

## A COPTIC FRAGMENT ATTRIBUTED TO JAMES THE BROTHER OF THE LORD.

IN one of the volumes of Coptic leaves from the White Monastery, in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, there lie hidden under the title of 'A Sermon on John the Baptist' four leaves, of which three at least appear to be part of an apocryphal Gospel on John attributed to James the brother of the Lord. The title is not preserved, but its professed authorship is apparently stated in the words 'I, James, the brother of the Lord, who am relating these things'. It is therefore not impossible that the fragment may be part of, or at any rate may be based on, the book containing the secret teaching of Christ as transmitted to Mariamne, sister of Philip, by James the brother of our Lord, which, according to Hippolytus<sup>1</sup>, the Naassene Gnostics professed to possess.

The fragment consists of four leaves (*Par. Copte* 129<sup>18</sup>, 116-120<sup>2</sup>), identical in handwriting<sup>3</sup> but not consecutive. The first leaf has lost the original page numbers, but from its contents it would seem to precede the next fragment. It begins with a mention of the feeding of the five thousand, represented apparently as an ἀγάπη or εὐχαριστία in honour of John the Baptist. Then Matt. xi 7-11, 'What went ye out into the wilderness to behold' etc., is quoted, and the 'reed shaken by the wind' is explained as 'a reed-pipe sounding in the wilderness'. The first leaf ends here, and the second and third transfer us to the third heaven. The apostles request to be shewn that particular heaven which was given or was to be given to John; and after being shewn through the entire seven heavens they are brought back to the third, which is then formally made over to John, his family, and any one under his peculiar patronage. At the same time he is given a golden boat to ferry them over the stream of fire. These two leaves bear the page numbers 11 to 14 (ⲓⲁ to ⲓⲄ). The fourth and last page comes considerably later—its numbers are Ⲅⲉ and ⲄⲊ—and I think it can hardly belong to the same work. It is concerned with the levitation and punishment at the hands of the martyred John of a blasphemous officer of police. Probably it is part of a book of the miracles of John, bound up in the same volume as the other text.

<sup>1</sup> *Philosophumena* 7; cf. Harnack *All-chr. Lit.-Geschichte* i 168.

<sup>2</sup> 118<sup>v</sup> is numbered 119.

<sup>3</sup> From the same MS, or at least in the same handwriting, according to Mr Crum's identification, are various other interesting fragments: Cairo 8108, Par. 131<sup>1</sup>, 20, Zoega CXXIII Acts of St Stephen, Par. 131<sup>2</sup>, 81-85, a sermon of Peter of Alexandria, and Par. 131<sup>3</sup>, 43, most of which I have copied and hope to publish soon.



p. 117<sup>1a</sup> . . . τμερшомипте мпе п̄ωреастикоп еп̄ма мпечсноу мп̄пага-  
 ооп етоп̄т̄р п̄нтс . а̄т̄ω п̄тса̄ноп ероу · т̄епот̄ ђ̄ п̄еп̄жое̄с̄  
 п̄еп̄с̄ωт̄ир̄ ма̄тса̄ноп̄ е̄т̄п̄е̄ е̄т̄ма̄ма̄т̄, та̄с̄ п̄та̄н̄ха̄рӣзе̄ м̄мо̄с̄  
 п̄ӣωра̄пп̄ис̄ п̄е̄н̄ш̄в̄ир̄ м̄п̄пага̄ооп̄ е̄т̄с̄в̄т̄ωт̄ ρ̄ра̄с̄ п̄нт̄с̄, а̄т̄ω п̄т̄-  
 са̄ноп̄ е̄п̄к̄е̄ӣωра̄пп̄ис̄ м̄п̄п̄к̄ета̄ю̄ м̄п̄п̄е̄оо̄т̄ п̄та̄н̄ха̄рӣзе̄ м̄мо̄с̄  
 па̄ӯ т̄ирот̄.

п̄т̄еп̄от̄ е̄т̄ма̄ма̄т̄ а̄п̄с̄ωт̄ир̄ н̄е̄л̄е̄т̄е̄, а̄с̄е̄ӣ е̄п̄ес̄нт̄ п̄с̄̄ӣ о̄т̄н̄ло̄о̄л̄е̄  
 по̄то̄е̄п̄ . а̄га̄л̄е̄ е̄ρ̄ра̄с̄ е̄ж̄ωс̄ п̄ш̄ор̄п̄ п̄с̄̄ӣ п̄с̄ωт̄ир̄ · м̄п̄п̄с̄ωс̄ а̄ϗ̄о̄т̄е̄р̄-  
 са̄р̄н̄е̄ па̄п̄ а̄поп̄ па̄по̄сто̄ло̄с̄ е̄а̄л̄е̄ п̄ма̄ма̄ӯ е̄ж̄п̄т̄ен̄ло̄о̄л̄е̄ . а̄ϗ̄п̄т̄п̄  
 е̄ρ̄ра̄с̄ п̄ш̄ор̄п̄ е̄т̄ш̄ор̄п̄ м̄п̄е̄ м̄п̄т̄а̄е̄р̄с̄п̄т̄е̄ . е̄г̄та̄ а̄ϗ̄ж̄ω̄Ѡ̄е̄ п̄т̄а̄е̄р̄с̄п̄т̄е̄,  
 е̄г̄та̄ а̄ϗ̄ж̄ω̄Ѡ̄е̄ п̄т̄а̄е̄р̄ш̄о̄м̄т̄е̄, м̄п̄е̄ м̄п̄е̄ϗ̄ка̄а̄п̄ е̄е̄ӣ е̄ро̄т̄п̄ т̄е̄ωс̄,  
 а̄л̄ла̄ а̄ϗ̄ϗ̄п̄т̄п̄ е̄т̄а̄е̄р̄ϗ̄то̄е̄, е̄г̄та̄ е̄т̄а̄е̄р̄Ѡ̄е̄, м̄п̄п̄с̄ωс̄ е̄т̄а̄е̄р̄с̄о̄е̄, е̄г̄та̄  
 е̄т̄а̄е̄р̄са̄ш̄ϗ̄е̄, м̄п̄е̄ϗ̄ка̄а̄п̄ е̄е̄ӣ е̄ро̄т̄п̄ т̄е̄ωс̄ . м̄п̄п̄с̄ωс̄ а̄ϗ̄т̄р̄еп̄па̄т̄  
 е̄па̄с̄ т̄ирот̄ . па̄л̄п̄ о̄п̄ а̄ϗ̄п̄т̄п̄ е̄п̄ес̄нт̄, а̄ϗ̄п̄т̄п̄ е̄ро̄т̄п̄ е̄т̄а̄е̄р̄ш̄о̄м̄т̄е̄  
 м̄п̄е̄ а̄р̄ш̄п̄ир̄е̄ м̄п̄е̄сса̄ м̄п̄п̄е̄с̄е̄т̄р̄еп̄е̄л̄а̄, а̄т̄ω а̄п̄па̄т̄ е̄п̄к̄е̄ӣωра̄пп̄ис̄

p. 117<sup>v</sup> п̄Ѡа̄п̄т̄ис̄т̄ис̄т̄ис̄ м̄п̄за̄ха̄рӣас̄ п̄е̄ч̄е̄ӣωт̄ м̄п̄е̄л̄ис̄а̄Ѡ̄ет̄ т̄е̄ϗ̄ма̄а̄т̄, | а̄т̄сто-  
 1a л̄ӣзе̄ м̄мо̄с̄ ρ̄̄р̄еп̄ωп̄е̄ п̄т̄а̄го̄ ρ̄̄ӣωп̄е̄ па̄та̄а̄п̄ п̄ӣ · а̄л̄еп̄с̄ωт̄ир̄  
 т̄р̄е̄та̄е̄ρ̄е̄рат̄от̄ м̄п̄еп̄ӣωт̄о̄ е̄Ѡ̄ол̄, ӣωра̄пп̄ис̄ м̄еп̄ а̄ϗ̄т̄р̄е̄ϗ̄а̄ρ̄е̄рат̄ӯ  
 ρ̄п̄т̄а̄н̄т̄е̄, за̄ха̄рӣас̄ Ѡ̄е̄ п̄е̄ч̄е̄ӣωт̄ ρ̄п̄т̄е̄ϗ̄о̄т̄па̄м̄, е̄л̄ис̄а̄Ѡ̄ет̄ т̄е̄ϗ̄ма̄а̄т̄  
 ρ̄ӣт̄е̄ρ̄Ѡ̄о̄т̄р̄ . а̄поп̄ ρ̄̄ӣωп̄ па̄по̄сто̄ло̄с̄ а̄ϗ̄т̄р̄е̄па̄ρ̄е̄рат̄п̄ па̄та̄о̄ра̄п̄ноп̄  
 ж̄п̄п̄е̄п̄е̄ӣωт̄ п̄е̄т̄ро̄с̄ ш̄а̄ма̄а̄Ѡ̄ас̄, а̄ϗ̄ма̄о̄о̄ш̄е̄ ρ̄ӣρ̄н̄ м̄моп̄ п̄с̄̄ӣ п̄с̄ωт̄ир̄ ·  
 а̄п̄я̄ωт̄е̄ е̄т̄а̄е̄р̄ш̄о̄м̄т̄е̄ м̄п̄е̄ т̄ир̄с̄, е̄а̄ϗ̄т̄са̄Ѡ̄о̄ м̄моп̄ е̄па̄га̄Ѡ̄ооп̄ м̄п̄па-  
 по̄ла̄т̄с̄ис̄ е̄т̄с̄в̄т̄ωт̄ ρ̄п̄т̄а̄е̄р̄ш̄о̄м̄т̄е̄ м̄п̄е̄, па̄с̄ п̄та̄н̄ха̄рӣзе̄ м̄мо̄с̄  
 п̄ӣωра̄пп̄ис̄ п̄̄ωре̄а̄с̄т̄икоп̄ е̄т̄Ѡ̄е̄п̄е̄т̄е̄ир̄е̄ м̄п̄п̄ет̄п̄а̄е̄ир̄е̄ м̄п̄р̄п̄ма̄е̄е̄т̄е̄  
 п̄ӣωра̄пп̄ис̄ ρ̄ӣж̄ӣп̄ка̄ρ̄ · Ѡ̄ωρ̄н̄ п̄п̄т̄п̄, а̄поп̄ ιᾱν̄ω̄Ѡ̄о̄с̄ п̄соп̄ м̄п̄ж̄о̄е̄с̄  
 п̄е̄т̄р̄ис̄т̄ор̄ӣзе̄ п̄па̄с̄, ж̄е̄м̄п̄еп̄па̄т̄ ρ̄п̄т̄е̄ис̄о̄е̄ т̄ирот̄ м̄п̄е̄ ρ̄ӣп̄са̄  
 м̄п̄п̄е̄т̄р̄еп̄па̄ а̄т̄ω о̄п̄ па̄га̄Ѡ̄ооп̄ м̄п̄па̄по̄ла̄т̄с̄ис̄ е̄т̄с̄в̄т̄ωт̄ п̄Ѡ̄е̄  
 п̄па̄т̄а̄е̄р̄ш̄о̄м̄т̄е̄ м̄п̄е̄ · е̄г̄та̄ п̄е̄р̄еп̄а̄т̄ло̄с̄ м̄п̄ло̄т̄н̄ас̄ а̄т̄ω п̄р̄е̄-  
 ма̄р̄но̄с̄ п̄ма̄ма̄п̄п̄е̄ · м̄п̄п̄с̄ωс̄ а̄ϗ̄т̄ωт̄п̄ п̄с̄̄ӣ п̄с̄ωт̄ир̄ па̄га̄Ѡ̄о̄с̄  
 ρ̄п̄п̄е̄ϗ̄оро̄по̄с̄, а̄ϗ̄а̄ρ̄е̄рат̄ӯ ρ̄п̄т̄е̄п̄ӣн̄т̄е̄, а̄ϗ̄μ̄о̄т̄т̄е̄ е̄са̄ш̄ϗ̄ па̄р̄ха̄г̄-  
 т̄е̄ло̄с̄ ж̄п̄ӣμ̄ӣха̄н̄л̄ па̄р̄ха̄г̄т̄е̄ло̄с̄ а̄т̄ω па̄р̄х̄н̄с̄т̄рат̄ӣг̄о̄с̄ п̄т̄Ѡ̄о̄м̄

p. 118 п̄п̄п̄н̄т̄е̄ | ш̄а̄Ѡ̄е̄Ѡ̄е̄н̄ӣл̄ · а̄т̄ω о̄п̄ а̄ϗ̄μ̄о̄т̄т̄е̄ е̄роп̄ а̄поп̄ па̄по̄сто̄ло̄с̄  
 (17) ка̄та̄п̄е̄тор̄а̄п̄ноп̄ а̄т̄ω ка̄та̄п̄е̄тра̄п̄ ж̄п̄ӣп̄е̄п̄е̄ӣωт̄ п̄е̄т̄ро̄с̄ ш̄а̄ма̄р̄-  
 нос̄, е̄ϗ̄ж̄ω̄ м̄мо̄с̄ ж̄еп̄т̄ωт̄п̄ Ѡ̄е̄ ω̄ па̄л̄п̄т̄о̄т̄ρ̄го̄с̄ па̄а̄р̄ха̄г̄т̄е̄ло̄с̄  
 а̄т̄ω па̄а̄по̄сто̄ло̄с̄ е̄то̄Ѡ̄а̄а̄Ѡ̄ п̄Ѡ̄е̄ е̄т̄ет̄п̄о̄ м̄п̄п̄т̄р̄е̄ ж̄п̄п̄ш̄ор̄п̄  
 е̄та̄Ѡ̄п̄ж̄п̄о̄ м̄п̄п̄а̄мо̄н̄ρ̄с̄ т̄ирот̄ а̄т̄ω та̄Ѡ̄п̄с̄Ѡ̄Ѡ̄т̄ м̄мо̄ӣ, т̄епот̄ ђ̄е̄  
 о̄п̄ Ѡ̄Ѡ̄ п̄п̄т̄п̄ по̄т̄а̄м̄п̄п̄т̄р̄е̄ · е̄ис̄ ρ̄н̄н̄т̄е̄ Ѡ̄ха̄рӣзе̄ а̄т̄ω Ѡ̄Ѡ̄ п̄т̄а̄е̄р̄-  
 ш̄о̄м̄т̄е̄ м̄п̄е̄ п̄̄ωре̄а̄с̄т̄икоп̄ п̄ӣωра̄пп̄ис̄ п̄а̄ш̄в̄ир̄ а̄т̄ω па̄с̄т̄Ѡ̄-

ченс . Ломон Лаат прѡмѣ пѣм етпарѣчѣете рѣхлпкѡз,  
 ете просфора, ете рѡптѡ мпприке мпнетшаат, ете петпасрѡз  
 мпжѡмѣ ппекѣпѡнос рѡпѣрѡп, пѣтѡѡ еротп етѣнѡнсѡ,  
 пток ѡе пѣжитѡт еротп етѡершѡмѣ мпѣ пѣтѡхарѣзе мѡос пѡп  
 пѡѡреастѡноп \* ершѡпѡтѡ он рѡѡс мпѣтѡнѡрѡнт епрѡмѣете  
 мпѣрѡп, и пѣтѡмѡ мпѣтѡрѡѡет, и пѣтѡсо мпѣтѡѡѣ рѡпѣрѡп,  
 еѡежѣтѣ епѡнр пѡтѡтѡ ѡтѡ пѡтѡжп \* ерѣпѡѡѡт смѡт етѣнѡнѡ  
 пѡтѡпѡм тѡл пѡтѡнѡѡс ежпѡтѡлѣ \* ерѣпѡлѡс смѡт епѣкѡлѡс пѡтѡ-  
 жѡос пѣнтѣ жѣѣс пѣрѣѣѡ мппѡтѣ пѣтѡнѡтѣ ппѡѡѣ мпѡносмѡс  
 тѡрѣ . | апѡкпѣ рпѡтѡѣ \* ѡтѡ Лаат прѡмѣ пѣм етпѡѣѣре мпѣ-  
 мѣете рѣхлпкѡз, рѡнпѡп †жѡ мѡос пѡп пѡшѡнр ѡрѡпѡнс  
 жѣп†пѡтѡѡѡѡ ап еѡмпѣ мппѣѣнѡлѡсѣс шѡрѡлѡ епѣѣѣро пѡѡрѡт,  
 ерѣпѡпѣтѡтѡѡѡѡ тѡрѡт мппѡнѡнѡлѡс ѡлѡпѣра пѣнтѣ тѡрѡт ѡѡрѣс  
 шѡжп Лаат ете ѡнѡлѡс ете рѣѣрпѡѡѣ . ѣс рѣнѣте он тѣѣ-  
 ѡарѣсѡм †† мѡос пѡп пѡмерѣт ѡрѡпѡнс, ѡтѡсѡѡѡс ппѡтѡѡ  
 †† мѡос пѡп рѡс пѡжѡорпѣ мпѣѣѣро пѡѡрѡт етѡмѡѡт пѣтпѡѣѣре  
 мпѣкѡмѣете тѡрѡт епѡнѡжѡор мѡмѡѡт рѡпѣѣѣро пѡѡрѡт .

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пѣжал ѡѣ пѡѡ апон пѡпѡстѡлѡс жѣпѣнѡѡѣс ѡтѡнрпѣ пѣстѡ-  
 ѡлѡп мппѣлѡѡс мпѣѣѣро пѡѡрѡт етѡмѡѡт, ѡтѡ мѡѡтѡѡн рѡѡп  
 етѣрѣнѡс ппрѡмѣ етѣѣрѡтѣ \* пѣжѣ пѣѡтѡр пѡп жѣп†пѡтѡѡѡтп  
 епѣѣшп мпшп пѣтѣсѡѡѡн ппѡтѡѡ пѣтѡѡхарѣзе мѡос мпѡмерѣт  
 ѡрѡпѡнс \* ппѣлѡѡс ѡѣ мпѣѣѣро пѡѡрѡт мѡѡѡѡ рѡѡѣмпѣ жп-  
 пѣкѡрѡ шѡпѣкѡрѡ \* ѡтѡ жпрѡѣѡм шѡрѡѣѡм мѡѡѡѡ пѣстѡлѡппѣ  
 кѡтѡрѡѣѡм \* †† ѡѣ пѣтѣсѡѡѡн тѡл пѡрѡпѡнс пѡмерѣт епѡжѡор  
 рѡпѣѣѣро пѡѡрѡт етѣрѣѡлѡпѣра ппѣтѣѣре мпѣкѡмѣете . . . .

. . . ма еѡрѡж \* мѡнѡншѣ пѡрѡтѡѡ мѡѡѡѡ, етѡтѡш еѡѡѣрѣс  
 мѡѡѡѡ \* пѣтп ѡтѡнѡншѣ ѡѣ мѡмѡтпѣ, ерѣпѣпѡѡѡ пѡкѡѡѡртѡп  
 рѡѡѡт, етѡш еѡл рпѡтпѡѡѡ пѣсѡн рѡтѣ, етшѡѡѣ рѡс етѡѡѡлѡѡзе  
 мѡѡѡт рѣтпѡлѡмѡшпѡп \* ѡтѡ рѡр еѡл рпѡтѡт ѡтѡѡѡрѣзе пѡл,  
 етпѡѡѡшѡѡт ап ѡтѡ ѡтѡ \* ѡтѡ пѣтп ѡтѡ еѡл рпѡтѡт етѡл-  
 мнрѡсѣѣ ѡтѡ пѡтѡѡтѡнс пѣскѡтѡрѡс ѡтѡ пѡѣрѡсѡс, етѡѣкѡпѡс  
 еѣрѡѡтпѣ, ѡѣѡш еѡл рпѡтпѡѡѡ пѣсѡн, еѣжѡ мѡос жѣмпѡрѡѡтш  
 аппѣ рѡрѡн ѡрѡпѡнс . птк пѣм пток жѣѣкѣкрѣпѣ мѡѡѡ . апѡк  
 ѡѡрпѣ шѡлѡкрѣпѣ рѣпѣкѡѡтѣ . п†ѣрѡш рѡрѡн ап, пѡѡѣт ѡѡр еѡл  
 рпѡтпѣ \* ѡлѡтѡ еѣжѡ мѡос жѣмпѡрѡѡтш рѡрѡн аппѣ пѣтѣмпѡпѣ  
 мѡѡѡѡ \* апѡк ѡѡр апѣ ѡтѡрѡжѡѡтѣлѡс, ѡѡѡн епѡлѡкѡстѡнрѡп  
 ппѣтѡтѡѡѡѡ тѡрѡт, ѡтѡ мпѡтѣшѡкрѣпѣ мѡѡѡ \* апѡк ѡѡр п†ѣрѡсѣ

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\* r added above the line.

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ραροκ απ ω πετεμπαπε μμοу, ατω πεπαυρ λαατ παγ απ жетп-  
 жек ραρ ' αϑωω δε, ευμνп ећол, ευχιοτα πτειρε. ατω μπсалаγ  
 аѡштϑ ерраг ρμπεϑтннѡе спаτ отѡетпе μπпκαρ ρωсте пϑωλλп  
 рптеϑμнте пѡе етеϑχολн ећол μμοc шѡошпѡс ппат · ατω  
 р. 120<sup>7</sup>  
 2<sup>2</sup> птетпѡт αϑωш ећол ρпѡтсμн п|ѡћ жελεμμε етепѡм ω  
 ιωραппнс пѡаптнстнс ατω пепроϑρομос μπεϑϑ̄. αεμμε етеп-  
 ѡм ω пето ппѡс епетоѡαѡ тнрот . птопке пестраттлатнс  
 μπпѡс прро ιτ . па παγ . отпѡс гартε теϑροо псате етμотϑ,  
 ατω μπѡм μμοг еϑи ρапекѡтμωρн · па παγ, жетпояке пѡ-  
 кагос пѡкагос тнрот, птопке пшѡнр μπпатшелеет μμe · па  
 παγ жетпояке пепроϑρομос μπεϑϑ̄. †ωрк ерок μπпτακћап-  
 тнзе μμοу ρμпорѡлнс, жеепа παγ · †ωрк ерок μπптатс-  
 †ѡѡ μμοу, каат епеснт. ατω птетпѡт αϑре ерраг ежппегро  
 ежпкаρ, пеппат пжпсоне · ατω тагте тшорп пезεтаснс · μπпсωс  
 δε μπпат пжпѡте аτсωтμ ероу ρпѡтшωωт ећол жεμμοт ећол  
 прнтϑ · перепѡμппон δε ρерμнпете μπμннше пптерепμар-  
 ттрос жω μμοот паϑ . ατω пεϑωш ећол, еϑжω μμοc жεμпѡм  
 μμοг ешωпе ρμпжае · μπѡм μμοг ешωпе ρнжпшωμме пѡ-  
 ласса · μπѡм μμοг еѡ ρарта пекρροѡт , αλλα ма παγ  
 птперснс, таѡя еματ · пμμ петпана пεϑнн псωϑ, пϑѡтϑ  
 ρμпжае , егс маѡсашϑе гαρ проμпе †ѡтнρ прнтϑ.

But when Jesus the merciful and compassionate and the Son of the  
 Compassionate *saw* (this), *he took compassion* in his heart *on the multitude*,  
 as being the good shepherd of every one. The disciples said: '*Let the  
 multitudes go that they may go to the towns and buy something to eat*' [cf  
 Mk. vi 34-36]. Said the Saviour: 'Nay'; thinking, 'What *εὐχαριστία*<sup>1</sup>  
 is it which I shall take before my kinsman<sup>2</sup>, to hold feast with those  
 who trouble (*σκόλλειν*) Me for it, if they go fasting thus?' Even as  
 Joseph, the patriarch, made the *ἀγάπη*<sup>1</sup> at the death of his father Jacob  
 even so did Christ distribute the *ἀγάπη* for his kinsman John. Moreover  
 (*λοιπόν*) this thing and this custom was with every one for ever, that

<sup>1</sup> The meaning here is not very clear to me, so I have left the Greek words  
 which occur in the Coptic. *εὐχαριστία* and *ἀγάπη* are apparently used as synonyms,  
 and, if so, probably mean 'love-feast'.

<sup>2</sup> 'My kinsman' (*συγγενής*) = John the Baptist. The next words could be taken  
 in the sense of 'if (reading *εϑωακ* as one word) those who trouble me' instead  
 of 'to hold festival with those' etc.; but in that case the following 'if' must be  
 taken as a mere repetition.

kinsfolk should distribute the ἀγάπη with their kin (γένος) when they die.<sup>1</sup>

I wish too to tell you this other deep thought . . . *Jesus began to say to the multitudes concerning John: 'What went ye out into the wilderness to behold? a reed shaken with the wind? But what went ye out for to see? Was it not a man clothed in soft raiment? Behold they that wear soft raiment are in kings' houses. But what went ye out for to see? A prophet? Yea, I say unto you, and more than a prophet. This is he of whom it is written, Behold I send my messenger before thy face, who shall prepare thy way before thee. Verily I say unto you, Among them that are born of women there hath not arisen a greater than John the Baptist: yet he that is lesser than he is great in the kingdom of heaven'*<sup>2</sup> [Matt. xi 7-11].

It is necessary that I teach you the word (ῥητόν): for many that are not confirmed in the scriptures<sup>3</sup> (γραφή pl.) think this, that the Saviour said this of the real reed stirred by the wind. Nay, for all the trees that grow upon the earth, be it palm or sycamore or fig or *persea* or thorn or . . .<sup>4</sup> even to the seed plants<sup>5</sup> of the field, when it grows or when the wind blows upon them<sup>6</sup>, are moved from one side to another, and no fool regards<sup>7</sup> them, much less (μάλιστα)<sup>8</sup> wise men. But the Saviour was speaking of the reed-flute in a waste place, where nothing is. Its voice sounds, and those that hear it from afar say, 'What has happened? The reed-flute sounded but now'. And when they have gathered together to see what has happened, they . . .

. . . 'the third heaven as a gift (δωρεαστικόν) in place of his blood, and the good things (ἀγαθόν) that are in it: and teach us it. And now, Lord and Saviour, teach us that heaven which Thou hast given to Thy comrade John and the good things that are in it; and teach us John too, and all the honours and glory Thou hast given him.' And in that

<sup>1</sup> Lit. 'when he dies'. γένος apparently = συγγενής. The preceding 'kinsfolk' is lit. 'those of the γένος (pl.)'.

<sup>2</sup> The only noticeable variants from the text of Balestri (*Sacr. Bibl. Frag. Copto-Sah.* p. 25) are the insertion of Η ΛΑΛΟΝ 'was it not' (v. 8), ΖΑΤΕΡΗ for ΗΠΕΡΕΙΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ (v. 10), ΠΕΧΠΟ lit. 'him that is born', for ΠΕΧΠΟ 'them that are born' (v. 11), and ΠΠΟΣΠΕ 'is great' for ΠΠΟΣ ΕΡΟΠΠΕ 'is greater than him' (v. 11).

<sup>3</sup> It is to be noticed that, though professing to be James, the writer recognizes the existence of the canonical gospels.

<sup>4</sup> This word ταεερε does not occur in Peyron.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. *Zouga Cat.* p. 471 ερος πχο 'germen quod plantari potest'. It seems a vague phrase for small plants or grass.

<sup>6</sup> I have retained the bad grammar of the original, 'it grows', followed by pl.

<sup>7</sup> Lit. 'knows'.

<sup>8</sup> The sense I have given to μάλιστα may be unusual, but seems necessary.

hour the Saviour commanded and a cloud of light came down : and the Saviour mounted upon it first. Afterwards he commanded us too, the Apostles, to mount with Him upon the cloud, and brought us in first to the first heaven and the second. Then He ascended through the second, then He ascended through the third heaven, and did not let us enter in yet (τέως)<sup>1</sup>, but took us to the fourth, then to the fifth, afterwards to the sixth, then to the seventh, and did not let us enter in yet. Afterwards He let us see all these. Again He brought us down and took us in to the third heaven : and we marvelled at its beauty and its fairness (εὐπρέπεια). And we saw John the Baptist and Zacharias his father and Elisabeth his mother. They were decked (στολιζέειν) with stones of . . .<sup>2</sup> and stones of every hue. The Saviour bade them stand in our presence. John He made stand in the midst, and Zacharias his father on the right, Elisabeth his mother on the left. And He bade us, the Apostles, stand in order from our father Peter to Matthias. The Saviour walked before us, and we went round the whole of the third heaven, and He taught us the good things and the enjoyments (ἀπόλαυσις pl.) which are in the third heaven, these which He gave to John as a gift (δωρεαστικόν) for those that keep and those that shall keep the memorial of John on the earth. I swear to you, I James the brother of the Lord who am relating (ιστορίζειν) these things, that we did not see in all these six heavens any like the third heaven in beauty and fairness and good things and enjoyments. Then there were Paul and Luke and Mark with us. Afterwards the good Saviour rose up on His throne and stood in the midst of us and called to seven Archangels, from Michael the archangel and chief commander (ἀρχιστρατηγός) of the powers of the heavens to Zadkiel. And again He called to us, the Apostles, in order and by name, from our father Peter to Mark, saying : ' Even as ye, My ministers (λειτουργός), My archangels and My holy apostles, are witnesses from the beginning to My birth and all My sorrows and My crucifixion, I give you a testimony. Behold I present and give the third heaven as a gift to John, My comrade and kinsman. But (λοιπόν) any man that shall make thy memorial on earth, be it oblation (προσφορά) or alms to the poor and needy, or writing a book of thy praise in thy name and giving it to the church, do thou take him in to the third heaven which I have presented

<sup>1</sup> In the margin about here is found a note in another hand ΤΑΠΟΚΡΑΦΟΝ ΠΡΑΠΙΑΔ (= the copy up to this place). Probably a reviser added it.

<sup>2</sup> The word ΤΑΥΘΟ is no doubt the same as the mysterious ΚΑΒΟ in the phrase ρΩΣ ΠΑΒΟ Ezek. xvi 11, which Zoega translates 'mobile squamatum'. Peyron prefers to take ΚΑΒΟ as a corruption of the Greek word κόκκος (red colour) which is found in the Bohairic version of that passage. The form used in our text rather invalidates that suggestion as it is difficult to see how κόκκος could become ΤΑΥΘΟ. Can it be a corruption for γαγάτης (jet) ?

to thee as a gift. If any one again clothe the naked to make memorial of thy name, or feed the hungry, or give drink to the thirsty in thy name, thou shalt take him to life everlasting and unfailing. My Father blesses thy right hand which thou didst place on my head. My tongue blesses thy tongue with which thou didst say, *Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the whole world* [John i 29]. Verily I am he. And any man that keepeth thy memory on earth, verily I say unto you, My comrade John, I will not shew him hell and its punishments down to the stream of fire,<sup>1</sup> through which all My saints and righteous men pass, all without exception, be they righteous or sinners. Behold again another gift I give you, My beloved John, a golden boat I give you as the ferry of that stream. All those who keep thy memorial shalt thou ferry over the stream of fire.' Then we the Apostles said to him: 'Lord, what is the expanse (στάδιον) of the sea (πέλαγος) of that stream of fire? And teach us that we may tell men its terror.' Said the Saviour to us: 'I will teach you its size, and the size of the golden boat which I have given to My beloved John. The sea of the stream of fire is thirty waves from one bank to the other, and from wave to wave is thirty *stadia* for each wave. And I give this boat to My beloved John to ferry over the stream of fire, that he may carry across (διαπερᾶν) those who keep thy memory.'

... a safe place. The crowds will slay him wishing to see him. And there was a crowd there possessed with unclean spirits, that cried aloud in a great and fearful voice, differing as they were tortured with demons.<sup>2</sup> And many of them were purified, of whom we cannot speak severally. And there was one among them bold (τολμηρός), stubborn (αὐθάδης), hard (σκληρός), and brazen (θρασύς). He was a wicked officer of police (δεκανός)<sup>3</sup>. He cried aloud with a loud voice: 'I care not for thee, John. Who art thou that thou shouldst judge me? For I am wont to judge others. I am not vexed by thee: for I come from heaven. I repeat that I care not for thee, thou headless man. For I am an archangel: I entered into the court of all the saints and they could not judge

<sup>1</sup> This river of fire is frequently spoken of in the apocryphal writings: cp. Steindorff *Apoc. des Elias* (Harnack *T. und U. N.F.* 2) p. 46, and Forbes Robinson *passim* (note on p. 205): ib. p. 38, 'the river of fire, wherein are proved the two portions, the righteous and the sinners', tells us its object. We should surely read ΠΡΕΧΑΡΙΣΜΑ and ΑΙΜΟΥ.

<sup>2</sup> He would seem to mean 'differing according to the demons that possessed them'.

<sup>3</sup> For the word δεκανός see Sophocles and Stephanus-Hase. It occurs also in the *Tebtunis Papyri* (Grenfell, Hunt, & Smyly no. 27, l. 31 *καὶ τὸν συνέδριον τῶν κατὰ κόμην δεκανῶν τῶν φυλακῶν*, a document of the second century B. C., and in no. 251).



ine. For I suffer not for thee, thou headless man; and thou canst do nothing to me because we accomplish many things (?).<sup>1</sup>

And he abode and continued blaspheming thus: and after this he was hanged up by his two fingers between heaven and earth, so as (almost) to burst in the middle as he was stretched for a long time. And straightway he cried aloud in a weak voice: 'I know thy strength. John the Baptist and forerunner of Christ: I know thy strength, thou who art greater than all the saints. Thou art the general of the great king Jesus. Take pity on me. For great is thy furnace of blazing fire, and I have not strength to bear thy penalties (τιμωρία pl.). Take pity on me, thou the just of all the just, thou the comrade of the true Bridegroom. Take pity on me, thou the forerunner of Christ. I adjure thee<sup>2</sup> by Him whom thou didst baptize in the Jordan to take pity on me. I adjure thee by Him who was crucified, let me down.' And straightway he fell down upon his face on the earth at the sixth hour. This was the first trial (ἐξέτασις). And afterwards at the ninth hour they heard in short: 'Come forth from him.' And the demons were interpreting to the crowd what the martyr said to him. And he cried aloud, saying: 'I have not power to be in the desert: I have not power to be on the steep places of the sea<sup>3</sup>: I have not power to abide before thy voice. But grant me Persia (περσις)<sup>4</sup> that I may go thither. Who is he that will leave his house and dwell in the desert? For behold I dwell there thirty-seven years<sup>5</sup>.'

E. O. WINSTEDT.

<sup>1</sup> Here the text appears to be faulty.

<sup>2</sup> ἄωρη ερωκ seems to be used instead of the ordinary ἄταρη ἕλιον for 'I adjure thee'. This sense of ωρη is not noticed by Peyron; but I have noticed other examples, e.g. *Par. Coptic* 129<sup>11</sup>, p. 28 ἄωρη ερωτη ἄπενταστατρον ἕλιον γενας ἡνεπηταροι ραον ἄποτοειν 'I adjure you by him who was crucified that ye destroy me not before my time', and again, ib. ἄωρη ερωτη εψηκε ἡτετη ρενρηἄπνοτε κτηψηπτορε πτοοτη ἄπαπατολετε ἡκαατ εβολ.

<sup>3</sup> 'The steep places of the sea' is hardly an intelligible phrase unless it be taken as an incorrect reference to Matt. viii 32, where the Gadarene swine are said to run down a steep place into the sea.

<sup>4</sup> The mention of Persia—if that is the meaning of 'the περσις'—is a little surprising. Can it be taken to fix the date of the book to a time when the Persians were oppressing Egypt? It might perhaps mean 'desolation', though that would rather contradict the preceding words.

<sup>5</sup> The demons do not seem to have been expert interpreters. It must surely be John who dwelt in the desert, not the *dæmon* who has just asserted that he could not and would not; unless he means 'I shall have to dwell there'.