NEW FRAGMENTS FROM THE SAHIDIC VERSION OF THE HISTORIA JOSEPHI FABRI LIGNARII

More than half a century has passed since Mgr. Louis-Théophile Lefort published, in this journal, the last attempt to classify the Sahidic fragments of the so-called *History of Joseph the Carpenter* (CPC 0037; CANT 60; BHO 532b)¹. Lefort's codicological analysis sheds some light on the mass of disparate folios and fragments, which had been chaotically edited before him, without any particular concern as to which codices they had once belonged. In his article, he established that all the Sahidic fragments containing the *History of Joseph the Carpenter* came from four codices, attributing a letter to each of them, from A to D. Besides arranging all the available material according to the original codices, Lefort had also identified supplementary Sahidic leaves containing the same work.

However, the two fragments edited below had escaped Lefort's notice. These small parchment pieces belong to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and bear the inventory numbers BnF, Copte 1318, f. 148 and BnF, Copte 132², f. 40². As with most of the Sahidic manuscripts in this collection, they were once part of the famous library of the White Monastery situated near Sohag, in Upper Egypt.

It is important to note, from the onset, that for a proper reading of the text, the faces of Paris 131⁸, f. 148 have to be reversed, recto becoming verso and vice versa. After this operation has been done, it appears that the fragments match perfectly, together forming the lower part of a folio. The parchment has a glassy and translucent aspect, which makes the flesh side (i.e. recto) extremely difficult to decipher. These remnants do not have any parallel in the existing Sahidic witnesses but, even if incomplete, it is still apparent from the surviving portions of the text that they contain the *superscriptio*, as well as parts from chapter I.1, I.2, I.3

¹ L.-Th. Lefort, À propos de 'L'Histoire de Joseph le Charpentier', in Le Muséon, 66 (1953), p. 201-223 (= Lefort, Histoire de Joseph).

² The first of them is briefly described in M.E. PORCHER, Analyse des manuscrits coptes 131¹⁻⁸ de la Bibliothèque nationale, avec indication des textes bibliques, in Revue d'Égyptologie, 2 (1936), p. 122. After my identification of Paris 131⁸, f. 148, Enzo Lucchesi has drawn my attention to the fact that the other Parisinus fragment once belonged to the same manuscript folio. I am deeply grateful to him for providing me with this valuable information, together with his own transcription of the fragments.

and I.5 of the Bohairic³ and Arabic⁴ recensions. In spite of some discrepancies between these and the Sahidic version of our codex, they prove to be very useful for the recovery of most of the lacunas in our text. The versions are manifestly divergent only at I.5, where the Bohairic and Arabic are written in the third-person plural, whereas the Sahidic makes reference to the second-person singular. Another original trait of this Sahidic codex is the occurrence of Abbaton, the Angel of Death, at XXI.1, something that is missing in the parallel versions⁵.

The paleographical features enable us to assign the newly identified fragments to Codex A according to Lefort's classification⁶, for which, adding the new fragments, we now know of the following items:

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Paris BN 131<sup>8</sup>, f. 148 + Paris BN 132<sup>2</sup>, f. 40 (p. [81]-[82]), Vatican Borgia 109, nº 16=Zoega CXVI (p. 87-88)<sup>7</sup>, Paris BN 129<sup>17</sup>, f. 13 (p. 101-102), Paris BN 129<sup>17</sup>, f. 14 (p. 103-104), Paris BN 129<sup>17</sup>, f. 15 (p. 105-106), Paris BN 129<sup>17</sup>, f. 16 (p. 107-108).
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As the new fragments preserve only the bottom of the leaf, the original pagination is lacking. However, comparing the length of the text on the rest of the folios with the full Bohairic account, we can conclude that between the end of the Parisian fragments and the beginning of Vatican Borgia 109, no 16 (paginated 87 and 88) there is room for only two

³ The standard edition, based on the autoptic study of the Bohairic manuscript in Vatican, is still that of P. de Lagarde, Aegyptiaca, Göttingen, 1883 (repr. Osnabrück, 1972), p. 1-37, which replaced the previous edition by E. Revillout, Apocryphes coptes du Nouveau Testament (Études Égyptologiques, 7; Textes, 1), Paris, 1876, p. 43-71, made after an imperfect copy of the original manuscript by Raffaele Tuki. Lagarde's edition should, however, constantly be compared with Forbes Robinson's translation and notes on the manuscript in Coptic Apocryphal Gospels (Texts and Studies, 4/2), Cambridge, 1896, p. 130-147, 220-229. The Bohairic and Sahidic material edited by Lagarde was translated in German by S. Morenz, Die Geschichte von Joseph dem Zimmermann (Texte und Untersuchungen, 56/1), Berlin, 1951; for a fresh translation in French see A. BOUD'HORS, Histoire de Joseph le Charpentier, in F. Bovon et al. (ed.), Écrits apocryphes chrétiens (Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 442 & 516), 2 vols., Paris, 1997 & 2005, vol. 2, p. 27-59.

⁴ P. PEETERS – CH. MICHEL, Évangiles apocryphes, 2 vols., Paris, 1911 & 1914, vol. 1, p. 192-245 (translation of Bohairic and Arabic on facing pages); A. BATTISTA – B. BAGATTI, Edizione critica del testo arabo della Historia Iosephi fabri lignarii e ricerche sulla sua origine (Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, 20), Jerusalem, 1978 (comprising, inter alia, a list of available Arabic codices).

⁵ The angel Abbaton appears on Paris BnF, Copte 129¹⁷, f. 15 r. Concerning the place of Abbaton in Coptic angelology, see C.D.G. MÜLLER, *Die Engellehre der koptischen Kirche*, Wiesbaden, 1959, p. 282-283.

⁶ This codex received the sigla MONB.DI in the *Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari* (= CMCL) database.

⁷ Cfr G. ZOEGA, *Catalogus codicum Copticorum manu scriptorum*, Rome, 1819 (repr. Hildesheim, 1973), p. 223.

folios. If this hypothesis is correct, then our fragmentary leaf once bore the numbers 81 and 82.

The *mise en page* is in two columns of about 29-32 lines each, copied by a large, untidy, but still professional hand in the bimodular style⁸. The paragraph capitals are enlarged and projected in the margin of the columns. Simple *obeloi*, ÷, which mark every new paragraph, are inserted in the inter-column. On the left margin of the pages, the three-petalled flower, very common in such bimodular Coptic manuscripts of the 9th and 10th centuries, functions equally as a paragraph marker. The sign that a paragraph ends is indicated by the insertion of a *diple*. Finally, in the inter-column space of Paris 131⁸, f. 148, which was, as previously noted, the title page, the scribe has represented a pendulum which ends with a phytomorphic motif. This ornament was widely used by the Fayumic copyists, and Theodore Petersen even described it as one of the main characteristics of the Touton scriptorium⁹.

The superlineation system employed by the copyist is alien to Upper Egypt, but it is usual for the Sahidic documents copied in the Fayum oasis. As in the late Bohairic and Sahidic manuscripts from the Fayum, the scribe has used something similar to the *djinkim* system of superlineation¹⁰. The strokes are reduced to mere dots which are placed on the autosyllabic vowels (e.g. $\overline{\epsilon} BO\lambda$), the definite article π - when it represents a syllabic juncture (e.g. $\overline{\pi} \overline{q} \overline{\lambda} \lambda o$), or after the glottal stop (e.g. $\chi \omega \overline{\omega} M \epsilon$). Connective superlineation is also present, but rather seldom. Moreover, the Fayumic provenance of Codex A is strengthened by the peculiarities of its language¹¹. Referring strictly to the fragments edited

⁹ Th. Petersen, *The Paragraph Mark in Coptic Illuminated Ornament*, in D. Miner (ed.), *Studies in Art and Literature for Belle da Costa Greene*, Princeton, 1954, p. 317-318, 322-323.

¹¹ The Fayumic background of the scribe has already been pointed out by LEFORT, *Histoire de Joseph*, p. 206 n. 1, who writes about "l'influence du fayoumique dans le vocalisme."

⁸ The term "bimodular" was coined by the Italian papyrologist Guglielmo Cavallo in order to designate what was previously known as "l'onciale grecque de type copte," "Alexandrian script" or simply "Coptic uncial." In his *Grammata Alexandrina*, in *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 24 (1975), p. 23-54, CAVALLO differentiates between the previous unimodular and the late bimodular script. Whereas in the first case all letters of the Coptic alphabet fit into the same, large, modulus, in the second the letters ε, θ, o and c are narrow and oval, very different from the others. Thus, in the class of manuscripts to which our *History of Joseph* also belongs, we can find two *moduli* of letters, one large and one thin. See also J. IRIGOIN, *L'onciale grecque de type copte*, in *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft*, 8 (1959), p. 29-51; MICOLI, *Dodici codici della Collezione Morgan: Saggio di Codicologia e Paleografia copta*, Rome, 1981, p. 133-137.

¹⁰ See U. Zanetti, Le roman de Bakhéos sur les trois jeunes saints de Babylone. Fragments coptes sahidiques, in B. Janssens et al. (ed.), Philomathestatos. Studies in Greek and Byzantine Texts Presented to Jacques Noret for his Sixty-Fifth Birthday (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 137), Leuven, 2004, p. 724-725, for an attempt to explain this peculiar superlineation system as appears in the late Sahidic manuscripts.

here, we can remark some examples of non-Sahidic vocalism, that is, MMAY for MMOOY (object preposition) and MAY for MOOY "water." Furthermore, the spelling $2\varepsilon N$ - for the preposition 2N- is likewise compatible with Fayumic influence.

Lefort dated this codex to the second half of the 10th century¹², accurately so, even if his dating was somewhat a matter of conjecture. In fact, we are fortunate to have access to the remains of another Sahidic parchment manuscript which was copied by the same scribe. This originally would have been a slender volume, composed of only three quires. To the codex in question (MONB.ES) can be traced seven *membra disjecta*, which are dispersed today among three European archives:

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Paris BN 129^{16}, f. 39 (p. 5-6),
Paris BN 129^{16}, f. 40 (p. 11-12),
Moscow Pushkin Museum I.1.b.295¹ (p. 19-20),
Vienna K 9621 (p. 29-30),
Vienna K 9544 (p. 31-32),
Vienna K 9545 (p. 33-34)¹³,
Moscow Pushkin Museum I.1.b.295² (p.?-? = last folio of the quire \bar{r} and colophon)¹⁴.
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A few words are in order here concerning the number of the pages in this codex. Given that Moscow Pushkin Museum I.1.b.295² lacks the pagination but is the last folio of the third quire, Elanskaya states that "its sides must be paged 47 and 48, each quire having 16 pages"¹⁵. However, this statement is valid only when we envisage the "ideal" or classical structure of a quire, whereas in reality the number of the leaves may vary sometimes in a gathering. In the case of MONB.ES, the non-standard structure of its quires can be ascertained through a close examination of the surviving folios.

First of all, if we follow the codicological principle in which each quire consists of 4 parchment sheets folded in half to form 8 leaves or 16 pages, then Moscow I.1.b.295², viz. the last folio of the third quire, and Vienna K 9545, which is paged 33-34, originally formed the two halves of the same bifolio, the very first of this quire. However, this possibility is excluded since Vienna K 9545 and K 9544 form together a single sheet of parchment. This sheet of two leaves is numbered consecutively

¹² Lefort, *Histoire de Joseph*, p. 205 and n. 12 on the same page.

¹³ The three fragments from Vienna were edited and translated in W. TILL, *Koptische Heiligen- und Martyrerlegenden (Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 102 & 108), 2 vols., Rome, 1935 & 1936, vol. 1, p. 181-187 (= TILL, *Legenden*).

¹⁴ An edition of the Moscow folios can be found in A.I. ELANSKAYA, *The Literary Coptic Manuscripts in the A.S. Pushkin State Fine Arts Museum in Moscow (Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae*, 18), Leiden, 1994, p. 99-107 and plates XXXVIII-XLI (= ELANSKAYA, *Literary Coptic Manuscripts*).

¹⁵ ELANSKAYA, Literary Coptic Manuscripts, p. 99.

from 31 to 34, thus proving to be the innermost bifolio of the gathering. Thus, it is obvious that the third quire of the codex did not start with page 33, as someone would expect.

Moreover, the counter folio of K 9621, which is paged 29-30, has been cut out by the codex's copyist, as can be discerned from the remaining stub. This means that K 9621 was from the beginning a singleton inserted right before the inner bifolio of the third quire.

These details, together with the absence of many of the codex's leaves, greatly complicate the attempt to reconstruct the original manuscript. Although several possibilities can be imagined, the arguments mentioned above leave out of discussion a classical structure of three quires made of 16 pages, as postulated by Elanskaya.

The codex contained apparently a single work, a *Martyrdom of Apa Nilus* (CPC 0523)¹⁶, belonging to the well-known cycle of Julius of Aqfahs, "the historiographer of the martyrs"¹⁷. The last folio, owned today, as already said, by the Pushkin Museum in Moscow, includes a dated colophon which provides us with its precise year of completion: the scribe finished his work in the year 678 of Diocletian's Era, i.e. 961-

¹⁶ On this little known martyr, besides the titles cited in the two previous notes, see also H. Delehaye, Les martyrs d'Égypte, in Analecta Bollandiana, 40 (1922), p. 20, 80; ARN. VAN LANTSCHOOT, Recueil des colophons des manuscrits chrétiens d'Égypte (Bibliothèque du Muséon, 1), Leuven, 1929, fasc. 2, p. 39-40 (= VAN LANTSCHOOT, Colophons); P. PEETERS, in Analecta Bollandiana, 54 (1936), p. 395-396 (= review of TILL, Legenden); Th. BAUMEISTER, Martyr Invictus, Münster, 1972, p. 123; A. PAPACONSTAN-TINOU, Le culte des saints en Égypte des Byzantins aux Abbassides. L'apport des inscriptions et des papyrus grecs et coptes (Le monde byzantin), Paris, 2001, p. 160-161. According to the report of Eusebius of Caesarea (De mart. Palaest. XIII.3 and Hist. Eccl. VIII.13.5), a certain Saint Nilus, bishop in Egypt, was martyred in Palestine under the emperor Diocletian, together with another bishop named Peleus and two other Christians: see Eusèbe de Césarée, Histoire ecclésiastique, tome III. Livres VIII-X, texte grec, traduction et annotation par G. BARDY (Sources chrétiennes, 55), Paris, 1958, p. 28-29 and 170-171. However, the dramatis personae in the preserved portions from our text are different from those mentioned by Eusebius, and Nilus does not seem to die in Palestine but in Egypt. At least this is what we can deduce from the fact that he is condemned by the duke Culcianus, who was Prefect in Egypt; on this character, common in some Coptic martyrdoms, see e.g. C. VANDERSLEYEN, Chronologie des préfets d'Égypte de 284 à 395 (Latomus, 55), Brussels, 1962, p. 73-77, 103 n. 5, 87-90, 93, 107-108.

17 The pretended authorship becomes obvious on the recto of the still unpublished Paris 129¹⁶, f. 40: anok πε ἴογλιος πκομεντλημαθος πρωκβάζς as well as in the concluding lines of the text: anok δε ἴογ[λι]ος δίπωτ ε[πα]hi ετέκβαζς πε, for this last quotation see Elanskaya, Literary Coptic Manuscripts, p. 103. Many Coptic martyrdoms are ascribed to this Egyptian saint, which would later suffer himself the death of the martyrs; cfr e.g. É. Amélineau, Les actes des martyrs de l'Église Copte, Paris, 1890, p. 123-161; P. Dib, Jules d'Aqfahs, in Revue de l'Orient chrétien, 15 (1910), p. 301-306; T. Mina, Le martyre d'Apa Epima, Cairo, 1937, p. XI-XV; Idem, Jules d'Aqfahs et ses œuvres. À propos d'une icône conservée dans l'Église d'Abou's-Seifein, in Bulletin de la Société d'archéologie copte, 3 (1937), p. 41-47. See also Tito Orlandi's remarks in A.S. Atiya (ed.), The Coptic Encyclopedia, 8 vols., New York, 1991, vol. 3, p. 668, s.v. Cycles.

962 A.D¹⁸. This information is highly valuable, as it allows us to infer precisely that, being the work of the same scribe, the manuscript containing the *History of Joseph the Carpenter* should be assigned to the same period, this is, the middle or the second half of the 10th century. A notice in the colophon says explicitly that the codex was given *ex-dono* the Monastery of Apa Shenoute. As to its provenance, van Lantschoot suspected that it comes from Touton, in the Fayum¹⁹, thus confirming our hypothesis regarding the Fayumic origin of Codex A.

In the present edition we have attempted to transcribe the Coptic text *ad pedem litterae* and have not standardized the supralinear strokes, in order to preserve an important feature of the manuscript. However, for technical reasons, we were not able to reproduce the dots placed by the scribe above some letters, using throughout a simple line. We should like to mention as well that the numbering of the columns' lines does not correspond necessarily with the real number of lines in the manuscript, which remains unknown due to the damaged state of the folio. Its presence is rather heuristic, facilitating the orientation of the reader. To that end, we can only express our regret that the photographs supplied are not sufficiently detailed as to allow an accurate reading of all letters and traces of letters in the manuscripts²⁰.

Faculté de théologie et de sciences religieuses Alin Suciu Université Laval Québec (QC) G1K 7P4, Canada alin.suciu.1@ulaval.ca

Abstract – Focused on the figure of Joseph, the earthly father of Jesus Christ, the so-called *History of Joseph the Carpenter* is one of the most renowned writings preserved in Coptic. Our article presents a couple of new Parisian fragments of this work in the Sahidic dialect of Coptic, widely regarded as the original language of the text. The study examines the testimonies mainly from a codicological and paleographical perspective.

¹⁸ Edited in VAN LANTSCHOOT, *Colophons*, fasc. 1, n° 57, p. 92-94 and reedited in ELANSKAYA, *Literary Coptic Manuscripts*, p. 103.

¹⁹ VAN LANTSCHOOT, Colophons, p. 92. On the Toutonian style, see most recently CH. NAKANO, Indices d'une chronologie relative des manuscrits coptes copiés à Toutôn (Fayoum), in Journal of Coptic Studies, 8 (2006), p. 147-159.

²⁰ Fortunately, during a research trip to Paris in December 2008, Dr. Einar Thomassen (University of Bergen) kindly collated for me *in situ* both fragments, confirming some of my readings and disproving others. I would like to thank him for his kind help.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Paris, BN 1318, f. 148 + Paris, BN 1322, f. 40

Recto (Flesh side)

p. [81]

[κς мπєвот] [єпнп]

5

10

 oc^{vacat} xwk $\overline{\epsilon}$ box

³⁰ **№2нт**q πε соγ

20 [χω] ΜΜΟΟ· ΧΕ

ω ΝΑΟΝΗΥ Μ

ΜΕΡΙΤ· ΝΑΪ

ΝΤΑΙΟΟΤΠΟΥ

ΕΒΟλ 2ΜΠΚΟΟ

25 ΜΟΟ ΤΗΡΟ·

ΤΕΤΝΟΟΟΥΝ

ΧΕ ΕΪΟ 2Α2 Ν2Ο

ΟΥ ΑΪ † ΝΗΤΝ

ΜΠΕΡΠΜΕΕΥΕ

30 ΧΕ 2ΑΠ[C ΕΤΡΕΥ]

Verso (Hair side) p. [82]

же наноу оу

тннве йол

 ϕ т мма γ $\bar{\epsilon}$

30 [ре]ршме на

[c̄foy ммої] [битц 2мπ] [аїши єтину]

5

10 10 **пта†**] [2[ιωττηγ] $[T\overline{N} NOY OM]$ $\overline{\varepsilon}$ β [OY 5 MUXI]15 ce· Ņ[ταμα2] 15 TH γ [TΝ $\overline{\varepsilon}$ ΒΟλ] $5\overline{M}[\underline{u}\underline{e}\underline{u}\underline{n}\underline{v}]$ $\overline{\epsilon}$ [TOYAAB $\chi \epsilon$] ет[етие] 20 τωψεοεί[ω] 20 [иизеенос [ωο νρο]_Μ[πε] тнроу. күрі ййёьечеьио $\mathbf{B}\mathbf{\epsilon}$ · vacat $\mathbf{\epsilon}$ κρῖμ $[\mathbf{\epsilon}]$ ұє ммау ете $T\overline{N}XW\overline{M}$ аүш екинг 25 $\pi \varepsilon \cdot \overline{N} c \varepsilon \overline{T} \overline{M}$ **25 MOC Χ€ M€Tλ** NOI. vacat ETBE $c\omega T\overline{M} \ \overline{\epsilon} \pi \epsilon K$

(Recto, col. I) [...] [they wrote all] these words (and) placed them in the library ($\beta i \beta \lambda i o \theta \eta \kappa \eta$) of books in Jerusalem. And ($\delta \hat{\epsilon}$) the day when the righteous ($\delta i \kappa a i o \varsigma$) old man passed away is the (col. II) [26^{th} of the month Epep...].

2ροογ∙ αγω

тнү 2ωλос

30 енекреміооуе

исетм†2

I.1. [...] saying: "O, my beloved brothers, these that I have chosen from the whole world ($\kappa \acute{o} \sigma \mu o \varsigma$). 2. You know that several days ago

I reminded you that it is necessary [for me to be crucified (σταυροῦν)...] (Verso, col. I) [...to clothe you (pl.) with a power from] high, [to fill you (pl.)] with [the Holy Spirit (πνεῦμα), so that] you (pl.) will preach to all the nations (ἔθνος). Proclaim (κηρύσσειν) to them saying: 3. 'Repent (μετανοεῖν)! Because it is better a single digit²¹ of water which a person will (col. II) [find in the age (αἰών) that is coming...].' 5. [...a thousand years] for the sinners, while you (sg.) are weeping and lamenting, and your (sg.) voice will not be heard, and your (sg.) tears will not at all (ὅλως) be paid attention to. [...]

²¹ For the meaning of THHBE, cfr Crum 397b.



Pl. 1: recto *Historia Josephi fabri lignarii. Versio sahidica*: title-I.2a.

Paris 131⁸, f. 148v + 132², f. 40r (flesh side). Photo by Bibliothèque nationale de France. Collage: Alin Suciu.



Pl. 2: verso *Historia Josephi fabri lignarii. Versio sahidica*: I.2b-I.5. Paris 131⁸, f. 148r + 132², f. 40v (hair side). Photo by Bibliothèque nationale de France. Collage: Alin Suciu.