  
 ρок ᾠ πεσταγρος  
 12 ραμην: †νααλε ε

κθ\*

2 ρραῖ εχωκ εῡν̄ν̄τ  
 μ̄ν̄τρε ναγ· φοπ̄τ̄  
 εροκ ω̄ πεσταγρος·  
 4 ἡπ̄ρ̄σωλ̄π̄ εβολ μ̄  
 πασωμα αμην:—  
 6 τμερ̄φτο ἡχορια  
 ἡπεσταγρος· ανοκ  
 8 ογρηκε αν̄ ω̄ πε  
 σταγρος πετ̄τ̄πογο  
 10 ειη αμην: †να  
 πληρογ ἡμοκ  
 12 ρ̄ν̄ταμ̄ν̄τρ̄μ̄μαο̄

λ\*

2 αμην: †νααλε ε  
 ρραῖ εχωκ· φοπ̄τ̄  
 εροκ ω̄ πεσταγρος·  
 4 ογεοογ νακ δε ακ  
 σωτ̄μ̄ ἡσαπεκει  
 6 ωτ αμην: πεοογ  
 νακ περλοσ τηρ̄q̄  
 8 αμην· πεοογ ἡ  
 τ̄ν̄ν̄τ̄νογ̄τε φ̄θ̄:  
 10 λογων ἡτεκ  
 χαρις ω̄ παιωτ  
 12 δεκας ειερ̄γ̄μ̄νεγε

1 παιωτ, τ written on top of ω | 12 ειερ̄γ̄μ̄νεγε, last ε written under the line |

λα\*

2 επεσταγρος αμην: αῖ  
 χι ναῖ ἡτεβρηπε ἡ  
 τ̄ν̄ν̄τερο εβολ ρ̄μ̄  
 4 πφε· αμην: †να  
 τρενα.χα.χε ρ̄γ̄πο  
 6 τασσε ναῖ ρ̄αμην:  
 π.χα.χε ναογ̄ωσ̄q̄  
 8 εβολ ρ̄ιτ̄μ̄πεσταγρος  
 αμην: πεειβ ἡπμογ  
 10 ναογ̄ωσ̄q̄ εβολ ρ̄ι

12 τῆ̄πμονογενῆς ἡ̄  
ὤρηε ἀμην: τῆ̄ν

λβ\*

2 τερο τανιμ τε· τα  
πωρηε τε ἀμην:  
4 ερετεφιῆ̄ντερο ὤο  
οπ εβολ τῶν· ες  
ὤοοπ εβολ ῥῆ̄πω[ε]  
6 ἀμην: νιμ πενταϋ  
τῆ̄ννοοϋϣ φαπεσϣ̄ς·  
8 πειωτ πε ἀμην:  
ὄϋ πε {πε} πεσταγρος  
10 οϋ εβολ τῶν πε· οϋ  
εβολ ῥῆ̄πεπῆ̄α πε ῥῆ̄:  
12 ῥῥοοπ χινεεζ ἡ̄  
οϋοειω νιμ χιν

7 φαπεσϣ̄ς, ε written small on top of the line | 10 οϋ deleted Hubai

λγ\*

2 τκαταβολη ἡ̄πκος  
μοc ἀμην· ἀνοκ πι[ε]  
4 ἀλφα ἀμην: ἀγῶ [ω]  
ἀμην: ταρχη ἀγῶ  
πτελιον ἀμην: ἀν[οκ]  
6 πε ταρχη ἡ̄ατωαχ[ε]  
εροϣ· ἀγῶ πτελιον  
8 ἡ̄ατωαχε εροϣ· ἀγῶ  
πτελιος φαεεζ ἀμην(η):  
10 ἀνον δε ἡ̄τερῆ̄σῶτῆ̄  
εναῖ ἀη̄εοοϋ ἡ̄πνοϋτε·  
12 παῖ ετε πωϣ πε πεοοϋ  
φα{ε}εεζ ἡ̄εεζ ῥῆ̄:—

8 Piovanelli p. 241 n. 44 suggests that several words between εροϣ and ἀγῶ might have been omitted by the scribe |



## Translation of P. Berol. 22220

**(p. 97)** [...9 lines broken...] for (γάρ) the kingdom of heaven [...] by the glory [...] with the kingdom of heaven on your right. Blessed is the one who shall eat with me in the kingdom of heaven. You are the salt of the earth, you are the lamp (λαμπάς) that illuminates the world (κόσμος). Do not sleep nor (οὐδέ) slumber [until you] put on the garment (ἔνδυμα) of the kingdom, the one that I bought with the blood of the grape.

Andrew replied (and) said: “My [Lord] || [...24 lines broken...]

If I healed (θεραπεύειν) those of the world (κόσμος), it is also necessary for me to descend into Amente for the others that are bound there. So then, that which is necessary

**(p. 98)** [...23 lines broken...] everything with certainty. I, for my part, I shall gladly reveal to you, for (γάρ) I know that you are able to do everything with joy. For (γάρ) the man is in his own power (αὐτεξούσιος) || [...7 lines broken...] [own power] (αὐτεξούσιος) [...] [master yourself]. So then, while (ὅσον) you are in the body (σῶμα), do not let matter (ὕλη) master you!

Arise, let us leave this place. For (γάρ) the one who shall hand me over (παραδιδόναι) has approached. You shall all flee and be offended (σκανδαλίζειν) because of me. You shall all flee and leave me alone, but (ἀλλά) I do not remain alone for my Father is with me. I and my Father, we are a single one.

For (γάρ) it is written: “I shall strike the shepherd **(p. 99)** and the sheep of the flock will be scattered.” I am the good shepherd. I shall lay down my soul (ψυχή) for you. You, too, lay down your souls (ψυχή) for your companions to be pleasing to my Father, for there is no commandment (ἐντολή) greater than this: that I lay down my soul (ψυχή) for people. This is [why] my Father loves me, because I fulfilled [his] wish, for I am God (and yet) I became human because [...12 lines broken...] ||

[...] after how long time, or (ἢ) else, remember us, send for us, take us out of the world (κόσμος) so that we may come to you? [...25 lines broken...]

**(p. 100)** the Savior (σωτήρ). He said to us: “O (ὦ) my holy members (μέλος), my blessed seeds (σπέρμα), get up [...] pray [...24 lines broken...] ||

[...] on the mountain. We, too, became like spiritual (πνεῦμα) bodies (σῶμα). Our eyes opened in every direction (and) everything<sup>1</sup> was revealed to us. We saw the heavens opening up one after another. Those who guard the gates (πύλη) were disturbed. The angels (ἄγγελος) were afraid (and) they ran this side and that, thinking [that] they would all be destroyed. We saw our Savior (σωτήρ) traversing all the heavens, [his] feet [being fixed with us] on the [mountain], while [his head] pierced [the seventh] heaven. [...8 lines broken...]

**(p. 101)** [...] from all the heavens. Then (τότε), this world (κόσμος) became like darkness before us, the apostles (ἀπόστολος). We became like those in the immortal aeons (αἰών), with our [eyes] penetrating [all] the heavens, while the power of our apostleship (-ἀπόστολος) was upon us. And we saw our Savior (σωτήρ) when he reached the seventh heaven [...6 lines broken...]

The [heavens] were disturbed,

[The] angels (ἄγγελος) and the archangels (ἀρχάγγελος) prostrated on [their faces],

[The Cherubs (χερουβίμ) prostrated] before his [...],

The Seraphs (σεραφίμ) let down their wings,

The [angels] (ἄγγελος) || that are [outside the veil (καταπέτασμα) of the Father sang (ὑμνεύειν)],

The elders (πρεσβύτερος) [seated] on their [thrones] (θρόνος) cast [down their] crowns before the [throne] (θρόνος) of the Father,

All [the saints took a] robe (στολή) [and] after [they rolled it,

the] Son [bowed] to [the feet of his Father] [...6 broken lines...] then why are you crying and grieving so that (ὥστε) the entire angelic host (ἀγγελικός) is disturbed? He answered [thus]: [...5 lines broken...] **(p. 102)** “[...] I am greatly [grieved] [...] killed [...] by the [people (λαός) of] Israel. O (ὦ) my [Father], if it is [possible], let this [cup] pass me by. Let them [...] through another [...] if they [...] Israel [...7 lines broken...] [so that] salvation may come to the entire world (κόσμος).

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<sup>1</sup> On this use of πᾶσ τετρα, see L. Painchaud – M. Kaler – M.-P. Bussièrès, “Le syntagme PMA THREE dans quelques textes de Nag Hammadi,” in L. Painchaud – P.-H. Poirier (eds.), *Coptica – Gnostica – Manichaica: Mélanges offerts à Wolf-Peter Funk* (Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi, section ‘Études’, 7; Québec – Louvain: Les Presses de l’Université Laval – Éditions Peeters, 2006) 620-646.

[Then] (τότε) again, the Son [bowed] to the feet [of] his Father, saying: “[O (ὦ) my] Father, [...4 lines broken...] I [want] || to die with joy and to shed my blood for the human race (γένος), but (ἀλλά) I cry only because of my beloved, these being [Abraham], Isaac [and] Jacob for [they shall] stand [on] the day of Judgment, [while] I shall sit on [my] throne (θρόνος) to judge the world (κόσμος). [They shall] say to me: [...7 lines broken...] [for] the glory that has been given to me on earth. O (ὦ) my [Father, if it is possible, let this cup] pass from me.”

[The Father said] to him for [the] second [time]: “[O (ὦ)] my son [...]

**(p. 103)** [...28 lines broken...] The Son replied for the [third] time: “O (ὦ) [my] Father, if the [...] || [...32 lines broken...]

**(p. 104)** [...32 lines broken...] || [...29 lines broken...] he completed the service (λειτουργία) until [he] went to them.

**(p. 105)** [...] all [...] in the [...24 broken lines...] prophet (προφήτης). [The Savior] (σωτήρ) said to us: “There is no lot (κλήρος) that surpasses yours, [nor] (οὐδέ) glory more exalted || than [yours] [...27 broken lines...]

[The] wood of [...]

The wood of [...]

The wood of [...]

The wood [...]

**(p. 106)** [The wood of] strength

[The wood of forgiveness] of sin

[...] the kingdom [...] unless (εἰ μήτι) [...] king [...25 broken lines...] shadow [...] O (ὦ) entirety || [...] good (ἀγαθόν) [...] O (ὦ) [...18 broken lines...] the Cross (σταυρός) [...6 broken lines...]

[...] three [days I shall] take you [to heaven] with me to instruct you about the things that you desire (ἐπιθυμῆν) **(p. 107)** [to] see. So [do not be disturbed] when [you] see me”. We said to him: “Lord, in what form will you appear to us? Or (ἢ) in what kind of body (σῶμα) will you come? Tell us.” John spoke up and said: “Lord, when you come to us, do not reveal yourself to us in all your glory but (ἀλλά) turn your glory into another glory so that we may be able to bear it, lest (μήποτε) we see [you] and despair [because of] fear”. [The Savior (σωτήρ) answered]: “I [shall take away] from you [the fear] that you are afraid

[of], so that you might see and believe (πιστεύειν), but (ἀλλά) do not touch me until I go up to [my] Father who [is your] Father, [my God] who is your God, and my Lord who is your Lord. If someone approaches me, he will [burn]. I am the [fire that] blazes. The [one who is close] to me [is] close to [the] fire. The one who is far from me is far from life.

But now gather to me, O (ὦ) my holy members (μέλος), dance (χορεύειν) and [answer] to me.” The Savior (σωτήρ) [...], he [stood up] (and) [we made a circle surrounding] him. [He] said to us: “I am [in] your midst [like] a child.” He said: “Amen (ἀμήν)! A little while I am in your midst.” [We] answered: “Amen (ἀμήν)!” (p. 108) “[Those who] want [to set the] world (κόσμος) against me are taking counsel against me because I am stranger to it. Behold then now, I grieve (λύπη) because of the sins of the world (κόσμος), [but] (ἀλλά) I rejoice for [you] because you [have fought] well (καλῶς) in [the world] (κόσμος). Know [yourselves] so that you might profit from me and I shall rejoice over your work.”

“I am the King, Amen (ἀμήν)! I [am] the [Son] of the King, [Amen (ἀμήν)]! I [am the [straight] travelling [road], [Amen (ἀμήν)]! I am the immortal] bread. Eat and [be satiated], Amen (ἀμήν)! I fight [for] you. You, too, make war [-πόλεμος], Amen (ἀμήν)! I am sent. I, myself, want to send you. I Amen (ἀμήν)! [Why], O (ὦ) men, [...] yourself? [...] I would like [to bring] you joy in the world (κόσμος), but (ἀλλά) grieve (λυπεῖν) instead for the world (κόσμος) as if (ὥς) you have not entered it, Amen (ἀμήν)! Do not weep from now on, but (ἀλλά) rejoice instead, Amen (ἀμήν)! I vanquished the world (κόσμος). You, do not let the world (κόσμος) vanquish you, Amen (ἀμήν)! I became free from the world (κόσμος). You, too, [be] free of [it], Amen (ἀμήν)! [They] shall give [me] [vinegar and gall] (χολή) to drink, but (δέ) [you], acquire [for yourself] life and [rest], Amen (ἀμήν)! They shall [pierce] me with a lance (λόγχη) [in my] side. The one who saw, let him bear witness. And his testimony is true, Amen (ἀμήν)! (p. 109) [...4 broken lines...] The one who shall [...] I shall [...] Amen (ἀμήν)! The one who has [...] me, I, [myself], I shall make him [...] with me, Amen (ἀμήν)! The one who does not [receive] my body [and] my blood, this one is a stranger to me, Amen (ἀμήν)!” When he finished [his dance (χορεία), we answered] after [him]: “Amen (ἀμήν)!” [...4 broken lines...] “[...] to you [...], Amen (ἀμήν)! “[...6 broken lines...] Cross (σταυρός), Amen (ἀμήν)! I [shall] approach you, Amen (ἀμήν)! A dispensation (οἰκονομία) [...3 broken lines...] Cross (σταυρός) [...3 broken lines...] you are

the [...] from the beginning (ἀρχή) [...] Cross (σταυρός) [...], Amen (ἀμήν)! “[...] those on the right [shall] take shelter [under you], [apart from] those on [the left, O] Cross (σταυρός) [...] shall destroy [...3 broken lines...]. Rise up, [rise], O (ὦ) [Cross (σταυρός). Lift] yourself [up] [and] lift up to the [heaven] [if] this is your wish. O (ὦ) Cross (σταυρός), do not be afraid. I am rich. I shall fill you with my wealth. [I] shall climb [upon] you, O (ὦ) Cross (σταυρός). They shall hang me upon you (**p. 110**) [as a testimony against them, Amen (ἀμήν)! Receive me to yourself], O (ὦ) [Cross] (σταυρός), [do not reveal my] body (σῶμα), [Amen (ἀμήν)!] [...3 broken lines...] the generation (γενεά). [Do not] weep, O (ὦ) [Cross] (σταυρός), but (ἀλλά) rejoice instead and know that [your] Lord who is coming [to] you is [gentle] and [humble], Amen (ἀμήν)!”

The second dance (χορεία) of [the Cross (σταυρός)]

[...] [I am] not [poor] but (ἀλλά) [I am rich]. I shall [fill you] with my [wealth]. A little longer, O (ὦ) Cross (σταυρός), that which is lacking is perfected and that which is diminished is full. A little longer, O (ὦ) Cross (σταυρός), the one which has fallen rises. [A little longer], O (ὦ) Cross (σταυρός), the entire fullness (πλήρωμα) is perfected. || [...5 broken lines...] [I see you, I] laugh. [Many] people (λαός) [also] looked for you, one [laughing] and rejoicing, another one weeping, [mourning] and smiting. You are eager for me, O (ὦ) Cross (σταυρός). I, [myself], I shall be eager for you. [You and me], O (ὦ) [Cross] (σταυρός), [we are ...]. [We are strangers and] [...9 broken lines...] [me and you], O (ὦ) Cross (σταυρός), truly, [the one who is] far from [you] is far [from (**p. 111**) me] [...unknown number of lines missing...] [Glory] to you, [tree] whose fruit (καρπός) appeared so that it might be known in the lands (χώρα) of the foreigners and might be glorified because [...] (**p. 112**) [...] shame. Your names were written on your robes (στολή), which are coming down spreading [...].

### Unplaced fragments

#### Frag. 9 (hair side)

**(col. A)** [...] of wisdom (σοφία) [...] [power] (δύναμις). The wood [...] entirety [...] **(col. B)** [...] the multitudes, unless (εἰ μήτι) the one who shall [...] image (τύπος) [...]. When he [finished to] sing (ὑμνεύειν) [...] [to the] Cross (σταυρός) [...]

**Frag. 9 (flesh side)**

**(col. A)** [...] established it/him among us. He said to us: “O (ὦ) my holy members (μέλος), [blessed] are you for my Father has [...] you [...] **(col. B)** [...] after the [patriarchs] (πατριάρχης) and prophets (προφήτης), [these being] Abraham, [Isaac and Jacob] [...]

**Frag. 10 (hair side)**

**(col. B)** [...] [Abraham, Isaac,] Jacob [and Moses] the [...]

**Frag. 14**

**(hair side)** [...] the [disciples] (μαθητής) [...] in that city (πόλις). [We asked the] Savior (σωτήρ): “[What] is this city (πόλις)?” He said to us: “[This] is Jerusalem [...] [the] city (πόλις) [...] [my] beloved [...] **(flesh side)** [...] no one [...] We [asked him saying]: “[What is] this place that [...] to heaven [...]?” He said: “[This is] the tent (σκηνή) [of my] Father from the [beginning] (ἀρχή), that a [wonder] [...]

**Frag. 15 + 17**

**(hair side)** [...] son(s) [...] prophet(s) (προφήτης) [...] death [...] righteous (δίκαιος) [...] them [...] **(flesh side)** [...] while you are [sitting at the] right of [the Father upon] your [throne] (θρόνος) [...]

**Frag. 19**

**(hair side)** [...] the book of life. His [generation] (γενεά) will not be remembered, for his wife [will] become widow (+χήρα) [and his] sons [will be orphans] (ὀρφανός) [...] **(flesh side)** [...] gives milk, another one gives honey. Rest yourselves [by] the source (πηγή) of [the water] of life [...]

**Frag. 20**

**(hair side)** [...] the Savior (σωτήρ). He [...] just like (ὡς) he became weak [...] he ran away. The Savior (σωτήρ) said [to him]: “O (ὦ) Judas [...] weak [...] **(flesh side)** [...] woman [...] faithful (πιστή) [...] penitence (μετάνοια) [...]

**Frag. 21**

**(hair side)** [...] and you give shadow [...] to the Adversary (ἀντικείμενος), this being [...] according (κατά) [...]

**Frag. 22**

**(flesh side)** [...] a proclamation (κήρυγμα) [...] proclaim [...] in the entire world (κόσμος), or (ἢ) because [...]

**Frag. 24**

**(flesh side)** [...] pound (λίτρα) of [...] pound (λίτρα) of [...] pound (λίτρα) [...] pound (λίτρα) [...]

**Frag. 25**

**(hair side)** [...] Behold, [they] take council [against me] [...] kill [...] So then [...] **(hair side)** [...] So [then], O (ὦ) my [...] you in a [...] and [...]

## Translation of Strasbourg Copte 5-7

### Strasbourg Copte 6 + 7,7

[I will] (p. 157) reveal to you my entire glory and I will instruct you concerning all your power and the mystery (μυστήριον) of your apostleship (-ἀπόστολος).” Immediately, he revealed to us [...] give us [...] on the mountain [...3 broken lines...] power [...] (p. 158) our eyes penetrated everywhere (and) we perceived the glory of his divinity and the entire glory of [his] lordship. He clothed us with the power of our apostleship (-ἀπόστολος) [...] they became like [...] light [...]

### Strasbourg Copte 7,2.6.4.3

(recto) Cross (σταυρός) [...] [Amen (ἀμήν)]. These [that] are [on] the right [shall] take [shelter under you, apart] from [those on the left, O (ὦ) Cross (σταυρός)] [...few missing lines...] [O (ὦ) Cross (σταυρός), rise up], O (ὦ) [holy Cross (σταυρός), lift yourself] and [lift] [...] to the [sky] [...few missing lines...] O (ὦ) Cross (σταυρός), [they shall hang me] upon you as a [testimony against them], Amen (ἀμήν). [...] (verso) [...] also, I [see] you, [I laugh. Many] people (λαός) [also looked for] you, there is one [laughing,] rejoicing, [and another one] [...] [you] and me, [O (ὦ) Cross (σταυρός), we are] [...] [we are] strangers [and] [...] [...few lines missing...] [me] and you, [O (ὦ) Cross (σταυρός), truly the one] who is far [from you is far] from [me] [...]

### Strasbourg Copte 5 + 7,9

(recto) [...] [so that] it might be known in [the lands (χώρα) of the] foreigners and they might [glorify] it because of its fruit (καρπός), because [he] [...] a multitude of [...], Amen (ἀμήν). Give me your [force, O (ὦ)] my Father, so that [it] shall endure (ὑπομένειν) with me [on the Cross (σταυρός)], Amen (ἀμήν). [I] accepted [for myself the] diadem of the Kingdom [from the wood. The] diadem [...] destroys them [...] [in] humiliation, without



their having [...]. I became king from [the wood. O (ὦ)] Father, you shall make [my enemies] submit (ὑποτάσσειν) to me, [Amen (ἀμήν)]. The [enemy shall be [vanquished through] whom? Through the [Cross (σταυρός)], Amen (ἀμήν)]. The claw of death [shall be destroyed] through whom? [Through the] Only-Begotten (μονογενής), Amen (ἀμήν)]. Whose is [the] kingdom? It is [of the Son], Amen (ἀμήν)]. From [where is his Kingdom? It is from the wood, Amen (ἀμήν)]. [...]

**(verso)** [When he] finished the entire [hymn (ὕμνος)] of the [Cross (σταυρός)], he turned to us. He told [us]: “The hour has approached when I shall be taken from [you]. The spirit (πνεῦμα) [is eager but (δέ)] the [flesh (σάρξ) is] weak (ἀσθενής). So [remain] and watch [with me].” [And (δέ)] we, the apostles (ἀπόστολος), [we] cried saying: “But [if] you are [afraid], [you, the Son] of God, what [...]?” He answered (and) [told us]: “Do not be afraid [that you shall be] destroyed, but (ἀλλά) rather [rejoice] greatly. [Do not be afraid] of the power (ἐξουσία) of death. Remember all [the things that I told] you: if they persecuted [me, they shall] persecute you. So [you] be glad that I [vanquished the] world (κόσμος). I [...]

## Translation of the Hymn of the Cross According to the Qasr el-Wizz Codex

**(p. 24)** And (δέ) it happened one day, while our Savior (σωτήρ) was sitting on the Mount of Olives, before the impious (παράνομος) Jews (Ἰουδαῖος) crucified (σταυροῦν) him, (that) we were all gathered with him. He spoke up saying: “O (ὦ) my holy members (μέλος), gather to me and I shall sing (ὑμνεύειν) to the Cross (σταυρός) and **(p. 25)** you answer after me.”

We [made] a circle (and) surrounded him. He said to us: “I am in your midst like a little child.” He said: “Amen (ἀμήν)! A little while I am with you in your midst. They take counsel against me now. Do not restrain (κατέχειν) me, O (ὦ) Cross (σταυρός), rise up, rise, **(p. 26)** O (ὦ) holy Cross (σταυρός), and lift [yourself]. O (ὦ) Cross (σταυρός), I am rich. Amen (ἀμήν)! I shall climb upon you, O (ὦ) Cross (σταυρός). They shall hang me upon you as a testimony against themselves. Receive me, O (ὦ) Cross (σταυρός) to yourself. Amen (ἀμήν)! Do not weep, O (ὦ) Cross (σταυρός), but (ἀλλά) rather rejoice **(p. 27)** greatly. Amen (ἀμήν)!” And (δέ) when he finished the hymn (ῥυμος), we all answered after him: “Amen (ἀμήν)!”

The second hymn (ῥυμος) of the Cross (σταυρός)

“I am the way of the blessed life, Amen (ἀμήν)! I am the immortal bread. Eat and be satiated, Amen (ἀμήν)!” We answered after him: “Amen (ἀμήν)!”

He told us again: “Gather to me, O (ὦ) **(p. 28)** my holy members (μέλος), and I shall sing (χορεύειν) to the Cross (σταυρός) for the third time and you answer after me ‘Amen (ἀμήν)!’ O (ὦ) Cross (σταυρός) filled with light! He shall carry (φορεῖν) yet again (πάλιν) the light, Amen (ἀμήν)! I shall approach you, O (ὦ) Cross (σταυρός), Amen (ἀμήν)! I shall climb **(p. 29)** upon you as a testimony against them. Take me on, O (ὦ) Cross (σταυρός). Do not reveal my body (σῶμα), Amen (ἀμήν)!”

The fourth dance (χορεία) of the Cross (σταυρός)

I am not poor, O (ὦ) Cross (σταυρός) that gives the light, Amen (ἀμήν)! I shall fill (πληροῦν) you with my wealth, **(p. 30)** Amen (ἀμήν)! I shall climb upon you. Receive me, O (ὦ) Cross (σταυρός). Glory to you for you obeyed to your Father, Amen (ἀμήν)! Glory to you, entire sweetness, Amen (ἀμήν)! Glory to the divinity, Amen!

Open your grace (χάρις), O (ὦ) my Father, so that I may sing (ὕμνεύειν) **(p. 31)** to the Cross (σταυρός), Amen (ἀμήν)! I took for myself the diadem of the Kingdom from the wood, Amen (ἀμήν)! I shall make my enemies submit (ὑποτάσσειν) to me, Amen (ἀμήν)! The enemy shall be annihilated through the Cross (σταυρός), Amen (ἀμήν)! The claw of death shall be annihilated through the Only-Begotten (μονογενής) Son, Amen (ἀμήν)!

**(p. 32)** Whose is the Kingdom? It is of the Son, Amen (ἀμήν)! From where is his Kingdom? It is from the wood, Amen (ἀμήν)! Who sent him to the Cross (σταυρός)? It is the Father, Amen (ἀμήν)! What is the Cross (σταυρός)? From where is it? It is from the Spirit (πνεῦμα), Amen! It is from eternity forever, from **(p. 33)** the foundation (καταβολή) of the world (κόσμος), Amen (ἀμήν)! I am Alpha (ἄλφα), Amen (ἀμήν), and Omega, Amen (ἀμήν), the beginning (ἀρχή) and the end (τέλειον), Amen (ἀμήν)! I am the unspeakable beginning (ἀρχή) and the unspeakable end (τέλειον) and forever perfect (τέλειος), Amen (ἀμήν)!”

And (δέ) when we heard these, we glorified God, the one whose is the glory forever and ever, Amen!



## COMMENTARY

*The following examination does not constitute a systematic commentary of the Apocryphon Berolinense/Argentoratense, but rather focus on those passages whose reconstruction is problematic or whose interpretation helps to a better understanding of the text. One of the main tasks of the present commentary is to show the literary contacts between the Apocryphon Berolinense/Argentoratense and the other memoirs attributed to the disciples and apostles.*

### **P. Berol. 22220 97, col. A,9-15**

[ΓΜ]ΝΤΕΡΟ ΓΑ[Ρ Ν̄ΠΠΗ]ΟΥΕ· ΝΩΔ[± 4] ΖΙΤ̄ΠΠΕΟ[ΟΥ ±2 Ε]ΡΕΤ̄ΜΝΤΕΡΟ Ν̄[Μ]ΠΠΗΥΕ Ν̄ΣΑΟΥΝΑΜ  
Ν̄ΜΩΤ̄Ν·  
*[...] For the kingdom of heaven [...] by the glory [...] with the kingdom of heaven on your right.*

The upper part of page 97 is badly damaged. Thus, the first surviving lines are too fragmentary to allow restoration. Apparently, the text describes something as situated at the right hand of the apostles in the kingdom of heaven. Mirecki believes that a parallel of this saying can be found in Matthew 20:21, where the mother of the sons of Zebedee asks Jesus that her sons “may sit, one at your right hand and one at your left, in your kingdom.”<sup>1</sup> However, the lost subject is clearly not found at the right hand of Christ, who is the one who speaks, but, rather, of the apostles.

### **P. Berol. 22220 97, col. A,15-18**

ΝΑΙΑΤ̄Ḳ̄ Μ̄Π̄ΕΤ̄ΝΑΟΥΩΜ Ν̄Μ̄ΜΑΪ Ζ̄Ν̄Τ̄ΜΝΤΕΡΟ Ν̄Π̄ΠΗΥΕ·  
*Blessed is the one who shall eat with me in the kingdom of heaven.*

The sentence above blends several New Testament passages. Firstly, the author refers to Luke 14:15, where one of the participants at the feast where Jesus was invited says, ΝΑΙΑΤ̄Ḳ̄ Μ̄Π̄ΕΤ̄ΝΑΟΥΩΜ Ν̄ΟΥΟΕΙΚ Ζ̄Ν̄Τ̄ΜΝΤΕΡΟ Μ̄Π̄ΠΟΥΤ̄Ε (“Blessed is the one who shall eat bread in the kingdom of God”). The saying is, however, attributed to Jesus and altered in such a way as

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<sup>1</sup> C.W. Hedrick – P.A. Mirecki, *Gospel of the Savior: A New Ancient Gospel* (California Classical Library; Santa Rosa, CA: Polebridge Press, 1999) 89.

to conform to the dynamic of the entire passage, which is soteriologically oriented and Christologically-centered. Thus, to eat with Christ in the kingdom of heaven becomes a metaphor of salvation. This is a reference to Luke 22:30 and Matt 26:29, where Christ promises to the apostles to eat with them in heaven.

The heavenly supper during which Jesus eats at the same table with the saints is common in Coptic pseudo-apostolic memoirs. For example, it appears in the second homily of Ps.-Evodius of Rome on the Passion (CANT 81; clavis coptica 0150):

You have seen, O my brothers, how the Lord loved his apostles: he promised them his kingdom. Each one of them heard him saying: ‘You shall eat and drink with me at the table in my kingdom’. While he was still on earth, he was eating with them at the table of the earth, making them think of the table of his heavenly kingdom, for he did not take into account at all the things of this world.<sup>1</sup>

“Did I agree with you, O my holy members (ⲱ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲡⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃⲱ) and my brothers, to eat with you at the table of the kingdom of this world?”<sup>2</sup>

Similarly, in the sermon on the Dormition of the Virgin attributed to the same Evodius (CANT 133; clavis coptica 0151), Jesus announces Mary that she will shortly die, addressing her with the words: “Arise and come beside me, because my time has drawn near, when I will eat my bread with you and drink the sweet-smelling wine in the garden, my holy Paradise.”<sup>3</sup> In the *Book of Bartholomew* (CANT 80; clavis coptica 0027), the

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<sup>1</sup> My translation from the Sahidic fragment Paris BnF Copte 131<sup>5</sup>, f. 106, which belongs to the White Monastery codex MONB.MY. Edited with a French translation in E. Lucchesi, “Un évangile apocryphe imaginaire,” *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 28 (1997) 167-178, at 171-173. Translated into French in F. Morard, “Homélie sur la vie de Jésus et son amour pour les apôtres,” in P. Geoltrain – J.-D. Kaestli (eds.), *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens* vol. 2 (Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 516; Paris: Gallimard, 2005) 101-134, at 113-114. The parallel version of this passage in codex MONB.DH is slightly different. This version was published in I. Guidi, “Frammenti copti VI,” *Atti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei* ser. 4, vol. 3,2 (1887) 368-384, at 373; E. Revillout, *Les apocryphes coptes. Première partie: Les Évangiles des douze apôtres et de Saint Barthélemy* (Patrologia Orientalis, 2/2; Paris: Firmin Didot, 1904) 132 (Sahidic text and French translation).

<sup>2</sup> English translation in Robinson, *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels. Translations Together with the Texts of Some of Them* (Text and Studies, 4/2; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1896) 176; Sahidic text in Guidi, “Frammenti copti VI,” 381; Revillout, *Les Apocryphes coptes* 1, 151 (Sahidic text and French translation); French translation in Morard, “Homélie sur la vie de Jésus,” 130.

<sup>3</sup> S. Shoemaker, “The Sahidic Coptic Homily on the Dormition Attributed to Evodius of Rome. An Edition from Morgan MSS 596 & 598 with Translation,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 117 (1999) 241-283, at 271-273.

faithful Ananias sacrifices himself for Christ. Because of this, it is said about him that “he ate (and) drank with our Savior at the table of his kingdom.”<sup>1</sup>

**P. Berol. 22220 97, col. A,18-23**

Ἰῶῳῡῡ ἡ περῡμοῡ ἡπκαρ ἄγω ἡῳῡῡῡ ἡ τλαμπαρ εῡῡῡοειν εῡκῡομορ  
*You are the salt of the earth, you are the lamp that illuminates the world.*

This utterance of the Savior recalls Matthew 5:13-14: Ὑμεῖρ εῡστε τῶ ἄλλαρ τῡρ γῡρ ... Ὑμεῖρ εῡστε τῶ φῶρ τοῡ κῡομοῡ. Notably, in the second homily of Ps.-Evodius on the Passion Christ characterizes the apostles in a similar way: “You are the salt that will season the entire world” (ἡῳῡῡῡ ἡ περῡμοῡ εῡῡῡῡῡῡῡ ἡπκομορ τηῡῡ).<sup>2</sup>

As the Berlin parchment offers a shorter form of Matthew 5:13-14, Mirecki commented that “the form of the saying in the *Gospel of the Savior* may be more original.”<sup>3</sup> However, this hypothesis is not necessary. The passage in *ApoBA* and Ps.-Evodius’ sermon are using the Matthean saying in order to underline the importance of the apostles as teachers of mankind.

**P. Berol. 22220 97, col. A,23-30**

ἡπῡῡῡῡῡῡῡ ὡῡῡῡ ἡπῡῡῡῡ ῡῡκῡῡῡῡ ῡῡῡῡῡῡῡῡῡῡ ῡῡῡῡῡῡῡῡ ἡπῡῡῡῡῡῡῡῡ ἡπῡῡῡῡῡῡῡῡῡῡ ἡπῡῡῡῡῡῡῡῡῡῡ  
*Do not sleep nor slumber [until you] put on the garment of the kingdom, the one that I bought with the blood of the grape.*

Several Biblical passages are blended together in this saying. The exhortation to vigilance which introduces the sentence is an implicit quotation of Proverbs 6:4 (cf. Psalm 131:4):

P. Berol. 22220 97, col. A,23-25: [ἡ]πῡῡῡῡῡῡῡῡ ὡῡῡῡ ἡπῡῡῡῡ ῡῡκῡῡῡῡ  
Prov 6:4: ἡπῡῡῡ ῡῡῡῡῡ ἡῡῡῡῡῡῡῡῡ ἄγω ἡῡῡῡῡ ῡῡῡῡῡῡ ἡῡῡῡῡῡῡῡῡῡ<sup>4</sup>  
Ps 131:4: ἡῡῡῡῡ ῡῡῡῡῡῡ ἡῡῡῡῡῡῡ ῡῡῡῡῡῡῡ ἡῡῡῡῡῡῡῡῡῡ<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sahidic text in M. Westerhoff, *Auferstehung und Jenseits im koptischen “Buch der Auferstehung Jesu Christi, unseres Herrn”* (Orientalia biblica et christiana, 11; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999) 60.

<sup>2</sup> Morard, “Homélie sur la vie de Jésus,” 113; Sahidic text in Lucchesi, “Un évangile apocryphe imaginaire,” 171.

<sup>3</sup> Hedrick – Mirecki, *Gospel of the Savior*, 90.

<sup>4</sup> W. H. Worrell, *The Proverbs of Solomon in Sahidic Coptic according to the Chicago Manuscript* (The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications, 12; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931) 17.

<sup>5</sup> E.A.W. Budge, *The Earliest Known Coptic Psalter* (London: Kegan Paul et al., 1898) 139.

Another implicit quotation in this saying is Genesis 49:11, which reads according to the LXX version: πλυνεῖ ἐν οἴνῳ τὴν στολὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν αἵματι σταφυλῆς τὴν περιβολὴν αὐτοῦ (“he shall wash his garment in wine and his robe in the blood of the grape”). It is possible that the author envisaged at this point also Revelation 7:14, where are mentioned those who went through great tribulations and “washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the lamb.”<sup>1</sup>

Stephen Emmel suggested that, on the basis of the same passage from Genesis, “one might emend the text to read ‘which I have <washed> with the blood of grapes’.”<sup>2</sup> Similarly, Hans-Martin Schenke and Uwe-Karsten Plisch<sup>3</sup> struggled to explain the occurrence of the verb ωπιϣ (“bought it”). Plisch supported Schenke’s emendation of the text at this point, saying that

[d]as Problem des Textes ist die Verbform ωπιϣ (es erwerben/empfangen). Wegen der semantischen Zuordnung von Kleidungsstück und Flüssigkeit erwartete man eigentlich “es gewaschen” (koptisch ωμοϣ) statt “es empfangen” (ωοπιϣ). ... Mit Verweis auf Gen 49,11, der einzigen biblischen Stelle, an der vom “Blut der Weintraube,” und zwar im Kontext von “Waschen,” die Rede ist, hat er die Konjektur auch *semantisch* begründet.<sup>4</sup>

Although the opening letter of the line, i.e. ω, is faded, Plisch confirms that π is clearly visible on the parchment.<sup>5</sup> The same reading appeared to me as certain when I collated the manuscript in July-August 2008 and again in September 2009.

However, I think that the occurrence of the verb “to buy” here is neither fortuitous, nor a scribal mistake. As the author alludes simultaneously to Genesis 49:11 and Revelation 5:9, it can be better understood as a Coptic word-play between ωοπιϣ-ωμοϣ. Thus, in

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<sup>1</sup> ἔπλυναν τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν καὶ ἐλεύκαναν αὐτὰς ἐν τῷ αἵματι τοῦ ἀρνίου. It is worth mentioning that the Sahidic version of Revelation 7:14 does not employ ωμο- in order to translate the Greek verb πλύνειν, but rather a different verb, ειω.

<sup>2</sup> S. Emmel, “The Recently Published *Gospel of the Savior* (“Unbekanntes Berliner Evangelium”): Righting the Order of Pages and Events,” *Harvard Theological Review* 95 (2002) 45-72, at 52 n. 35.

<sup>3</sup> U.-K. Plisch, “Zu einigen Einleitungsfragen des Unbekannten Berliner Evangeliums (UBE),” *Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum* 9 (2005) 64-84, at 74, quoting a translation of P. Berol. 22220 by Hans-Martin Schenke, which has been published in the meantime, see H.-M. Schenke, “Das Unbekannte Berliner Evangelium, auch ‘Evangelium des Erlösers’ genannt,” in C. Marksches – J. Schröter (eds.), *Antike christliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung* vol. 1/2: *Evangelien und Verwandtes* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012) 1277-1289.

<sup>4</sup> Idem.

<sup>5</sup> Idem.



Revelation 5:9 the Lamb-Christ acquires the right to open the seals because he bought back the human race through his blood:

**Rev 5:9**

Ἄξιός ἐστι λαβεῖν τὸ βιβλίον  
καὶ ἀνοῖξαι τὰς σφραγίδας αὐτοῦ,  
ὅτι ἐσφάγης καὶ ἠγόρασας τῷ θεῷ ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ αἵματί σου  
Worthy are you to take the scroll  
and open its seals,  
for you were slain,  
and you bought us for God by your blood

The word-play finds support in the Sahidic version of Revelation 5:9, which renders the Greek verb ἀγοράζω precisely by ωρη-. Thus, the use of the expression “to buy with the blood” instead of “to wash in the blood” in P. Berol. 22220 can be understood as a reference to the Sahidic version of the Revelation:

P. Berol. 22220 97, col. A,28-29: ενταιιωρηϥ ρμηπεσνοϥ  
Rev 5:9: ακωρηη ρπηενηοϥτε ρραι ρμηπεκσνοϥ<sup>1</sup>

Revelation 5:9 is not the only New Testament passage in which Jesus Christ “buys” something with his blood. In Acts 20:28, the Church was bought with Christ’s blood (τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἣν περιεποιήσατο διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου).<sup>2</sup> If my suggestion is correct, *ApoBA* is alluding to several Biblical passages (Gen 49:11, Rev 5:9 and perhaps 7:14) and creates a word-play between ωρηϥ and ωρηϥ which his Coptic audience should have understand.

I will turn now to the focal point of this passage which consists of an eschatological exhortation. Here, Christ has commanded his hearers to put on the “garment of the kingdom” (πενδγμα ντηντερο). According to Paul Mirecki, this formula must be connected to other references to heavenly garments, which “are found in a variety of

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<sup>1</sup> G. Horner, *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Southern Dialect* vol. 7: *The Catholic Epistles and the Apocalypse* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924) 316.

<sup>2</sup> Coptic text of Acts 20:28: τεκκλησια ρπηοεις τρηταρηπος ραϥ εβολ ριτηπερσνοϥ ρμη ρμοϥ (H. Thompson, *The Coptic Version of the Acts of the Apostles and the Pauline Epistles in the Sahidic Dialect* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932] 61). Here is not used the verb ωρη-, but this is less relevant. For example, in a Sahidic homily on Archangel Michael attributed to Basil of Caesarea (CPG 2967; *clavis coptica* 0082), we can find a reference to Acts 20:28 in the formula “sanctuaries which Christ bought (ωρηοϥ) with his blood,” see L. Depuydt, *Homiletica from the Pierpont Morgan Library* 2 vols. (CSCO, 524-525. *Scriptores coptici*, 43-44; Louvain: Peeters, 1991) 1: 11 (Coptic text), 2: 12 (English translation).

apocalyptic texts and refer to the incarnated human spirit's ecstatic ascent to its original spiritual home in which a garment of fire or light replaces the fleshly body."<sup>1</sup> April DeConick, for her part, understands the entire saying as an esoteric interpretation of the Eucharistic ritual, which grants to the disciples of Christ the capacity to receive spiritual bodies "which would enable them to ascend into heaven like Jesus."<sup>2</sup>

Although the "garment of the kingdom" (ΠΕΝΔΥΜΑ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΤΕΡΟ) does not have a direct scriptural basis, I think it is more plausible to interpret this garment as an allusion to ἔνδυμα γάμου from the parable of the wedding feast in Matt 22:1-14 (cf. also Luke 14:15-24), which underlines the importance of a proper garment for those who will take part in the banquet of the king. In Matt 22:11-13, the king throws out the man who came to the supper without a wedding garment (ἔνδυμα γάμου).

This hypothesis is strengthened by the previous two sayings. In the first, Jesus blesses the one who will eat with him in heavens (cf. Luke 14:15), supposedly at the eschatological banquet, whereas in the second the apostles are called "the salt," which together with the "blood of the grape" (a synonym for wine) recalls once more the theme of the supper.

According to Louis Painchaud, the criteria to identify the allusions to the Scripture do not lie "in the words forming the allusion itself, but in the relationship of these words to the context where they appear."<sup>3</sup> Once identified, the allusion illuminates the entire passage which appeared before as ciphered, linking together seemingly disparate elements. Along these lines, I suggest that the first three surviving sayings of the Savior in P. Berol. 22220, which blend together several references to the Old and New Testament, should be read together as an allusion to the parable of the Great Supper from Matt 22:1-14 (cf. Luke 14:15-24):

***Blessed is the one who will eat with me in the kingdom of heavens*** (Luke 14:15). [You] are the ***salt*** [of] the world, and the lamp that illuminates the

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<sup>1</sup> Hedrick–Mirecki, *Gospel of the Savior*, 90.

<sup>2</sup> A. DeConick, *Voices of the Mystics: Early Christian Discourse in the Gospel of John and Thomas and Other Ancient Christian Literature* (Journal for the Study of the New Testament. Supplement Series, 157; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001) 139-140.

<sup>3</sup> L. Painchaud, "The Use of Scripture in Gnostic Literature," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 4 (1996) 129-147, at 136.

world (Matt 5:13-15). Do not sleep nor slumber (Prov. 6:4-5; cf. also Ps 131:4) [until you *put*] *on the garment of the kingdom* (Matt 22:11-12), this which I bought with the *blood of the grape*<sup>1</sup> (Gen 49:11; Rev 5:9).

These sayings of the Savior do not seem to refer to an esoteric ritual performance of the ascent, but they are rather an eschatological exhortation to spiritual vigilance, which is in line with the “orthodox” view of the Church. The author shows a certain ability to intertwine passages from the Old and New Testament in order to argue that the sole paschal sacrifice of Christ does not suffice for the participation in the heavenly banquet, but it requires also our ability for spiritual care.

This portion of the text betrays rather an author whose good knowledge of the Scripture allows a combination of several passages into a single thematic unit. As regards the original language of the saying, I have proposed that the word-play between ⲩⲟⲡⲓⲥ and ⲩⲟⲡⲓⲥ finds a scriptural basis only in the Coptic version of the Bible.

**P. Berol. 22220 97, col. A,30-col. B,1**

ⲁⲓⲟⲩⲩⲟⲩⲃ [ⲛ]ⲃⲓⲁⲛⲁⲣⲉ[ⲁ]ⲥ ⲡⲉⲕⲁⲓⲥ ⲕⲉ ⲡⲁⲕⲟ[ⲉⲓⲥ]  
*Andrew replied (and) said: “My [Lord] [...]”*

Perhaps a new section of the text started with this question of the apostle Andrew, as the colon inserted by the scribe after the previous saying suggests. Unfortunately, the entire question is lost in the lacuna. Notably, another pseudo-apostolic memoir, the *Enthronement of Michael* (clavis coptica 0488), contains an analogous phrasing: ⲁⲓⲟⲩⲩⲟⲩⲃ ⲛⲃⲓⲁⲛⲁⲣⲉⲁⲥ ⲡⲉⲕⲁⲓⲥ ⲕⲉ ⲡⲁⲕⲟⲉⲓⲥ.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, the second homily on the Passion by Ps.-Evodius reads at one point: ⲡⲉⲕⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲣⲉⲁⲥ ⲛⲁⲓⲥ ⲕⲉ ⲡⲁⲕⲟⲉⲓⲥ.<sup>3</sup> This does not mean that the same question appeared in both texts, but rather that their authors applied an identical pattern, with Andreas addressing to Jesus as “My Lord.”

**P. Berol. 22220 97, col. B,25-32**

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<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps not fortuitous that the author employs here the expression “blood of the grape,” since this is a synonym for “wine,” which occurs elsewhere in the Scripture, see Deut 32:14; 1 Macc 6:34.

<sup>2</sup> Sahidic text in C.D.G. Müller, *Die Bücher der Einsetzung der Erzengel Michael und Gabriel* 2 vols. (CSCO, 225-226. *Scriptores coptici*, 31-32; Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1962) 1: 16.

<sup>3</sup> Guidi, “Frammenti copti VI,” 383; English translation in Robinson, *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels*, 178.

εφδε ναρκωσι[ος] λιθεραπεγε [ιμο]ου. φφε εροι οη εβωκ επεσιτ εαμντε ετβε ηκωουε  
ετμηρ εηπμα ετμημαγ τενου σε πετεφωε [...]

*If I healed those of the world, it is also necessary for me to descend into Amente for the others that are bound there. So then, that which is necessary [...]*

Two ideas are envisaged in this passage, that of *Christus medicus* and the *Descensus ad inferos*. Unfortunately, as the text breaks-off after this, it is not possible to know if the author further developed the theme of the Harrowing of Hell. However, given that there are only twenty-three lines lost in the lacuna, it is likely that this motif did not occupy any significant place in *ApoBA*.

As the *ApoBA* and the other pseudo-memoirs of the apostles and disciples date to the 5<sup>th</sup> century at the earliest, that is, from a period when the descent to Hell has already been institutionalized,<sup>1</sup> their authors often employ this theme. Thus, beside our document, the Harrowing of Hell features in the *Book of Bartholomew*,<sup>2</sup> the second homily on the Passion by Ps.-Evodius of Rome,<sup>3</sup> the encomium of Ps.-John Chrysostom on John the Baptist (CPG 5150.3; clavis coptica 0170),<sup>4</sup> Ps.-Timothy of Alexandria's encomium on Abbaton (CPG 2530; clavis coptica 0405),<sup>5</sup> the sermon on the Archangel Michael attributed to the same author (CPG 2529; clavis coptica 0404),<sup>6</sup> and in the *Lament of Mary* (CANT 74)<sup>7</sup> and the *Martyrdom of Pilate* (CANT 75)<sup>8</sup> by Ps.-Cyriacus of Behnesa. With the sole exception of the *Book of Bartholomew*, all these texts mention the descent to Hell only in a lapidary way. On the contrary, the Bartholomew apocryphon devotes a large section to Christ's descent into Amente between the Crucifixion and Resurrection, in order to save the souls of

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. R. Gounelle, *La descente du Christ aux Enfers. Institutionnalisation d'une croyance* (Collection des Études Augustiniennes. Série Antiquité, 162; Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 2000).

<sup>2</sup> Westerhoff, *Buch der Auferstehung*, 60ff.

<sup>3</sup> Morard, "Homélie sur la vie de Jésus," 121-122.

<sup>4</sup> A. Bud'hors, "Éloge de Jean-Baptiste," in F. Bovon – P. Geoltrain (eds.), *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens* vol. 1 (Bibliothèque de la Pléiade; Paris: Gallimard, 1997) 1552-1578, at 1568-1569.

<sup>5</sup> E.A.W. Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (London: British Museum, 1914) 488.

<sup>6</sup> E.A.W. Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (London: British Museum, 1915) 1025. The passage concerning the Harrowing of Hell in this text is translated also in A. Piankoff, "La descente aux enfers dans les textes égyptiens et dans les apocryphes coptes," *Bulletin de la Société d'archéologie copte* 7 (1941) 33-46, at 44-45.

<sup>7</sup> A. Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies* vol. 2 (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1928) 201-202.

<sup>8</sup> È. Lanchantin, "Une homélie sur le Martyre de Pilate, attribuée à Cyriaque de Behnesa," *Apocrypha* 13 (2002) 135-202, at 169.

Adam, Eve and the other righteous.<sup>1</sup> In this apocryphon, Jesus loots Hell and leaves behind only Cain, Herod and Judas, who will remain imprisoned there forever as a tricephalous being.

**P. Berol. 98, col. A,24-col. B,14**

[...] [ϣ]Ϡβ ΝΙΜ ρ̄ΝΟΥ[Ϡ]ΡΧ· ΔΝΟΚ ρϠ †ΝΑϠΩΛΠ ΝΗΤ̄Ν ΕΒΟΛ ρ̄ΝΟΥΡΑϠΕ· †ϠΟΟΥΝ ΓΑΡ ΧΕ ΟΥΝΩΒΟΜ ἡΜΩΤΗ ΕΡ̄ϣΩΒ ΝΙΜ ρ̄ΝΟΥΡΑϠΕ· ΠΡΩΜΕ ΓΑΡ ΟΥΑΥΤΟΖΟΥϠΙΟϠ [ΠΕ] [...8 lines broken...] [ΔΥΤΟ]ΖΟΥϠΙΟϠ [...] ΕΡΧΟ[ΕΙϠ ΕΡΩΤ̄Ν] ΤΕΝΟΥ ϠΕ [ΕΝϣΟ]ϠΟΝ ΤΕΤ̄Ν[ϠΟΟ]Π ρ̄ἡΠϠΩΜ[Δ] ἡΠ̄ΡΤΡΕΘΥΛΗ Ρ̄ΧΟΕΙϠ ΕΡΩΤ̄Ν:

[...] *everything with certainty. I, for my part, I shall gladly reveal to you, for I know that you are able to do everything with joy. For the man is in his own power [...8 lines broken...] [own power] [...] [master yourself]. So then, while you are in the body, do not let matter master you!*

The first part of this passage is unclear because the speech of the Savior is only fragmentarily preserved. Thus, it remains mysterious what he will reveal to the apostles. Possibly, however, the missing part of the text treated the problem of free-will and mastering the passions of the body. Paul Mirecki remarked that the tone of the text is ascetic, even gnostic, at this point.<sup>2</sup> Although gnostic elements are unlikely to be present in *ApoBA*, this passage has a clear ascetic color.

Thus, Christ commands to the apostles not to let matter rule over them while they are still in the body. Similar other passages show a distinctive ascetic, anti-mundane attitude. For example, in P. Berol. 22220 108 there is a long diatribe against the world. Christ says in one place: “I became free from the world. You, yourselves, [be] free of [it].”

Perhaps the ascetic tone is to be explained by the fact that the *ApoBA* came from a Coptic monastic milieu, as I suggested in the introduction. The pseudo-apostolic memoirs which are related to our apocryphon often attribute ascetic behavior to Jesus and his disciples. For example, the second homily of Ps.-Evodius on the Passion states that Christ “did not promise them (i.e. to the apostles) at all the things of the world.”<sup>3</sup> In another passage in the same text, Jesus orders them: “do not put the gladness of your heart in the kingdom of this

<sup>1</sup> Someone may consult, with much caution, G. van den Berg-Onstwedder, “La descente aux enfers dans la littérature copte,” in A. Boud’hors, *Études coptes VI. Huitième journée d’études. Colmar, 29-31 mai, 1997* (Cahiers de la bibliothèque copte, 11; Paris – Louvain: Peeters, 2000) 143-145.

<sup>2</sup> Hedrick – Mirecki, *Gospel of the Savior*, 92.

<sup>3</sup> Coptic text in Lucchesi, “Un évangile apocryphe imaginaire,” 172.

world, o my brothers the apostles, because it is only temporary.”<sup>1</sup> In the *History of Joseph the Carpenter* (BHO 532-533; CANT 60; clavis coptica 0037), the earthly father of Jesus leaves behind at his dead “this world full of all sorts of sufferings and vain desires.”<sup>2</sup> In the *Enthronement of Gabriel* (clavis coptica 0378), Christ urges the apostles: “So then, fight while you are in the world” (ΤΕΝΟΥ ΣΕ ΜΙΩΘΕ ΕΡΩΤῆ ἡΓΩΣΟΝ ΕΤΕΤῆΩΟΟΠ ἑῆΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ).<sup>3</sup> This last quotation is interesting because in P. Berol. 22220 108, col. A,10-12 Jesus tells to the apostles “You have fought well in the world” (ἀΤΕΤῆῆ[ΜΙΩΘΕ] ΚΑΛΩΣ ἑῆ[ΠΚΟΣ]ΜΟΣ). Moreover, the saying in the *Enthronement of Gabriel* is very close to P. Berol. 22220 98, col. B,10-14: ΤΕΝΟΥ ΣΕ [ΕΝΖΟ]ΣΟΝ ΤΕΤῆ[ΩΟΟ]Π ἑῆΠΚΩΜ[Δ] ἡΠῆΡΤΡΕΘΥΛΗ ῤΧΟΕΙΣ ΕΡΩΤῆ. The *Enthronement of Michael* contains a similar command of the Savior: ΕΤΕΤῆΩΑΝΒΩΚ ΕΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΔΧΙΣ ἡΝΕΩΗΡΕ ἡΝΕΡΩΜΕ ΧΕ ΜΙΩΘΕ ΕΡΩΤῆ (“When you go to the world tell to the sons of men: ‘Fight!’”).<sup>4</sup> The theme of the fight in the world in these pseudo-memoirs of the apostles and disciples has an ascetic tone directed against the world.

**P. Berol. 22220 98, col. B,15-99, col. A,18**

ΤΩΟΥΝ ΜΑΡΟΝ ΕΒΟΛ ἑῆΠΕῖΜΑ· ΑΦΩΝ ΓΑΡ' ΕΖΟΥΝ ἡΒΙΠΕΤΝΑΠΑΡΑΔΙΔΟΥ ἡΜΟῖ· ΑΥΩ ἡΤΩΤῆ ΤΕΤΝΑΠΩΤ ΤΗΡΤῆ ἡΤΕΤῆΚΑΝΔΑΛΙΖΕ ἡΖΗΤ' ΤΕΤΝΑΠΩΤ ΤΗΡΤῆ ἡΤΕ[Τ]ῆΚ[ΑΑΤ] ΜΑΥΑΑΤ ΑΛΛΑ ἡΤ'ΣΕΕΤ ΜΑΥΑΑΤ ΔΝ ΧΕ ΠΑῖΩΤ ΩΟΟΠ ἡΜΜΑῖ· ΔΝΟΚ ΜῆΠΑῖΩΤ ΔΝΟΝ ΟΥΑ ἡΟΥΩΤ· ΦΗΖ ΓΑΡ ΧΕ ΤῆΝΑΡΩΖΤ ἡΠΩΩΣ ἡΧΕΧΩΩΡΕ ΕΒΟΛ ἡΒΙΝΕΣΟΥ ἡΠΟΖΕ· ΔΝΟΚ ΣΕ ΠΕ ΠΩΩΣ ΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΦ ΤῆΝΑΚΩ ἡΤΑΥΧΗ ΖΑΡΩΤῆ ἡΤΩΤῆ ΖΩΤΤΗΥΤῆ ΚΩ ἡΝΕΤῆΥΧΗ ΖΑΝΕΤῆΩΒΕ[Ε]Ρ· ΧΕΚΑΚ [Ε]ΤΕΤῆΡΑΝΑΦ ἡΠΑῖΩΤ· ΧΕ ἡΝΕΝΤΟΛΗ ΕΝ[Δ]ΑΑΦ ΕΤΑῖ ΕΤΡΑΚΩ ἡΤΑΥΧ[Η ΖΑῆ]ΡΩ[Μ]Ε· ΕΤΒΕ [ΠΑῖ] ΠΑῖΩΤ ΜΕ ἡΜΟῖ ΧΕ ΔΙΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ἡΠΕ[Φ]ΟΥΩΩ

*Arise, let us leave this place. For the one who shall hand me over has approached. You shall all flee and be offended because of me. You shall all flee and leave me alone, but I do not remain alone for my Father is with me. I and my Father, we are a single one. For it is written: “I shall strike the shepherd and the sheep of the flock will be scattered.” I am the good shepherd. I shall lay down my soul for you. You, too, lay down your souls for your companions to be pleasing to my Father, for there is no commandment greater than this: that I lay down my soul for people. This is [why] my Father loves me, because I fulfilled [his] wish.*

<sup>1</sup> Morard, “Homélie sur la vie de Jésus,” 129-130.

<sup>2</sup> P. de Lagarde, *Aegyptiaca* (Gottingen: D.A. Hoter, 1883; reed. Osnabrück: Otto Zeller, 1972) 29-30.

<sup>3</sup> Müller, *Bücher der Einsetzung*, 1: 74.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*, 40.

This speech of the Savior is based on the Farewell Discourse of the Gospel of John, chapters 14-17.<sup>1</sup> However, the author of *ApoBA* combined the material taken from John with passages from the gospels of Mark and Matthew.

The section is introduced by the sentence τωογν μαρον εβολ ἕμπεϊμα· αφρων γαρ' εζογν ἡσιπετναπαρραδιου ἡμοϊ. Although in Sahidic John 14:31 we find τογντηγτν μαρον εβολ ἕμπεϊμα, the form of the saying in *ApoBA* is closer to Matthew 26:46/Mark 14:42: τογντηγτν μαρον ειςζηητε αφρων εζογν ἡσιπετναπαρραδιου ἡμοϊ.

Passages from the gospels of Matthew and John are blended again in the following sentence: αγω ἡτωτῆ τετναποτ τηρτῆ ἡτετῆσκανδαλιζε ἡζητ· τετναποτ τηρτῆ ἡτε[τ]ἡκ[αατ] μαγαατ αλλα ἡτσεετ μαγαατ αν δε παιωτ φροπ ἡμμαϊ· ἀνοκ ἡἡπαιωτ ανον ογα ἡογωτ· φχηζ γαρ δε τῆναρωζτ ἡπωωδ ἡσεχωωρε εβολ ἡσινεσογ ἡπορε. Although *ApoBA* clearly refers at this point to Matthew 26:31 (ἡτωτῆ τηρτῆ τετνασκανδαλιζε ἡζητ ἡἡτειογωη· φχηζ γαρ δε τῆναρωζτ ἡπωωδ ἡσεχωωρε εβολ ἡσινεσογ ἡπορε), the rest of the passage is based on John 16:32: ετετνεχωωρε εβολ πογα πογα ενεφμα ἡτετῆκαατ μαγαατ· αλλα ἡτσεετ μαγαατ αν δε παιωτ φροπ ἡμμαϊ. Peter Nagel remarked that *ApoBA* follows here the Sahidic version of John 16:32. Thus, the second part of this sentence is introduced by the conjunction αλλα, whereas the Greek text has the lection καὶ. Furthermore, *ApoBA* harmonizes with the Sahidic text of John 16:32, both reading παιωτ instead of ὁ πατήρ, which appears in the Greek original.<sup>2</sup>

Notably, the author inserted the Christological statement of John 10:30, “I and my Father, we are a single one,” as a conclusion of the previous saying that the Father is forever with Christ. It must be pointed out that the form “my Father” appears only in the Coptic version of John 10:30, the Greek text having the reading ὁ πατήρ.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This portion of *ApoBA* has been analyzed in depth in Titus Nagel, “Das ‘Unbekannte Berliner Evangelium’ und das Johannesevangelium,” *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 93 (2002) 251-267, at 252-257.

<sup>2</sup> P. Nagel, “‘Gespräche Jesu mit seinen Jüngern von der Auferstehung’ – Zur Herkunft und Datierung des ‘Unbekannten Berliner Evangeliums’,” *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 94 (2003) 215-257, at 236-237.

<sup>3</sup> According to Pierluigi Piovanelli, the use of John 10:30 points to the Christological debates of the 4<sup>th</sup> century and later. See his “Thursday Night Fever: Dancing and Singing with Jesus in the *Gospel of the Savior*

The quotation about the shepherd and the flock (Matthew 26:31) allowed the author of *ApoBA* to insert at this point the Johannine saying about the good shepherd (ἀνοκ πε πωως ετνανογυ) who gives his soul for the his sheep (John 10:31). Using again catchwords, *ApoBA* continues with Jesus' statement "I shall lay down my soul for you. You, too, lay down your souls for your companions to be pleasing to my Father, for there is no commandment greater than this: that I lay down my soul for people." This portion of the text is based on the logion concerning the good shepherd in John 10:11, "The good shepherd lays down his soul for his sheep," but also on John 15:13: "There is not love greater than this, than to lay down his life for his companions." It is interesting to remark that, while in the Sahidic version of John 15:13 we read "there is no love greater than this" (μῆτελααυ αγαπη εναααυ εταει), *ApoBA* has "there is no commandment greater than this" (μῆεντολη εν[α]ααυ εταϊ). This indicates that the author knew Mark 12:31, which reads according to the Sahidic version: ἴνῆκεεντολη ενααυ εναι ("there is no other commandment greater than these").

Finally, the phrase "This is [why] my Father loves me, because I fulfilled [his] wish" is based on John 10:17 ("This is why my Father loves me") and John 4:34 ("my food is to do the wish of the one who sent me and to fulfill his work").

This fragment of the text indicates the ability of the author to conflate several passages from the New Testament. Furthermore, it is unlikely that certain saying go back to the oral tradition. The exegetical technique of this passage shows that *ApoBA* is based on the canonical gospels.

#### **P. Berol. 22220 99, col. A,18-20**

αν[ΓΟΥ]ΝΟΥΤΕ· ἀῖρω[με] ετβε [...]

*I am God (and yet) I became human because [...]*

It is unfortunate that the parchment is damaged at this point, the reasons why Christ became man remaining, thus, unknown. It is, however, clear that the author saw Jesus as human and divine at the same time. Peter Nagel, who commented on the Christology of *ApoBA*, pointed out that this feature should be explained in the context of the 5<sup>th</sup> century polemics

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and the Dance of the Savior around the Cross," *Early Christianity* 3 (2012) 229-248, at 239. John 10:30 is quoted also in the *Encomium of Abbaton* by Ps.-Timothy Aelurus.



concerning the person of Christ.<sup>1</sup> Nagel pointed out a similar passage in a Christological sermon of Shenoute.

As I already remarked in the Introduction, the Coptic memoirs attributed to the apostles and disciples display an articulated Miaphysite Christology<sup>2</sup> in which the humanity and divinity of Jesus are underlined constantly. Remarkably, one of the books of Evodius offers an interesting parallel to P. Berol. 22220 99, col. A, 18-19 (ⲁⲛⲓⲛⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉⲥ ⲁⲓⲣⲣⲱⲙⲉ), stating that the Savior is “God that became man” (ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲣⲣⲱⲙⲉ).<sup>3</sup>

### **P. Berol. 22220 100, col. A, 1-8**

[...]ⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲡⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ[·] ⲡⲉⲕⲁⲩⲥ ⲛⲁⲛⲥ ⲗⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃⲧⲥ ⲛⲁⲥⲡⲉⲣⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲥⲙⲁⲙⲁⲁⲧⲥ.  
ⲧⲱⲟⲩ[Ⲯ]ⲛ ⲛⲧⲉⲩ[±2]ⲛⲉ[±3]ⲛ ⲗⲉ [±8] ⲟⲩⲗⲏⲗ  
[...] *the Savior. He said to us: “O my holy members, my blessed seeds, get up [...] pray*

The first line of page 100 is tentatively restored as ⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲡⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ. In this case, ⲟⲩ belongs to last word on previous page, which is now lost. The difficulties of reading this portion of the parchment are due to several factors. Firstly, this part of the text is written on the flesh side and the ink partly flaked-off. Secondly, the parchment has a translucent aspect which makes some of the letters from the other side to be visible on this side as well. Thirdly, several letters are partly destroyed. Charles Hedrick read on this line ⲟⲩⲛ[[ⲟ]]ⲁⲛⲥ ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ. He thought that the scribe originally intended to write ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ, but deleted the second ⲟ, replaced it by Ⲯ and inserted an ⲁ above it. However, what appears as the second Ⲯ is actually the letter from the other side of the parchment (page 99). The probability to have an Ⲯ exactly in the same place on both sides of the leaf is extremely scarce. Besides, the ⲁ written above the line is not visible, although some traces of ink survive there.<sup>4</sup>

Stephen Emmel raised the same criticisms against Hedrick’s reconstruction of this line, adding that his raised dot rather seems to be a letter trace. He proposed that the first part of the line should be read as ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ, in which case “the ⲩ was written tall and partly above the

<sup>1</sup> Nagel, “Gespräche Jesu,” 240-244.

<sup>2</sup> See supra, 113-115.

<sup>3</sup> L. Depuydt (ed.), *Homiletica from the Pierpont Morgan Library* 2 vols. (CSCO, 524-525. *Scriptores coptici*, 43-44; Louvain: Peeters, 1991) 1: 94 (Sahidic text), 2: 99 (English translation).

<sup>4</sup> The letter is actually dotted in Hedrick – Mirecki, *Gospel of the Savior*, 34.

ο.”<sup>1</sup> However, although it is true that some letters are compressed and written above the line in P. Berol. 22220, this scribal habit never occurs in the middle of a line, but always at its end.

What is more, no matter how we would read the beginning of line 1, the construction πϞϞϞϞ πϞϞϞ ϞϞϞ, instead of πϞϞϞ ϞϞϞ ϞϞϞπϞϞϞϞϞ, is awkward. Bearing these in mind, I suspect that what appears as the second γ of the line is, indeed, showing through from page 99 and that what Hedrick and Emmel read as a second ο is actually the loop of a Ϟ. This letter is followed by a dotted ι. In this way, we obtain a more logical construction: [...].ϞϞ ϞϞϞπϞϞϞϞϞ[-] πϞϞϞ ϞϞϞ ϞϞϞ, in which πϞϞϞϞ is the postponed subject introduced by the preposition ϞϞϞ-

In the following two lines (100 col. A, 3-5), the Savior calls his disciples by the vocative “O my holy members, my blessed seeds.” The first form of address is based on the ecclesiastical theology of the Pauline and Deutero-Pauline letters.<sup>2</sup> The expression has two other occurrences in the Berlin parchment (P. Berol. 22220 107 col. B,18-19; P. Berol. 22220 Frag. 9F, col. A,5-6). As I showed in the introduction, “my holy members” is a standard formula in the Coptic pseudo-apostolic memoirs, and represents one of the features shared by most of the texts related to *ApoBA*.<sup>3</sup> The expression Ϟ ϞϞϞϞϞ ϞϞϞϞϞϞϞϞ and other related addresses, such as Ϟ ϞϞϞϞϞ ϞϞϞϞϞ ϞϞϞϞϞϞϞϞ (ϞϞ ϞϞϞϞϞϞϞ), appear in Ps.-Bachios of Maiuma, *On the Apostles* (clavis coptica 0067), Ps.-Chrysostom, *On the Four Bodiless Creatures* (CPG 5150.11; clavis coptica 0177), Ps.-Cyriacus of Behnesa, *Martyrdom on Pilate* (CANT 75), Ps.-Theodosius of Alexandria, *On the Dormition of the Virgin* (CPG 7153; clavis coptica 0385), Ps.-Timothy Aelurus, *On Abbaton* (CPG 2530; clavis coptica 0405), Ps.-Evodius of Rome, *On the Passion 2* (CANT 81; clavis coptica 0150), Ps.-Evodius, *On the Virgin* (CANT 133; clavis coptica 0151), the *History of Joseph the Carpenter* (BHO 532-533; CANT 60; clavis coptica 0037), the Stauros-Text, the *Enthronement of Michael* (clavis coptica 0488), the *Enthronement of Gabriel* (clavis coptica 0378), the *Book of Bartholomew* (CANT 80; clavis coptica 0027), an unidentified

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<sup>1</sup> Emmel, “Righting the Order,” 65.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 1 Cor 6:15, 12:12-31; Rom 12:3-5; Eph 4:25, 5:30.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. chapter IV.3 supra.

fragment from Bala'izah,<sup>1</sup> and the Miaphysite fragment published by Charles Hedrick.<sup>2</sup> This form of address occurs as well in the *Apocalypse of Paul* (BHG 1460; CANT 325; clavis coptica 0030), but only in the Coptic addition to this text, which I pointed out that it might have been written in the same milieu which elaborated the Coptic pseudo-apostolic memoirs.

Outside this family of texts, the formula “my holy members” is rare. It appears, however, in the *Martyrdom of Shenoufe* (clavis coptica 0302) (under the form ω ναμερος ετογααβ), in the Sahidic *Passion of Cosmas and Damian* (clavis coptica 0266), in the *Life of Apa Phib* attributed to a certain Papohe (clavis coptica 0256) and in Ps.-Athanasius of Alexandria, *On the Passion* (CPG 2184; clavis coptica 0051).<sup>3</sup> Remarkably, with the sole exception of Ps.-Athanasius’ sermon, in which it is uttered by God, in the other three works the address is used by Christ himself during his apparitions to the heroes of the texts. It is equally interesting that the *Martyrdom of Shenoufe* and the *Life of Phib* share with the pseudo-apostolic memoirs other features, which suggest that they could originate in the same Coptic milieu. As for the *Passion of Cosmas and Damian*, as only a few leaves of this text have survived, it cannot be analyzed properly in order to establish possible points of contact with the pseudo-apostolic memoirs.

As I pointed out in the Introduction, it is possible that this expression originated in Coptic monastic circles, in which the monks were often called “members” and “fellow-members.”

On the other hand, the other appellation, “my blessed seeds” (νασπερμα ετσμαμαατ), is much more rare than the previous. Commenting upon this passage, Paul Mirecki remarked that the address “blessed seeds” “is an unusual designation for the apostles.”<sup>4</sup> He compared it with a passage from *On the Anointing*, a text discovered at Nag Hammadi, in which Christ is called “the shepherd of the seed.” Actually, this syntagm resulted from John D. Turner’s very hypothetical reconstruction of a lacuna in NHC XI 40, 18-19 as ⲛⲧⲁϣ

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<sup>1</sup> P.E. Kahle, *Bala'izah. Coptic Texts from Deir el-Bala'izah in Upper Egypt* vol. 1 (London: Oxford University Press, 1954) 403-404.

<sup>2</sup> C.W. Hedrick, “A Revelation Discourse of Jesus,” *Journal of Coptic Studies* 7 (2005) 13-15.

<sup>3</sup> J. B. Bernardin, “A Coptic Sermon Attributed to St Athanasius,” *Journal of Theological Studies* 38 (1937) 113-129, at 126.

<sup>4</sup> Hedrick – Mirecki, *Gospel of the Savior*, 96.

[ππ]οιμην ἡ[π]σπε[ρ]μα[τ]οc.<sup>1</sup> However, given the surviving traces of letters in the manuscript, it is more reasonable to agree with the alternative reconstruction proposed by Wolf-Peter Funk, who read the text as [ε]ιτῆπαρ[χιπ]οιμην ἡ[ἡ]c̄ πε[χρ]η[στ]οc.<sup>2</sup>

Be that as it may, it is likely that the expression “blessed seeds” refers in fact to σπέρμα εὐλογημένον from Isaiah 61:9 and 65:23 (LXX). Notably, although the designation of the apostles as “holy members” is common in the memoirs of the apostles and disciples, the form of address “blessed seeds” appears only in *ApoBA*.

The formula “blessed seed” designates those who preserve their virginity in Ps.-Clement of Rome’s *Epistulae de virginitate 1-2* (CPG 1004).<sup>3</sup> It is certain that at least the first epistle on virginity by Ps.-Clement existed in Coptic as well, as attested by fragments of two White Monastery codices.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, this text was quoted by Shenoute and his successor, Besa,<sup>5</sup> which constitutes another argument that the first epistle *De virginitate* attributed to Clement of Rome was translated into Sahidic at a relatively early date. It is possible that this text inspired Theodore of Tabennese to say in one of his catecheses that the Pachomian monks are the blessed seed (ἀνον πεσπερμα ετσμαμαατ ειτῆπινογτε).<sup>6</sup>

The last lines of the passage analyzed here are badly damaged. Stephen Emmel proposed the reading τωφ[γ]η ἡτε[τ]η on lines 6-7. However, what Emmel read as ἡ on line 7, appears to be a ς, as Hedrick suggested. It is likely that this section of the text contained the command of the Savior, who urged the disciples to pray in the garden of Gethsemane (cf. Matt 26:41; Mark 14:38). This passage can be compared with a similar one, which appears

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<sup>1</sup> C.W. Hedrick (ed.), *Nag Hammadi Codices XI, XII, XIII* (Nag Hammadi Studies, 28; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1990) 142.

<sup>2</sup> W.-P. Funk, *Concordance des textes de Nag Hammadi. Les codices X et XI* (Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi. Section ‘Concordances’, 6; Québec – Louvain: Les presses de l’Université Laval – Éditions Peeters, 2000) 325. I would like to thank Hugo Lundhaug (Oslo University) for drawing my attention to the difference between Turner’s and Funk’s reconstruction of lines 18-19.

<sup>3</sup> Ps.-Clement of Rome, *Ep. de Virginitate* 1, chap. 9.4; and 2, chap. 6.2. Greek text in F. Diekamp – F.X. Funk, *Patres apostolici* vol. 2 (Tübingen: Laupp, 1913) 1-49.

<sup>4</sup> Edited in L.-T. Lefort, *Les Pères apostoliques en copte* 2 vols. (CSCO, 135-136; *Scriptores coptici*, 17-18. Louvain: Imprimerie orientaliste L. Durbecq, 1952) 1: 35-43 (Coptic text), 2: 29-37 (French translation); E. Lucchesi, “Compléments aux Pères apostoliques en copte,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 99 (1981) 395-408, at 405-408.

<sup>5</sup> L.-T. Lefort, “Une citation copte de la I<sup>a</sup> pseudo-clémentine ‘De virginitate’,” *Bulletin de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale* 30 (1931) 509-511; Idem, *Pères apostoliques*, 1: xviii-xix.

<sup>6</sup> L.-T. Lefort, *Œuvres de S. Pachôme et de ses disciples* 2 vols. (CSCO, 159-160. *Scriptores coptici*, 23-24; Louvain: L. Durbecq, 1956) 1: 43 (Coptic text), 2: 43 (French translation).

in the first homily on the Passion by Ps.-Cyril of Jerusalem (CPG 3598; *clavis coptica* 0114): τωογν ωληλ ηνετῆβωκ ερογν επιρασμος (Pierpont Morgan M595, f. 10r). The same form of the saying appears on a Cambridge parchment fragment published in 2001 by Hans Förster.<sup>1</sup>

**P. Berol. 22220 100, col. B,1-101, col. A,16**

[...] εχῆπιτρου αηο[η] ρωωη ανῤῥε ηνισωμα ηπῆα· ανενβαλ ογων ησασα ηη· απμα τηρῷ σωπ εβολ ηπενῆτο εβολ· ανη[α]γ εμπηγε αγο[γ]ων ε[ρ]ραι ησανεγερ[η]γ νετροεις επιγλη αγωτορῆ· αναγγελος ῤροτε αγ[π]ωτ' επι[σ]α ηη[π]αι [εγ]μεεγε εε εγναβωλ' εβολ τηρογ· ανηαγ επε(η)[σ]ωτηρ' εαφωτε [η]ηπηγε τηρογ· [ερενεφο]γερητε [ταχρηγ ε]χῆπιτο[ου ηημαν] ερε[τεφαπε ω]τε η[τμερσα]γε ηπε· [...8 lines broken...] εβολ ρῆηπηγε τηρογ· τοτε ανον ναποστολος απεικοςμος ωωπε ηε ηνικακε η[η]αζραν· ανῤῥε [ηη]ετῆηηαιων [ηατ]μογ· ερενε(η)β[αλ ε]ωτε ηηηηο[γε τ]η[ρ]ογ[·] ερετ[σο]η [ητε]ηηηηα[π]οστολος ριω[ω]η· αγω ανηαγ [ε]πενσωτηρ η[τ]ερεφωρ ετμε[ρσα]ωγε ηπε.

[...] *on the mountain. We, too, became like spiritual bodies. Our eyes opened in every direction (and) everything was revealed to us. We saw the heavens opening up one after another. Those who guard the gates were disturbed. The angels were afraid (and) they ran this side and that, thinking [that] they would all be destroyed. We saw our Savior traversing all the heavens, [his] feet [being fixed with us] on the [mountain], while [his head] pierced [the seventh] heaven. [...8 lines broken...] from all the heavens. Then, this world became like darkness before us, the apostles. We became like those in the immortal aeons, with our [eyes] penetrating [all] the heavens, while the power of our apostleship was upon us. And we saw our Savior when he reached the seventh heaven.*

**A. The Narrative Voice**

Here is the first time when the narrative voice intervenes in the surviving portions of P. Berol. 22220. The author is using the first person plural in order to narrate Christ’s ascent to heaven and the mystical transformation which the apostles experienced during the anabasis of Jesus. The author uses expressions such as “we, too,” “our eyes,” “we saw,” “us, the apostles” etc. However, it is not clear enough, neither here nor elsewhere in *ApoBA*, whether the narrators are the apostles as a group or an individual apostle who speaks in the name of his companions.

As I showed in the Introduction, this feature, that is, a text written in the first person plural to recount the deeds of Christ and the apostolic group, is found very rarely in early

<sup>1</sup> H. Förster, “‘Erhebt euch und betet’. Fragment einer Erzählung über die Gefangennahme Jesu. Edition von Cambridge MS Add. 1876 (10),” *Aegyptus* 81 (2001) 323-331.

Christian and late antique literature. Among the few examples which can be quoted are the *Apostolic Constitutions* (CPG 1730; clavis coptica 0088) and the *Epistula Apostolorum* (CANT 22; clavis coptica 0034). On the other hand, in the group of texts which I designate as pseudo-memoirs of the apostles and disciples, this is one of the characteristics shared by most of the works included in this category. This is somewhat normal considering the fact that they claim to be books written by the apostles themselves or by their disciples.

Sometimes, the first person plural narrative voice belongs to the apostles as a group. This is the case, for example, in the so-called Stauros-Text, the encomium of Ps.-Chrysostom on the Four Bodiless Creatures and that of Ps.-Archelaos of Neapolis on the Archangel Gabriel (clavis coptica 0045). In other cases, the narrative voice belongs to an apostle or disciple, who speaks in the name of his fellows. This is the case in the homily on the Dormition of the Virgin attributed to Evodius of Rome. In this text, Ps.-Evodius recounts the events surrounding the Dormition of Mary in the first person plural: “we, too, the disciples and his mother were following him (i.e. Christ) and we saw the miracle that took place,” “the Savior spoke with us of the mysteries in the height,” “our teacher Jesus said to us” etc.<sup>1</sup> In the first homily on the Passion attributed to Evodius, the author described the scene when the Virgin, who has the privilege to be the first person to see the resurrected Christ, goes to the apostles and disciples to bring them the good news that her son has risen in the following words: “she returned to us in great joy, proclaiming to us the things which he had said to her.”<sup>2</sup> In the sermon on the Dormition and Assumption of Mary by Ps.-Theodosius of Alexandria, the narrative voice belongs to the apostles Peter and John. The two apostles are narrating the events in the first person plural. Similarly, the *Enthronement of Michael*, in which the syntagm “we, the apostles” appears very often, is attributed to John the Evangelist.

In conclusion, because of the fragmentary state of the surviving manuscripts, it is impossible to say if *ApoBA* was attributed to the apostolic group or to an individual apostle or disciple. However, as the apostles Andrew and John are explicitly mentioned in the third person singular, it is at least obvious that the text has not been attributed to any of them.

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<sup>1</sup> Shoemaker, “The Sahidic Coptic Homily,” passim.

<sup>2</sup> English translation in Depuydt, *Homiletica*, 2: 111.

## B. The Ascent of Christ and the Vision of the Apostles

The scene of the anabasis of Christ includes a vision of the apostles, whose “eyes opened in every direction” and their bodies became spiritual (ⲛⲓϥⲟⲙⲁ ⲙ̀ⲡⲏⲛⲁ) (cf. 1 Corinthians 15:44). The scene of the vision is placed on a mountain, possibly the Mount of Olives. The entire passage is reminiscent of the Transfiguration but, unlike the New Testament narrative, the miracle of transformation does not happen to Christ but, rather, to the apostles.

Stephen Emmel convincingly reconstructed P. Berol. 22220 100, col. B,20-24, by indicating that this portion is paralleled in the manuscript of the *Book of Bartholomew* which came from the Monastery of St. Mercurius. The only White Monastery codex of the *Book of Bartholomew* which preserves this passage offers a different version of the story. For his part, Joost Hagen indicated that yet another parallel is identifiable in the book of the apostles included in the homily of Ps.-Cyril of Jerusalem *On the Life and the Passion of Christ* (CPG 3604; *clavis coptica* 0113).<sup>1</sup>

<i>Apocryphon Berolinense/Argentoratense P. Berol. 22220 100, col. B,17-24</i>	<i>Book of Bartholomew (MS C) Westerhoff, p. 152</i>	<i>Book of Bartholomew (MS B) Westerhoff, p. 152</i>	<i>Cyril of Jerusalem, On the Passion van den Broek, p. 50</i>
ⲁⲛⲛⲁϥ ⲉⲡⲉ(ⲛ)[ϥ]ⲟⲩⲧⲏⲣ̅ ⲉⲁϥⲁⲩⲟⲩⲧⲉ [ⲛ̅]ⲙ̀ⲡⲏⲛⲁϥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟϥ. [ⲉⲣⲉⲛⲉϥⲟ]ϥⲉⲣⲏⲧⲉ [ⲧⲁⲭⲣⲏϥ ⲉ]ⲭ̅ⲙ̀ⲡⲏⲧⲟ[ⲟϥ ⲛ̅ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲛ] ⲉⲣⲉ[ⲧⲉϥⲁⲡⲉ ⲁⲩ]ⲧⲉ [ⲛ̅ⲧⲙⲉⲣⲥⲁⲩ]ϥⲉ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉ̅	ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩⲧ̅ ⲁⲛⲛⲁϥ ⲉⲡⲉⲛϥⲏⲣ̅ ⲉⲡⲉϥϥⲟⲙⲁ ⲙⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲣⲣⲁⲓ ⲉ̅ⲙ̀ⲡⲏⲛⲁϥ ⲉⲣⲉⲛⲉϥⲟϥⲉⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲭⲣⲏϥ ⲉⲭ̅ⲙ̀ⲡⲏⲧⲟϥ ⲛ̅ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲛ̅	ⲁϥⲟ ⲁⲡⲥⲟⲩⲧⲏⲣ̅ ⲁⲛⲁⲭⲟⲣⲉⲓ ⲛⲁϥ ⲉⲣⲣⲁⲓ ⲉ̅ⲙ̀ⲡⲏⲛⲁϥ ⲉⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩⲧ̅ ⲛ̅ϥⲟⲩⲧ̅	ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩⲧ̅ ⲁⲛⲛⲁϥ ⲉⲡⲥⲟⲩⲧⲏⲣ̅ ⲛ̅ⲟⲉ ⲛⲟϥⲧϥϥⲏⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̅ⲕⲟⲩⲧ̅ ⲁϥⲟ ⲛⲉⲣⲉⲛⲉϥⲟϥⲉⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲣ̅ⲭ̅ⲙ̀ⲡⲏⲧⲟϥ ⲛ̅ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲛ̅ ⲁⲧⲉϥⲁⲡⲉ ⲡⲟⲩ ⲩⲁⲉⲣⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲡⲉ ⲉϥⲟ ⲛ̅ⲕⲟⲩⲧ̅ ⲧⲏⲣ̅ϥ

The *ApoBA*, the *Book of Bartholomew* and the homily *On the Life and the Passion of Christ* by Ps.-Cyril of Jerusalem are not the only apostolic memoirs in which the disciples gain spiritual capacities during a vision. For example, in the *Enthronement of Michael*, the apostles encounter a similar mystical experience during which the heavens open up and

<sup>1</sup> R. van den Broek, *Pseudo-Cyril of Jerusalem, On the Life and the Passion of Christ. A Coptic Apocryphon* (Supplements to *Vigiliae Christianae*, 118; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2013).





Father and all the orders of the angels descending on the mountain for his consecration.”<sup>1</sup> The same expression occurs as well several times in the *Mysteries of John* (clavis coptica 0041).<sup>2</sup> In the *Enthronement of Gabriel*, the heavens open up and the angels are descending on the Mount of Olives, where the apostles are found: “we, the apostles, saw with our eyes the heavens opening up one after another and a multitude of angels appeared on the mountain with us.”<sup>3</sup>

**P. Berol. 22220 101, col. A,23-col. B,15**

αμ[πην]ε̅ ωτ[ορ]τ̅ρ̅· α[ναγ]γε̅λος̅ μ̅ν̅αρχ̅ηαγγ̅ελο̅ς̅ πα̅ρ̅το̅υ̅ ε̅χ̅μ̅π̅[ε]γ̅ρ̅[ο̅ α̅ν]ε̅χε̅ρο̅[γ]β̅ι̅μ̅  
πα̅ρ̅το̅υ̅] ρ̅α̅π̅ε̅[± 6-7]μ̅ε̅· α[νε̅ρα̅φ̅ι̅μ̅] κα̅ νε̅γ̅τ̅[νε̅] επ̅ε̅[σ̅η̅τ̅· ανα̅γ̅ι̅[ε̅λο̅ς] ε̅τ̅μ̅[π̅β̅ο̅λ̅  
μ̅π̅κα]τα̅πε̅[τα̅σμα̅ μ̅π̅ι̅ω̅τ̅] ρ̅γ̅μ̅η̅[ε̅γε̅ ανε̅π̅ρε̅]σ̅β̅γ̅τε̅ρ̅[ο̅ς̅ ε̅τ̅ρ̅μ̅ο̅]ο̅ς̅ ρ̅ι̅νε̅γ̅[ε̅ρο̅νο̅ς] α̅γ̅νο̅υ̅χ̅ε̅  
ν̅[νε̅γ̅]κ̅λο̅μ̅ επ̅ε̅[σ̅η̅τ̅] ρ̅ι̅θ̅η̅ μ̅πε̅[ε̅ρο̅νο̅ς] μ̅π̅ω̅τ̅ α[νε̅το̅υ̅]α̅α̅β̅ τη̅ρ̅[ο̅υ̅ χ̅ι̅] ν̅ο̅υ̅]στο̅λη̅ [α̅γ̅ω̅]  
ν̅τε̅ρο̅[γ̅β̅ο̅ο̅λε̅α̅ απ̅]ω̅η̅ρ̅[ε̅ πα̅ρ̅τ̅] ε̅χ̅[ν̅μ̅πα̅τ̅ μ̅πε̅ε̅]ι̅[ω̅τ̅] [...]

*The [heavens] were disturbed,  
[The] angels and the archangels prostrated on [their faces],  
[The Cherubs prostrated] before his [...],  
The Seraphs let down their wings,  
The [angels] that are [outside the veil of the Father sang],  
The elders [seated] on their [thrones] cast [down their] crowns before the [throne] of  
the Father,  
All [the saints brought a] robe [and] after [they rolled it,  
the] Son [bowed] to [the feet of his Father] [...]*

The entire passage which extends from 101 col. A,23-col. B,15 is an anaphora. Each verse of this anaphora starts with a past perfect.

Much of this vision of the apostles has been reconstructed by Stephen Emmel.<sup>4</sup> It appears that, after the ascent of the Savior, which produced great turbulence among the inhabitants of heaven, he finally reaches the seventh firmament, where the throne of the Father is placed. During all this time, the apostles remain down on the mountain, but the mystical capacities with which they had been invested allow them to see what happens up in the heaven. Once arriving in the throne room, Christ bows at the feet of the Father. In the similar passage which appears in the Edfu manuscript of the *Book of Bartholomew*, the Savior kneels before the throne of the Father, but the apostles are going up with him and do

<sup>1</sup> Morard, “Homélie sur la vie de Jésus,” 127. Sahidic text in Paris BnF Copte 129<sup>17</sup>, f. 58r.

<sup>2</sup> E.A.W. Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (London: British Museum, 1913) 64-65.

<sup>3</sup> Müller, *Bücher der Einsetzung*, 1: 66. Cf. also 1: 63.

<sup>4</sup> Emmel, “Righting the Order,” 65-66.

not remain at the Mount of Olives: “we, ourselves, went with him in the height to the tabernacle of the good Father in the seventh heaven. Then, the Savior bowed at the feet of the Father.”<sup>1</sup>

The expressions [απ]φῆρ[ε παρ]τῷ ἐξ[ἡ]μῶν and ὦ πα[τ]ῆρ [ε]ὐ[χ]ε[ο]γῶν[σο]μ [μα]ρε[πεί]αποτ] ςαατ (the latter occurring a bit later in the manuscript) are reminiscent of Matthew 26:39/Mark 14:35/Luke 22:41, where Jesus bows to pray in the garden of Gethsemane before his arrest. Curiously enough, the *ApoBA* transfers the prayer and the lament of Christ over his imminent death in heaven.

In order to describe the heavenly room, the author draws on the scene from Revelation 4, where it is said that the heavenly throne is surrounded by the Four Bodiless Creatures and the thrones of the twenty-four elders. In P. Berol. 22220, the Four Living Creatures are called Seraphs and Cherubs.

#### **P. Berol. 22220 101, col. B,21-102, col. A,23**

εἴτῃ [οὐ] ὅτι ἐκρίμε. ἀγ[ω] ἐκμο]κῆ ἡρητ ἡτ[οκ] ρωστε ἡτε[ταγ]γεληκη τ[η]ρς [ωτορ]τῆρ  
αφοω[ω]ν δε ἡτε]ρη. εε [...5 broken lines...] [± 6]ος ἐπει[± 6]α εἶμο[κῆ] ἡρητ ε]ματε [±  
6]μογογτ [± 4] ριτῆπλα[ος ἡπ]ἡλ. ω πα[τ]ῆρ [ε]ὐ[χ]ε οὐν[ω]σομ] μαρεπεία[ποτ] ςαατ.  
μαρογ[± 6] . ριτῆκε[± 7] . ἡρεφῆ[± 8] . εγωα(ν) [± 8]ἡλ [...7 broken lines...]  
[ε]ρ[ε]πογχαῖ [μα]ω]πε ἡπο[σμ]ος τηρῶ

*[...] then why are you crying and grieving so that the entire angelic host is disturbed? He answered [thus]: [...5 lines broken...] “[...] I am greatly [grieved] [...] killed [...] by the [people of] Israel. O my [Father], if it is [possible], let this [cup] pass me by. Let them [...] through another [...] if they [...] Israel [...7 lines broken...] [so that] salvation may come to the entire world.*

#### **The First Prayer of Christ**

This section is comprised of the first dialogue of the Savior with the Father in the surviving portions of *ApoBA*. The Father wants to know the reason why the Son is grieving. Although the answer is not completely preserved due to the damaged parchment, it is relatively clear that Christ is afraid of being killed by the Jews: “[...] I am greatly [grieved] [...] killed [...] by the [people of] Israel. O my [Father], if it is [possible], let this [cup] pass from me” (P. Berol. 22220 102, col. A,2-9). Two lines after this, the manuscript partly preserves the

<sup>1</sup> Westerhoff, *Buch der Auferstehung*, 154.

plural ⲛⲣⲉϥⲡ[...], which very likely refers to the Jews. One possibility which has been suggested is to restore it as ⲛⲣⲉϥⲡ|[ⲛⲟⲃⲉ],<sup>1</sup> although ⲛⲣⲉϥⲡ|[ⲗⲱⲧⲃ] is equally likely.

The anti-Jewish attitude is one of the most common features of the Coptic pseudo-memoirs of the apostles and disciples. This attitude regarding the Jewish people goes sometimes hand in hand with an obvious tendency to absolve Pilate from the guilt of putting Jesus to death. Actually, in the Coptic church Pilate is regarded as a saint.<sup>2</sup> Other related texts in which the Jews are portrayed in a negative light are: the Stauros-Text; Ps.-Evodius, *On the Passion*, hom. 1 (and possibly 2); Ps.-Cyriacus of Behnesa, *Lament of Mary*; Ps.-Cyriacus of Behnesa, *Martyrdom of Pilate*; Ps.-Cyril of Jerusalem, *On Mary Magdalene*; Ps.-Cyril of Jerusalem, *Prayer of the Virgin in Bartos*; Ps.-Cyril of Jerusalem, *On the Life and the Passion of Christ*; Ps.-Basil of Caesarea, *On the First Church Dedicated to the Virgin*; Ps.-Timothy Aelurus, *On Abbaton*; Ps.-Timothy Aelurus, *On the Archangel Michael*; Ps.-Theodosius of Alexandria, *On the Dormition of the Virgin*.

As in *ApoBA*, in most of the texts the Jews are blamed for killing Jesus. Thus, the encomium of Ps.-Timothy Aelurus on Abbaton mentions “how the godless Jews crucified him (i.e. Jesus) because of their jealousy of him.”<sup>3</sup> In the sermon on the Archangel Michael attributed to the same author it is said that the Jews showed contempt to Jesus.<sup>4</sup> In the homily of Ps.-Theodosius of Alexandria on the Dormition and Assumption of Mary, the Virgin tells Christ that the apostles are distressed because of the tortures which the Jews inflicted upon him.<sup>5</sup> In the *Encomium on Mary Magdalene* attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem, the Jews are called “impure.”<sup>6</sup> The homily of Ps.-Basil of Caesarea says that Christ “was

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<sup>1</sup> Plisch, “Zu einigen Einleitungsfragen,” 77.

<sup>2</sup> P. Luisier, “De Pilate chez les Coptes,” *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 62 (1996) 411-425; see also E. Cerulli, “Tiberius and Pontius Pilate in Ethiopian Tradition and Poetry,” *Proceedings of the British Academy* 59 (1975) 141-158; R. Beylot, “Bref aperçu des principaux textes éthiopiens dérivés des *Acta Pilati*,” *Langues orientales anciennes, philologie et linguistique* 1 (1988) 181-195; R.W. Cowley, “The So-Called ‘Ethiopic Book of the Cock’: Part of an Apocryphal Passion Gospel. ‘The Homily and Teaching of Our Fathers the Holy Apostles’,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 1 (1985) 16-22, at 20.

<sup>3</sup> Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms*, 477.

<sup>4</sup> Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 1025.

<sup>5</sup> M. Chaîne, “Sermon de Théodose patriarche d’Alexandrie sur la dormition et l’assomption de la Vierge,” *Revue de l’Orient Chrétien* 29 (1933/34) 272-314, at 308.

<sup>6</sup> R.-G. Coquin, “Un encomion copte sur Marie-Madeleine attribué à Cyrille de Jérusalem,” *Bulletin de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale* 90 (1990) 169-212, at 204.

crucified by the godless Jews.”<sup>1</sup> In the *Martyrdom of Pilate*, the Virgin questions Jesus “concerning those that she had seen that he suffered from the wicked Jews during the crucifixion.”<sup>2</sup> In the Stauros-Text from the Qasr el-Wizz codex, Christ tells to his apostles: “you know everything that the lawless Jews did to me.”<sup>3</sup> Such examples can easily be multiplied, but those aforementioned are enough to show that the memoirs of the apostles and disciples blame exclusively the Jews for crucifying Christ. The anti-Jewish tone of the passage from *ApoBA* analyzed here must be inserted and understood in this context.

**P. Berol. 22220 101, col. A,26-col. B,29**

[το]τε ον απωρηε [π]αριτω̄ εχνηματ [μ]περιωτ [ε]φχω [μ]μοc· χ[ε] ω̄ πᾱιω]τ· μη[± 7] [...3 broken lines...] τ̄ο[γωω] εμογ ρ̄νογραωε αγω ταπωετ̄ εβολ̄ μ̄πασνοφ̄ εχ̄μ̄πגעνοc̄ ν̄ν̄ρωμε· αλλα [ε]ριμε̄ μ̄ματ[ε] ε[τ]βε̄ ναμερα[τε] ετε̄ καῑ νε [αβρᾱρα]μ̄ μη̄ῑσαακ̄ [μ̄μ̄]ακωβ̄· χε̄ ς[ενα]αρερα[το]γ̄ [ρ̄μ̄π]εροογ̄ μ̄πραπ̄ [ε]ῑναρμοοc̄ ρ̄ιπ[α]θρονοc̄ τατ̄ε[απ]̄ επκοcμοc̄ ς[εναα]οοc̄ νᾱῑ χε̄ [...7 broken lines...] [...] [ετ]βε̄ πεοογ̄ ν̄ταγτααφ̄ νᾱῑ ρ̄ιχ̄μ̄πκαρ̄· ω̄ πᾱ[ιωτ] ε[ω]χ̄[ε]ο[γ̄]ω̄βο]μ̄ [μα]ρε̄[πει]αποτ̄] ς̄αατ̄:

[Then] again, the Son [bowed] to the feet [of] his Father, saying: “[O my] Father, [...4 lines broken...] I [want] to die with joy and to shed my blood for the human race, but I cry only because of my beloved, these being [Abraham], Isaac [and] Jacob for [they shall] stand [on] the day of Judgment, [while] I shall sit on [my] throne to judge the world. [They shall] say to me: [...7 lines broken...] [for] the glory that has been given to me on earth. O my [Father, if it is possible, let this cup] pass me by.”

**The Second Prayer of Christ**

The second prayer of Christ in *ApoBA* is partly influenced by the prayer for all the believers in John 17:20-23. The author of the Coptic apocryphon paraphrased the Johannine saying “the glory which you gave me” (John 17:22) as “the glory that has been given to me.” While in the Gospel of John Christ prays to his Father on behalf of all the believers, in *ApoBA* he intercedes for “the human race.”

The text continues with the description of the Final Judgment but, unfortunately, some lines are damaged. However, it is clear that the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob will stand near the judgment seat of Christ at the end of times. It is possible that the author interpreted

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<sup>1</sup> M. Chaîne, “Catéchèse attribuée à Saint Basile de Césarée. Une lettre apocryphe de Saint Luc,” *Revue de l’Orient Chrétien* 23 (1922/23) 150-159, 271-302, at 289.  
<sup>2</sup> Lanchantin, “Une homélie sur le *Martyre de Pilate*,” 168.  
<sup>3</sup> P. Hubái, *Koptische Apokryphen aus Nubien. Der Kasr el-Wizz Kodex* (Texte und Untersuchungen, 163; Berlin – New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009) 11.

here Matthew 8:11-12, where it is said that many will look for the intercession of the three patriarchs but will be thrown in the outer darkness: λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν ὅτι πολλοὶ ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν καὶ δυσμῶν ἤξουσιν καὶ ἀνακλιθήσονται μετὰ Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν, οἱ δὲ υἱοὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐκβληθήσονται εἰς τὸ σκότος τὸ ἑξώτερον· ἐκεῖ ἔσται ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων.

The intercession of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob on behalf of the believers at the Final Judgment is an idea which we find already in the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* (clavis coptica 0031). This text is known to survive only in Coptic, in two fragmentary manuscripts, one Sahidic and one Akhmimic.<sup>1</sup> Thus, in the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* 11 it is said that the three patriarchs intercede to God on the behalf of the believers:

And I also saw multitudes. He brought them forth. As they looked at all of the torments they called out, praying before the Lord Almighty, saying: “We pray to you on account of those who are in all these torments so you might have mercy on all of them.” And when I saw them, I said to the angel who spoke with me: “Who are these?” He said, “These who beseech the Lord are Abraham and Isaac and Jacob. Then at a certain hour daily they come forth with the great angel. He sounds a trumpet up to heaven and another sound upon the earth. All the righteous hear the sound. They come running, praying to the Lord Almighty daily on behalf of these who are in all these torments.”<sup>2</sup>

The idea that Abraham, Isaac and Jacob will stand together with Christ at the Final Judgment is expressed also in a Bohairic fragmentary text which I suspect to be a yet unidentified pseudo-apostolic memoir. The fragments of this work came from the Monastery of St. Macarius in Scetis and they were published by Hugh G. Evelyn White as “Fragments of an Apocalyptic Gospel.”<sup>3</sup> During a conversation of Jesus with the apostles, Bartholomew questions the Savior concerning the Second Coming and the punishment of the sinners. Christ answers that the righteous of the Old Testament, including Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, will witness the judgment:

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<sup>1</sup> Texts in G. Steindorff, *Die Apokalypse des Elias, eine unbekannte Apokalypse und Bruchstücke der Sophonias-Apokalypse* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1899).

<sup>2</sup> Translation by O. Wintermute in J.H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* vol. 1: *Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1983) 515.

<sup>3</sup> H.G. Evelyn White, *The Monasteries of the Wadi 'N Natrûn* part 1: *New Coptic Texts from the Monastery of Saint Macarius* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition; New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1926) 16-26.

In the day when I come upon the clouds of Heaven, all the pure ones shall be with Me from Adam, and Abraham, and Isaac and Jacob, and all the righteous: I will set them before my face. And Mistrael, the Angel of Wrath, shall gather together all the sinners to the western part of the whole earth, that he may remove them to the regions which are without, unto the place which is anti-Christ's. There shall be a Pillar of Light, like unto silver, in Amenti: all the multitudes of mankind shall be brought unto the Place of Judgment. But ye upon your thrones within the wall shall order the judgment. But the rest of the righteous – they who shall not be able to attain unto the measure of the judgment – shall sit upon a Pillar of Light, and they may behold them who do judgment and them who have judgment done upon them.<sup>1</sup>

The text implies that not all the righteous will be worthy to intervene on behalf of those who are judged, although we do not find whether the three patriarchs are deemed worthy of that.

In conclusion, *ApoBA* employs here the idea that the righteous of the Old Testament will witness the Final Judgment. The passage ends with Jesus pronouncing for the second time “O my Father, if it is possible, let this cup pass from me.”

**P. Berol. 22220 105, col. B,29-106, col. A,2**

[π]ωε ᾠ[± 8] πωε ᾠ[± 8] πωε ᾠ[± 8] πωε . [± 9] [πωε ᾠμν]τχωρε· [πωε ᾠκα νο]βε  
εβολ·

*[The] wood of [...]*

*The wood of [...]*

*The wood of [...]*

*The wood [...]*

*[The wood of] strength*

*[The wood of forgiveness] of sin*

**The Anaphora of the Wood of the Cross**

Although the parchment is damaged here, it is still obvious from the surviving letters and words that we are dealing with the vestiges of an anaphora of the wood of the Cross. This is ascertained by several elements. Firstly, the last four surviving lines of page 105 begin with πωε, which in the first three cases is followed by the preposition ᾠ-. It is likely that the last line contained the same construction, although the only letters visible here are πωε. Secondly, on page 106 the scribe inserted a raised dot at the end of the first two lines,

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<sup>1</sup> Translation taken from *Ibidem*, 20-21.

which indicates that the verses of the anaphora were each filling one line and that the end of each of them has been pointed out by a dot. Thirdly, and most importantly, similar anaphoras of the wood of the Cross appear in other Coptic manuscripts. For example, in a Sahidic homily on the Cross and the Good Thief attributed to Theophilus of Alexandria (CPG 2622; clavis coptica 0395),<sup>1</sup> we find a similar succession. What is more, the manuscript of this work exhibits a similar symmetrical arrangement of the verses:

πωε ἡταφθαρσια·  
 πωε ἡκα νοβε εβολ·  
 πωε ἡρεφταλβο·  
 πωε ἡρεφ† καρπος·  
 πωε ἡπεμτον·  
 πωε ἡπογνοφ·  
 πωε ἡπραωε·  
 πωε ἡπογχαϊ·  
 πωε ἡπесμοу·  
 πωε ἡπωνε̄·  
 πωε ἡτεχαρις<sup>2</sup>

In six cases, the verses of this anaphora begin with the syntagm πωε ἡ-. It is, thus, very likely that the Berlin manuscripts contained a similar hymn. Moreover, I restored P. Berol. 22220 106, col. A,2 as [πωε ἡκα νο]βε εβολ with the help of the second verse in Ps.-Theophilus' anaphora. Exactly the same expression appears in a Sahidic Antiphonary, which belonged to the Monastery of the Archangel Michael in the Fayyum: πε̄ε̄ϣ̄ⲓⲟ̄ⲥ̄ πε πωε ἡπογνοφ αγω πωε ἡκα νοβε εβολ.<sup>3</sup> As can be observed, the two qualities of the wood of the Cross which are mentioned in the St. Michael's Antiphonary occur as well in Ps.-Theophilus. This indicates in my opinion that we are dealing with a hymn of the wood of the Cross which must have been widespread in the Coptic church.

**P. Berol. 22220 106, col. B-107, col. A,4**

<sup>1</sup> This sermon has survived in four manuscripts. See A. Suciū, "Ps.-Theophili Alexandrini *Sermo de Cruce et Latrone* (CPG 2622): Edition of Pierpont Morgan M595 with Parallels and Translation," *Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum* 16 (2012) 181-225.

<sup>2</sup> Ididem, 211.

<sup>3</sup> The manuscript is kept today in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York as M 575. The quotation above occurs on f. 9v. See the edition by M. Cramer – M. Krause, *Das koptische Antiphonar* (Jerusalem Theologisches Forum, 12; Münster, Aschendorf, 2008) 90.

[ἄ]ωμῶντ̄ ἡρῶ[γ ἡ]να]χιτηγῶν ε[τπ]ε ἡμμαί· τα[τ]ζαβετηγῶν ε[ν]ετῆνεπῶγ[μει  
ε]ἡαγ εροογ· ἡ[πῶ]το]ρῆρ̄ σε ετε[τῆ]ωανναγ εροῖ[·]

[...] three [days I shall] take you [to heaven] with me to instruct you about the things that you desire [to] see. So [do not be disturbed] when [you] see me”.

As the words “after three days” seem to suggest, this passage was apparently focused on the apparition of the Savior to the disciples after the resurrection. Thus, he encourages them not to be disturbed when he will appear to them. Christ promises to the disciples that he will reveal to them after the resurrection the things that they desire to know. The reconstruction of ε[τπ]ε on page 106, col. B,30 is, however, not certain so it is not clear whether the revelation will take place in heaven.

The last sentence indicates that the apparition of the Savior may be disturbing. This idea is directly connected with the following passages, which discuss the problem of the body of Christ after the resurrection.

#### **P. Berol. 22220 107,col. A,4-col. B,16**

πεχαν ναϑ χε πχ[ο]εις εκναογον[ε]κ ερον ἡ[α]ω ἡσμοτ̄ ἡ εκ[η]δει ῥῆαω ἡσω[μ]α  
ματαμον: [α]φογοϑῶ ἡβῶωζανησ πεχαϑ· χε πχοεις· εκωα(η)εῖ εκναογονεκ̄ ερον.  
ἡπ̄ρογονεκ̄ ερον ῥῆπεκεοογ τηρ̄· αλλα πωωνε ἡπεκ'εοογ εκεερογ. χεκαϑ· εἰδαϑϑι  
ζαροϑ· ἡ[πο]τε ἡτῆναγ ε[ροκ η]τῆκα το[οτῆ εβολ] ζαθοτ[ε·] αφογ[ω]ῶβ ἡσπσω]τηρ.  
χε ἡ[να]ι ε[βο]λ ἡμωτῆ [ἡθ]οτε ταῖ ετε[τῆ]ο ἡροτε ῥητ[ε] χεκαϑ ἡτετῆναγ.  
ἡτετῆπστεγε· αλλα ἡπ̄ρχωρ̄ ἡτοϑ εροῖ ωαντ̄ωκ' ερραῖ ωα[π]αῖω[τ ε]τε πετ[ῆ]ωτ  
[πε·] αγω π[α]νογτε ε[τε] πετῆνογτε πε· αγω παχοεις ετε πετῆχοεις πε· εωωπε δε  
ερω[α](η)ογα· ῥω[η] ερο[γ]η] εροῖ, φνα[ρ]ω[κ]· α]νοκ̄ πε πκ[ω]ετ̄ [ε]τ̄χερο· π[ε]τηρηη  
ερογ εροῖ[ε] ε[ρ]ηη ερογ ε[κ]ωετ̄· πετογη εβολ ἡμοῖ, εφογη εβολ ἡπωῆε:

*We said to him: “Lord, in what form will you appear to us? Or in what kind of body will you come? Tell us.” John spoke up and said: “Lord, when you come to us, do not reveal yourself to us in all your glory but turn your glory into another glory so that we may be able to bear it, lest we see [you] and despair [because of] fear”. [The Savior answered]: “I [shall take away] from you [the fear] that you are afraid [of], so that you might see and believe, but do not touch me until I go up to [my] Father who [is your] Father, [my God] who is your God, and my Lord who is your Lord. If someone approaches me, he will [burn]. I am the [fire that] blazes. The [one who is close] to me [is] close to [the] fire. The one who is far from me is far from life.*

This section continues the dialogue of the Savior with the disciples concerning a post-resurrection apparition. The present passage treats the problem of the nature of the body of Christ after the resurrection. The apostles are afraid that if Jesus will leave behind the



human body, they will not be able to bear the glory of his divinity when he will appear to them.

In the *Epistula apostolorum* the apostles are questioning Christ in a similar way about the nature of his body after the resurrection:

<i>Apocryphon Berolinense/Argentoratense</i>	<i>Epistula apostolorum – versio akhmimica</i>
<p>πεξαν ναϗ   ξε πχ[ο]εις εκνα οϑον[ρ]κ  ερον ν̄ [α]ω̄ ν̄ςμοτ̄ η̄ εκ [ν]αι ρ̄ναω̄  ν̄ςω [μ]α ... αϑοϑ[ω]β̄ ν̄ςπςω̄ τηρ. ξε  ... [α]νοϑ̄ πε πς[ω]ρ̄τ̄  [ε]τ̄ξερο̄</p> <p>We said to him: “Lord, in what form will you appear to us? Or in what kind of body will you come?” ... [The Savior answered]: ... I am the [fire that] blazes.</p>	<p>παxen δε νεϑ ξε πχαις [...] εια κ̄νηη  ρ̄νοϑ̄ςαμ̄ νερ̄ ν̄μινε̄ η̄ ρ̄νοϑ̄αιςοηςικ̄ νερ̄ ν̄ρε̄  αϑοϑωβ̄ε δε εϑϑοϑ̄ μ̄μας̄ νεν̄ ξε ρ̄αμην̄  γαρ̄ †ϑοϑ̄ μ̄μας̄ νητνε̄ ξε †νηη̄ γαρ̄ ν̄τρε̄  ν̄πρῑ ετ̄π̄ρωϑ̄ ροϑ̄ εειε̄ ν̄οϑ̄αινε̄ ν̄ςαρ̄ϑ̄  ν̄κωβ̄ παραραϑ̄ ρ̄ν̄ναεαγ̄<sup>1</sup></p> <p>We said to him, “Lord, the things which you revealed to us at the beginning are great things. In what sort of great power will you come? Or what sort of perceptible state?” He answered and said to us, “Amen, I say to you that I will come like the sun shining, I being light of seven times greater than it (sun) in my glory.</p>

It is interesting to remark that the two questions of the apostles are not only similar but they are connected in both works by the Greek conjunction ἢ. Furthermore, in both cases Christ says that his body will be unbearable and burning. Thus, an influence of the *Epistula apostolorum* is possible, although the documentation does not allow a sure answer in this regard.

In order to show that the body of Christ after the resurrection is like fire and, consequently, unbearable for human beings, the author uses the *Noli me tangere* motif from John 20:17 and the so-called “Agraphon of the Fire,” which appears in several other texts, including the Nag Hammadi *Gospel of Thomas*.

<sup>1</sup> Akhmimic text in C. Schmidt, *Gespräche Jesu mit seinen Jüngern nach der Auferstehung. Ein katholisch-apostolisches Sendschreiben des 2. Jahrhunderts* (Texte und Untersuchungen, 43; Leipzig: J.C. Hinrich, 1919) 6\*. The question of the apostles in the Ethiopic version are slightly different: **ወበአይ: ኃይል: ወአርአያ: ትምህርት: ሀለወክ:** (“But with what sort of power and form will you come?”), Ge’ez text in L. Guerier – S. Grébaud, *Le Testament en Galilée de Notre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ* (Patrologia Orientalis, 9/3; Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1913) 199.

Two issues are worth noting regarding the *Noli me tangere* quotation. Firstly, in *ApoBA*, Christ addresses the interdiction to be touched to the apostles, not to Mary Magdalene. Secondly, the author of the text added to the New Testament quotation the words “my Lord who is your Lord.” This longer form of the saying is attested only in another Coptic pseudo-apostolic memoir, namely in the *Book of Bartholomew*,<sup>1</sup> but only in one manuscript of this writing (Westerhoff’s MS C).<sup>2</sup>

The “Agraphon of the Fire” is also stripped of its original meaning, the focus being shifted on the burning nature of Christ’s body. Pierluigi Piovanelli considers that the agraphon has been reinterpreted in the light of John 20:17. Thus, the saying “has been not only reemployed, demetaphorized (in spite of his human nature, the risen Christ will truly burn), and contextualized into a new narrative framework, but also adapted to the Johannine perspectives of its new environment.”<sup>3</sup>

This agraphon appears in the *Gospel of Thomas* 82, but also in Origen’s *Homily in Jeremiah* 3.3 (CPG 1438), which is preserved only in Jerome’s Latin translation,<sup>4</sup> in the *Commentary on the Psalms* by Didymus the Blind (CPG 2551), transmitted fragmentarily in some Patristic catenae to the Psalms,<sup>5</sup> and in a Syriac anti-Marcionite commentary on the Gospel parables attributed to Ephraim, which is preserved in an Armenian translation.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See Emmel, “Righting the Order,” 57.

<sup>2</sup> Westerhoff, *Buch der Auferstehung*, 106.

<sup>3</sup> P. Piovanelli, “The Reception of Early Christian Texts and Traditions in Late Antiquity Apocryphal Literature,” in L. DiTommaso – L. Turcescu (eds.), *The Reception and Interpretation of the Bible in Late Antiquity. Proceedings of the Montréal Colloquium in Honour of Charles Kannengiesser, 11-13 October 2006* (Bible in Ancient Christianity, 6; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2008) 429-439, at 437.

<sup>4</sup> Text in W.A. Baehrens, *Origenes Werke* vol. 8: *Homilien zu Samuel I, zum Hohelied und zu den Propheten Kommentar zum Hehelied in Rufins und Hieronimus’ Übersetzungen* (Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller, 33; Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1925); P. Nautin – P. Husson, *Origène: Homélies sur Jérémie XII-XX* (Sources chrétiennes, 238; Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1977).

<sup>5</sup> Migne PG 39, coll. 1156-1616. E. Mühlenberg, *Psalmenkommentare aus der Katenenüberlieferung* vol. 2 (Patristische Texte und Studien, 16; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1977). Cf. also M.-J. Rondeau, *Les commentaires patristiques du Psautier (IIIe-Ve siècles)* vol. 1: *Les travaux des Pères grecs et latins sur le Psautier. Recherches et bilan* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 219; Rome: Pontificium Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1982) 116-117.

<sup>6</sup> German translation in J. Schäfers, “Erklärung des Evangeliums.” *Drei altsyrische unter dem Namen Ephräms des Syrers gehende Abhandlungen über Parabeln und Sprüche Jesu. Erstmals aus dem Armenischen übersetzt* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1915); edition of the Armenian text with English translation in G.A. Egan, *Saint Ephrem, An Exposition of the Gospel* 2 vols. (CSCO, 291-292. *Scriptores armeniaci*, 5-6; Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1968). This work is considered genuine in G.A. Egan, “A Reconsideration of the Authenticity of Ephrem’s ‘An Exposition of the Gospel,’” in P. Granfield – J.A. Jungmann (eds.), *Kyriakon. Festschrift Johannes Quasten* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1970) 128-134. However,

Peter Nagel, who analyzed the five known sources of this agraphon, concluded that the form of the saying in *ApoBA* and Ps.-Ephraim is secondary compared to that of the *Gospel of Thomas*, Origen and Didymus. Thus, while the original form of the agraphon says: “the one who is close to me is close to the fire. The one who is far from me is far from the kingdom,” *ApoBA* and Ps.-Ephraim read “far from life” instead of “far from the kingdom.”<sup>1</sup>

<i>ApoBA</i>	Ps.-Ephraim	Origen	Didymus	<i>Gospel of Thomas</i>
π[ετρη]ν ερουν ερο[ι εφ]ρη ερουν ε[πκ]ωρετ πετογην εβολ ἡμοι, εφογην εβολ ἡπωνη	He who comes close (ὑπερδένω) to me, comes close to the fire, and he who is far from me is far <u>from life</u> .	Qui iuxta me est, iuxta ignem est; qui longe est a me, longe est <u>a regno</u> .	ὁ ἐγγυς μου, ἐγγυς τοῦ πυρός· ὁ δὲ μακρὰν ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ μακρὰν ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείας·	πετρην εροει εφρην ετσατε αγω πετογην ἡμοει φογην ἡτμητερο

Nagel pointed out that a comparison between *ApoBA* and the *Gospel of Thomas* indicates that two texts do not depend on each other:

Es kann als sicher gelten, daß der koptische Wortlaut des Agraphons im UBE unabhängig vom koptischen Wortlaut des EvThom ist. Denn die Ersetzung des »Königreiches« durch »Leben« ist zwar die auffälligste, aber nicht die einzige Differenz zwischen den koptischen Textfassungen. Die Gegenüberstellung der koptischen Texte zeigt auf der lexikalischen und stilistischen Ebene mehr Unterschiede, als eine modernsprachliche Übersetzung transportieren kann.<sup>2</sup>

Returning now to the meaning of the passage under scrutiny, it should be pointed out that the idea that Christ will have after the resurrection an intangible body, which could not be touched by humans, appears in other Coptic writings. A good example is furnished by a homily on the Passion attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem (CPG 3598; clavis coptica 0114). In

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stronger arguments against its authenticity have been raised, see B. Outtier, “Une explication de l’Évangile attribuée à saint Ephrem. À propos d’une édition récente,” *Parole de l’Orient* 1 (1970) 385-407; D. Bundy, “An Anti-Marcionite Commentary on the Lucan Parables (Pseudo-Ephrem A),” *Le Muséon* 103 (1990) 111-123.

<sup>1</sup> Nagel, “Gespräche Jesu,” 232-234.

<sup>2</sup> Ibidem, 233. Cf. also Idem, “Apokryphe Jesusworte in der koptischen Überlieferung,” in Frey – Schröter (eds.), *Jesus in apokryphen Evangelienüberlieferungen*, 495-526, at 501-503.

an interpretation of the *Noli me tangere* motif, the resurrected Christ tells to Mary, who according to the Coptic author is not the Magdalene but the Virgin:<sup>1</sup>

*Ex codice Pierpont Morgan M 595, fol. 25v :*

ΝΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΔΥΚΩΛΥ ΝΜΟΣ ΕΥΧΩ ΝΜΟΣ ΔΕ ΤΑΜΑΔΥ ΜΠΡΧΩΖ ΕΡΟΪ ΘΒΣΩ ΓΑΡ  
ΝΤΑΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΤΑΔΣ ΖΪΩΩΤ ΝΤΕΡΕΥΤΟΥΝΟΤ ΜΝΩΒΟΜ ΕΤΡΕΡΜΝΣΑΡΞ ΔΩΖ ΕΡΟΪ  
ΩΑΝΤΒΩΚ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΤΑΖΜΟΟΣ ΖΪΤΟΥΩΥ ΜΠΑΕΙΩΤ·

He stopped her saying: “My mother, do not touch me, for the garment that my Father has put on me when he raised me cannot be touched by a man of flesh until I go up to sit on the right of my Father.”

A slightly different recension of this passage was published by Eugène Revillout as no. 14 of his imaginary *Gospel of the Twelve*.<sup>2</sup> However, as the Pierpont Morgan manuscript preserves the title of the work, there is no doubt that the fragment belongs to the homily on the Passion by Ps.-Cyril of Jerusalem.

It is nevertheless interesting to note that both *ApoBA* and Ps.-Cyril of Jerusalem are using John 20:17 in order to show that the body of Christ at the resurrection cannot be touched by human beings. Obviously, the two texts are the expressions of the same theological view concerning the body of Christ.

#### **P. Berol. 22220 107, col. B,17-25**

Τ[Ε]ΝΟΥ ΣΕ ΣΩΟΥΖ [Ε]ΡΟΪ Ω ΝΑΜΕΛΟΣ [Ε]ΤΟΥΑΔΒ. ΧΘ[ΡΕ]Υ[Ε] ΝΤΕΤΝΘ[ΥΩΩΒ] ΝΑΪ[-] ΔΥ[± 7] .  
ΝΘΠΣ[ΩΤΗΡ- ΔΥΑΖΕΡ]ΔΤΪ [ΔΗΡΘ]Υ[ΚΛΟΜ] ΕΝΚ[ΩΤ]Ε ΕΡΟΥ·  
*But now gather to me, O my holy members, dance and [answer] to me.” The Savior [...],  
he [stood up] (and) [we made a circle surrounding] him.*

#### **The Hymn of the Cross**

This passage represents a new textual unit, that is, the hymn of the Cross. Presumably, the disciples are dancing around Jesus while he sings to the Cross. Each of Christ’s utterances

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<sup>1</sup> On this topos, proper to Coptic literature, see P. Bellet, “Testimonios coptos de la aparición de Cristo resucitado a la Virgen,” *Estudios bíblicos* 13 (1954) 199-205; P. Devos, “L’apparition du Ressuscité à sa Mère. Un nouveau témoin copte,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 96 (1978) 388; E. Lucchesi, “Identification de P. Vindob. K. 2644,” *Orientalia* 76 (2007) 174-175; T. Abraha – D. Assefa, “Apocryphal Gospels in the Ethiopic Tradition,” in Frey – Schröter (eds.), *Jesus in apokryphen Evangelienüberlieferungen*, 611-653, at 643-644.

<sup>2</sup> Revillout, *Les apocryphes coptes*, 53-54.

are followed by an “Amen.” The hymn resembles the hymn of the Father which appears in the *Acts of John* (CANT 215.1) 94-96,<sup>1</sup> but also the Manichaean Amen hymn.<sup>2</sup>

In the place where the strings of letters allowed, the passage has been restored with the help of the Qasr el-Wizz manuscript:

P. Berol. 22220 107, col. B,17-25	Qasr el-Wizz 24,9-25,4
τ[ε]νογ σε σωογρ [ε]ροϊ ω ναμελος [ε]τογααβ. χο[ρε]γ[ε] ντετῆο[γωαβ] ηαι[.] αϕ[± 7] . ηῆσιπ[ωτηρ· αφαρε]ατῆ [ανῆρο]γ[κλον] ενκ[ωτ]ε εροϕ·	ω̄ ναμελος ετογααβ· σωογρ εροϊ ῆταρχμνεγε ῆπεσταγρος· αγω ῆτωτῆ ντετῆογω[αβ] ῆσωι· ανον δε αν[ῆρο]γκλον ανκωτε εροϕ·

It would be tempting to reconstruct lines 21-22 as αϕ[τω|ογ]η, but the traces of ink certainly do not permit to restore the last letter as η.

It is possible that the starting point of this hymn is found in Matt 26:30/Mark 14:26: “After they had sang a hymn, they went to the Mount of Olives.”<sup>3</sup> The restoration χο[ρε]γ[ε], “to dance,” on line 19 is tentative but it is likely to be the correct one given the context and the letter traces preserved. If so, the theme of the dance of the apostles is more clearly expressed in P. Berol. 22220 than in the Qasr el-Wizz codex, which uses the verb ρχμνεγε.

As to the peculiar expression ανῆρογκλον ενκωτε εροϕ, literally, “we made a crown encircling him,” it is interesting to note the occurrence of the same syntagm in the Amen hymn of the Manichaean Psalms: τ.α.ω.α.ε.κ.α.ς η̄α.π.ο.σ.τ.ο.λ.ο.ς· ᾱγ̄ρ̄ο.γ̄κ.λ.α.μ̄ α.π.ι.ρ̄α.μ.η.η.<sup>4</sup> In the pseudo-apostolic memoirs, the expression occurs in Ps.-Evodius or Rome’s sermon on the

<sup>1</sup> This theme is explored in M. Pulver, “Jesu Reigen und Kreuzigung nach den Johannes-Akten,” *Eranos-Jahrbuch* 9 (1942) 141-177; W.C. van Unnik, “A Note on the Dance of Jesus in the *Acts of John*,” *Vigiliae Christianae* 18 (1964) 1-5; A.J. Dewey, “The Hymn in the *Acts of John*: Dance as Hermeneutic,” *Semeia* 38 (1986) 67-80; J.-D. Kaestli, “Response to A.J. Dewey,” *Semeia* 38 (1986) 81-88; P.G. Schneider, *The Mystery of the Acts of John: An Interpretation of the Hymn and the Dance in Light of the Acts’ Theology* (San Francisco, CA: Mellen Research University Press, 1991); B.E. Bowe, “Dancing into the Divine: The Hymn of the Dance in the *Acts of John*,” *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 7 (1999) 83-104; M.G. Beard-Shouse, *The Circle Dance in the Acts of John: An Early Christian Ritual* (M.A. thesis; Graduate Faculty of the University of Kansas, 2009) (bellydance.numinousdance.com/webfm\_send/10); P. Piovanelli, “Thursday Night Fever.”

<sup>2</sup> C.R.C. Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book* part II (Manichaean Manuscripts in the Chester Beatty Collection, 2; Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1938) 189-191.

<sup>3</sup> Same suggestion in Hubai, *Koptische Apokryphen*, 160; Piovanelli, “Thursday Night Fever,” 241-242.

<sup>4</sup> Allberry, *Manichaean Psalm-Book*, 191.

Virgin: ἀγὼ ἀπώτηρ ῥμοος ἀναθερατῆ̄ ερωϋ τηρῆ̄· ἀν̄ρωγκλομ ερωϋ επκώτε· ἀφσω  
ερωα.δε νῆμαν ῥῆνεμγστηριον ῆπχισε (“And the Savior sat, and we all stood by him, and  
we made a crown around him: and he kept speaking with us in the mysteries of the  
height”).<sup>1</sup>

**P. Berol. 22220 107, col. B,25-32**

πεχ.α[ϣ] ναν δε ανοκ' ε[ιζῆ]τετῆμητε ῆ[θε] ῆνωηρε ω[ημ·] πεχ.αϣ δε ῥαμη(η) κεκογῆ  
πε εἰζῆτετῆμητε· ῥ[η]ογωῶβ δε ῥαμ[ηη]  
[He] said to us: “I am [in] your midst [like] a child.” He said: “Amen! A little while I am  
in your midst.” [We] answered: “Amen!”

This passage is based on Matthew 18:2-3/Mark 9:36-37/Luke 9:47-48. The Greek text of  
Matthew 18:2-3 reads: καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος παιδίον ἔστησεν αὐτὸ ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν καὶ  
εἶπεν· ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἐὰν μὴ στραφῆτε καὶ γένησθε ὡς τὰ παιδιά, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθητε εἰς  
τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν. However, *ApoBA* alters the soteriological sense of the passage  
by giving it a Christological meaning.

Thus, in *ApoBA* it is Christ that sits in the midst of the disciples as a child.<sup>2</sup> In the *editio  
princeps* the expression ῆθε ῆνωηρε ωημ is interpreted as a reference to the polymorphy  
of Christ, who would appear in the form of a child.<sup>3</sup> Karen King adopted this interpretation  
and investigated the meaning of the passage in the context of early Christian literature in an  
article published in 2009.<sup>4</sup>

However, although Jesus is portrayed as a child in many Christian texts, ῆθε should be  
understood not as “in the form of” but, rather, as “in the manner of” a child. Pierluigi

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<sup>1</sup> Sahidic text and English translation in Robinson, *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels*, 74-77.

<sup>2</sup> For the translation of ωηρε ωημ as “child,” see W.-P. Funk, “Bemerkungen zum Sprachvergleich Griechisch-Koptisch,” in P. Nagel (ed.), *Graeco-Coptica. Griechen und Kopten im byzantinischen Ägypten* (Halle: Martin-Luther-Universität, 1984) 147-180, at 161 n. 32. Qasr el-Wizz codex 25,6 reads ῆθε ῆνωηρε κογῆ.

<sup>3</sup> Hedrick – Mirecki, *Gospel of the Savior*, 106. Same interpretation of the passage in, e.g., E. Thomassen, “Is Judas Really the Hero of the *Gospel of Judas*?” in M. Scopello (ed.), *The Gospel of Judas in Context. Proceedings of the First International Conference on the Gospel of Judas* (Nag Hammadi & Manichaean Studies, 62; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2008) 157-170, at 168 n. 27; L. Jenott, *The Gospel of Judas* (Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum, 64; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011) 190.

<sup>4</sup> K.L. King, “‘In Your Midst as a Child’ – ‘In the Form of an Old Man’. Images of Aging and Immortality in Ancient Christianity,” in T.K. Seim – J. Økland (eds.), *Metamorphoses. Resurrection, Body and Transformative Practices in Early Christianity* (Ekstasis: Religious Experience from Antiquity to the Middle Ages, 1; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009) 59-81.

Piovanelli suggested that what Christ actually means is that he is dancing around the Cross *like* children playing:

a much simpler and more plausible explanation is that this comparison means that Jesus' dance around the Cross, surrounded by the circle of his disciples, is similar to the round dances that children engage in when they play, an image evoked in Matthew 11:16f // Luke 7:31 f ("this generation... is like children sitting in the market place, who call to one another and say, 'We played the flute for you, and you did not dance...'",), a saying that has probably provided the second most important scriptural basis ..., after Mark 14:26 // Mathew 26:30, for this episode of Jesus' dance on the Mount of Olives.<sup>1</sup>

Although it is not sure that Matt 11:16-17 and the parallel played a role here, I agree with Piovanelli that *ApoBA* does not refer to the polymorphous appearance of Jesus. The statement "I am in your midst as a child" is a reference to the purity and innocence of the Savior.

**P. Berol. 22220 108, col. A,1-16**

[ce]x̄iw[o]x̄ne epoï. [ñci]n[et]oyw̄w [eka pko]c̄m̄oc̄ ñc̄w̄i xe an̄goγw̄mmo epoc̄ eis̄zh̄nte se tenoy t̄[λ]ȳti etve ñno[ve] m̄p̄c̄m̄oc̄. [all]a t̄[r]aw̄e etve[th̄ȳt]ñ xe āt̄et̄n̄[m̄iw̄e] kallw̄c̄ z̄n̄[p̄koc̄]m̄oc̄ coȳ(n)t̄[h̄ȳ]t̄n̄ se x̄ekac̄ et̄et̄nēt̄zh̄ȳ ñmoï. ayw̄ taraw̄e ex̄m̄pet̄n̄z̄wb̄:

*"[Those who] want [to set the] world against me are taking counsel against me because I am stranger to it. Behold then now, I grieve because of the sins of the world, [but] I rejoice for [you] because you [have fought] well in [the world]. Know [yourselves] so that you might profit from me and I shall rejoice over your work."*

The first three lines have been reconstructed by Stephen Emmel, but the reconstruction is highly hypothetical.<sup>2</sup> Thus, line 2 ends with ]oyw̄w, in which case this would be an error for oyw̄w. Be that as it may, the expression "they who are plotting" against Jesus ([ce]x̄iw[o]x̄ne epoï, cf. Matt 12:14/Mark 3:6) seems to refer to the Jews.

The asceticism of the passage is apparent in the opposition between Christ and the world (the word κοσμος appears three times in these lines). The statement of Christ "I am a stranger to it" (i.e. to the world) represents a *mélange* of several New Testament passages. The logion seems to be based on John 17:14: "the world hated them because they are not of

<sup>1</sup> Piovanelli, "Thursday Night Fever," 243 n. 51.

<sup>2</sup> Emmel, "Righting the Order," 58, 68; Idem, "Preliminary Reedition and Translation of the *Gospel of the Savior*: New Light on the *Strasbourg Coptic Gospel* and the *Stauros-Text* from Nubia," *Apocrypha* 14 (2003) 9-53, at 50.

the world, even as I am not of the world” (cf. also John 17:14), but the Johannine saying has been melded with other New Testament passages concerning the alienation from the world. For example, Hebrews 11:13 mentions those who are “strangers (ξενωμῖμο) and pilgrims on the earth.” Similarly, the ascetic overtone of 1 Peter 2:11 is also at work here: “My beloved, I beseech you as strangers and sojourners to abstain from the fleshly lusts, these which fight against the soul.”<sup>1</sup> Another pseudo-apostolic memoir, that is, the homily of Ps.-Cyril of Jerusalem *On the Life and the Passion of Christ*, offers a striking parallel to the saying in the *Apocryphon Berolinense/Argentoratense*, when Christ says, ἀν̄ϣοϣωμ̄μο επ̄εικοσμοσ.<sup>2</sup>

In *ApoBA*, and elsewhere in the pseudo-apostolic memoirs, Christ is seen as a model for ascetic behavior. Nevertheless, not only is the Savior a model of asceticism, but the apostles as well. Thus, Christ is grieving for the sins of the world (cf. John 1:29), but he is pleased that the apostles fought well in the world. The syntagm μ̄ωϣε καλωσ (cf. 2 Tim 2:5), which is applied to them, belongs also to ascetic vocabulary.<sup>3</sup> Although on line 11 the verb μ̄ωϣε is completely lost in the lacuna, this restoration is highly probable.<sup>4</sup> The same idea appears in the *Enthronement of Gabriel*, in which Christ tells the apostles: “fight (μ̄ωϣε) while you are in the world.”<sup>5</sup>

#### P. Berol. 22220 108, col. A, 17-20

ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ Π̄ΡΡΟ [ϣ]ΔΜΗΝ· ΑΝΟΚ [Π]ϣ Π[ΩΗ]ΡΕ Μ̄Π̄ΡΡΟ [ϣ]Δ[ΜΗΝ·]  
*I am the King, Amen! I [am] the [Son] of the King, [Amen]!*

This logion has been analyzed by Peter Nagel in his *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* article<sup>6</sup> and in the Introduction to the present research.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ναμερατε ἑπαρακαλει ἡμωτῆ ρωσ ωμ̄μο αγω ρωσ ρῖνσοιλε ετρετῖσαρετηγτῆ εβολ ἡἡεπιθωμια ἡσαρκικον και ετῆ ογβε τεϣγχι; Sahidic text in Horner, *The Coptic Version of the New Testament* 7, 22.

<sup>2</sup> Van den Broek, *Pseudo-Cyril of Jerusalem*, 152.

<sup>3</sup> Cf., e.g., Gregory Nazianzus, *Epistula* 61.8: ἡμῖν δὲ ἀγωνίσασθε τὸν καλὸν ἀγῶνα; Basil of Caesarea, *Asceticon*, Ἐν δὲ τῷ καλῷ ἀγῶνι τῆς πρὸς Θεὸν εὐαρεστήσεως ἀγωνιζόμενος (Migne PG 31, col. 1272).

<sup>4</sup> Reconstruction proposed by Emmel, “Righting the Order,” 58, 68; Idem, “Preliminary Reedition,” 50. The *editio princeps* has [ωσκ].

<sup>5</sup> Müller, *Bücher der Einsetzung*, 74.

<sup>6</sup> Nagel, “Gespräche Jesu,” 243.

<sup>7</sup> See chapter IV.6.1 supra.



As I already pointed out in the Introduction, this saying is based on Psalm 71:1 (LXX): τὸ κρίμα σου τῷ βασιλεῖ δὸς καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην σου τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ βασιλέως. Origen was probably the first to interpret this Psalm Christologically. Thus, in his *Commentary on John* (CPG 1453), Origen says that this Psalm prophesies about Christ (περὶ Χριστοῦ προφητεύεται).<sup>1</sup> According to Origen, the “king” and the “son of the king” refer to the fact that Jesus Christ is divine (i.e. king) and human (i.e. son of the Father) at the same time:

Ἦγοῦμαι οὖν “βασιλέα” μὲν λέγεσθαι τὴν προηγουμένης τοῦ πρωτοτόκου πάσης κτίσεως φύσιν, ἣ δίδοται διὰ τὸ ὑπερέχειν τὸ κρίνειν· τὸν δὲ ἄνθρωπον, ὃν ἀνείληφεν, ὑπ’ ἐκείνης μορφούμενον κατὰ δικαιοσύνην <καὶ> ἐκτυπούμενον, “υἷον τοῦ βασιλέως”. Καὶ προσάγομαι εἰς τὸ τοῦθ’ οὕτως ἔχειν παραδέξασθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰς ἓνα λόγον συνῆχθαι ἀμφότερα καὶ τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα οὐκέτι ὡς περὶ δύο τινῶν ἀπαγγέλλεσθαι ἀλλ’ ὡς περὶ ἐνός (I, 195-196).<sup>2</sup>

Apollinaris of Laodicea interprets the same passage in a similar way. Thus, in a commentary on Psalm 71, preserved only in catenae (cf. CPG 3681), Apollinaris writes that Christ is God, that is, the heavenly King, but also human, being the son of the king David.<sup>3</sup>

Apparently, Theodoret of Cyrus also interpreted this Psalm Christologically, although he belongs to a different exegetical tradition. Thus, in his *Commentary on the Psalms* (CPG 6202), he says that “the Lord Christ is king and son of the king” (Καὶ βασιλεύς ἐστι, καὶ υἱὸς βασιλέως ὁ Δεσπότης Χριστός).<sup>4</sup> This typological interpretation of Psalm 71:1 appears also in the works of Athanasius of Alexandria, John Chrisostom and Ps.-Macarius. I quoted all the relevant passages in the Introduction.<sup>5</sup>

In Coptic literature, the formula “king and son of the king” applied to Christ became a stereotype. The texts in which it appears usually do not explain its theological meaning. However, given that it appears often in texts dated from the 4<sup>th</sup> century onwards, the interpretation must be related to the divine and human aspects of Christ.

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<sup>1</sup> C. Blanc, *Origène, Commentaire sur Saint Jean* (Sources chrétiennes, 120; Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1966) 156.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>3</sup> Apollinaris of Laodicea, *Fragmenta in Psalmos*, frag. 101a, in E. Mühlberg, *Psalmenkommentare aus der Katenenüberlieferung* vol. 1 (Patristische Texte und Studien, 15; Berlin – New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1975) 38-39.

<sup>4</sup> Theodoret, *Interpretatio in Psalmos*, in Migne PG 80, col. 1429.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *supra*, 127-128.

Peter Nagel pointed out that the same expression appears in Shenoute’s homily *And We Will Also Reveal Something Else* (clavis coptica 0821): “The Lord, the king Christ and the Son of the King.”<sup>1</sup> The *dossier* can be further enriched with another sermon of Shenoute in which the typological interpretation of Psalm 71:1 appears, namely *De iudicio* (clavis coptica 0367).<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to remark that *ApoBA* is not the only pseudo-apostolic memoir which uses this formula. Thus, we can find it also in the *Book of Bartholomew*<sup>3</sup> and in the *Enthronement of Michael*.<sup>4</sup> In the *Martyrdom of Shenoufe*, Saint Shenoufe says to Christ: †CMOY EPOK ΠΡΡΟ ΔΥΩ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΡΡΟ.<sup>5</sup> This text has literary contacts with the Coptic pseudo-memoirs of the apostles and disciples. Among the features it shares with the pseudo-memoirs, is the expression “O my holy members,” which I have shown to be very peculiar to this category of texts.

Last but not least, a prayer in the White Monastery *Euchologion* addresses Christ with the words “You are the King and the Son of the King.”<sup>6</sup> As the Sahidic *Euchologion* was the most important book used by the Coptic priests, it is possible that it influenced all these texts.

**P. Berol. 22220 108, col. A,20-26**

ΔΝΟΚ Π[Ε ΤΕΡΙ]Η ΜΜΟ[ΟΩΕ] [ΕΤ]CΟΥ[ΤΩΝ ΖΑΜΗ]Η· Δ[ΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΟ]ΕΙΚ Ν[ΑΤΜΟΥ] ΟΥΩΜ  
 ΝΤΕΤΝ[CΕΙ ΖΑ]ΜΗΗ·

*I [am the [straight] travelling [road], [Amen! I am the immortal] bread. Eat and [be satiated], Amen!*

Because of the bad condition of the parchment, the reconstruction of this passage has been problematic since the *editio princeps*. Thus, the first editors transcribed only a few letters which are still visible. For his part, Stephen Emmel suggested in his first article on *ApoBA*

<sup>1</sup> Nagel, “Gespräche Jesu,” 243.

<sup>2</sup> H. Behlmer, *Schenute von Atripe: De iudicio* (Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino. Serie prima – Monumenti e testi, 8; Turin: Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali – Soprintendenza al Museo delle Antichità Egizie, 1996) 123-124.

<sup>3</sup> See Westerhoff, *Buch der Auferstehung*, 124. The occurrence of the “king” and “son of the King” formula was signaled by Emmel, “Righting the Order,” 58.

<sup>4</sup> Müller, *Bücher der Einsetzung*, 1: 34.

<sup>5</sup> Coptic text in E.A.E. Reymond – J.W.B. Barns, *Four Martyrdoms from the Pierpont Morgan Coptic Codices* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973) 121.

<sup>6</sup> E. Lanne, *Le Grand Euchologe du Monastère Blanc* (Patrologia Orientalis, 28/8; Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1958) 376 [112].

the reconstruction  $\lambda\text{NOK } \tau[\epsilon] \mid [\tau\text{P}\text{H}\text{G}]\text{H } \bar{\text{N}}\text{MO}[\text{OY} . ]\mid [ . . ]\text{CO} . . [\cdot\text{Z}\lambda]\mid[\text{MH}]\text{N}$ .<sup>1</sup> In a later publication, he seemed to abandon this proposal since he left the lacunae unfilled.<sup>2</sup>

However, this passage can be reconstructed now with the help of the Qasr el-Wizz codex. Thus, the second hymn of the Cross ( $\tau\text{MEZCNA}\gamma \bar{\text{N}}\text{Z}\gamma\text{MNOC } \bar{\text{N}}\text{PECTA}\gamma\text{POC}$ , Qasr el-Wizz 27,5-6) in this manuscript contains only two brief *ego eimi* sentences followed by an “Amen” uttered by the apostles:  $\lambda\text{NOK } \text{PE } \tau\text{EZIH } \bar{\text{N}}\text{PWN}\bar{\text{Z}} \text{ETTA}\epsilon\text{IH}[\gamma] \text{AMHN}$ :  $\lambda\text{NOK } \text{PE } \text{POEIK } \bar{\text{N}}\text{ATMOY}\cdot\text{OYOM } \bar{\text{N}}\text{TET}\bar{\text{N}}\text{CEI} \text{AMHN}$ :  $\lambda\text{NOY}\omega\text{O}\bar{\text{B}} \bar{\text{N}}\text{C}\omega\text{C } \chi\epsilon \text{AMHN}$ : (“I am the way of the blessed life, Amen! I am the immortal bread. Eat and be satiated, Amen!” We answered after him: “Amen!”) (Qasr el Wizz 27,6-12).

The surviving letters and strings of letters on P. Berol. 22220 108, col. A,23-25 allow us to restore confidently the second *ego eimi*:  $\lambda[\text{NOK } \text{PE } \text{PO}]\epsilon\text{IK } \bar{\text{N}}[\text{ATMOY}] \text{OYOM } \bar{\text{N}}\text{TET}\bar{\text{N}}[\text{CEI } \text{Z}\lambda]\text{MHN}$ . The first *ego eimi* phrase differs in the two manuscripts, although they both refer to John 14:6,  $\epsilon\gamma\omega \epsilon\text{imi } \eta \delta\delta\omicron\varsigma$ :

**P. Berol. 22220 108, col. A,20-23**

$\lambda\text{NOK } \tau[\epsilon \text{TEZ}]\text{IH } \bar{\text{N}}\text{MO}[\text{OY}\epsilon]$   
 $[\epsilon\text{T}]\text{COY}[\text{TOM } \text{Z}\lambda\text{MH}]\text{N}$

**Qasr el-Wizz 27,6-7**

$\lambda\text{NOK } \text{PE } \tau\text{EZIH}$   
 $\bar{\text{N}}\text{PWN}\bar{\text{Z}} \text{ETTA}\epsilon\text{IH}[\gamma] \text{AMHN}$ :

Here *ApoBA* combines John 14:6 with the “straight way” which appears several times in the Bible (Psalm 107:7; Proverbs 2:13, 16; 2 Peter 2:15).<sup>3</sup> It is interesting to remark that, while the *ego eimi* speeches are soteriological, the author of *ApoBA* gives a new meaning to the Johannine phrase by applying to it a moral dimension proper to sapiential literature (“the straight way”). Such an elaborate reading of an *ego eimi* proclamation might point to a late provenance of our document.

**P. Berol. 22220 109, col. A,11-15**

$\text{PETE } \text{N}[\bar{\text{Q}}]\chi[\text{I}] \text{AN } \bar{\text{N}}\text{PASOM}[\lambda \text{M}]\bar{\text{N}}\text{PASNOY. } \text{PA}[\text{I}] \text{OY}\omega\text{MMO } \text{EPOI } \text{PE } \text{ZAM}[\text{H}]\text{N}$

“The one who does not [receive] my body [and] my blood, this is a stranger to me, Amen!”

<sup>1</sup> Emmel, “Righting the Order,” 58, 68.

<sup>2</sup> Emmel, “Preliminary Reedition,” 41, 50.

<sup>3</sup>  $\text{NEZIOOYE } \text{ETCOYTOM}$  in Proverbs 2:13, see Worrell, *The Proverbs of Solomon*, 7.  $\text{ZIH } \text{ECCOYTOM}$  appears as well in Psalm 107:7 (LXX), see E.A.W. Budge, *Coptic Psalter*, 116; 2 Peter 2:15 has  $\text{TEZIH } \text{ETCOYTOM}$ .

This saying has been extensively analyzed by Peter Nagel, who pointed out similar passages containing maledictions against those who reject the Eucharist in the works of Shenoute.<sup>1</sup> However, as several polemics concerning the Eucharist, and the transfiguration of the bread and wine, took place in Egypt during the course of time, this saying does not help us to date the *Apocryphon Berolinense/Argentoratense*.

It should be pointed out that several other pseudo-apostolic memoirs contain passages concerning the importance of the Eucharist. Moreover, these texts blame those who reject the body and the blood of the Savior, condemning them to eternal punishment. The aforementioned saying from *ApoBA* must be studied in relation with the similar ideas which appear in the other memoirs attributed to the apostles and disciples.

For example, in the sermon of Ps.-Bachios of Maiuma *On the apostles*, Christ tells the apostles that at the Final Judgment, when they will sit to judge mankind, they must show mercy towards everybody except those that rejected the Eucharist: “I do not want you to forgive anyone except those who took from my body and my blood” (ⲛⲧⲟϥⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ ϩⲱⲧⲧⲏⲅⲧⲏ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲧⲉⲧⲏⲕⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲗⲁⲗϥ· ⲉⲓⲙⲏⲧⲉⲓ ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁϥϫⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲙⲡⲁϭⲱⲙⲁ ⲙⲏⲡⲁϭⲛⲟϥ).<sup>2</sup> Moreover, although John the Baptist is the Forerunner, he will not participate at the Final Judgment because he did not have the privilege to participate at the Eucharist (ⲙⲡⲉϩϫⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲙⲡⲁϭⲱⲙⲁ ⲙⲏⲡⲁϭⲛⲟϥ).<sup>3</sup>

In another judgment scene, from the *Enthronement of Michael*, Christ shows his apostles those who are tormented in the afterlife because “they did not taken from my body and my blood” (ⲙⲏⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁϥϫⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲙⲡⲁϭⲱⲙⲁ ⲙⲏⲡⲁϭⲛⲟϥ).<sup>4</sup>

#### **P. Berol. 22220 110, col. A,4-5**

[ⲙⲡⲣⲟⲩⲱ]ⲗⲡ [ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲡⲁϭ]ⲱⲙ[ⲁ ϩⲁⲙⲏⲛ·]  
[do not reveal my] body, [Amen!]

The only clear traces of letters are ]ⲗⲡ[ on line 4. However, this passage can be restored on the basis of the parallel version in the Qasr el-Wizz codex:

<sup>1</sup> Nagel, “Gespräche Jesu,” 244-247.

<sup>2</sup> Sahidic text in Morard, “Homélie sur la vie de Jésus,” 423.

<sup>3</sup> Idem.

<sup>4</sup> Sahidic text in Müller, *Bücher der Einsetzung*, 1: 38.

Qasr el-Wizz 29,2-5	P. Berol. 22220 110, col. A,2-5
ϩοπτ̄ εροκ̄ ω̄ πεσταγροσ̄· μ̄π̄ρ̄ωλπ̄ εβολ̄ μ̄ π̄ασωμᾱ λμην̄:—	ϩο[πτ̄ εροκ̄] ω̄ πεσ̄[ϣ̄οσ̄] [μ̄π̄ρ̄ω]λπ̄ [εβολ̄] [μ̄π̄ασ̄]ϩμ̄[λ̄ λμην̄:]

The meaning of the saying “do not reveal my body” is difficult to establish. It is possible, however, that this is a reference to the eclipse which occurred during the Crucifixion (Matt 27:45/Mark 15:33/Luke 23:44). According to some texts, the eclipse was meant to cover the naked Christ in darkness. For example, in the Sahidic homily *On the Cross and the Good Thief* by Ps.-Theophilus of Alexandria we read, “...the sun grew dark. This great luminary has darkened the entire earth in order to overshadow his holy body on the Cross because they have stripped off his clothes (and) divided them among them.”<sup>1</sup> If this interpretation is correct, the text probably means that the miracle occurred through the power of the Cross.

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<sup>1</sup> Translation from Suciū, “*Sermo de Cruce et Latrone*,” 222.



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μηταποστολος A, 101, col. A, 11-12; B 6r,4; B 6v,5-6  
(ἀρχάγγελος) m. archangel  
αρχαγγελος A 101, col. A,25-26  
ἀρχή f. beginning  
A 109, col. B,9; C 33,4, 6  
ἀσθενής m. weak  
B 5v,7  
(αὐτεξούσιος) m. free-will, autonomous  
αυτοζογσιος A 98, col. A,32; col. B,7-8  
γάρ for  
A 97, col. A,10; A 98, col. B,17, 26, 31; A fr 21F,1  
γενεά m. generation  
A 110, col. A,8-9; A fr 19H,4  
γένος m. race  
A 102, col. B,4  
δέ but etc.  
A 101, col. B,27; A 108, col. B,15, 24; B 5v,7, 9; C 24,1; C 25,2; C 27,2; C 33,10  
δίκαιος m. righteous  
A fr 17H, col. B,5  
δύναμις f. force  
A fr 9H,4  
εἰ μήτι except for  
A 106, col. A,4-5; A fr 9H,6; A fr 22H,1-2  
ἔνδυμα f. garment  
A 97, col. A,27  
ἐντολή f. commandment  
A 99, col. A,12  
ἐξουσία f. power  
B 5v,17  
(ἐπιθυμεῖν) desire  
επιθυμει A 106, col. B,32-106, col. A,1  
ἦ  
A 99, col. B,2; A 107, col. A,7; A fr 22F,5  
(ἰουδαῖος) Jew  
ιοϋδαι C 24,5  
(θεραπεύειν) cure  
θεραπευει A 97, col. B,26  
(θρόνος) m. throne

- A 101, col. B,5, 8; A 102, col. B,14; A fr 17F, col. A,6
- καλῶς m. good  
A 108, col. A,11; A fr 10F, col. A,1
- καρπός m. fruit  
B 5r,3
- κατά according  
A fr 21H,7
- καταβολή f. foundation  
C 33,1
- καταπέτασμα m. veil  
A 101, col. B,1-2
- (κατέχειν) hold back  
κατεχε C 25,11
- κλήρος m. lot  
A 105, col. A,30
- κήρυγμα m. proclamation  
A fr 22F,2
- κόσμος m. world  
A 97, col. A,22-23; col. B,25; A 99, col. B,5-6; A 101, col. A,4; A 102, col. A,22-23; col. B,15; A 108, col. A,3, 8, 12; col. B,5-6, 7-8, 14, 16, 18; A fr 21F,2; A fr 22F,4; A fr 24H,2; B 5v,22-23; C 33,1-2
- λαμπάς m. lamp  
A 97, col. A,21
- λαός m. people  
A 102, col. A,5-6; A 110, col. B,7; B 7v,2
- λειτουργία f. service  
A 104, col. B,31
- λίτρα m. pound  
A fr 24F,3, 4, 5, 6
- λόγχη f. lance  
A 108, col. B,28
- (λύπειν) grieve  
λγπi A 108, col. A,7  
λγπn col. B,6-7
- μαθητής m. disciple  
A fr 14H,2-3
- μέλος m. member  
A 100, col. A, 3; A 107, col. B,18;  
A fr 9F, col. A,5; C 24,10; 28,1
- μέν on the one hand  
B 5v,6
- μετάνοια repentance  
A fr 20F,4
- μήποτε lest  
A 107, col. A,20
- μονογενής m. Only-Begotten  
B 5r,20; C 31,11
- μυστήριον m. mystery  
B 6r,3
- οἰκονομία f. dispensation  
A 109, col. B,1
- ὄρφανός m. orphan  
A fr 19,7-8
- (ὅσον) how much  
ενζοσον A 98, col. B,11
- οὐδέ nor  
A 97, col. A,24; A 105, col. A,31
- πάλιν again  
C 28,7
- (παραδιδόναι) hand over  
παραδιδογ A 98, col. B,18-19
- παράνομος m. impious  
C 24,6
- πατριάρχης m. patriarch  
A fr 9F, col. B,2-3
- (πηγή)  
πγγn A fr 19F,5
- (πιστεύειν) believe  
πιστεγε A 107, col. A,30
- πιστή f. believer  
A fr 20F,3
- πλήρωμα m. fullness  
A 110, col. A,31-32
- (πληροῦν) to fill  
πληρογ C 29,11
- πόλις f. city  
A fr 14H,5, 8, 11
- (πνεῦμα) m. spirit  
πῆα A 100, col. B,3; B 5v,6; C 32,11
- πόλεμος m. battle  
αριπολεμος A 108, col. A,29
- πρεσβύτερος  
A 101, col. B,3-4



- προφήτης m. prophet  
A 105, col. A,28; A fr 9F, col. B,3-4; A fr 17, col. B,3-4
- πύλη f. gate  
A 100, col. B,11
- σάρξ f. flesh  
B 5v,7
- σεραφίμ m. Seraphim  
A 101, col. A,30
- (σκανδαλίζειν) offend  
σκανδαλιζε A 98, col. B,22
- σκηνή f. tent  
A fr 14F,12
- σοφία f. wisdom  
A fr 9H,3-4
- σπέρμα m. seed  
A 100, col. A,4-5
- σταυρός m. cross  
σταυρος C 24,12; C 25,12; C 26,1, 6, 9-10, 11; C 27,6; C 28, 6, 11; C 29,3, 7, 9; C 30,3; C 31,1, 8; C 32, 9  
ⲥⲧⲱⲣⲟⲥ A 106, col. B,21; A 109, col. A,30; col. B,4, 10, 15, 21, 25, 31; A 110, col. A,3, 10, 17, 23, 28, 31; col. B,14, 17, 30; A fr 9H, col. B,10; B 5r,8, 18; B 7r,1, 5, 6, 7, 10; B 7v,7, 11; C 28,2  
ⲥⲧⲱⲥ C 32,7
- (σταυροῦν) crucify  
σταυροϋ C 24,4
- στολή f. robe  
A 101, col. B,11; A 112,4
- σῶμα m. body  
A 98, col. B,12; A 100, col. B,3; A 107, col. A,8-9; A 109, col. A,12; A 110, col. A,5; C 29,5
- σωτήρ m. savior  
A 100, col. A,1; col. B,18; A 101, col. A,14; A 105, col. A,29; A 107, col. A,24-25; col. B,22; A fr 14H,7; A fr 20H,2, 5; C 24,2
- τέλειος m. perfect  
C 33,9  
τελειον C 33,5, 7
- τότε then  
A 101, col. A,2; A 102, col. A,24
- τύπος m. image, type  
A fr 9H, col. B,7
- (ὔλη) f. matter  
ⲅⲮⲗⲏ A 98, col. B,13
- (ὑμνεῖν) sing  
ⲅⲮⲓⲛⲉⲅⲉ A 101, col. B,3; A fr 9H, col. B,9; C 24,11; 30,12
- (ὑμνος) m. hymn  
ⲅⲮⲓⲛⲟⲥ B 5v,1-2; C 27,2-3, 5
- (ὑπομείναι) endure  
ⲅⲮⲓⲛⲟⲓⲛⲉ B 5r,7
- (ὑποτάσσειν) submit  
ⲅⲮⲓⲛⲟⲩⲁⲥⲥⲉ B 5r,15; C 31,5-6
- φέρειν carry  
ⲫⲟⲣⲉⲓ C 28,8
- χάρις f. grace  
C 30,11
- χερουβίμ m. Cherubim  
A 101, col. A,27-28
- χήρα f. widow  
A fr 19H,6
- χολή f. gall  
A 108, col. B,23-24
- (χορεία) f. dance  
ⲭⲟⲣⲓⲁ A 109, col. A,17; A 110, col. A,16-17; C 29,6
- (χορεύειν) dance  
ⲭⲟⲣⲉⲅⲉ A 107, col. B,19-20; C 28,2
- χώρα f. land  
A 111,5; B 5r,1
- ψυχή f. soul  
A 99, col. A,5, 8, 14
- ω  
A 100, col. A,3; A 102, col. A,6, col. B,27, 32; A 103, col. A,32; A 106, col. A,32; col. B,3; A 107, col. B,18; A 108, col. A,2; A 109, col. B,15, 21, 31; A 110, col. A,3, 9, 23, 27, 30; col. B,13, 16, 30; A fr 9F, col. A,5; A fr 20H,6; A fr 25F,2; B 5r,6, 14; B 7r,5, 7, 8, 12; B 7v,6, 11; C 24,9; C 25,12; C

26,1, 3, 6, 9, 11; C 27,13 C 28,5,  
11; C 29,3, 8, C 30,3, 11  
(ὡς) like if  
ζωσ A 108, col. B,8; A fr 20H,3

(ὡστε) as  
ζωστε A 101, col. B,24

## II. NAMES

ΑΒΡΑΖΑΜ  
A 102, col. B,8; A fr 9F, col. B,5;  
A fr 10H, col. B,1-2  
ΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ  
A 97, col. A,31-32  
ΙΑΚΩΒ  
A 102, col. B,9-10; A fr 9F, col.  
B,6; A fr 10H, col. B,3  
ΙΣΑΑΚ  
A 102, col. B,9; A fr 9F, col. B,5-  
6; A fr 10H, col. B,2

(ΙΣΡΑΗΛ)  
יִשְׂרָאֵל A 102, col. A,6, 13  
ΙΟΥΔΑΣ  
A fr 20H,6  
ΙΩΡΔΑΝΝΗΣ  
A 107, col. A,10-11  
ΜΩΥΣΗΣ  
A fr 10H, col. B,3-4  
(ΖΙΕΡΟΥΣΑΛΗΜ)  
עִירֵי־יְרוּשָׁלַיִם A fr 14H,10

## III. COPTIC WORDS

αλε  
C 26,5; 28,12; 30,1  
αμντε m. Hades  
A 97, col. 2,29  
αν negation  
C 29,8  
n-... αν A 98, col. B,27; A 109,  
col. A, 12; A 110, col. A,9;  
(αναϛ) ῥαναϛ please  
ῥαναϛ A 99, col. A, 10-11  
ανок personal pronoun / augens  
анок A 98, col. A,25; col. B,28-  
29; A 107, col. B,26; A 108, col.  
A,31; A 109, col. A,8-9; A 110,  
col. B,14, 29; B 7v,10; C 25,5; C  
29,7  
нток A 101, col. B,23; A 110,  
col. B,16; B 7v,6

анон A 100, col. B,1; A 101, col.  
A,2-3; B 5v,9; C 24,6; 25,2; 33,10  
нτωτη A 98, col. B,20; A 99, col.  
A,6; A 108, col. B,14-15, 19, 24,  
27-28; A fr 19F,3-4; B 5v,21; B  
7v,7, 7-8; C 25,1  
анок predicate / nexus пе  
анок A 99, col. A,3; A 107, col.  
B,10; A 108, col. A,17, 18, 20, 23;  
col. B,22; C 27,6, 8; C 33,2  
нτωτη A 97, col. A,18-19, 20-21;  
C 25,1  
анок] анг- subject pronoun  
анг A 99, col. A,18; 108, col.  
A,4; A 109, col. B,27; A 110, col.  
A,18, 19; C 26,3  
нтк A 109, col. B,8  
анон A 98, col. B,29-30; A 110,  
col. B,17, 18

απε f. head

A 100, col. B,23

αποτ m. cup

A 102, col. A,8-9; col. B,29

αγω and

A 97, col. A,20; A 98, col. B,19;  
A 101, col. A,13; col. B,11, 22; A  
102, col. B,2; A 107, col. B,3, 5;  
A 108, col. A,15, 25; col. B,30-  
31; A 110, col. A,14, 25; col. B,9,  
12; A fr 24H,6; A fr 25F,6; B 6r2;  
C 24,12; 33,3, 4, 7, 8

ατ- privative prefix

with infinitive: see μοϋ, ωαχε

αω what?

A 107, col. A,7, 8; A fr 14H,7; A  
fr 14F,9

αχνη-, (αχνητ-) without

αχνη A 109, col. B,14; B 7r,4

βωκ go

A 97, col. B,28; A 104, col. B,32;  
A 107, col. A,32; A 108, col. B,9

βαλ m. eye

A 100, col. B, 4; A 101, col. A,9;  
B 6v,1

(βολ) outside

βολ A 101, col. B,1

εβολ A 98, col. A,26; col. B,15-  
16; A 99, col. A,1, 17; col. B,5; A  
100, col. B,6, 7, 16; A 101, col.  
A,1; A 102, col. B,2-3; A 104,  
col. B,30; A 105, col. A,1; A 106,  
col. A,2; A 107, col. A,22, 25; col.  
B,14-15, 16; A 108, col. B,20; A  
109, col. A,16; col. B,16, 28; A  
110, col. A,4, 21; col. B,1, 8, 31;  
A 110, col. B,32-111, col. A,1; A  
111,3, 7; A fr 9H, col. A,6; col.  
B,8-9; A fr 10F, col. A,3; col. B,5;  
A fr 26H,3; B 5r,3, 13, 17, 19, 23,  
24; B 5v,1, 15; B 6r,1, 5; B 7v,3,  
12; C 27,2; C 29,4; C 31,3, 8, 10;  
C 32,4, 5, 10, 11

βωλ εβολ dissolution

A 100, col. B,16; A 109, col.  
B,16; B 5r,19; B 5v,16

ε- circumstantial converter

A 99, col. A,12

ε-, ερο= preposition

ε A 97, col. A,22; col. B,28; A 99,  
col. A,13; A 100, col. B,8, 11, 14,  
17; A 101, col. A,14, 15; A 102,  
col. B, 15; A 105, col. A,32; col.  
B,1; A 106, col. B,30, 31; A 107,  
col. A,18; col. B,13; A 108, col.  
A,3; col. B,14

see also βολ

εροι A 97, col. B,27; A 107, col.  
A,4, 32; col. B,9, 12, 18; A 108,  
col. A,1; A 109, col. A,8, 14; A  
110, col. B,13; A fr 25H,3; C  
24,11; C 25,10; C 27,13

εροκ A 107, col. A,21; A 109, col.  
A,14, 22, 32; col. B,32; A 110,  
col. A,3; col. B,6, 15; C 26,9; C  
28,10-11

εροϋ A 107, col. B,25; A 108, col.  
A,5; col. B,10; A fr 10H,6; A fr  
14F,4; A fr 24F,2; B 7r,13; B  
7v,1; C 25,3-4; C 29,3; C 30,3; C  
33,7, 8

ερον A 107, col. A,6, 14, 15; A fr  
9F, col. A,4; B 5v,3

ερωτη A 98, col. B,10, 14; A 108,  
col. B,16-17

εροου A 107, col. A,1; A fr 17H,6  
ε (+ infinitive)

A 97, col. B,28; A 98, col. A,29;  
col. B,9; A 99, col. A,13; A 102,  
col. B,1; A 104, col. B,30; A 108,  
col. A,32; col. B,4

εβω m. honey

A fr 19F,3

ελοολε m. grape

A 97, col. A,30

εματε greatly, very

εματε A 102, col. A,3

μματε A 102, col. B,6

ενεζ m. eternity

C 32,12; C 33,9, 13

ερωτε m. f. milk

A fr 19F,2

- ερηϋ *reciprocity*  
A 100, col. B, 10
- εσнт ground, bottom  
επεснт A 97, col. B,28; A 101, col. A,31-32; col. B,7; A 112,5
- εσοοϋ sheep  
A 99, col. A,2
- ετε-, εт- *relative converter*  
ετε A 97, col. B,32; A 102, col. B,8-9; A 107, col. B,1-2, 3-4, 5; A 109, col. A,11; A fr 9F, col. B,4; A fr 21H,5; B 6r2; C 33,12  
εт A 99, col. A,4; A 101, col. B,1, 4
- εтве-, εтвннтε because of, concerning  
εтве A 97, col. B,29; A 99, col. A,15, 20; A 101, col. B,21; A 102, col. B,6-7, 24; A 108, col. A,7; col. B,1, 7  
εтветнϋтн A 108, col. A9-10
- εσοοϋ m. glory  
A 97, col. A,12; A 102, col. B,24-25; A 105, col. A,32; A 107, col. A,16, 18; A 111,6-7; B 6r,1; B 6v,2, 3; B 5r,2; C 30,4, 6, 8; C 33,11, 12
- εωωπε if  
A 107, col. B, 7
- εωχε if  
A 97, col. B, 25; A 102, col. A,7; col. B,27; A 103, col. A,32; A 109, col. B,23-24
- εχн-, εχωε see χω (*preposition*)
- ει come  
A 99, col. B,6; A 104, col. B,30; A 107, col. A,8;
- ει *auxiliary*  
A 107, col. A,13
- ειв m. claw  
B 5r,18  
ειεв C 31,9
- (εινε) bring  
нтн A 99, col. B,3-4
- (ειρε) make, do  
р A 97, col. A,22; A 98, col. B,29; col. B,9, 13; A 99, col. A,19; col. B,3; A 100, col. B,2, 13; A 101, col. A,6; A 102, col. A,11; A 108, col. B,18; A 109, col. B,26; A 110, col. B,11; B 5r,13; B 5v,14; C 25,3  
αρι A 108, col. A,29; col. B,20; B 5v,18  
ο A 107, col. A,27; A fr 20H,3
- ειωρρ perceive  
B 6v,2
- εις- behold  
ειςρннтε A 108, col. A,5-6; A fr 25H,2
- ειωт m. father  
ειωт A 102, col. B,30; A fr 14F,13; B 5r,6, 14; C 30,5-6, 11; 32,8  
їωт A 98, col. B,27, 29; A 99, col. A,11, 16; A 101, col. B,2, 9, 15; A 102, col. A,7, 26, 27-28; col. B,27; A 103, col. A,32-33; A 107, col. B,1, 2; A fr 9F, col. A,7; A fr 15F,5
- (ειωε) hang  
αωт A 109, col. B,32; B 7r,12; C 26,7
- κε (σε) another  
κε A 102, col. A,10; A 107, col. A,18; col. B,30; A 110, col. A,22, 27, 30; col. B,10; A fr 19F,2; B 7v,4; C 25,7  
κοοϋε A 97, col. B,29-30
- κοϋι little  
A 107, col. B,30; A 110, col. A, 23, 27, 30; C 25,6, 8
- κω place, set  
κω A 99, col. A,5, 7, 14  
κα A 101, col. A,31; A 106, col. A,2; A 107, col. A,22; A 108, col. A,3  
καат A 98, col. B,25
- καке m. darkness  
A 101, col. A,5
- κлом m. crown  
A 101, col. B,7; C 25,3
- (κωнс) pierce

- κονστ A 108, col. B,27  
 κωτε turn  
   κωτε A 107, col. B,24-25; C 25,3  
   κοτq B 5v,3  
 καθ m. earth  
   A 97, col. A,20; A 102, col. B,26  
 κωστ m. fire  
   A 107, col. B,10, 13-14  
 λααγ *indefinite pronoun*  
   A fr 14F,3, 5  
 μα m. place  
   A 97, col. B,31; A 98, col. B,16;  
   A 100, col. B,5; A fr 14F,9; B  
   6v,1  
 με love  
   A 99, col. A,16  
 με f. truth  
   A 108, col. B,31  
 μογ die  
   μογ A 102, col. B,1; B 5r,18; 31,9  
   ατμογ A 101, col. A,8; A 108,  
   col. A,24; C 27,9  
 μογκz afflict  
   μοκz A 101, col. B,22-23; A 102,  
   col. A,2  
 (μμη-) there is no (negative  
 existential)  
   μμη A 99, col. A,12; A 105, col.  
   A,30, 32;  
 μμον otherwise  
   A 99, col. B,2  
 μμον truly  
   A 110, col. B,30; B 7v,11  
 (μ)μντε-, (μ)μνταz  
   μντετη A 108, col. A,25  
 μν-, μμμαz *preposition* with, and  
   μμη A 98, col. B,29; A 100, col.  
   B,14; A 101, col. A,25; A 102,  
   col. B,9; A 104, col. B,27; A 108,  
   col. B,23, 25; A 109, col. A,13; A  
   fr 9F, col. B,3, 5, 6; A fr 10H, col.  
   B,2, 3; B 6r,3; B 6v,3; B 7v,8  
   μμμαi A 97, col. A,17; A 98, col.  
   B,28; 106, col. B,30; A 107, col.  
   B,21; A 109, col. A,10; A 110,  
   col. B,16; B 5v,8; B 7v,6  
   μμμακ A 110, col. B,29-30; B  
   7v,10  
   μμμαq C 24,7  
   μμμαη A 100, col. B,22  
   μμμητη C 25,8-9  
 μννσα-, μννσωz *preposition* after  
   μννσα A 99, col. B,1  
   μννσωc A fr 9F, col. B,1-2  
 μντ- *nominal abstract*  
   see ἀπόστολος, ερο, χωωρε,  
   μντρε, ρμμαο, νογτε, χοεις  
 μντρε m. witness  
   A 108, col. B, 30; B 7r,13; C 26,8;  
   C 29,2  
   μντμντρε A 108, col. B,32; A  
   110, col. A,1; C 26,7-8; C 29,1  
 (μογρ) bind  
   μνρ† A 97, col. B,30  
 μαρον let us go!  
   A 98, col. B,15  
 (μεριτ) m. beloved  
   μερατε A 102, col. B,7; A fr  
   14H,13  
 μτο (εβολ) in face of  
   A 100, col. B,7  
 μντε f. midst  
   A 107, col. B,27, 31; C 25,5, 9  
 μτον rest  
   A 108, col. B,26; A fr 19F,4  
 (μαγ) *adverb* there  
   μμαγ A 97, col. B,31; A fr 14H,6  
 μαγααz alone, only  
   μαγαατ A 98, col. B,25, 26-27  
 μεεγε think  
   A 99, col. B,3; A 100, col. B,15;  
   A fr 19H,3-4; B 5v,18  
 μοογ m. water  
   A fr 19F,6  
 μογογτ kill  
   A 102, col. A,4; A fr 25H,4  
 μνηωε m. crowd  
   A fr 9H,5; B 5r,4  
 μνωε fight  
   A 108, col. A, 11, 26  
 μοοωε  
   A 108, col. A,21

*μεξ- ordinal prefix*

see σαφϣε, σοπ, снаϣ, φομντ,  
ϣτο

*μοϣ to fill*

μοϣ A 110, col. A,26;

μεξ C 28,6

μαξκ A 109, col. B,28; A 110,  
col. A,21

*η- encompassing negation*

A 98, col. B,26; A 102, col. B,32;  
A 109, col. A,11

*η- attributive*

η A 98, col. B,30; A 99, col. B,1;  
A 101, col. A,7, 8; A 103, col.  
A,31; A 106, col. B,28; A 107,  
col. A,7; A 110, col. B,7; B 6r,1;  
B 6v,2; B 5r,1; C 25,6

η A 100, col. B,3, 24; A 101, col.  
A,16; A 108, col. A,21; C 24,5

*η- identity*

η A 107, col. A,27;

η A 97, col. A,16; A 99, col. A,11

*η-, ηηο= preposition. direct object*

η A 99, col. A,5, 8, 14; A 100,  
col. B,23; A 104, col. B,30; B  
6v,2, 3, 5

η A 97, col. A,26; A 98, col.  
B,32; A 99, col. A,17; A102, col.  
B,3; A 107, col. A,17; A 108, col.  
B,5; A 109, col. A,12, 31; C 24,12  
ηηοι A 99, col. A,16; A 108, col.  
A,31; C 25,12; C 26,2

ηηοκ A 109, col. B,22

ηηοс A 102, col. A,27; A fr  
14F,8; B 5v,10; C 24,9

*η-, ηηο= preposition. relation*

η- A 97, col. A, 10, 13, 18, 27; A  
100, col. B,2; A 101, col. A,5, 9,  
11; col. B,14; A 102, col. B,4; A  
107, col. A,7; col. B,28; A 108,  
col. B,22, 27; A 111,5; A fr 9H,3,  
4

η- A 97, col. A,12, 20, 30; A 99,  
col. A,2; A 100, col. B,7; A 101,  
col. B,2, 8, 9; A 102, col. A,26;  
col. B,12; A 103, col. A,30; A

105, col. B,29, 30, 31; A 107, col.  
B,16; A 108, col. A,8, 19; B 5r,1,  
9, 18; C 24,3

ηηοι A 98, col. B,19; A 107, col.  
B,15; A 108, col. A,14-15; A 111,  
col. A, 1; B 7v,13

ηηοκ A 110, col. B,31-32; B 7r,9;  
B 7v,12; C 29,11

ηηοϣ A 110, col. B,21; C 24,5-6

ηηοτη A 97, col. A,15; A 98,  
col. A,29; A 107, col. A,26; A  
108, col. B,2-3; A fr 19F,4-5

ηηοοϣ A 97, col. B,26-27; B  
5r,11

*η-, ηα= preposition. dative*

η A 102, col. A,22

ηαι A 102, col. B,16, 26; B 5r,9,  
15; C 31,2

ηακ A 111; B 5r,5; C 30,4, 7; C  
31,6

ηαϣ A 102, col. B,30; A 107, col.  
A,4; A 111,7; B 5r,2; B 5v,10

ηαс A fr 24H,3

ηαη A 100, col. A,2; A 105, col.  
A,29; A 107, col. B,26; A fr 9F,  
col. A,4; A fr 14H,9; B 6r,5; B  
5v,3, 13; C 25,4; C 27,12

ηητη A 98, col. A,26; A 108, col.  
B,4, 25; B 6r,1; B 5v,19

ηαϣ A 110, col. A,2; B 7r,13; C  
26,8; C 29,2

*ηα- instans*

A 109, col. B,16

see also IV. Conjugation Forms (*I*  
*future, circumstantial future*)

(ηαε-), ηααα= be great

ηαααϣ A 99, col. A,12

ηοβε m. sin

A 106, col. A,2; A 108, col. A,7-8

ηαιατ= be blessed

ηαιατϣ A 97, col. A,15

ηαιαττηϣτη A fr 9F, col. A,6-7

ηηη who?

B 5r,17, 19, 21; C 32,1,6

ηηη every

- A 98, col. A,24, 30; A 100, col. B,5; B 6v,1; C 32,13
- ΝΑΝΟΥΓ-, ΝΑΝΟΥΓ= be good  
 ΝΑΝΟΥΓ 99, col. A,4
- ἄνσα-, ἄνσω= *preposition* behind  
 νσα A 100, col. B,4-5, 9-10; C 30,5  
 νσαθηγτην B 5v,21  
 νσω A 109, col. A,18  
 νσωι A 108, col. A,3-4; B 5v,20; C 25,2; C 28,5  
 νσωφ C 27,3-4, 11  
 νσων A 99, col. B,4  
 νσωου A fr 20F,6
- νουγε m. God  
 A 99, col. A,19; A 107, col. B,3, 4; B 5v,12; C 33,11  
 νητνουγε B 6v,2-3; C 30,9
- ντοφ *limitable*  
 A 107, col. A,31; A 108, col. B,7, 12; A 110, col. A,11; A fr 21F,4; B 5v,15; C 26,12
- ναγ see  
 A 100, col. B,8, 17; A 101, col. A,13; A 107, col. A,1, 3, 21, 29; A 108, col. B,29; A 110, col. B,6; B 7v,1
- νηγ<sup>†</sup> come  
 A 110, col. A,12; A 112,5
- νεζεπε lament  
 A 110, col. B,12
- (ναζρη-), ναζρα= *νναζραν* A 101, col. A,6
- νουχχε throw  
 A 101, col. B,6
- νσι *preposition (lexical subject)*  
 A 97, col. A,31; A 98, col. B,17-18; A 99, col. A,2; A 105, col. A,29; A 107, col. A,10; col. B,22; A 108, col. A,2; A 109, col. B,12-13; A fr 9H,5; B 5v,4; B 7r,3; C 24,5
- οεικ m. bread  
 A 108, col. A,24; C 27,8
- (οειω) cry  
 ταωθεοειω preach A fr 22F,3
- ον again  
 A 97, col. B,27; A 102, col. A,24; A 110, col. B,7; B 7v,1, 2; C 27,13; 28,7
- οζε m. flock  
 A 99, col. A,2-3
- πε f. heaven  
 πε A 100, col. B,24; A 101, col. A,16; A 106, col. B,30; A 109, col. B,23; B 7r,10  
 πηγε A 97, col. A, 14, 18; A 100, col. B,8, 19; A 101, col. A,1, 23  
 πνογε A 97, col. A, 10-11; A 101, col. A,9
- πωωνε change  
 A 107, col. A,17
- πωρω spread  
 A 112,6
- πατ f. knee  
 A 101, col. B,14; A 102, col. A,25
- πωτ flee  
 A 98, col. B,21, 24; A 100, col. B,14; A fr 20H,4; B 5v,20, 21
- πωρ reach  
 A 101, col. A,15
- πωρτ bend  
 πωρτ A 102, col. B,2  
 παρτφ A 101, col. B,13; A 102, col. A,25  
 παρτοφ A 101, col. A,26, 28
- πεχε-, πεχα= say  
 πεχε A 102, col. B,30; A fr 20H,5  
 πεχαφ A 97, col. A,32; A 100, col. A,2; A 105, col. A,28-29; A 107, col. A,11; col. B,25, 29; A fr 14H,8-9; A fr 14F,11; B 5v,3, 13; C 25,4, 7; C 27,12  
 πεχαν A 107, col. A,4; A fr 9F, col. A,4
- πω (*particle*)  
 A 108, col. B,8
- ρωειс watch  
 A 100, col. B,11; B 5v,8
- ρκρικε nodding  
 A 97, col. A,24-25
- ρωκз burn

A 107, col. B,9  
 ρινε cry  
 A 101, col. B,22; A 102, col. B,6;  
 A 108, col. B,11; A 110, col. A,9;  
 col. B,11; B 5v,10; C 26,10-11  
 ρωμε m. man  
 A 98, col. A,31; A 99, col. A,15,  
 19; A 102, col. B,5; A 108, col.  
 B,2  
 ρμμαο m. rich  
 ρμμαο A 109, col. B,27; A 110,  
 col. A,20; C 26,4; C 29,12  
 μντρμμαο A 109, col. B,29; A  
 110, col. A,22; C 29,12  
 ρμραω n. gentle  
 A 110, col. A,13-14  
 ρμρε f. free person  
 A 108, col. B,18, 20  
 ραν m. name  
 A 112,3  
 ῥρο m. king  
 ρρο A 108, col. A,17, 19; B 5r,13  
 μντερο A 97, col. A,9-10, 13, 17-  
 18, 27-28; A 106, col. A,3; B 5r,9,  
 21, 23; C 31,3-32,1, 3  
 (ρατϛ) foot ερατϛ  
 αερατϛ A 107, col. B,23  
 αερατοϛ A 102, col. B,11  
 ροοϛ† be glad  
 B 5v,6  
 ραωε rejoice  
 A 98, col. A,27, 30-31; A 102,  
 col. B,1; A 108, col. A,9, 15-16;  
 col. B,5, 12; A 110, col. A,10-11;  
 col. B,10; B 5v,22; B 7v,4; C  
 26,12  
 ρεϛ- (*agent prefix*)  
 A 102, col. A,11  
 ρωετ strike  
 A 98, col. B,32  
 ца m. side  
 A 100, col. B,5, 14  
 сei be satisfied  
 A 108, col. A,25; C 27,10  
 сωве laugh  
 A 110, col. B,6, 9; B 7v,2, 4

(смоу) bless  
 сμαμαατ A 100, col. A,5-6  
 (сμινε) establish  
 сμнтϛ A fr 9F, col. A,3  
 смот form  
 A 107, col. A,7  
 (сине) to pass  
 саат A 102, col. A,9; col. B,29  
 снаϛ two  
 μερснаϛ C 27,5  
 μεрснте A 110, col. A,16  
 μεрсепснаϛ A 102, col. B,31;  
 сноϛ m. blood  
 A 97, col. A,29; A 102, col. B,3;  
 A 109, col. A,13  
 соп m. occasion, time  
 соп A 103, col. A,31; C 28,4  
 μεрсепснаϛ A 102, col. B,31  
 сπυρ m. rib  
 A 108, col. B,28  
 сωтн listen  
 C 30,5; 33,10  
 соοϛн know  
 соοϛн A 98, col. A,27-28  
 соϛн A 110, col. A,11  
 соϛωнϛ A 111,4; B 5r,1  
 соϛнтнϛтн A 108, col. A,12  
 соοϛтн be straight  
 соϛтωн A 108, col. A,22  
 сωοϛε gather  
 A 107, col. B,17; C 24,7, 10;  
 27,13  
 (саωϛ) seven  
 μερсаωϛε A 100, col. B,24; A  
 101, col. A,15-16  
 сϛαι write  
 сϛαι A 112,3  
 снε A 98, col. B,31  
 сϛιμε f. woman  
 A fr 19H,5; A fr 20F,2  
 † give  
 A 97, col. A,26; A 109, col. A,31;  
 A 111,6; A fr 19F,2, 3; A fr  
 24F,2; B 6v,4; B 5r,2; C 28,9; C  
 29,9; 33,11  
 тааϛ A 102, col. B,25



- μα Β 5r,5  
(ταίο), ταεινυ honoured  
ταεινυ C 37,7
- ταλε mount  
Α 109, col. B,30
- ταμο inform  
ταмок fr.  
ταμωτη Β 6r2  
ματαμον Α 107, col. A,9
- των where? whence?  
Β 5r,24; C 32,4, 10
- τενοу postpositive now  
Α 97, col. B,31-32; Α 98, col. B,10; Α 107, col. B,17; Α 108, col. A,6; col. B,11; Α fr 25H,5; Α fr 25F,2; C 25,10-11
- τηнооу send  
Α 99, col. B,3-4  
τηнооуq C 32,7
- τηz m. wing  
Α 101, col. A,31
- (τρο) make  
тρεq Α 109, col. A,9
- τηr= *agens* whole  
τηrq Α 100, col. B,6; Α 102, col. A,23; Α 107, col. A,16; Α 110, col. A,32; Α fr 9H,5; Α fr 22F,5; Β 6r2; Β 6v,3; Β 5v,2; C 30,7  
τηrc Α 101, col. B,25; Α fr 24H,5; Β 6r,3;  
τηrn C 24,6-7; C 27,4  
τηrtn Α 98, col. B,21, 24  
τηροу Α 100, col. B,16-17, 19; Α 101, col. A,2, 10; col. B,10; Α 105, col. A,2; Β 5v,19
- τηr= (π)τηrq whole, totality  
τηrq Α 106, col. A,32-col. B,1; Α fr 9H, col. A,5
- (τωρε), тоотr=  
тоотn Α 107, col. A,22  
тоотc Α fr 20F,5
- тco make to drink  
тcoi Α 108, col. B,22
- (тcavo) instruct  
тcаветнyтn Α 106, col. B,31
- тооу m. mountain  
Α 100, col. B,1, 21-22; Β 6r,8; C 24,3
- τωоуn arise  
Α 98, col. B, 15; Α 100, col. A,6; Α 109, col. B,19-20, 20; Α 110, col. A,29; Β 7r,7, 8; C 25,12-13, 13
- τηyтn (*suffix pronoun*)  
Α 97, col. A,26; Α 99, col. A,7; Α 106, col. B,29, 31; Α 108, col. A,10, 13, 27, 28, 32-col B,1, 19-20; Α fr 9F, col. A,8; Α fr 22H,3
- өвbio humiliate  
өвbio Β 5r,12  
өвbиny Α 110, col. A,14-15
- (тa,χpo) firm  
тa,χpny<sup>†</sup> Α 100, col. B,21; Α fr 12F,2
- oγ-, зен- *indefinite article*  
oγ Α 98, col. A,24, 27, 30, 32; Α 101, col. B,10; Α 102, col. B,1; Α 108, col. A,4; col. B,23, 27, 31; Α 109, col. A,14, 32; col. B,27; Α 110, col. A,13, 18, 20; Α fr 9H,5; Β 5r,4; Β 5v,7; C 24,1; C 25,3; C 26,4, 7; C 29,1, 8; C 30,4  
зен Α 110, col. B,17, 18, 19; Β 7v,7, 8
- oγ what?  
Α 101, col. B,21; Α 108, col. B,2; C 32,9, 10
- oγa one  
oγa Α 98, col. B, 30; Α 107, col. B,8; Α 110, col. B,9, 10; Α fr 22H,6; Β 7v,3, 4  
oγeie Α fr 19F,3
- oγe be distant  
oγny<sup>†</sup> Α 107, col. B,14, 15-16; Α 110, col. B,31, 32; Β 7v,11, 12
- oγoiei rush  
Α 109, col. A,31; C 28,10
- oγoiein m. light.  
Α 97, col. A,22; Β 6v,8; C 28,7, 8-9; 29,9-10
- oγoieiw m. time, occasion  
Α 99, col. B, 1-2; C 32,13

- οὐδὲν eat  
A 97, col. A,16; A 108, col. B,25;  
C 27,9
- οὐν- there is (*affirmative existential*)  
A 98, col. A,28; A 102, col. A,7;  
col. B,28; B 7v,3, 4
- οὐραν open  
οὐραν A 100, col. B,4, 9; C 30,10  
αὐραν C 30,10
- οὐραν f. right hand  
οὐραν A fr 17F,4-5  
νεαοὐραν A 97, col. A,14;  
γιοὐραν A 109, col. B,13; B 7r,3-  
4
- οὐραν reveal  
οὐραν A 111,3; B 6r,1  
οὐραν A 107, col. A,6, 13, 14-15
- οὐραν being pure, holy  
οὐραν<sup>†</sup> A 100, col. A,4; A 101,  
col. B,9-10; A 107, col. B,19; A fr  
9F, col. A,6; B 7r,9; C 24,10; C  
26,1-2; C 28,1
- οὐραν how much?  
A 99, col. B,1
- οὐραν f. foot  
A 100, col. B,20
- οὐραν brought to naught  
B 5r,16-17; C 31, 7, 10
- οὐραν alone, same  
A 98, col. B,30
- (οὐραν) surpass  
οὐραν<sup>†</sup> A 105, col. A,30-31
- οὐραν desire  
A 99, col. A,18; A 102, col. A,32;  
A 108, col. A,2, 32; col. B,4; A  
109, col. B,24
- οὐραν answer  
A 97, col. A,31; A 101, col. B,26;  
A 103, col. A,29; A 107, col.  
A,10, 24; col. B,32; A 109, col.  
A,17; B 5v,13; C 24,8; C 25,1-2;  
C 27,3, 11; C 28,4
- οὐραν m. salvation  
A 102, col. A,21
- οὐραν live  
A 107, col. B,16; A 108, col.  
B,25; A fr 19H,2-3; A fr 19F,6; C  
27,7
- οὐραν be firm  
A 98, col. A,24-25
- οὐ- to able  
A 107, col. A,19
- (οὐ-) in οὐν-/μν-οὐ-οσμ  
A 98, col. A,28; A 102, col. A,8;  
col. B,28
- οὐ-, οὐρο= preposition to, until  
οὐ A 107, col. B,1; A 110, col.  
A,8; C 32,7; C 33,9, 13  
οὐροκ A 99, col. B,6-7; A 110,  
col. A,13  
οὐροο A 104, col. B,32
- οὐ m. wood  
A 105, col. B,29, 30, 31, 32; A  
106, col. A,1, 2; A 109, col. B,19;  
fr 9H,3, 4; B 5r,10, 14, 24; C 31,4;  
32,5
- (οὐν) m. companion  
οὐν A 99, col. A,9
- οὐν m. prayer  
A 100, col. A,8
- οὐν small  
A 107, col. B,28
- οὐν m. stranger  
A 108, col. A,4-5; A 109, col.  
A,14; A 110, col. B,19; A 111,6;  
B 5r,2; B 7v,8
- οὐν m. three  
A 103, col. A,30; A 106, col.  
B,28; μεροὐν C 28,3
- οὐν tree  
A 111,1
- οὐν be ashamed  
A 112,2
- οὐν acquire  
οὐν A 110, col. A,2-3; C 26,8-  
9; C 29,2; C 30,2  
οὐν A 97, col. A,29
- οὐν to be, to happen  
οὐν A 101, col. A,4-5; A 102,  
col. A,22; A fr 19H,7; A fr 22H,4;  
A fr 25H,6; C 24,1

- φροσι A 98, col. B,12, 28; B 5r,23, 24; B 7r,3; C 25,8; C 32,3-4, 5; C 32,12
- φρηρε f. wonder  
A fr 14F,14-15
- φρηρε m. son  
A 101, col. B,13; A 102, col. A,24; col. B,32; A 103, col. A,29; A 107, col. B,28; A 108, col. A,19; A fr 19H,7; B 5r,22; B 5v,8, 11-12; C 25,6; C 31,12; C 32,2
- φρορι first  
νφρορι A 109, col. A,19
- (φωρι) be early  
φωριπ A 110, col. B,15  
φωρικ A 110, col. B,13
- φωс shepherd  
A 98, col. B,32; A 99, col. A,4
- (φωωт) cut, slay  
φωωт A 110, col. A,24
- φτοριт disturb  
A 100, col. B, 12; A 101, col. A,23-24; col. B,25-26; A 107, col. A,2
- φφε it is fitting  
A 97, col. B,27, 32
- (φωω.ε) speak  
ατφωω.ε C 33,6, 6
- φωωνε take counsel  
A 108, col. A,1; A fr 25H,3; C 25,10
- φι carry, take  
A 107, col. A,19, 25
- φто f. four  
μερφто C 29,6
- φα-, φαρφ under, for  
φα A 99, col. A,8, A 101, col. A,29; A 107, col. A,23; fr 21  
φαροκ A 109, col. B,12; B 7r,2  
φαροφ A 107, col. A,19-20  
φαρωт A 99, col. A,6
- φε fall  
A 110, col. A,29
- φε f. manner  
φε A 100, col. B,2 A 101, col. A,6
- νωε A 101, col. A,5; A 107, col. B,27; C 25,6
- ντειρε A 101, col. A,27
- (ζη) f. fore part  
ζηθ A 101, col. B,8
- ζηт= preposition in front of  
ζηтк A 110, col. B,8; B 7v,3  
ζηтс A 107, col. A,28
- зи-, зиωω= preposition on  
зи A 101, col. B,7; A 102, col. B, зиωωн A 101, col. A,12-13; B 6v,4  
зиωттгггтн A 97, col. A,26
- зин f. way  
A 108, col. A,21; C 27,7
- зо m. face  
A 101, col. A,27
- зиωω= *augens*  
зиω A 98, col. A,25; A 108, col. A,31; A 109, col. A,7, 9; A 110, col. B,14  
зиωωн A 100, col. B,2  
зиωттгггтн A 99, col. A,7; A 108, col. A,28; col. B,19-20
- зибе f. mourning  
A 110, col. B,11
- зиб f. thing, work  
A 98, col. A,24, 30; A 108, col. A,16
- зивоур f. left  
зизивоур A 109, col. B,14; B 7r,4
- зайбес f. shadow  
A 106, col. A,31; A 109, col. B,12; A fr 21H,3; B 7r,2
- знке m. poor  
A 110, col. A,19; C 29,8
- злос be sweet  
C 30,7
- змоу m. salt  
A 97, col. A,19
- змоос sit  
A 101, col. B,4-5; A 102, col. B,13; A fr 17 4; C 24,2
- змх m. vinegar  
A 108, col. B,23
- зн-, нзнт= preposition in (etc.)

- ζν A 97, col. A,17; A 98, col. A,24, 26, 30; A 101, col. A,1, 7; A 102, col. B,1; A 107, col. A,8; col. B,26, 30; A 109, col. B,23, 28; A 110, col. A,21; A 111,5; A fr 25F,3, 4; B 5r,1; B 7r,10; C 25,5; C 29,12  
 ζμ A 97, col. A,29; col. B,30; A 98, col. B,12, 16; A 99, col. B,5; A 102, col. B,11; A 107, col. A,15; A 108, col. A,11; col. B,18; A fr 22F,4; B 5r,12; B 6v,1; B 5r,10, 14, 24; C 31,3; C 32,5, 11  
 νζητ A 98, col. B,23  
 νζητς B 5v,16-17  
 (ζουν) m. inside  
 εζουν A 98, col. B,17; A 107, col. B,8, 12, 13; A 108, col. B,9; A 109, col. A,31; A fr 20H,4; A fr 21H,2; B 5v,4; C 28,10  
 ζων approach  
 ζων A 98, col. B,17; A 107, col. B,8; B 5v,4  
 ζην<sup>†</sup> A 107, col. B,11, 13  
 ζινηβ sleep  
 A 97, col. A,23  
 ζαπ m. judgment, law  
 A 102, col. B,12, 14  
 ζραι m. upper part  
 εζραι A 100, col. B,9; A 107, col. A,32-col. B,1; A 109, col. B,20, 30; A fr 25F,5; B 7r,8; C 25,13; C 26,5; C 28,12-29,1; C 30,1-2  
 (ζητ) m. heart  
 νζητ A 101, col. B,23; A 102, col. A,3; B 5v,15  
 ζοτε f. fear  
 οοτε A 107, col. A,23,  
 ζοτε A 100, col. B,13; A 107, col. A,27-28; A 109, col. B,26; B 5v,14  
 ζιτν-, ζιτοοτ= *preposition* through, from  
 ζιτν A 102, col. A,10; A fr 19F,5; B 5r,19  
 ζιτμ A 97, col. A,12; A 102, col. A,5; A fr 14F,6; B 5r,3, 17, 20; C 31,8, 10-11  
 ζοτζτ examine  
 A fr 18H,2  
 (ζογο) m. greater  
 νζογο B 5v,17; C 27,1  
 ζηγ m. profit  
 A 108, col. A,14  
 ζοογ m. day  
 A 102, col. B,12; A 106, col. B,28-29; C 24,1  
 ζαζ m. many, much  
 A 110, col. B,7; B 7v,2  
 ζιχν-, ζιχω= *preposition* upon  
 ζιχμ A 102, col. B,26; A fr 6F,1; A fr 15F,5; C 24,2-3  
 χε- *conjunction*  
*discourse* A 97, col. A,32; A 98, col. A,28; col. B,31; A 100, col. A,2; col. B,15; A 101, col. B,27; A 102, col. A,27; col. B,16, 32; A 103, col. A,31; A 105, col. A,30; A 107, col. A,5, 12, 25; col. B,26, 29, 32; A 109, col. A,18; A fr 9F, col. A,5; A fr 14H,7, 9; A fr 14F,8, 11; B 5v,11, 14; C 24,9; 25,4, 7; 27,4, 11, 13; C 28,5; 30,4  
*causative* A 98, col. B,27; A 99, col. A,11, 16, 18; A 101, col. A,23; A 108, col. A,4, 10; A 110, col. A,13; A 111,3; A fr 9F, col. A,7; B 7r,2; B 5v,4, 20, 22  
*final* A 102, col. B,10  
 χι take  
 A 97, col. A,24; A 101, col. B,10; A 108, col. A,1; col. B,24; A 109, col. A,12; col. B,12; A fr 25H,3; B 5r,8; B 7r,2; C 25,10; C 31,2  
 χιτηγτν A 106, col. B,28  
 χω say, speak  
 χω A 102, col. A,26; A fr 14F,8; A 24,9; B 5v,10  
 χοος A 102, col. B,16; fr 22  
 (χω) *preposition* upon

- εχνη A 101, col. B,14; A 102, col. A,25  
 εχνητηγτην A 108, col. A,27  
 εχμη A 100, col. B,1, 21; A 101, col. A,26; A 102, col. B,3-4; A 108, col. A,16; col. B,5; B 5r,8  
 εχωκ A 109, col. B,30-31; C 26,5, 7; C 29,1; C 30,2  
 χοεις m. lord  
 A 97, col. A,32-col. B,1; A 98, col. B,9-10, 14; A 107, col. A,5, 12; col. B,5, 6; A 110, col. A,12  
 μητχοεις B 6v,4  
 χωκ εβολ complete, finish  
 χωκ εβολ A 99, col. A,17; A 104, col. B,30; A 109, col. A,16; A 110, col. A,32-col. B,1; A fr 9H, col. B,8; B 5v,1; C 27,2  
 χωκ A 110, col. A,25  
 χεκαας in order that  
 χεκαας B 5r,5  
 χεκας A 99, col. A,9-10; A 107, col. A,18-19, 28; A 108, col. A,13; C 30,12  
 χωωμε m. book  
 A fr 19H,2  
 (χνογ) question  
 χνε A fr 14H,6  
 χνογq A fr 14F,7  
 χιν from  
 A 108, col. B,11; C 32,12, 13  
 χπο produce  
 A 108, col. B,4  
 χρο be victorious  
 A 108, col. B,13, 16; B 5v,22  
 χερο blaze  
 A 107, col. B,11  
 χωωρε scatter  
 A 99, col. A,1  
 (χωωρε) be stong  
 μητχωωρε A 106, col. A,1  
 χισε lift  
 χισε A 109, col. B,21, 23; B 7,9; C 26,2  
 χοσε A 105, col. A,32  
 χοειτ olive  
 C 24,3  
 χωτε pierce  
 A 100, col. B,18, 23; A 101, col. A,9; B 6v,1  
 χοογ send  
 χοογ A 108, col. A,30  
 χεγτηγτην A 108, col. A,32-col. B,1  
 χωε touch  
 A 107, col. A,31  
 χαχε m. enemy  
 B 5r,15, 16; C 31,5, 7  
 σε adversative  
 A 97, col. B,32; A 98, col. B,10; A 99, col. A,3; A 107, col. A,2; col. B,17; A 108, col. A,6, 13; A fr 25H,5; A fr 25F,2; B 5r,5; B 5v,1, 22  
 (σεω) remain, wait  
 σε B 5v,8  
 σεετ A98, col. B,26  
 (σεβε) be feeble  
 σεβ fr 20H,3, 7  
 (σεωλε) cover  
 σοολεq A 101, col. B,12  
 σωπι uncover, reveal  
 A 98, col. A,26; A 100, col. B,6; A 110, col. A,4; C 29,4  
 σομ f. power  
 A 101, col. A,11; B 5r,6; B 6r,3, 11; B 6v,5  
 (σομ) after ογν-/μν-(ω-)  
 A 98, col. A,29; A 102, col. A,8; col. B,28  
 σρηπε f. diadem  
 B 5r,9, 10; C 31,2  
 σωωτ look  
 A 110, col. B,8; B 7v,3  
 σιχ f. hand  
 A fr 18F,2  
 (σωχβ) be small  
 σοχβ A 110, col. A,26

#### IV. CONJUGATION FORMS

##### *I Present*

† A 98, col. A,27; col. B,26; A 102, col. A,32; A 108, col. A,6, 9, 26, 31; col. B,3

ϣ A 98, col. B,31; C 32,12

τετη A 98, col. B,11

σε A 99, col. A,1; A 108, col. A,1, 30; C 25,10

##### *Circumstantial Present*

ερε A 100, col. B,20, 22; A 101, col. A,8; A 101, col. A,10; fr 14; B 5r,22; C 24,2; C 32,3

ει A 102, col. A,2; A 107, col. B,30; C 30,12

εκ A 101, col. B,22; fr 17

εϥ A 102, col. A,26; A 105, col. A,32; A 107, col. B,12, 15; A 110, col. A,12, 14; A 110, col. B,9, 10, 11, 12; A fr 20; C 24,8

εσ A fr A; B 5r,24; C 32,4

εν A 107, col. B, 24

εϥ A 110, col. A,1; A 112,4, 5

##### *Relative Present*

ετετη A 106, col. B,32; A 107, col. A,27

ετ- *rectus* A 97, col. A,22; col. B,30, 31; A 100, col. A,3, 5; col. B,10; A 101, col. A,7; col. B,9-10; A 107, col. B,11, 14, 19; A 108, col. A,2, 22; A 109, col. B,13, 14; A 110, col. A,24, 26; col. B,31; A fr 9H, col. B,6; A fr 9F,5; C 24,10; C 26,1

##### *II Present*

ει A 102, col. B,5; A 107, col. B,26; A 110, col. B,6; C 25,5, 8

εκ A 101, col. B,21-22

εϥ A 110, col. B,32

##### *First Future*

†να A 98, col. A,25, col. B,31; A 99, col. A,5; A 106, col. B,29; A 107, col. A,25; A 109, col. A,6, 9,

30-31; col. B,27, 29-30; A 110, col. A,20; col. B,15; C 26,4-5; C 28,9, 12; C 29,10; C 30,1; C 31,4  
κνα A fr 13H,1; B 5r,14

ϥνα A 107, col. B,9

τετηνα A 98, col. B,20, 23

σена A 102, col. B,10, 15; A 108, col. B,22, 27; A 109, col. B,11, 32; fr 9; C 26,6

να A 102, col. A,22; A 109, col. B,16; B 5r,19; C 31,7, 10

##### *Circumstantial Future*

ερε A 102, col. A,21

εινα A 102, col. B,12-13

εκνα A 107, col. A,13; A 107, col. A,5, 7-8

εϥνα B 5r,16; C 28,8

εσνα B 5r,7

εϥνα A 100, col. B,15-16; A 111,4

##### *Relative Future*

ετηνα- *rectus* A 97, col. A,16; A 98, col. B,18; A 109, col. A,4-5; fr 9

##### *Affirmative Perfect*

α A 100, col. B,4, 5, 12; A 101, col. A,4, 23, 24, 30, 32; col. B,9, 12; A 102, col. A,24; A 103, col. A,29; A fr 9F,7

αι A 97, col. B,26; A 99, col. A,17, 19; A 106, col. B,20; A 108, col. B,13, 17; A fr 18; B 5r,8, 13; B 5v,22, 23; C 31,1

ακ C 30,4

αϥ A 97, col. A,30; A 98, col. B,16; A 101, col. B,26; A 104, col. B,29; A 107, col. A,10, 24; col. B,21, 23; A fr 10; B 6v,4; B 5v,3, 13; C 24,8

ασ B 5v,4; C 24,1

αν A 100, col. B,2, 8, 17; A 101, col. A,6, 13; col. B,3; A 107, col.

- В,31; А 109, col. А,17; А fr 14; В 6v,1; В 6v,2; В 5v,9; С 24,7; С 25,2, 3; С 27,3; С 33,11  
 ατετη Α 108, col. Α,10  
 αγ Α 100, col. Β,11, 13; Α 101, col. Β,6; Α 105, col. Β,3; Α 110, col. Β,7; Α 111,2; Α fr 10; Β 5v,20
- Circumstantial*  
 εαϗ Α 100, col. Β,18
- Relative*  
 εντα Α 111  
 ενται Α 97, col. Α,28  
 ενταϗ Α 108, col. Β,29; Α 109, col. Α,7-8; Α 110, col. Α,28-29; С 32,6
- Focalization (Second Perfect)*  
 нтаγ Α 102, col. Β,25  
 χινται Α 109, col. Β,9  
 χιν Α fr 14F,13
- Negative Perfect circumstantial*  
 емπετη Α 108, col. Β,8-9
- Negative Completive*  
 мпатоϗ С 24,4
- Affirmative III Future*  
 ενε Α 107, col. Α,19  
 ететне Α 99, col. Α,10; Α 108, col. Α,14
- Negative III Future*  
 ннеϗ Α fr 19
- Negative Imperative*  
 мп Α 97, col. Α,23, 24; Α 107, col. Α,2, 14, 31; Α 108, col. Β,10-11; Α 109, col. Β,26; Α 110, col. Α,4, 9; Α fr 22; Β 5v,14; С 25,11; С 26,10; С 29,4
- Affirmative Imperative*  
 маρε Α 102, col. Α,8; Α 102, col. Β,28  
 маρεϗ Α 108, col. Β,29-30  
 маροϗ Α 102, col. Α,9
- Negative Imperative Causative*  
 мпρтре- Α 98, col. Β,13; Α 108, col. Β,15; Α fr 22
- Infinitive Causative*  
 тре Β 5r,14; С 31,5  
 тра Α 99, col. Α,13
- Conjunctive*  
 нте Α 101, col. Β,24; Α 110, col. Α,24, 25, 28, 31  
 нг Α 99, col. Β,2, 3, 4; Α 109, col. Β,22; Α 110, col. Α,11; Α fr 17; С 26,2  
 нс Α fr 24  
 нти Α 99, col. Β,7; Α 107, col. Α,20-21, 21  
 нтетη Α 98, col. Β,21-22, 24-25; Α 107, col. Α,29, 29-30; col. Β,20; Α 108, col. Α,25; Α fr 22H,2; Β 6r,4; Β 5v,8; С 25,1, 9; С 27,9-10; С 28,4  
 нсе Α 98, col. Β,32; Α 111; Β 5r,2  
 та Α 102, col. Β,2, 14
- Causative Conjunctive*  
 та Α 106, col. Β,30; Α 108, col. Α,15; Β 6r2; С 24,11
- Temporal*  
 нтереϗ Α 101, col. Α,14-15; Α 109, col. Α,15; Α fr 9H, col. Β,8; Β 5v,1; С 27,1  
 нтерη С 33,10  
 нтероϗ Α 101, col. Β,12
- Limitative*  
 φαν† Α 107, col. Α,32  
 φαν□ϗ Α 104, col. Β,31-32  
 φανтетη Α 97, col. Α,25
- Conditional*  
 еρωан Α 107, col. Β,7  
 екωан Α 107, col. Α,12  
 ететηωан Α 107, col. Α,3  
 еϗωан Α 102, col. Α,12

## V. PRONOMINAL PTN

### *Demonstrative Pronoun I*

παί A 97, col. A,28; A 100, col. B,14; A 109, col. A,13; col. B,25; A fr 21H,5; B 7r,3; C 33,12  
ταί A 99, col. A,13; A 107, col. A,27; A fr 14H,9; A fr 14F,12  
ναί A 102, col. B,8; A fr 9F, col. B,4; C 33,11

### *Demonstrative article I*

πεί A 98, col. A,16; A 101, col. A,4, A 102, col. A,1, 8; col. B,29; A fr 14F,9  
τεί A fr 14H,8  
νει C 25,6

### *Demonstrative article II*

πι A 100, col. B,14;  
νι A 100, col. B,3; A 101, col. A,5; A 107, col. B,28

### *Subject Pronoun*

πε A 97, col. A,19, 21; A 99, col. A,3; A 107, col. B,2, 4, 6, 10, 30; A 108, col. A,17, 18, 20, 23; A 109, col. A,14; col. B,24; A 110, col. A,14, 23, 27, 30; A fr 21; B 5v,6; C 25,8; 27,6, 8; C 32,8, 9, 10, 11; C 33,2, 6, 12  
τε A 108, col. B,31; A fr 14; B 5r,21, 22; C 32,1, 2  
νε A 102, col. B,8; A fr 9F, col. B,4

### *Definite Article*

π A 97, col. A,12, 20, 22, 27, 30; col. B,25, 30; A 98, col. A,31; col. B,12, 32; A 99, col. A,2, 4; col. B,5; A 100, col. A,1; col. B,1, 5, 21; A 101, col. B,1, 2, 9, 12; A 102, col. A,5, 6, 13, 21, 22, 24; col. B,4, 12, 15, 24, 30, 31; A 103, col. A,29, 30; A 105, col. A,3, 29; col. B,29, 30, 31, 32; A 106, col. A,1, 2, 32; A 107, col. A,5, 12; col. B,10, 13, 16, 22; A 108, col. A,3, 8, 12, 17, 19, 21, 22; col. B,5, 7, 14, 16, 18; A 109, col. B,19; A

fr 9H,3, 4, 5; B 6r,3, 8; B 6v,2, 3; B 5r,10, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24; B 5v,12, 18, 22; C 24,2, 3; C 27,7, 8; C 28,3, 8; C 29,9; C 30,6, 8; C 31,4, 7, 9, 11; C 32,2, 5, 6; C 33,1, 5, 7, 9, 11, 12

τ A 97, col. A,13, 17, 21, 27; A 100, col. B,24; A 101, col. A,11, 15; A 104, col. B,31; A 106, col. B,30; A fr 9H,3; B 6v,5; B 5r, 9, 21; B 5v,7, 17; C 24,2; C 30,9; C 31,3, 12; C 33,1, 4, 6

θ A 98, col. B,13; A 100, col. B,2; A 101, col. A,6; A 107, col. A,23; A fr 14

η A 97, col. B,29; A 99, col. A,2; A 100, col. B,12; A 101, col. A,3, 7, 24, 25, 30; A 102, col. B,4; A 108, col. A,7; A 111,5; B 6v,1; B 5r,1; B 5v,9; C 24,3, 5;

η A 97, col. A, 10, 13, 18; A 100, col. B,8, 11, 19; A 101, col. A,1, 9, 23; col. B,14; A 102, col. A,25; A fr 9

πε A 97, col. A,19, 29; A 101, col. B,8; A 102, col. B,11; A 106, col. B,3, 21; A 108, col. B,26; A 109, col. B,15, 21, 31; A 110, col. A,3, 23, 27, 30, 31; col. B,13, 17, 30; B 5r,8, 17; B 5v,6; C 24,12; C 25,12; C 26,1, 3, 6, 9, 11; C 27,6; C 28,6, 11; C 29,3, 7, 8; C 30,3, 7; C 31,1, 8, 9; C 32,9, 11

τε A fr 14; B 5r,9; B 5v,7; C 27,7; C 31,2

νε A 101, col. A,27; col. B,3; A 111,5; A fr 9F,3; B 5r,1

### *Before Relative*

π A 97, col. A,16; col. B,32; A 98, col. B,18; A 107, col. B,11, 14; A 108, col. B,29; A 109, col. A,7, 11; A 110, col. A,24, 26, 28; col. B,31; A fr 9



ν A 100, col. B,10; A 108, col. A,2; A 109, col. B,13, 14;

*Possessive Pronoun*

να A 97, col. B,25

πωϛ C 33,12

πωτην A 105, col. A,31; col. B,1

*Possessive Article*

πα A 97, col. A,32; A 98, col. B,27, 29; A 99, col. A,11, 16; A 102, col. A,6, 27; col. B,3, 13, 27; 32; A 103, col. A,31; A 107, col. B,1, 3, 5; A 108, col. B,28; A 109, col. A,12, 13, 31; A 110, col. A,4; A fr 9F, col. A,7; A fr 25F,2; B 5r,6, 14; C 28,10

πεκ A 107, col. A,15, 17; A 109, col. B,24; A 110, col. A,12; A fr 17F,6; B 6r,1; C 29,5; C 30,5, 11

πεϛ A 99, col. A,17; A 101, col. A,29; col. B,14; A 102, col. A,26; A 111; B 5r,3

πεν A 99, col. B,3; A 100, col. B,7, 17; A 101, col. A,14

πετην A 107, col. B,2, 4, 6; A 108, col. A,16

πεϛ A 101, col. A,27; A fr 22

τα A 99, col. A,5, 14; A 109, col. B,28; A 110, col. A,21; C 29,12

τεκ C 30,10

τεϛ A 100, col. B,23; A 108, col. B,31; A 109, col. A,16; A fr 10; B 6v,2, 3; B 5r,5, 23; C 32,3

τες A fr 24

την A 101, col. A,11; B 6v,5

τητην A 107, col. B,27, 31; C 25,5

να A 100, col. A,3, 4; A 102, col. B,7; A 107, col. B,18; A fr 9F, col. A,5; B 5r,15; C 24,9; C 28,1; C 31,5

νεϛ A 100, col. B,20

νεν A 100, col. B,4; A 101, col. A,8

νετην A 99, col. A,9; A 112,3, 4

νετην A 99, col. A,8

νεϛ A 100, col. B,10; A 101, col. A,31; col. B,5, 6



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