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tion's economic policies. Kemmerer replied thoughtfully. What Mr. Bodman did as a result of the reply we do not know, but he kept the letter. Forty years later he came across it, marvelled at the professor's insight and foresight, showed it to friends, and finally had it published.⁹⁶ Here are some prophetic sentences from it:

Personally I can see nothing in sight that is likely to stop our drift in the inflation current. The politicians will not stop the present heavy expenditures because these expenditures have votes and it is with such votes they are most concerned. For the same reason they will not provide the revenue for meeting these expenditures through increasing taxation. Under such conditions the public will not buy government bonds at rates of interest that are politically possible and pay for those bonds out of their savings.

If these assumptions are true . . . the only course that is left is a continuation of our present extravagant financing policy under which funds are obtained by forcing government obligations down the throats of the banks and having the banks pay for them by credit secured by these obligations. That is inflation pure and simple and there can be only one end to such a policy.

There is an old saying that E. W. Kemmerer was fond of quoting: "We have gold because we cannot trust governments."⁹⁷

⁹⁶ "Barron's Mailbag," *Barron's Financial Weekly*, 5 January 1976.

⁹⁷ See Kemmerer's own copy of B. Stephenson's *Home Book of Quotations* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1934), p. 801. It is in the Seeley G. Mudd Library's Kemmerer Collection.

A Coptic Christmas Story, and More

BY CULLEN I K STORY

Four pages of a manuscript written in the Sahidic dialect of Coptic, the language of the Christian church of southern Egypt, have recently come to light in the Princeton University Library. The parchment bifolium, pages 35 to 38 of a much longer manuscript,¹ deals with the biblical accounts of the Incarnation, the Virgin Birth, and events of Jesus' infancy: the announcement to the shepherds, the worship of the Magi, and the slaughter of the innocents by King Herod. At the end of the Princeton manuscript, the writer shifts abruptly to an account of the affliction of the children of Israel in Egypt under Pharaoh (Exodus 1-2).

The manuscript was acquired by the Princeton University Library in 1957 from Edmund H. Kase, Jr. Kase had purchased it in Paris from a well-known dealer in Egyptian antiquities by the name of Maurice Nahman. Nahman suggested that other parts of the manuscript might be in the possession of the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York. Upon inquiry, however, it was reported that "the piece did not answer the description of any manuscript in the Morgan collection."²

The Princeton manuscript was written between the seventh and ninth centuries A.D.,³ probably in Egypt. In his *Ecclesiastical History*, Eusebius reports that Mark, companion of Paul and Peter, was the first to bring the gospel to Egypt,⁴ yet little is known of the church

¹ As a bifolium, the manuscript has two leaves only, written on both sides. Like many books today, each of the two recto pages of the manuscript bears its appropriate numeral in the upper right corner (i.e. pp. 35 and 37), while each of the two verso pages of the manuscript bears its numeral in the upper left corner (i.e. pp. 36 and 38). Although the manuscript is in Coptic, the numerals are given in their appropriate Greek forms, a common procedure.

² The Pierpont Morgan Library to William S. Dix, New York, 5 November 1957.

³ The forms of Greek letters such as the *alpha* (α), *delta* (δ), *theta* (θ), *mu* (μ), and *phi* (ϕ) as well as the form of the Coptic *shai* (*sh*), are quite characteristic of Coptic writings of the dates mentioned. The *lambda* (λ) is similar to the cursive *lambda* of the eighth century.

⁴ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* trans. K. Lake, in *Loeb Classical Library* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1926), vol. 1, II.16.

there until the late second century, when it was active and had a school of philosophical learning attached to it. In addition to the *koiné* (common) Greek language, two Egyptian dialects played a significant role in the life and literature of Egypt: the Sahidic Coptic language, the dialect of Upper (southern) Egypt which extended its influence to Nubia and northern Ethiopia; and the Bohairic Coptic language, the dialect of Lower (northern) Egypt, which became the liturgical language of the Monophysite Coptic church, whose members believed that Christ's human nature had been subsumed by the divine.⁵ The fact that the Princeton manuscript is written in the Sahidic dialect suggests that it was intended for the laity.

Princeton's Coptic fragment raises some intriguing questions, none of which we can answer definitively here. We can, however, analyze the relationships between this text and other Christian writings circulating in North Africa at the time that it was written. The most important, of course, were the Old and New Testaments. The Coptic writer quotes passages in ways that suggest a standard understanding of biblical texts, but sometimes with unusual interpretations. In the passage in which Psalm 50:4 appears,⁶ for example, the writer is meditating on the perfection of Mary by quoting David, the temple-singer.⁷ By giving birth to the Son of God, Mary participated in "perfection" understood as the unity of divinity and humanity.⁸ Thus both heaven "above" and earth "from the height" (because the flesh of Jesus originally received through Mary, is now at God's right hand) are summoned to judge God's people.

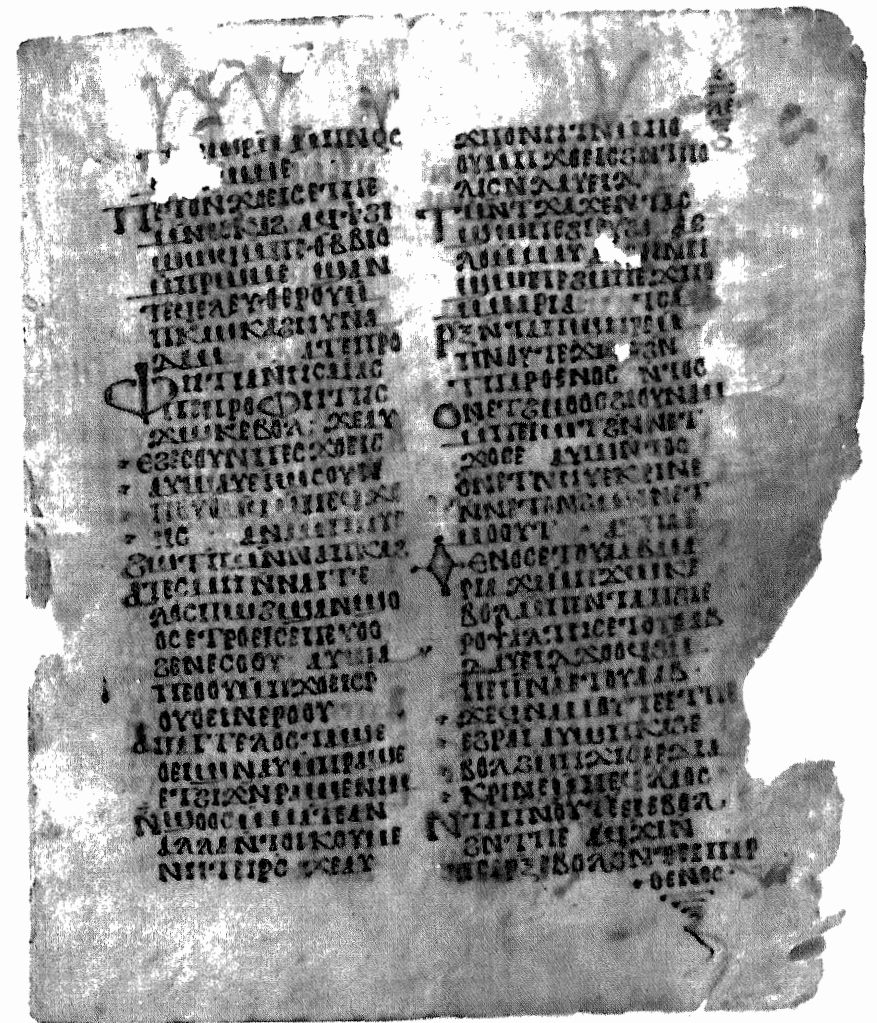
In some respects, the account of the coming of the Magi to worship Christ follows the Gospel accounts rather closely. The passage opens with a reference to the paradox of the Incarnation, the one who was "the light of the blind and the strength of the feet of the lame" laid

⁵ Monophysites rejected the doctrine of the Incarnation as defined by both the Western and the Eastern Orthodox churches, which held that Christ was both fully human and fully divine. See K. S. Latourette, *A History of Christianity* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1953), pp. 319-320, 586-587, 1206-1207; and the monograph by W.H.C. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement: Chapters in the History of the Church in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972).

⁶ MS. p. 35b, lines 24-27.

⁷ The Greek noun *ἱεροψάλτης*, "temple-singer," referring to David, occurs in the Greek Bible only in the book of I Esdras, and always in the plural. (I Esdras 1:15; 5:27, 46; 8:5, 22; 9:24.) Its use in the singular in our manuscript is paralleled by a number of references to it in the singular in patristic writings. See G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961).

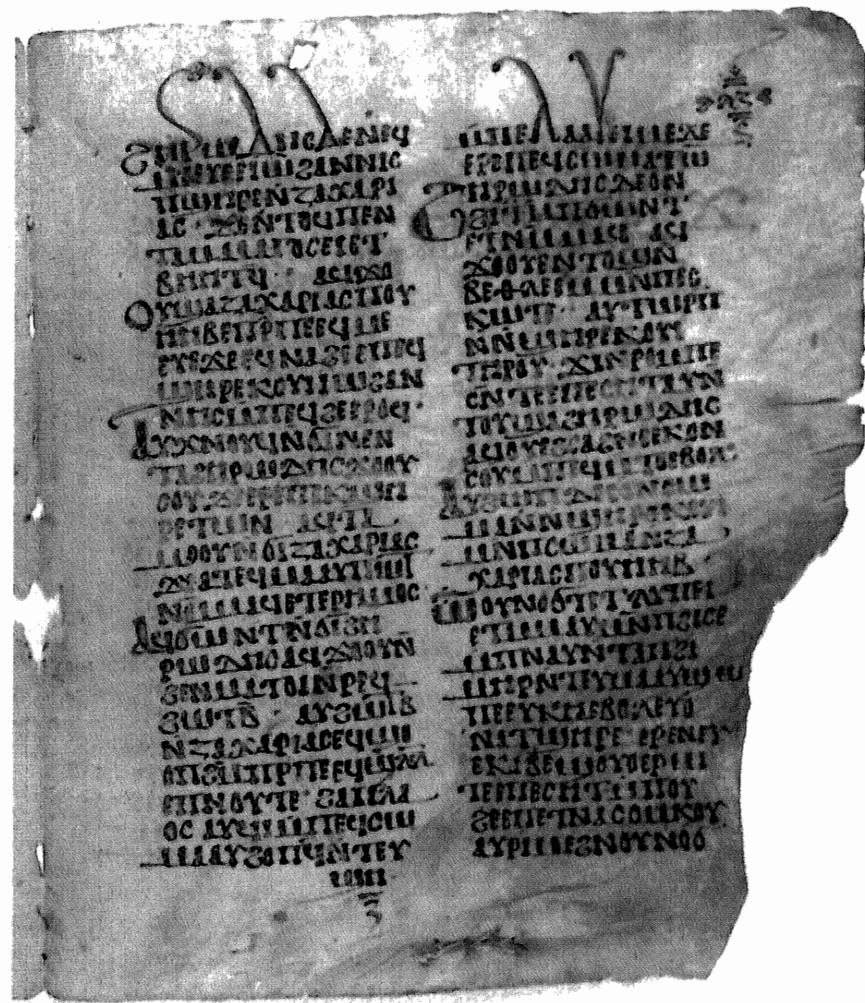
⁸ MS. p. 36a, lines 1-4.



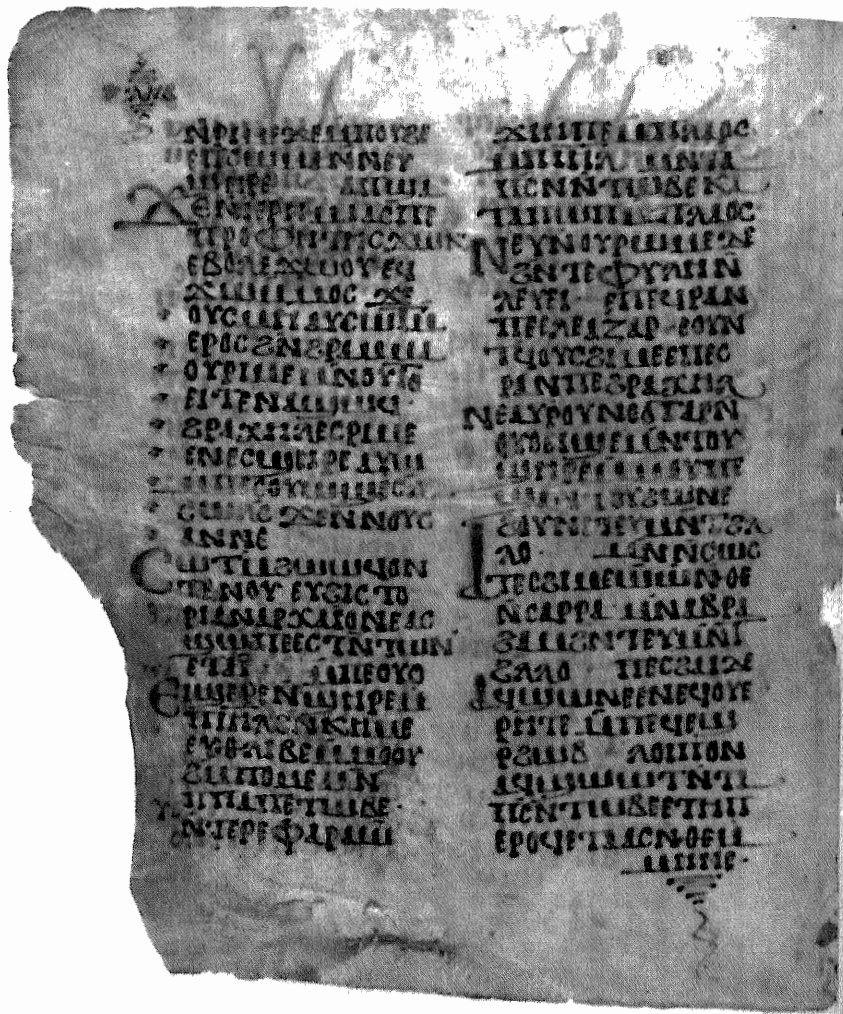
The Coptic bifolium manuscript, page 35. Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.



The Coptic bifolium manuscript, page 36.



The Coptic bifolium manuscript, page 37.



The Coptic bifolium manuscript, page 38.

humbly in a manger.⁹ Then, possibly alluding to Jesus' healing of the lame and the blind,¹⁰ the writer links those miracles with the story of the Magi. The Magi's blindness in spite of their magic (μαγία) is healed through the light of the star even as "strength of the feet" was given to them for their long journey from the East. The claim that the Magi left behind their magic or magical arts, once they had seen the Child in the manger, is an idea similar to Justin Martyr's claim that the power of Christ set the Magi free from the power of Satan.¹¹ As our text declares, "They came as Magi, they departed as confes- sors."¹²

The manuscript is also marked by a non-canonical variation on Matthew's account of the coming of the Magi followed by the massacre of the innocent children in Bethlehem and its surroundings. The writer states that Herod the Great believed that the Magi came to find John the Baptist, the son of Zechariah, not to find Jesus as in Mat- thew's account of Christ's birth.¹³ In this Coptic fragment, Herod sent to Zechariah, the priest of the temple, to find where his son John was. "His mother went with him to the desert" was Zechariah's response, which angered the king. Herod's henchmen then killed Zechariah "as he was in the temple praying to God on behalf of the people"¹⁴ and hid his body by night. Then the writer states that Herod sent to Beth- lehem and had all the little children two years old and under (this much from Matthew 2:16) brought to him, where they were slain in his presence. Their bodies were buried with the body of Zechariah,¹⁵ a tragedy followed by the pathetic picture of the mothers of the slaughtered children weeping profusely because they were unable to nurse although their breasts were overflowing with milk.¹⁶ All of this, says the writer of the Sahidic Coptic text, was in fulfillment of the prophecy of Jeremiah, at which point the text quotes from Jeremiah

⁹ MS. p. 36a, lines 17-21.

¹⁰ See John 5:5-15 and 9:1-41.

¹¹ See Justin Martyr, "Dialogue with Trypho," in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers. Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325*, ed. A. Roberts and J. Donaldson. 10 vols. (Grand Rapids: E. B. Erdmans Publishing Co., 1951 - 1956); vol. 1: *The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus*, chapter 78, pp. 237-238. This is the American reprint of the Edinburgh edition of 1885.

¹² MS. p. 36b, lines 22-24.

¹³ Matthew 2:1-12. Note that the English Bible spells the priest's name with an *e*, whereas the Princeton Coptic manuscript spells it "Zacharias" (p. 37a, line 3).

¹⁴ MS. p. 37a, lines 19-26.

¹⁵ MS. p. 37b, lines 1-18.

¹⁶ MS. p. 37b, line 19, to p. 38a, line 3.

31:15 as it is given in the Coptic text of Matthew 2:18 — “A voice was heard in Rama, a weeping and mourning abundantly, Rachel weeping for her children, and she did not wish to be comforted, because her own are not.”¹⁷

This version of the story is clearly derived from one of the books of the Apocrypha, the *Protevangelium of James*, a composite document written originally in Greek.¹⁸ It contains legends of Mary’s birth, childhood, and betrothal to Joseph woven together with parts of the canonical infancy narratives of Matthew and Luke. Both Egypt and Syria have been proposed as the place where it originated. Written no earlier than the middle of the second century, it was popular in the Eastern church, especially among the Ebionites, and esteemed by the Syrian, Coptic, and Armenian churches because of the value placed on virginity.

The Princeton manuscript’s account of the aftermath of the Magi’s visit is also similar to a work composed in the seventh century, *A Coptic Panegyric on John the Baptist*, given by Theodosius, who was Archbishop of Alexandria in the sixth century.¹⁹ Like the *Protevangelium*, the *Panegyric* refers to Zechariah’s assassination by Herod’s henchmen as he was serving at the altar, and to the mother of John the Baptist as the one who took John to the desert.

There are other unusual elements in the Christmas story as presented in Princeton’s Coptic fragment. It contains no less than two brief meditations on the meaning of the Incarnation. The first such meditation (p. 35, lines 3 ff.) opens with a theological conviction: The Lord clothed himself with the humility of the human being so that he might set mortals free of the “stripping naked of Adam.” The statement apparently refers to Genesis 3:7,²⁰ to the parallel between

¹⁷ Compare the New King James Version (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1984) translation of the passage in Matthew: “A voice was heard in Ramah, lamentation, weeping, and great mourning, Rachel weeping for her children, refusing to be comforted, because they were no more.”

¹⁸ On the apocrypha, see *New Testament Apocrypha*, ed. Wilhelm Schneemelcher; English translation ed. R. McL. Wilson. 2 vols. (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1991), vol. 1, pp. 421–439; *The Other Gospels*, ed. Ron Cameron (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1982).

¹⁹ *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, vol. 269: *Scriptores Coptici*, Tomus 34, pp. 31–32

²⁰ After Adam and Eve ate the forbidden fruit, “Then the eyes of both of them were opened, and they knew that they were naked.” The story of the “stripping naked” and its consequences continues through Genesis 3:24.

Adam and Christ in Romans 5:12–21²¹ and I Corinthians 15:21–22, 45,²² and to the self-humiliation of Christ in Philippians 2:5–8.²³ What follows is an unusual interpretation of Isaiah 1:3. Only the first half of the verse is quoted: “A cow has known its master and an ass has known the manger of its master.” To the Coptic writer, the text refers not to the Israel of Isaiah’s time but to the Incarnation, and to the manger of Luke 2:7. Reference is then made to the union of “those belonging to heaven” and “those belonging to earth.” For the writer immediately tells of the angelic proclamation to the shepherds at the birth of the Lord in the city of David. What did that birth mean? It implied that “the enmity which occurred in Eve has ceased there [i.e. in Bethlehem] and peace has occurred in Mary’s child-bearing.”²⁴ The word “enmity” is the same word found in the Coptic text of Genesis 3:15. The comparison between Eve and Mary in its extra-Biblical occurrences may be traced back to Justin Martyr, a comparison that is possibly indicated in 1 Timothy 2:13–15. Justin (ca. A.D. 155) remarks that “Eve . . . having conceived the word of the serpent brought forth disobedience and death. But the Virgin Mary received faith and joy, when the angel Gabriel announced the good tidings to her.”²⁵ About the same time, in the *Protevangelium of James* 13:1, it is said that Joseph laments as he finds Mary pregnant — not through him — and he asks bitterly, “Is not the story of Adam repeated in me? For as at the hour of his giving thanks, the serpent came and found Eve alone and deceived her, so hath it befallen me also.”²⁶ Moreover, Tertullian in *On the Flesh of Christ* (ca. A.D. 200) writes, “As Eve had believed the serpent, so Mary believed the an-

²¹ “Therefore, just as through one man sin entered the world, and death through sin, and thus death spread to all men, because all sinned . . . even so through one Man’s righteous act the free gift came to all men, resulting in justification of life. For as by one man’s disobedience many were made sinners, so also by one Man’s obedience many will be made righteous. . . .”

²² “For since by man came death, by Man also came the resurrection of the dead. For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ all shall be made alive. . . . And so it is written ‘The first man Adam became a living being.’ The last Adam became a life-giving spirit.”

²³ “Let this mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus, who, being in the form of God did not consider it robbery to be equal with God, but made Himself of no reputation, taking the form of a servant, and coming in the likeness of men. And being found in appearance as a man, He humbled Himself and became obedient to the point of death, even the death of the cross.”

²⁴ MS. p. 35b, lines 4–8.

²⁵ “Dialogue with Trypho,” *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 1, p. 249.

²⁶ Cf. Cameron, *Other Gospels*, p. 115.

gel.”²⁷ In addition, Irenaeus in his famous work *Against Heresies* (ca. A.D. 185) states succinctly, “The knot of Eve’s disobedience was loosed by the obedience of Mary. For what the virgin Eve had bound fast through unbelief, this did the Virgin Mary set free through faith.”²⁸ The comparison made in the Princeton manuscript is more theological. It brings into focus the powerful word “enmity” in the Genesis 3:15 account and senses that its fearful consequences are resolved in the Bethlehem birth and the peace that is said to accompany that birth (Luke 2:14).²⁹ In the following lines, the writer claims that the flesh which the Son of God received from the Virgin is the flesh which sits at God’s right hand and which is about to come “to judge the living and the dead.”

A second meditation on the Incarnation is found on page 36a, lines 1–24, and it reveals a further sermonic tonal quality. The section has been referred to briefly above, but a fuller treatment is needed. The Incarnation is described here as a unity of Divinity with Humanity, a claim which is then affirmed, three times over, in a series of contrasts. Christ is the theandric person who as God issues a command to the earth (line 5); sets human beings at rest (line 13); and who is the light of the blind (line 19). Each claim is followed by a reference to his Incarnation. The Virgin was in labor with him (lines 10–11); she laid him down in a manger (lines 17–18); and the Magi saw his star in the east (lines 22–24). When taken together with the assertion that “When God came forth from heaven, He received the flesh from this virgin”³⁰ and the claim made to the effect that the Magi “brought their gifts to God,”³¹ the sermon apparently aims to expound the one-nature Christology of the Monophysites, who believed that Christ was fully divine but not fully human.

Along with the meditations on the Incarnation, an unusual element emerges. In a manuscript that focuses on the infancy narratives of the Gospels, we discover that the writer never uses the names “Christ” or “Jesus” nor the title “Savior.” The point is made with caution since, as observed, the Princeton manuscript is only a small part

²⁷ *On the Flesh of Christ*, chapter 17, in *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 3, p. 536.

²⁸ *Against Heresies*, in *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 1, p. 455.

²⁹ The upper and lower parts of I (for εϰ: see the elongated I at the end of line 17 on page 37a) are visible, and the “hook” of the rho which follows is visible, and the final three letters HNH are clear.

³⁰ MS. p. 35b, lines 28–30.

³¹ MS. p. 36b, lines 10–11.

of a much longer non-extant treatment. Yet, in the pages at hand, invariably Jesus is called either “Lord” or “Son of God.” Note, for example, the writer’s quotation of Luke 2:11, “Because there was born to you today the Lord in the city of David.”³² The phrase including the words “Savior” and “Christ” is omitted although, in other respects, the quotation is in exact agreement with the Sahidic text of the verse. According to the evidence given in *The New Testament in Greek: The Gospel According to St. Luke*,³³ there is no other witness that omits the entire phrase that is omitted by our manuscript. Tentatively, therefore, I suggest that the omission is evidence of a radical Monophysite view that detracts from the full humanity of Jesus and that claims that Jesus’ impersonal human nature is absorbed “so that his body is by no means of the same substance . . . with ours but a divine body.”³⁴ If this be true, then the quotation of Luke 2:11 in the Princeton manuscript is an example of intentional alteration of a biblical text in the interests of a theological position, a phenomenon well-known in New Testament textual criticism.³⁵ The evidence becomes stronger as we observe the quotation in the Princeton manuscript of Matthew 2:18.³⁶ The entire verse can be cited — and is cited — exactly as it is given in the Sahidic text of Matthew, for here no Monophysite teaching is at stake.

It is also unusual to find the writer comparing Herod’s massacre of the children of Bethlehem to Pharaoh’s affliction of the children of Israel in Egypt as they worked with clay to make bricks.³⁷ The linking of the sad fate of the Bethlehem innocents to the affliction of the children of Israel in Egypt turns on the name Rachel.³⁸ In Exodus 2 we read about a man from the tribe of Levi who became Moses’ father, but our writer tells of another man from the tribe of Levi whose name is Eleazar, and whose wife, Rachel, was barren.³⁹ In their old age — as in the case of Abraham and Sarah — Rachel conceived. Did

³² MS. p. 35a, line 29, to p. 35b, line 3.

³³ Ed. the American and British Committees of the International New Testament Project, Part One, chapters 1–12.

³⁴ Philip Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, 3 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1886), vol. 3, p. 737.

³⁵ See Bruce M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament, Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration*, third enlarged edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 201–203.

³⁶ MS. p. 38a, lines 8–16.

³⁷ Near the end of column one on the final page of the manuscript, p. 38.

³⁸ MS. p. 38a, line 12, and p. 38b, line 10.

³⁹ Column 2 of page 38.

she bear a child? Was the child male or female? The manuscript does not say. Instead, it tells us that Eleazar was afflicted in his old age with a disease in his feet and thus he was no longer able to produce the number of bricks assigned to him by his Egyptian taskmasters. Here, the Princeton fragment of the Coptic manuscript ends, and we cannot tell how the story progresses or even how it finally relates to the themes of the earlier passages. One can only surmise that some definite link would have been made between Herod's massacre at Bethlehem and the order of Pharaoh for the death of new-born male Hebrew children in Egypt (Exodus 1:22) and between the Rachel of Bethlehem⁴⁰ and the Rachel in Egypt.⁴¹



Having at hand only four pages of a manuscript that interprets key passages of scripture poses some tantalizing questions. What kind of document is the Princeton Coptic fragment? Is it part of a theological treatise on the Incarnation? Could it be part of a sermon, perhaps one of several collected for the use of Coptic priests? Why does the writer accept the apocryphal version of the Magi's visit to Herod instead of the one given in the canonical gospel? Is the omission of the names "Jesus" and "Christ" and the title "Savior" merely incidental, or is it purposeful? If more pages of this manuscript come to light in other libraries or museums, we may be able to answer some of these questions.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT

The parchment bifolium manuscript measures 26 x 32.5 cm. It has two columns to a page. Columns vary in number of lines from twenty-seven to thirty. In the top lines of pages 36 and 37, the Greek letters *upsilon*, *rho*, *delta*, and *lambda* are curiously elongated with a tail-like appearance extending into the upper margins. The tail of the *rho* shows some scribal ornamentation. Of greater importance are thirty-four occurrences of enlarged letters, each as the initial letter of a line protruding into the left-hand margin of the manuscript. Let-

⁴⁰ MS. p. 38a, line 12.

⁴¹ MS. p. 38b, line 10.

ters thus enlarged are the Greek letters *alpha*, *beta*, *delta*, *epsilon*, *theta*, *lambda*, *nu*, *omicron*, *pi*, *rho*, *sigma*, *tau*, *upsilon*, *phi*, and *omega*; and Coptic letters *hori* (*h*) and *janja* (*j*). With six exceptions, the enlarged letter is the initial letter of a word. In almost every case, its enlarged appearance marks the beginning of a new sentence or it draws attention to the beginning of a new sentence in the middle of the previous line where an enlarged letter would not be written due to space considerations. A similar phenomenon, in which each enlarged letter marks a new section or paragraph, occurs in Greek manuscripts dated from the third to the ninth centuries.⁴²

The text of the manuscript is clear and comprehensible, with the exception of lines 1 and 2 on page 35a, the ending of lines 5 and 6 on page 35b, and the endings of lines 1 and 2 on page 36b. Two of the Greek *nomina sacra* appear, written in characteristic Greek fashion: ΙΗΛ = Ἰσραήλ or Israel, and ΠΝΑ = πνεῦμα or "Spirit."

Although the manuscript is written in the Sahidic dialect of Coptic, there are thirty-five Greek words in the text: ἐλευθερώω, προφητία, προφήτης, ἄγγελος, ἀλλά, πόλις, εἰρήνη (?), σάξ, παρθένος, κρίνω, ἱεροψάλτης, πνεῦμα, διακρίνω, λαός, κελεύω, κόσμος, μάγος, μαγία, λοιπόν, προφητεύω, μανίτης, δῶρον, ἀποτάσσω, δαίμων, ὁμολογίτης, κατά, ἔρημος, σῶμα, λύπη, ἱστορία, ἀρχαῖον, θλίβω, δέ, φυλή, γάρ

THE TEXT OF THE MANUSCRIPT

Page 35a

- | | |
|----|-------------------------------|
| 1 | |
| 2 | |
| 3 | The one who is Lord of heaven |
| 4 | and of earth clothed |
| 5 | himself with the humility |
| 6 | of [the] man until |
| 7 | he set [the man] free of |
| 8 | the stripping-naked of |
| 9 | Adam. The proph- |
| 10 | ecy of Isaiah |

⁴² See Bruce M. Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible: An Introduction to Greek Palaeography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), p. 32 and plates 10, 18, 24, 26, and 27.

11 the prophet
 12 was fulfilled, namely "a
 13 cow has known its master
 14 and an ass has known
 15 the manger of its mas-
 16 ter." The ones belonging to the heavens
 17 joined with⁴³ the ones belonging to the earth.
 18 The voice of the an-
 19 gels reached unto the shep-
 20 herds who were guarding their fold
 21 of sheep. "And the
 22 glory of the Lord
 23 shone to them."⁴⁴
 24 The angel proclaimed
 25 to them the joy
 26 which was greater than all joy
 27 not to shepherds only
 28 but to all the inhabited world,
 29 "Because there

Page 35b

1 was born to you to-
 2 day the Lord in the
 3 city of David."⁴⁵
 4 The enmity which
 5 occurred in Eve⁴⁶ has
 6 ceased there. [Pea]ce
 7 occurred in the giving birth
 8 of Mary. The
 9 flesh which the Son of
 10 God received from
 11 the Virgin, it
 12 also is that which is sitting at the right hand
 13 of the Father with those who are

⁴³ Or "were reconciled to."

⁴⁴ Luke 2:9.

⁴⁵ Luke 2:11.

⁴⁶ The translation "in Eve" (*hiewha*) in line 5 is quite certain even though only the top part of the *epsilon* is visible. In line 6, enough of the damaged word is visible to show that, in all probability, it is the Greek word "peace."

14 exalted. And it [the flesh]
 15 also is that which is about to come to judge
 16 the living and the
 17 dead. The Vir-
 18 gin who is holy, Ma-
 19 ry, received the perfec-
 20 tion [= fulfillment] of that which the temple
 21 singer who is holy,
 22 David, spoke in
 23 the Holy Spirit
 24 namely "He will summon heaven
 25 above and the earth from
 26 the height to
 27 judge his people."
 28 When God came forth
 29 from heaven He received
 30 the flesh from this Virgin.

Page 36a

1 God became man.
 2 Divinity with
 3 humanity became
 4 a unity.
 5 He [i.e. God] is the one who commanded
 6 the earth thus: "You
 7 are the witness to
 8 every man who comes
 9 into the world."⁴⁷

⁴⁷ The direct address to the earth seems to be an allusion to John 1:6-8, where "a man sent from God . . . came for a witness, to bear witness of the Light." In this text, however, the "witness" is not John the Baptist, but the earth itself. The context on either side of the line has to do with the Incarnation, and goes back to the beginning of page 35. The Incarnation effects a unity between heaven and earth (beginning with 35a, line 3); that unity comes about through the One who clothed himself with the humility of humans, setting them free from the transgression of Adam. To the Coptic writer, Isaiah 1:3a shows this clearly. Even brute beasts came to know their true Owner and thus it could be said that a real unity of heaven and earth began with the Incarnation. The "ones belonging to the heavens were joined to the ones belonging to the earth" and the voice of the angels (i.e. heaven) could reach the shepherds (i.e. earth). Thus, too, the flesh of the Son of God, received from the Virgin, is at the right hand of God = *peace*. In the same vein, since Divinity was united with Humanity (p. 35a, lines 6-14), in the writer's mind the earth — an ever-present continuum — bears witness of that unity to every person born into the world.

10 Again, he is the one with whom the Vir-
 11 gin has been in labor
 12 He is the One who
 13 sets at rest those who lie
 14 down through sleep.⁴⁸
 15 Again, he is the one whom the Vir-
 16 gin who is holy, Ma-
 17 ry, laid [down] in a
 18 manger. Again, he is
 19 the light of the blind
 20 and the strength of the
 21 feet of the lame.
 22 Again, he is the one whose
 23 star the Magi saw
 24 in the East.
 25 They left behind them
 26 their magic. These were
 27 the ones whose fathers

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1 worshipped [idols?] They
 2 searched in the [end?]
 3 of heaven.⁴⁹ They knew,
 4 finally, that the
 5 star which rose [in the East]
 6 was the one which also had been pro-
 7 phesied through
 8 Balaam the sooth-
 9 sayer.⁵⁰ They hurried

⁴⁸ The meaning of lines 12–14 is not certain. Possibly since "sleep" in the New Testament often refers to the death of believers (John 11:11, Acts 7:60, 1 Corinthians 15:51, 1 Thessalonians 4:15), the "rest" is that which Jesus gives to them (Revelation 14:13).

⁴⁹ The Greek word ἔσχατια is possibly what is missing; its final three letters appear clearly as the initial letters of line 3. There are only a limited number of nouns in Greek ending in -τια, and "the end of heaven" (i.e. reading ἔσχατια) corresponds fittingly to the "star which rose in the East."

⁵⁰ I have read πμανιτης here. The Greek noun of agent, μανιτης, appears in apposition to the Old Testament figure of Balaam. I failed to find the Greek word elsewhere, yet the translation "soothsayer" seems quite certain, comparable in meaning and form to μαντεύτης and μάντις. I think that, on the basis of the Princeton manuscript, the word μανιτης = "seer, diviner, soothsayer" needs to be added to standard Greek lexicons. The initial letters μανι- may have some link with the Greek noun

10 [and] brought their
 11 gifts to God.
 12 They came as Magi, they
 13 bid adieu to the wor-
 14 ship of demons.
 15 They greeted the Son
 16 of God.
 17 The angel of the Lord
 18 appeared to them [and] he
 19 raised their eyes [= instructed them]
 20 that they might go through the way
 21 which he taught them.
 22 They came as Magi, they
 23 departed as con-
 24 fessors.⁵¹ When,
 25 therefore, the Magi departed,
 26 according to what is written
 27 they did not return [to Herod]. Fin-
 28 ally, fear seized him [Herod].

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1 Now Herod was
 2 thinking about John,
 3 the son of Zachari-
 4 ah, that he was the one
 5 on whose account the Magi
 6 came. He sent
 7 to Zachariah, the
 8 priest of the temple,
 9 thinking that he will find his
 10 young son, John.
 11 He did not find him.
 12 Those whom Herod had sent
 13 asked him [Zachariah]
 14 "Your son is
 15 where?"

μανία, "frenzy, madness" (cf. English *maniac*) and its verbal congener μανινομαι, "to speak in an inspired frenzy."

⁵¹ The Greek word ὁμολογιτης for ὁμολογητης, "confessor," expresses the change that occurred in the Magi.

16 Zachariah informed them
 17 "His mother, belonging to us, went⁵⁴
 18 with him to the desert."
 19 Herod was angry
 20 [and] he sent some
 21 soldiers, mur-
 22 derers, [and] they slew
 23 Zachariah as he was
 24 in the temple praying
 25 to God on behalf of the
 26 people. They took his
 27 body [and] they hid it by night.

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1 No one knew, namely,
 2 where his body was.
 3 Now Herod, again,
 4 through anger which was
 5 with him, sent
 6 to the borders of
 7 Bethlehem with its
 8 suburbs. All of
 9 the little children from
 10 two years and under
 11 were seized and
 12 brought to Herod.
 13 He ordered that they
 14 be slain in his presence.
 15 Then the bodies of the
 16 small children were hidden
 17 with the body of Zach-
 18 ariah the priest.
 19 O that grief was great
 20 with suffering
 21 at the sight of
 22 their mothers' arms

⁵² In the Coptic text, the horizontal line over the ⲱ stands for a *nun*, i.e. ⲡⲟⲩ, "our, belonging to us." The elongated I, the final letter of line 17, represents the Coptic verb ⲉⲗ, "go, come," which with the perfect tense verbal prefix ⲁ- before the nominal subject, "his mother," gives the translation "went."

23 left desolate seeing that they
 24 were without children! While
 25 their breasts flowed with
 26 milk downward, they did not
 27 find those who would suck them.
 28 They wept with a great

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1 weeping because they did not find
 2 the bodies⁵³ of their
 3 children. The say-
 4 ing of Jeremiah, the
 5 prophet, was ful-
 6 filled upon⁵⁴ them
 7 since it / he says
 8 "A voice was heard
 9 in Rama
 10 a weeping and mourning
 11 abundantly,
 12 Rachel weeping for her children and
 13 she did not wish to be
 15 comforted, because her own
 16 are not."
 17 But hear also
 18 now, a his-
 19 tory of ancient ones. Having
 20 happened,⁵⁵ it is like
 21 to this [i.e. to the Bethlehem story]. In the time when
 22 the children of Israel were in Egypt
 23 they were being afflicted
 25 with clay and
 26 brickmaking
 27 when Pharaoh

⁵³ The manuscript uses the singular word, "body"; I have substituted the plural (cf. p. 37b, line 15-16).

⁵⁴ Or "on account of" them.

⁵⁵ Since the prefix of the verb "having happened" is third feminine singular, reference is made to the Greek word for "history" (lines 18-19) which is feminine. And the history refers to what follows, i.e. Israel in Egypt, an account that is said to be similar to the Bethlehem event.

1 took a count of the people
2 of Israel and the
3 number of bricks was accord-
4 ing to the count of the people.
5 Now there was a man
6 from the tribe of
7 Levi, his name being
8 Eleazar. He had
9 a wife, her name
10 being Rachel.
11 Now⁵⁶ they had reached
12 a time [of life] without having a
13 child [there]
14 until they drew near
15 to their old age.
16 Afterward
17 the wife became pregnant in
18 the manner of Sarah with Abra-
19 ham in their old
20 age. But her husband
21 became weak in his
22 feet. He was unable
23 to work. Ultimately
24 he lacked the num-
25 ber of bricks for the allotment⁵⁷
26 to him which he used to make
27 as it were, daily.

⁵⁶ The manuscript word is γαρ.

⁵⁷ Literally, "reckoning."

Giovanni Battista Piranesi's Plan of Hadrian's Villa

BY JOHN PINTO

Giovanni Battista Piranesi, one of the most outstanding graphic artists of the eighteenth century, is well known for his architectural fantasies, archaeological publications, polemical treatises, and views of Rome, all of which are well represented in Princeton's collections.¹ An important example of Piranesi's work has recently been added to the University's collections. The Marquand Library of Art and Archaeology has acquired a set of six prints comprising a plan of Hadrian's Villa near Tivoli, one of the richest archaeological sites in the environs of Rome.² The plan carries the signature of Giovanni Battista's son Francesco and the date 1781, indicating that it was issued three years after the elder Piranesi's death. Piranesi scholars have neglected the plan because of its attribution to the less gifted Francesco and archaeologists have dismissed it as a work of fantasy.³ New evidence, however, shows the plan to be substantially the work of Giovanni Battista Piranesi, deserving recognition as the watershed study of Hadrian's Villa and a key document in the history of archaeological site description.

Piranesi's printed views of the Villa are well known, but scholars have tended to study them in isolation from his other efforts at recording its remains. Substantial evidence exists to support the conviction that in the last years of his life Piranesi was preparing a comprehensive publication of the Villa, which was to have been the summation of his long study of Roman architecture. His death in

¹ Andrew Robison, "Giovanni Battista Piranesi: Prolegomena to the Princeton Collections," *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 31, no. 3 (1970): 165-206.

² The Princeton copy was acquired from Christie's in 1990. It has recently undergone conservation to repair several tears resulting from folds and spotting.

³ The plan does not appear in Henri Focillon's fundamental study, *Giovanni-Battista Piranesi: Essai de catalogue raisonné de son oeuvre* (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1918). It will be included in John Wilton-Ely's forthcoming *Piranesi: The Complete Etchings*.