THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

Beginning at the End: Literary Unity and the Relationship between Anthropology and
Liturgy in the *Protevangelium Jacobi* (*P. Bodm. 5*)

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to the Faculty of the

Center for the Study of Early Christianity

School of Arts & Sciences

Of The Catholic University of America

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

By

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Washington, D.C.

2011

Beginning at the End: Literary Unity and the Relationship between Anthropology and Liturgy in the *Protevangelium Jacobi* (*P. Bodm. 5*)

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The *Protevangelium Jacobi* is categorized in scholarship as apocryphal. Yet, while instability seems to be the only unifying characteristic of early Christian apocryphal literature, the manuscript tradition of the treatise is remarkably stable. The text is attributed to an apostle and was early considered part of the tradition of the Church.

This thesis argues that the author of *PJ* is not trying to add to the New Testament canon but has, rather, two aims: first, to teach the hermeneutics and techniques for confirming that the Scriptures are written according to τέχνη and that the writings constituting the New Testament are written "according to the Scriptures"; second, to provide the knowledge and critical skills for ensuring the unaltered tradition of these texts and teachings. The text, rather than announcing these aims, leaves it to the reader to discover them. Elements of the text such as grammatical terminology (ἱστορία), repetitions of words and phrases, and allusions to intertexts are included in the different manuscript versions to assist the reader in assessing the fidelity of the copy, identifying the main reference works, and determining its subject matter.

Analyzing the technical usage of the term ἱστορία and reading the text according to the teachings of γραμματική suggest that the writing is a "synoptic" combination of text and clarifying commentary. Morphological and syntactical characteristics of the individual words and phrases bound together in a sentence or embedded in brief narratives, dialogues, or speeches have a *heuristic function*—they point to glosses in the text (such as paraphrases, repetitions, comparisons, or material for analogies**)** and to external sources which can expand, complete, and clarify concise passages.

While such an interweaving of narrative and commentary clarifies what is said, it also requires transmitting the written text without alterations—even when misspellings seem to beg correction. Features of the text (omissions, orthographic or syntactic errors) that initially seem redundant or incorrect, analyzed grammatically, clarify the argument, allowing the reader to deduce its proposition. The authors of different manuscript versions of *PJ* use various methods (acrostics, halved lines, references to grammatical terminology and παραδείγματα) to prevent permanent alterations.

This dissertation by Jutta C. Raithel fulfills the dissertation requirements for the doctoral degree in Philosophy approved by Philip H. Rousseau, D.Phil., as director, and by William J. McCarthy, Ph.D., and Rev. John Behr, D.Phil., as Readers.

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Chapter 1

Prolegomena

The author of the text preserved in *P. Bodmer 5* is not trying to add to the New Testament canon (to whatever extent it existed at the time) but has, rather, two aims: first, to teach the hermeneutics and techniques for confirming that the Scriptures are written according to τέχνη and that the writings that would eventually constitute the canon of the New Testament are written "according to the Scriptures"; and second, to provide the knowledge and critical skills for ensuring the unaltered tradition of these texts and teachings.

Perhaps the best way of explaining how I deduced these two aims is to provide a short history of my own inquiry. I began with a problem stated in the secondary literature on the so-called *Protevangelium Iacobi*: Why does a text called "The Nativity of Mary" end with an account of "The Death of Zechariah," given that most of the narrative seems to be about Mary? The question of the relationship between the title and the narrative directed me to the oldest extant manuscript of the text—*P. Bodmer 5*, a papyrus dating to the end of the second century AD. In *P. Bodmer 5*, the title of *PJ* reads "Γενεσις Μαριας Αποκαλυψις Ιακωβ"[1]—four nouns (two nominatives, a genitive, and a Hebrew name), placed together without any conjunction or any other indication of a hierarchy. For a title, this form is highly

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[1] All quotations of *P. Bodmer 5* follow the spelling and punctuation of the photographic reproductions of the papyrus in *Bibliotheca Bodmeriana: La collection des papyrus Bodmer*, vol. 8, *Planches de toutes les pages originales*, ed. by M. Bircher (Munich: K. G. Saur, 2000), 245-70.

unusual—it is in fact unprecedented in Greek literature and unique to *P. Bodmer 5*. But it was not so much the form of the title that interested me at first: I was more puzzled by the juxtaposition of the two nouns γένεσις and ἀποκάλυψις: Why call the same work a "γένεσις" (seemingly an allusion to the book of *Genesis* and the references to the βίβλος γενέσεως in *Genesis* and *Matthew*) *and* an "ἀποκάλυψις" (seemingly an allusion to the *Apocalypse* of John)?

A second, related question began to emerge when I began reading about the historical context of the time of the work's composition. In contrast to other, seemingly comparable works of "early Christian apocryphal literature," the Church had accepted *PJ* as tradition (παράδοσις) from early on—evidenced in the work's significance as the earliest source for events in the life of Mary, the θεοτόκος (such as her birth to Joachim and Anna and her entrance into the temple), which are celebrated in the liturgical cycle of the Church but do not seem to be reported in any other early sources. And unlike other "apocryphal writings"—whose sole unifying characteristic seems to be an "unstable" manuscript tradition—the text of the different manuscripts of *PJ* is remarkably uniform. How was this uniformity achieved and maintained *before* a wider distribution of manuscripts and the audience's increasing familiarity with the narrative through liturgical usage made major alterations of the text less and less possible?

At first, the question of the stability of the *text* seemed to me linked to the literary unity of the *narrative*. And so I began research for what I thought would be essentially a literary study**,** taking my start from the possibility that someone put together the two seemingly disparate parts of the narratives (one on Mary, the other on Zechariah) and

perceived and/or presented them as one—assuming this to be the function of the title and of the references in the work's epilogue to the writing of "this *historia*." *PJ* either has an original literary unity (as had been argued before by Émile de Strycker: I discuss the scholarly debate more fully in Chapter 2) or would have been read by audiences schooled in classical literary criticism with a view to finding such a unity; and I postulated that this narrative unity of *PJ* is not apparent to modern readers only because the narrative reflects an anthropology manifested in different social units, different liturgical forms, and even different calendars.

This literary approach proved only partially successful. I found links between the different parts of the narrative, but these links, while interesting, and sometimes unexpected, were far from being conclusive evidence for a tightly argued narrative, and the unifying subject matter (or argument) of the narrative remained elusive—if there indeed were any.

My perception of the text as opaque and unyielding changed when I began using (and eventually perceiving) *PJ* as an introduction to reading the writings of the Old and the New Testament (a necessary side effect of searching for the sources of paraphrases composed of phrasal and syntactical allusions) *and* to studying the teachings of the grammarians on subjects highlighted in *PJ* through the use of technical terminology[2] and through allusions to classical authorities and examples.

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[2] E.g., ἱστορία (1.1, 13.1, 25.1), διπλᾶ (1.1), χαρακτήρ (2.2), φωνή (2.3, 11.1, 20.4, 24.2), λόγος (11.2, 24.2), προφέρειν (3.3 *P. Bodmer 5*); ἠχεῖν (8.3); ἀληθῆ λέγειν (15.4, 19.1, 23.2; i.e., ἔτυμα λέγειν); ἐξηγεῖσθαι (19.3); παράδοξα (19.2, 20.4); and ἀνακεφαλαιοῦσθαι (13.1).

PJ can be read as a commentary (ὑπόμνημα) by those familiar with ἡ γραμματική—familiar, that is, with the philosophical underpinnings of the art—and with a mode of instruction that requires an inquisitive, active audience, one trained in methodically searching for—and expanding and illuminating—statements that are dark or implausible because of their conciseness and their fragmentary presentation and distribution. For such a reader of *PJ*, there is no need for *Prolegomena*. The first and the last pages of all versions—and in *P. Bodmer 5* also the last sentence—fill this role. But for most of us, the concepts of ἡ γραμματική invoked in the text through brief phrases and allusions to "canonical" (often Homeric) examples are already foreign territory.

These teachings are not "esoteric." They are preserved in the writings of the grammarians. But the "dryness" with which these authors present much of their knowledge—brief definitions illustrated by short phrases or groups of analogies, or long lists with rules of accentuation and inflection—makes reading them a less than inviting prospect, and often seems to be meant to impede rather than to further a true understanding of what is said. Handing on teachings through definition and (syllogistic or enthymematic) demonstration is only one aspect of the various didactic methods ("διδασκαλικοὶ τρόποι" or "μέθοδοι"), however.[3] A longer narrative can serve the same function as brief comparisons accompanying abstract definitions, while also serving as the source from which

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[3] A group of four τρόποι (identical with the four "διαλεκτικαὶ μέθοδοι") is mentioned most often— διαιρετικός, ὁριστικός, ἀποδεικτικός, and ἀναλυτικός.

audiences can infer the (implied) proposition of the narrative's argument[4] or a concise, abstract definition (ὅρος, i.e., ὁρισμός or ὑπογραφή) of the narrative's subject matter.

Comments on overly skeptical or contentious audiences, combined (in philosophical exhortations and textbooks alike) with emphasis on being συνεργός of the author and actively "following along" (or even anticipating what the author will say), do suggest that classical and Late Antique authors did not expect, or even intend, that technical flaws or gaps in their arguments would remain hidden or be glossed over. This is especially likely to be the case with authors who remind their readers of their own grammatical training by incorporating technical terminology into their texts. The presence of such terminology in *PJ* suggests that the authors of the different versions of *PJ* counsel their readers to employ—in reading the passages highlighted in this way (and their parallels and analogues)—the grammatical teachings (and exegetical procedures) encapsulated in these phrases, essentially calling them to remember these teachings (definitions, precepts, and canonical examples) and to practice them with the material provided for them by the author. Questions—(which imply διαλέγεσθαι, i.e., question *and* answer)—or descriptions of the text or instructions concerning its completion or transformation[5] add another dimension.

This interpretation of the function of individual phrases as guides and pointers to intertexts and common signifieds is hypothetical, since the usage of the texts and the function of references to writing (e.g., through technical terminology or metaphors), composite

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[4] E.g., see John D. O'Banion, "Narration and Argumentation: Quintilian on Narratio as the Heart of Rhetorical Thinking," *Rhetorica* 5 (1987): 325-51.
[5] Suggestive in this respect is Chr. Luz, "Das Rätsel der griechischen Figurengedichte," *Museum Helveticum* 65.1 (2008): 22-33.

quotations, different paraphrases of the same text in one source and so forth have not yet received much (if any) scholarly attention, in contrast to subjects such as literacy in antiquity, classical *paideia* (and the role of grammarians), conceptualization of writing (based on literary texts, but not on the writings of the grammarians themselves), or pseudonymity and pseudepigraphy, all of which are well studied. But the interpretation is supported by cumulative evidence and is a fruitful way of looking at a text that otherwise remains veiled. Looking at *PJ* in the light of these teachings, and with the same approach (following the cross-connections built into the text), shows the text and argument to be highly complex and intricate. *PJ*'s "artlessness" is carefully constructed.

I gradually began to realize the importance of γραμματική when I returned to the question of the title of *P. Bodmer 5*—why call the work ἀποκάλυψις, if in all the other manuscripts the only title of the work is "Nativity of Mary"? It turned out, on closer examination, that the latter is not entirely true.[6]

The question of how to divide the four nouns of the title of *P. Bodmer 5* made me take a look at the papyrus itself (until then I had worked with Testuz's diplomatic edition), to see whether there were any visual signs that would help determine the syntactical relations between the four words. The title is displayed on the first and on the last page. I noticed that on both pages, the individual components of the title are placed in alignment with other words of the text to which they are related and also positioned relative to vertical axes of the page and of the column of text (the text block's middle and golden sections).

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[6] For a discussion of the modern title, see Chapter 2.

Alternative distributions of the text of the first and the last page of *P. Bodmer* 5 that would result in even numbers of lines and syllables are possible; but such a visual "smoothing" of the text would also destroy the geometrical relations between spatially separated parts of the text, and the same holds true for incorporating additions into the text. Emendations in the margins and between lines or cross-references based on distinct spellings of words thus raise two questions concerning the tradition of a text. First, how can an author assure that exegetically relevant elements of the written text are not mistakenly corrected or otherwise altered in the process of transmission? Second, how can a scribe determine which features of the text have to be preserved and which can be adjusted (if necessary) to provide sufficient guidance for the reader, without changing what is signified—and circumscribed—by the text?[7]

Determining the position of an element of a text is, in part, a mathematical problem—one that is arithmetic (emphasizing intervals) and, in the case of a written text, also geometrical (relational)—and I began entertaining the possibility that writings and the space occupied by them is perceived differently—not only one-dimensionally (linearly, with a chain-like succession of elements, as in the recitation of a text) but also two-dimensionally (like a plane), without a predetermined "course" or "direction" of reading or writing. Consequently, I began to count letters and syllables and compare the texts of the individual versions.

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[7] Put differently, how could a scribe or reader determine whether or not an element added to the text is a correction necessary for completing a sentence—and thus to be copied into the text or to be spoken aloud in a recitation—or a visually or spatially distinct part of the text meant to remain separate to clarify an ambiguity or highlight alternative readings?

PJ does not have a uniform title; but all manuscripts have a uniform beginning. The texts of the different manuscript versions of *PJ* agree, with almost no variants in longer passages of the introductory narrative, even though changes in word order would have removed ambiguities, stressed allusions, or aligned statements through parallelisms. The first of these longer, "stable" parts of the text has forty syllables, beginning in 1.1 with the words "ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις τῶν δώδεκα φυλῶν."

When the text of this common introduction is arranged in lines with an equal number of syllables, the letters in lines 1-5 at the left side of the text column form an acrostic— "ἔφερε". The verb corresponds to the stem of the composite verb προσέφερε in lines 3-4.[8]

	Ven. Marc. II, 82 (A) λέγων			*Paris gr. 1468* (E) λέγων ἐν ἑαυτῷ
ε	ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις τῶν δώδεκα	ε	→	ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις τῶν δώδεκα
φ	φυλῶν τοῦ ᾿Ισραὴλ ἦν ᾿Ιωακ	φ		φυλῶν τοῦ ᾿Ισραὴλ ἦν ᾿Ιωακ
ε	εἰμ πλούσιος σφόδρα καὶ προσέφε	ε		εἰμ πλούσιος σφόδρα καὶ προσέφε
ρ	ρε τὰ δῶρα αὐτοῦ διπλᾶ λέγων	ρ		ρε τὰ δῶρα αὐτοῦ διπλᾶ λέγων
ε	ἔσται τῆς περιουσίας μου παν	ε/ε	→	ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἔσται τὸ τῆς περι
	τὶ τῷ λαῷ καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀφέσε	σ		σσείας μου παντὶ τῷ λαῷ καὶ τὸ
	ὡς ΚΩ εἰς ἱλασμὸν ἐμοί ἤγγικ	τ		τῆς ἀφεσέως κυρίῳ τῷ θε
	εν δὲ ἡ ἡμέρα κυρίου ἡ	ω		ῷ μου εἰς ἱλασμὸν ἐμοί ἤγγισ
	μεγάλη καὶ προσέφερον οἱ υ		→	εν δὲ ἡ ἡμέρα κυρίου ἡ
	ἱοὶ ᾿Ισραὴλ τὰ δῶρα αὐτῶν			μεγάλη καὶ προσέφερον οἱ υ
				ἱοὶ ᾿Ισραὴλ τὰ δῶρα αὐτῶν

100 syllables (10x10)   **110 syllables (11x10)**

In three manuscripts of *PJ* (*Paris gr. 1454* (C), *Ambr. gr. 192* (O),[9] and I[10]), "λέγων" is preceded by the prepositional phrase "κατὰ τὸ ἔθος"—"καὶ προσέφερε τὰ δῶρα αὐτοῦ

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[8] In *Paris gr. 1468*, lines 1, 5, and 10 begin with the same syllable.
[9] In O, λέγων is followed by "ἐν ἑαυτῳ" (a cross-reference through which Joachim's offering in 1.1 is associated with his vow in 1.4 and his definition of a sign in 5.1).

διπλᾶ κατὰ τὸ ἔθος λέγων." Syntactically, the phrase limits προσφέρειν, διπλᾶ, or λέγειν. The manuscripts with "κατὰ τὸ ἔθος" do not feature the acrostic "ἔφερε" characteristic of the first five lines of manuscripts with "λέγων" or "λέγων ἐν ἑαυτῷ"—the forty-first syllable (τό) does not include the *epsilon* necessary for the verb's completion. Nevertheless, all have acrostics in the beginning(s) of the text.

Acrostics also occur in the prepositional phrase at the beginning of the stable text, with (A) and without (B) the genitive "τοῦ Ἰσραήλ".

A 8x2	**l**	**r**	**B 6x2**	**l**	**r**	**l**	**r**	**r**
εντατσ	ε↓		εντατσ	ε	ς	ε	ι	ι↓
ιστο	ι		ιστο	τ	ο	σ	ο	ο
ριαστ	ρ		ριαστ	ρ	τ	ρ	ς	ς
ωνδωδ	ω	δ↓	ωνδω	ω	ω	τ	ω	
εκα		α	δεκαφ	δ	φ↑	δ	φ↑	
φυλων		ν	υλων	υ↑	ν	υ	ν	
τουι		ι	τουι					
σραηλ		ηλ	σραηλ					

These acrostics are related to the text of the narrative—for example, the book of *Daniel* (column A, r) is represented in 1.1 through an allusion to the story of Susanna, in 18.2 through several allusions to the first part of the vision of Joseph, and in 25.1 through allusions to Nebuchadnezzar dream of the image with feet of clay (Dn 2) or the song of the three young men (Dn 3). Similarly, the nouns "ὕδωρ" (B la) and "φῶς" (B lb) occur in the body of the text (ὕδωρ in 3.2, 11.1, 16.1, 18.2; φῶς in 19.2, 22.3).

The geometrical and numerical characteristics of the different texts of *PJ* are suggestive of a method of ensuring the unaltered transmission of texts. They do not reveal

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[10] Ms. I is an incomplete version (ending with 23.3 [46.6]).

whether this method is unique to the authors of the different versions of *PJ* or has a theoretical foundation, on the basis of which the authors of the different manuscript versions of *PJ* could expect that readers would pay attention to features such as the layout of the text, its recitation, and the number and distribution of syllables and letters in the lines. Nor do they explain the existence of manuscript variants.

Proving that any of these observable features is intentional seemed virtually impossible, given that we do not have any *explicit* instructions on how to copy a text. We do find some information in authors describing their own work as editors (e.g., Galen's edition of Hippocrates, and his comments on μεταγραφή and καλλιγράφος), or detailing individual steps in the publication of a multi-volume work (e.g., Apollonius of Perga in the preface to his *Konica*, or Hypsicles of Alexandria[11]), or explaining the steps in the correction of a book for reading; mathematical principles were used by some authors for structuring their narrative,[12] and there were readers searching for acrostics;[13] and we do have *technopaignia*;[14] but on the whole, any evidence about the practical considerations (and steps) that go into assuring the transmission of a text (or any theoretical reasons behind them) is conspicuously absent.

Still, expositions by classical grammarians on τρόποι and σχήματα (in the context of ἐξηγήσασθαι and διορθοῦν) and on letters (γράμματα) and writing hint that there is a

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[11] See the preface of *Hypsiclis liber sive elementorum liber xiv qui fertur*, in *Euclidis elementa*, vol. 5.1, 2nd ed., ed. E. S. Stamatis (Leipzig: Teubner, 1977).

[12] See F. G. Lang, "Schreiben nach Mass: Zur Stichometrie in der Antiken Literatur," *Novum Testamentum* 41.1 (1999): 40-57.

[13] See *Eustathii archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes*, ed. M. van der Valk (Leiden: Brill, 1987), 4:856.1-857.3.

[14] For the most recent overview, see Christine Luz, *Technopaignia: Formspiele in der griechischen Dichtung*, Mnemosyne Supplements 324 (Leiden: Brill, expected 2010).

"technical" basis (and reasons) for the empirically verifiable "arithmetic" (and even geometrical) characteristics of the different texts of *PJ*, and even for stylistic characteristics. I became aware of this when I had a closer look at other texts with a last sentence comparable to the one in *P. Bodmer 5* (ειρηνη τω γραψαντι και τω αναγινωσκοντι).

Several other papyri end with a similar sentence as the one in *P. Bodmer 5*. Two of them are in the same collection as *P. Bodmer 5*—a copy of Melito of Sardis' Περὶ Πασχα (*P. Bodmer 13*), and a copy of the letters of Peter (*P. Bodmer 8*); they begin with the same noun as the sentence in *P. Bodmer 5* (εἰρήνη). Two contain school exercises—excerpts from Demosthenes' speech Περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου (*De corona*) in the one (*P. Rylands 59*),[15] writing exercises of increasing complexity in the other (*P. Sorb. 826* (=*P. Bouriant 1*));[16] they begin with the adverb "εὐτυχῶς." The two participles τῷ γράψαντι and τῷ ἀναγινώσκοντι also occur at the end of the *Βίος Σεκούνδου Φιλόσοφου*[17] and, with μεταγράφειν instead of γράφειν, at the end of παραίνεσις λδ΄ in the Greek *Λόγοι παραινετικοὶ πρὸς τοὺς κατ' Αἴγυπτον μοναχούς* of Ephraem the Syrian.[18]

Two of these proved particularly helpful in learning how to "open" *P. Bodmer 5*—*P. Sorb. 826* and *Παραίνεσις λδ΄*. An excerpt from the first half of the preface to Babrius's Fables in *P. Sorb. 826* features a reference to a time when "και τα λοιπα των ζωων φωνην

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[15] See *Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, 1: *Literary Texts (nos. 1-61)*, ed. Arthur S. Hunt (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1911), 184-89.

[16] Published by Jouguet and Perdrizet in W. Crönert, *Kolotes und Menedemos: Texte zur Philosophen- und Literaturgeschichte*, *Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde* 6 (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1965), 148-61.

[17] See *Secundus the Silent Philosopher: The Greek Life of Secundus*, ed. and tr. by B. E. Perry, Philological Monographs 22 (Ithaca, NY: The American Philological Society, 1964), 65-91.

[18] See Παραίνεσις λδ΄ in *Λόγοι παραινετικοί πρός τούς μοναχούς τῆς Αἰγύπτου*, in ῾Οσίου Εφραὶμ τοῦ Σύρου ῎Εργα, vol. 3, ed. and tr. by K. G. Phrantzola (Thessaloniki: Το Περιβολι της Παναγιας, 1990), 162-63.

ε[ν]αρθρον ειχε και λογους ηδη." "Φωνὴ ἔναρθρος" is a technical term of γραμματική; this pointed me to related concepts (and discussions) in the writings of the grammarians.[19] Ephraem's *Παραίνεσις λδ´* first attracted my attention because of a peculiarity of *P. Bodmer 5*—the text includes hardly any punctuation or breathing marks. The "speaker" of the first sentence of the παραίνεσις advises the reader to add marks ("σημείωσαι").

> ἀγαπητε, ἐὰν προσταχθῇ σοι ἀναγνῶναι ἐν τοῖς ὠσὶ τῆς ἀδελφότητος σημείωσαι μετ᾽ ἀκριβείας ποῦ τετέλεκεν ὁ ἐναρξάμενος καὶ λαβὼν τὴν λέξιν[20] ἐνάρχου τῆς ἀναγνώσεως

The infinitive "ἀναγνῶναι" fleshes out this instruction through allusions to texts in the Old and New Testaments describing reading and writing; σημείωσαι stresses one of these in particular—the prophecy on Ariel in *Isaiah*, which includes a reference to a στιγμή (emphasizing reading "κατὰ διαστολήν")[21] and to sealed books and knowing γράμματα, but allusions to the reading of the book of Isaiah in *Luke* 4 (with an allusion to the book of *Esther*) and to *Daniel* also point to distinguishing between numbers and letters. The sentence with the two participles "ἀναγινώσκοντι" and "μεταγράφοντι" through which I became aware of this text is preceded by instructions on the ἐπιγραφή and on the στίχες of a book. Significantly, the reference to the ἐπιγραφή is preceded by a reference to the other means of identifying a work—the first words of the text (ἀρχή).

> εἰ δὲ ἀρχή ἐστι λόγου, λέγε τὴν ἐπιγραφήν· οὕτω γὰρ γνωσθήσεται τὸ λεγόμενον. εἰ δὲ κέκτησαι βιβλίον εὐστιχές κτῆσαι αὐτό· μήποτε εὑρεθῇ ἐν αὐτῷ πρόσκομμα τῷ ἀναγινώσκοντι ἢ καὶ μεταγράφοντι.

Both texts directed me to expositions, in the grammarians, on the similarities and differences between γράμματα and στοιχεῖα and on speaking and assessing statements that

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[19] Especially commentaries on the Τέχνη Γραμματική of Dionysius Thrax.
[20] [Longinus] *Subl.* 28.2.8 (on περίφρασις).
[21] See *Grammatici Graeci* 1.1, 6.4-13.

may or may not be true. But παραίνεσις λδ΄ additionally raised for me the question of how to identify the ἐπιγραφή (as reader) or attach it to the body of the text (as writer). How do στίχες, στίχοι, and ἐπιγραφή provide protection (i.e., serve as φυλακή[22] and τεῖχος[23]) for the text and the reader or the writer? The search for an answer led me on the one hand to theoretical discussions of the different exegetical headings (which include the αἰτία τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς and the related heading of "σκοπός") and on the other hand to the actual beginnings of different manuscripts of *PJ*. One of them—*Ambr. gr. 798*—features an allusion to an unexpected author.

Ambr. gr. 798 (O) is one of five versions of *PJ* whose beginnings include the phrase "λόγος ἰστορικός", and one of two among these five in which this phrase is accompanied by a participle.[24] In O, the first words[25] of *PJ* read

λόγος ἰστορικὸς δηλῶν τὴν σύλληψιν καὶ ἀπότεξιν[26] τῆς ὑπεραγίας θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας[27]

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[22] See Sir 34:16, 34:23. All references to the Old Testament are to the Septuagint.

[23] See *Il*. 16.210ff.

[24] The other manuscript with a participle as predicate of λόγος ἰστορίκος is *Vatic. gr. 455* (G, without 25.2-39.9), λόγος ἰστορικὸς τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰακώβου ἐξηγούμενος ὅπως τὴν ἐξ ἐπαγγελίας γέννησιν ἔσχεν ἡ θεοτόκος καὶ περὶ τοῦ μνηστῆρος αὐτῆς Ἰωσήφ. The remaining three are: *Ven. Marc. 363* (12th-13th c.) (B) λόγος ἰστορικὸς εἰς τὸ γενέσιον τῆς ὑπεραγίας θεοτόκου, συ[γ]γραφεὶς παρὰ Ἰακώβου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ κυρίου (Like O, B is a version of *PJ* that includes the prepositional phrase "κατὰ τὸ ἔθος" between λέγων and ἔσται (1.1). B is the only manuscript in which Ἰάκωβος is called "ἀδελφὸς τοῦ κυριοῦ" (see Gal 1:19)—thus defining ἰστορία and ἰστορικός through Gal 1:18 ἰστορῆσαι Κηφᾶν); *Paris gr. 1176* (12 or 13th c.) (N) τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰακώβου τοῦ ἀδελφοθέου λόγος ἰστορικὸς εἰς τὸ γενέσιον τῆς ὑπεραγίας θεοτόκου; *Vindob. theol. gr. 123* (13th–14th c.) (I) λόγος ἰστορικὸς εἰς τὸ γενέθλιον τῆς ὑπεραγίας θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας; Fa.

[25] 36 syllables, 9² letters.

[26] On the phrase "σύλληψις καὶ ἀπότεξις", see St. John Chrystomos' comment on Mt 1:18, in *Catenae Graecorum patrum in Novum Testamentum*, vol. 1, ed. J. A. Cramer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1840; repr., 1967), 10.12-14 ἡ σύλληψις παράδοξος· ἡ δὲ ἀπότεξις φυσική. συνῴκει δὲ τῷ μνηστῆρι ἡ Μαριὰμ, διὰ τὸ συνεσκιασμένως γενέσθαι τὴν γέννησιν.

[27] Three of the nouns of this part of the introduction have counterparts in the body of the text—"λόγος" (11.2, 24.2), σύλληψις" (19.1), and "Μαρίας" (19.2, 21.3).

These words are followed by the prepositional phrase of the "shared" (fixed) introduction and the first finite verb of the text.

The phrase "λόγος ... δηλῶν" occurs in several works of Aristotle,[28] in the context of discussions of definition (ὅρος)[29] and of the unity of a λόγος. Aristotle's *De Interpretatione* is incorporated into the texts of all versions of *PJ* through the verb "ἠρέμησεν" (14.1),[30] placed at the beginning of a description of Joseph's as διαλογιζόμενος. This links the heading of O (1.1) to the body of the text and aligns the direct object of δηλῶν in 1.1 to the subject(s) pondered by Joseph in —περὶ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν (suggested by an allusion to 2 Mcc 12:43 διαλογιζόμενος) and to the word on who would betray him[31] (through "παραδιδοὺς αἷμα ἀθῶον," an allusion to the betrayal of Judas). The phrase in the *Analytica posteriora* associates the heading of O with a definitinon of βροντή—which aligns the sentence to *John* 12:29, or associates the writer (25.1 Ἰακώβος), through Mark 3:17, with the son of Zebedee.

The text of the heading of O does display acrostics, when the syllables are arranged in lines of equal length, which point to examples for illustrating grammatical concepts.

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[28] Arist. *Int.* 17*a*15; *An. post.* 93*b*35, 39; and *Top.* 153*a*15.
[29] Commentaries on these passages explain ὅρος by contrasting it with ὁρισμός.
[30] Arist. *Int.* 16*b*21. For two definitions of ἠρεμεῖν, see Arist. *Ph.* 239*a*11.
[31] See Jn 13:18-30.

A	9x4 syllables	4x9 syllables	B
λ↓	λόγος ἱστορ	λόγος ἱστορικὸς δηλῶν τὴν	ν↓
ι	ικὸς δηλῶν	σύλληψιν καὶ ἀπότεξιν τῆ	η
τ	τὴν σύλληψιν κ	ς ὑπεραγίας θεοτόκου	υ
α	αὶ ἀπότεξ	καὶ ἀειπαρθένου μαρίας	ς
ι	ιν τῆς ὑπερ		
	αγίας θε		
	οτόκου καὶ		
	ἀειπαρθέ		
	νου μαρίας		

Both acrostics lead to examples in Homer used in the grammarian literature for clarifying grammatical concepts. "Λιταί" associate text column A with Phoenix's description of "Prayers" in his answer to Achilles in *Iliad* 9.[32]

> καὶ γάρ τε λιταί εἰσι διὸς κοῦραι μεγάλοιο,
> χωλαί τε ῥυσαί τε παραβλῶπές τ' ὀφθαλμώ.

Phoenix's speech contains a line with a composite of the verb used in the Τέχνη of Dionysius Thrax for clarifying the meaning and usage of the term "γράμματα"—a composite of the verb ξῦσαι. This acrostic associates the heading of the manuscript with the sentence with the substantivized infinitive "τοῦ γράψαι τὴν ἱστορίαν ταύτην" in 25.1—through "ζωγραφεῖν"[33]—by pointing to an (etymological) explanation of "ζωγράφος."[34]

> <ζωγράφος>: Θεόκριτος, *Ποῖοι ζωογράφοι τἀκριβέα γράμματ' ἔγραψαν.* οὐχ ὅτι γράμματι χρῆται, ἀλλ' ὅτι τῇ γραφίδι προσκαταξύει. γράψαι γὰρ τὸ ξῦσαι. οὐκ ἔχει δὲ τὸ ι προσγεγραμμένον. ἔστι γὰρ ζῷον ζῴου ζωογράφος.

Through the allusion to Aristotle in the horizontal lines, the acrostic "νηῦς" in the vertical line of column B points to the examples illustrating metaphor and "tongue"

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[32] *Il.* 9.502-3.
[33] See 4 Mcc 17:7, 2 Mcc 2:29.
[34] E.g., *EM* 412.51–55.

(γλῶσσα) in Aristotle's *Poetics*.[35] The acrostic associates the heading with a discussion of

μέρη λέξεως.

This manner of drawing on examples and combining them to define an unstated

signified corresponds to a form of teaching "χωρὶς ὅρων" (ἀνάλυσις instead of διαίρεσις).

A demonstration of this method is given by Galen in Book Four of his "Περὶ διαφορὰς

σφυγμῶν"[36] (a book ending with a reference to Aristotle's *Analytica*).[37]

Galen begins his exposition on ποιεῖν διδασκαλίας "χωρὶς ὅρων" with a

comparison between the indicating of τὰ σημαινόμενα τῶν ὀνομάτων (μέρη λέξεως) by

"παλαιοί" and the clarifying (σαφηνίζειν) of phrases (λέξεις) by γραμματικοί (ἐξ

ἑτέρας).[38]

> αὐτοὶ μὲν γὰρ οἱ παλαιοὶ χωρὶς ὅρων ἐποιοῦντο τὰς διδασκαλίας, ἐνδεικνύμενοι τὰ σημαινόμενα τῶν ὀνομάτων ὧν ἔλεγον αὐτῇ τῇ κατὰ τὴν ἑρμηνείαν ἰδέᾳ, καθ' ἣν δηλονότι καὶ τὰς παρ' Ὁμήρῳ λέξεις ἅπασί τε τοῖς ἄλλοις παλαιοῖς οἱ γραμματικοὶ σαφηνίζουσι. τὸ γὰρ τῇδε τῇ ἑρμηνείᾳ μήπω σαφὲς ἐξ ἑτέρας εὔδηλον γίνεται, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ πίσυρες, ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ, *πίσυρες ἐριαύχενες ἵπποι* σαφὲς οὐδέπω τὸ σημαινόμενόν ἐστιν, ἐν μέντοι τῷ *Ἔνθεν τέσσαρα μὲν σάκε εἷλον, δούρατα δ' ὀκτώ, καὶ πίσυρας κυνέας*,[39] εὔδηλον ἐγένετο. τεττάρων γὰρ ὄντων τῶν καθοπλιζομένων, ὥσπερ σάκη τέσσαρα λαβεῖν αὐτούς φησιν, οὕτω καὶ περικεφαλαίας τέσσαρας.

Bound together by ἐν τῷ, agreement in case, number, and gender, and through

juxtaposition, and paralleled to a line from Homer's other work (ἐν ... τῷ 'ἔνθεν .... καὶ

πίσυρας κυνέας'), the three words πίσυρες, ἐριαύχενες, and ἵπποι suggest that the first

phrase illustrating the usage of "πίσυρες" is a quotation of the second half of a verse in *Iliad*

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[35] See Arist. *Poet.* 1457*b*10.
[36] See Galen, *De differentia pulsuum libri iv*, in *Claudii Galeni Opera Omnia*, vol. 8, ed. by C. G. Kühn (Leipzig: Knobloch 1824; repr., Hildesheim: Olms, 1965), 491-765.
[37] See Galen, *De differentia pulsuum*, 764-65.
[38] Galen, *De differentia pulsuum*, 715.11-716.6.
[39] See *Od.* 22.110-11 ἔνθεν τέσσαρα μὲν σάκε' ἔξελε, δούρατα δ' ὀκτώ / καὶ πίσυρας κυνέας χαλκήρεας ἱπποδασείας.

23. The selected verse[40] belongs to the account of Achilles' placing the dead Patroclus on the funerary pyre; it is the numerical middle (the seventh of thirteen lines) of a segment of the narrative framed by two prepositional phrases with ἐν.[41]

ἐν δὲ πυρῇ ὑπάτῃ νεκρὸν θέσαν ἀχνύμενοι κῆρ
πολλὰ δὲ ἴφια μῆλα καὶ εἰλίποδας ἕλικας βοῦς
πρόσθε πυρῆς ἔδερόν τε καὶ ἄμφεπον· ἐκ δ' ἄρα πάντων
δημὸν ἑλὼν ἐκάλυψε νέκυν μεγάθυμος Ἀχιλλεὺς
ἐς πόδας ἐκ κεφαλῆς, περὶ δὲ δρατὰ σώματα νήει.
ἐν δ' ἐτίθει μέλιτος καὶ ἀλείφατος ἀμφιφορῆας,
πρὸς λέχεα κλίνων· πίσυρας δ' ἐριαύχενας ἵππους
ἐσσυμένως ἐνέβαλλε πυρῇ μεγάλα στεναχίζων
ἐννέα τῷ γε ἄνακτι τραπεζῆες κύνες ἦσαν
καὶ μὲν τῶν ἐνέβαλλε πυρῇ δύο δειροτομήσας
δώδεκα δὲ Τρώων μεγαθύμων υἱέας ἐσθλοὺς
χαλκῷ δηιόων· κακὰ δὲ φρεσὶ μήδετο ἔργα·
ἐν δὲ πυρὸς μένος ἧκε σιδήρεον, ὄφρα νέμοιτο

The passage centering on the verse with πίσυρας[42] has two immediate parallels (based on cross-references through diction)—the washing, anointing, and covering of Patroclus with a soft linen cloth, followed by his being placed on a couch, which is recounted in 18.343–67, and the preservation of Hector's flesh by Aphrodite and Apollo, recounted in

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[40] *Il.* 23.171.

[41] Repetition of the preposition ἐν with the verb τιθέναι (ll. 165, 70) suggests an additional division of the text into two equally long parts (six and a half lines, 23.165–71 (100 syllables) and 171–77 (104 syllables).

[42] The number of the types of offerings placed by Achilles on the pyre or cast into it is the same ([μέλιτος καὶ ἀλείφατος] ἀμφιφορῆες, ἐριαύχενες ἵπποι, τραπεζῆες κύνες, and Τρώων μεγαθύμων υἱέας ἐσθλούς). "Ἵπποι," in "πίσυρες ἐριαύχενες ἵπποι" (l. 171), is the only noun modified by two adjectives in the same case; πίσυρες, interpreted as a numeral, is the first of four numerals in the account (the other three are ἐννέα in l. 173, δύο in l. 174, and δώδεκα in l. 175) and the only one that is inflected (and declinable) (acc. pl.). But since two of the numerals apply to one category (κύνες [or υἱέας]), bound together as a sum (deduction), and ἐννέα can limit either μεγάλα or κυνέας, it is unclear for at least one category how many were placed on or cast into the pyre (and for the three others the number of those who were not slain). At first glance, it is the number of ἀμφιφορῆες that has to become "ἐξ ἑτέρας εὔδηλον" (as Galen puts it). The genitives μελίτος καὶ ἀλείφατος *suggest* that there is an even number of jars (stressing καί), a different jar for either liquid—provided that μελίτος does modify ἀμφιφορῆες (which is not necessarily the case). But it is also possible that πίσυρας (l. 171) modifies ἀμφιπορῆας (l. 170) (through ὑπερβατόν) since the adjective is in agreement with the last word of either line—ἀμφιφορῆας in line 170, ἵππους in line 171. In this case (supported by a parallelism between μέλιτος καὶ ἀλείφατος ἀμφιφορῆας ... πίσυρας and Τρώων μεγαθύμων υἱέας ἐσθλούς) the category without a number (but like ἀμφιφορηας and υἱέας with an adjective) is ἵπποι, not ἀμφιφορῆες.

23.184–191. The three passages are connected through Achilles' vow in 18.333–42,[43] until

the fulfillment of which Patroclos lies at the side of the beaked ships.[44]

In *Iliad* 23.170, the words cited by Galen in the nominative are in the accusative case.

But they are also represented in the nominative in Homer, although not together as in the line

in *Iliad* 23—"πίσυρες" occurs two times in the *Odyssey*[45] (in addition to the verse quoted by

Galen); "ἐριαύχενας ἵππους" occurs one time in the *Iliad*.[46] This division of the two

phrases reflects the division of the words in *Iliad* 23 through the particle "δέ".

The phrase "ἐριαύχενας ἵππους" (in the nom.) associates the funeral scene with a

description of Agamemnon in *Iliad* 11.[47] By combining the two passages (the one

represented through the substantivized phrase "τό ..." with the three elements, the other

through the nominative), Galen—or the author of his example—suggests that Patroclus

corresponds to a "desired charioteer," and draws a comparison between Agamemnon and the

fire.

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[43] See *Il.* 18.333-43 νῦν δ᾽ ἐπεὶ οὖν, Πάτροκλε, σεῦ ὕστερος εἶμ᾽ ὑπὸ γαῖαν / οὔ σε πρὶν κτεριῶ, πρίν γ
᾽ Ἕκτορος ἐνθάδ᾽ ἐνεῖκαι / τεύχεα καὶ κεφαλήν, μεγαθύμου σεῖο φονῆος· / δώδεκα δὲ προπάροιθε
πυρῆς ἀποδειροτομήσω / Τρώων ἀγλαὰ τέκνα, σέθεν κταμένοιο χολωθείς. / τόφρα δέ μοι παρὰ νηυσὶ
κορωνίσι κείσεαι αὔτως, / ἀμφὶ δὲ σὲ Τρῳαὶ καὶ Δαρδανίδες βαθύκολποι / κλαύσονται νύκτας τε καὶ
ἤματα δάκρυ χέουσαι, / τὰς αὐτοὶ καμόμεσθα βίηφί τε δουρί τε μακρῷ, / πιείρας πέρθοντε πόλεις
μερόπων ἀνθρώπων.
[44] See *Il.* 18.338.
[45] See *Od.* 5.70-71 κρῆναι δ᾽ ἐξείης πίσυρες ῥέον ὕδατι λευκῷ, / πλησίαι ἀλλήλων τετραμμέναι
ἄλλυδις ἄλλη, 16.249 ἐκ δὲ Σάμης πίσυρές τε καὶ εἴκοσι φῶτες ἔασιν.
[46] See *Il.* 11.151.
[47] *Il.* 11.147–62 τοὺς μὲν ἔασ᾽· ὁ δ᾽ ὅθι πλεῖσται κλονέοντο φάλαγγες, / τῇ ῥ᾽ ἐνόρουσ᾽, ἅμα δ᾽ ἄλλοι
εὐκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοί, / πεζοὶ μὲν πεζοὺς ὄλεκον φεύγοντας ἀνάγκη / ἱππεῖς δ᾽ ἱππῆας, ὑπὸ δέ σφισιν
ὦρτο κονίη / ἐκ πεδίου, τὴν ὦρσαν ἐρίγδουποι πόδες ἵππων, / χαλκῷ δηιόωντες. ἀτὰρ κρείων
Ἀγαμέμνων / αἰὲν ἀποκτείνων ἕπετ᾽ Ἀργείοισι κελεύων. / ὡς δ᾽ ὅτε πῦρ ἀΐδηλον ἐν ἀξύλῳ ἐμπέσῃ
ὕλη, / πάντη τ᾽ εἰλυφόων ἄνεμος φέρει, οἱ δέ τε θάμνοι / πρόρριζοι πίπτουσιν ἐπειγόμενοι πυρὸς
ὁρμῇ· / ὡς ἄρ᾽ ὑπ᾽ Ἀτρεΐδῃ Ἀγαμέμνονι πῖπτε κάρηνα / Τρώων φευγόντων, πολλοὶ δ᾽ ἐριαύχενες
ἵπποι / κείν᾽ ὄχεα κροτάλιζον ἀνὰ πτολέμοιο γεφύρας, / ἡνιόχους ποθέοντες ἀμύμονας· οἱ δ᾽ ἐπὶ
γαίῃ / κείατο, γύπεσσιν πολὺ φίλτεροι ἢ ἀλόχοισιν.

The meaning of "πίσυρες," in the line selected from the *Odyssey,* is not clarified through the words of the quotation, but derived enthymematically from a combination of the items taken by Telemachus from the storeroom and by the list of men for whom they are meant (together with the number of items per person). Galen highlights several words in *Odyssey* 22 through his own interpretation (paraphrase) of individual "tongues" (γλῶσσαι), for example by rendering τεύχειν as καθοπλίζειν and κυνέα as περικεφαλαία. Through links in the narrative, the adjective "πίσυρες" in the description of Calypso's cave (*Od.* 5) points to ξῦσαι (i.e., γράψαι). Associated with old age and death, and with losing strength, this then provides a comment on the narrative in *Iliad* 23.

This method of combining phrases in one statement requires preserving the exact form and sequence of the individual phrases.

PJ has not fared well with modern, scholarly readers (see Chapter 2). This is certainly also the case because we are not trained to search for—or pay attention to—elements of the text included by the authors of the different versions to assist the reader in assessing the quality of the copy, identifying the main reference works, and determining its subject matter, or in expanding "concise" sentences. The author of *PJ* points to the concepts related to γράμματα and στοιχεῖα by referring to ἱστορία (discussed in Chapter 3). Ἱστορία is linked to the correction of texts (διόρθωσις) and to ἀνάλυσις; this is a point particularly stressed in *P. Bodmer 5* (Chapter 4). The references to ἱστορία in *PJ* lead to sentences problematizing authorship and the identification of sources through headings or descriptions of the content or to passages with grammatical concepts; in both categories, the selected sources connect as intertexts the individual statements with the term ἱστορία to each

other.   Even inconspicuous elements of the text, such as the seemingly generic endings, function as reminders of grammatical teachings and as commentaries on Scriptural examples of reading and writing (Chapter 5).

Chapter 2

Author and Text

The text that is now called the *Protevangelium Iakobi* (*PJ*),[48] and usually dated to the period between the last quarter of the second and the beginning of the third centuries AD, is ascribed to a James (᾽Ιάκωβος),[49] identified in the individual manuscripts either as James the Apostle[50] or as "ὁ ἀδελφοθέος",[51] the archbishop of Jerusalem.[52] Distinct ruptures in the flow of the narrative, marked by abrupt changes in style and narrative focus, would suggest to any reader—especially one schooled in classical literary theory—that the text must have had other authors besides James. Yet, despite possible doubts about the specifically *apostolic* authorship of the treatise, *PJ* has been declared "apocryphal" only in the West[53]: in the Eastern churches, it appears to have been accepted relatively soon after its composition as part of Scriptural tradition (παράδοσις) in a technical (grammatical) sense.

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[48] The title is not original. Introduced by G. Postel (1510-81), it appears for the first time in M. Neander's edition of the Greek version, published by him as an appendix to his *Catechesis Martini Lutheri parva graeco-latina* (Basle, 1564), 356-92.

[49] See Mss G, H, Fᵇ, R 1.1. For a list of sigla, see É. de Strycker, *La forme la plus ancienne du Proévangile de Jacques: Recherches sur le papyrus Bodmer 5, avec une édition critique du texte Grec et une traduction annotée* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1961), 30-35.

[50] See Mss P, M 1.1.

[51] See Mss A, D, N 1.1. James is called "brother of the Lord" only once, in Ms B.

[52] See Mss A, P 1.1.

[53] See *Decretum Gelasianum* (*PL* 59.162A), where an "Evangelium nomine Iacobi Minoris, apocryphum" is listed in the "notitia librorum apocryphorum qui non recipiuntur".

The acceptance of *PJ* by the Church, evidenced by its liturgical and iconographical influence along with the attribution of the work to Ἰάκωβος and the tradition of the text in its extant form, indicates that *PJ* as a whole was judged to be the genuine work and word of the apostle despite the seemingly strong evidence to the contrary. Additionally, the events and persons were considered worthy of memory, and the writing useful. This raises the question: *Why was PJ originally recognized as part of the apostolic tradition while other seemingly comparable works were not?*

PJ and Early Christian Literature

By the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, scholars had become more skeptical, not only about *PJ*'s apostolic origin but also about other aspects of the text. Cullmann categorized the work as an apocryphal "infancy gospel,"[54] Van Stempevoort as a Christian *midrash*.[55] Their positions are reflections of a still prevalent view: first, that *PJ* is a New Testament ἀπόκρυφον, whose author rewrites the canonical infancy stories, expanding the material given in *Matthew* and *Luke* by adding (largely 'legendary') material about the conception, birth, and education of Mary; and second, that the author was just trying to put before the eyes of the "simple faithful" God's miraculous interventions in history and to satisfy their curiosity about Mary, a person about whom the canonical gospels say comparatively little. According to this view, then, no aspiration towards doctrinal teaching

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[54] See O. Cullman, "Infancy Gospels," in E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher (eds.), *New Testament Apocrypha*, vol. 1, rev. ed. (Louisville, KY: Westminster / John Knox Press), 414-39.

[55] See P. A. van Stempevoort, "The Protevangelium Jacobi: The Sources of its Theme and Style and their Bearing on its Date," *Studia Evangelica* 3 (1964): 410-26.

could really be imputed to the author. Nevertheless, the text does have a theological (apologetic) dimension: the emphasis on Mary's perpetual virginity indicates that the author was responding to Jewish anti-Christian polemics and to intra-Christian debates in the second half of the second century AD.

This now traditional view of the text can be challenged in several ways. One may question the usefulness of the category "New Testament apocrypha" for describing such treatises: one may support the trend that sees *PJ* as a Christological rather than a Mariological work, or one may argue against referring to it as an "infancy gospel" in the first place.[56] *PJ* defies the notion that "apocryphal Christian literature" should be defined by an unordered and irregular transmission of the texts in the absence of any canonizing authority.[57] Even in contrast to other "apocryphal" writings, the work's manuscript tradition is remarkably uniform. There are only two versions—one shorter (represented by the manuscript that I am discussing—*P. Bodmer 5*) and one longer, which includes Joseph's vision and Salome's prayer, and is more or less the text of the other extant manuscripts. Thus, *PJ*'s comparatively stable and burgeoning manuscript tradition makes it difficult to maintain that the treatise is "apocryphal" in this sense.

The uniformity of the later manuscript tradition may be explained by the Church's liturgical commemoration of both the birth and the presentation of Mary, which can be traced

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[56] See J. Allen, "The Protevangelium of James as an 'Historia': The Insufficiency of the 'Infancy Gospel' Category," *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers* 30 (1991): 508-17.

[57] É. Junod, "La littérature apocryphe chrétienne constitue-t-elle un object d'études?" *Revue des études anciennes* 93 (1991): 397-414 at 404. In defining what constitutes an *apokruphon*, Junod does not specify whose authority warrants that a written text is handed on without alterations. The context suggests that he thinks of an institutionalized (regulated) system of text production.

back to the sixth century.[58] *PJ* happens to be the only earlier source that mentions the events celebrated in these festivals. We have at least, therefore, a sixth-century testimony to the work's acceptance—and therefore preservation—by the Church. But this does not explain why *PJ* might have been recognized, either then or earlier, as the work of an apostle. Seemingly comparable works of early "Christian apocryphal literature"[59] were not so well regarded.

Certainly, *PJ* was not preserved solely because it presented information about Mary seemingly found nowhere else (at least not in the same detail) or because its attribution to an apostle and disciple made the work valuable in itself and mandated that the work be handed on without corruption. At the time when *PJ* was composed and began to circulate, there were other Christian apocryphal writings whose authors, claiming to be apostles, "disclosed" to their audiences information about the events and characters found in the Scriptures or revealed words of the Lord, hitherto known only to a few. Yet these texts did not enjoy the same long-lasting liturgical influence as *PJ* nor were they transmitted in unaltered fashion— if in fact they were transmitted at all.

Apostolic Attribution

PJ's attribution is especially surprising since the narrator really makes no claim to being an apostle. That *PJ* is the work of James, one of the twelve, or perhaps even of James

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[58] On the early history of the feasts of the Nativity of Mary and of her Entry into the Temple, see A. P. Jounel, "The Veneration of Mary", in A. G. Martimort *et al.*, *The Church at Prayer*, vol. 4, *The Liturgy and Time*, new ed. (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 1986), 130-50 (esp. 130f.).
[59] For a definition, see Junod, "La littérature apocryphe chrétienne," 401-8.

the Just, the "brother of the Lord," is simply suggested by the writer's name—"'Ιάκωβος",

by a statement locating the writing of "this *historia*" in Jerusalem at the time of the death of

Herod, and by an "apostolic" greeting—all in the last chapter of the work. While none of

these features is conclusive evidence for Iakobos' identity, a syntactical parallelism between

the referent of an oracular response in 24.4 [48.13]—ostensibly Symeon the Elder[60]—and

this Ἰάκωβος (25.1 [49.1-2]) could give some credence to the attribution of *P. Bodmer 5* to

James the Just. An implied comparison suggests that the oracular response with which the

narrative ends concerns not only Symeon but also Ἰάκωβος; implicitly, Ἰάκωβος is thereby

described as a person who, like Zechariah's successor, saw "the Christ of the Lord"[61] and

was chosen by lot for Zechariah's place.

PJ's James does not claim to be an apostle, however: he introduces himself merely as

a "'Ιάκωβος"—a "son (descendant) of Ἰακώβ"—without adding any other epithet, quite

unlike the way in which the author of the letter of James introduces himself (Ἰάκωβος θεοῦ

καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ δοῦλος)[62] or Paul refers to James in the letter to the Galatians (

Ἰάκωβος ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ κυρίου).[63] Nor does he compare himself to Symeon. A

relationship between Symeon and Iakobos is suggested merely by the proximity of their

names in the manuscript, and the applicability of the χρησμός to both Symeon and James,

the apostle. But this connection is tenuous, since the epilogue is not firmly attached to the

narrative—for example, it does not contain any information (at least none that is immediately

apparent) that clearly identifies "ἡ ἱστορία αὕτη", written in Jerusalem (25.1 [49.2-3]), as

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[60] See Lk 2:22-35. All references to the New Testament are to the Mehrheitstext.
[61] Cf. *P. Bodmer 5* 24.4 [48.16-49.1] "τον ΧΡΝ εν σαρκι."
[62] Jas 1:1.
[63] Gal 1:19.

the narrative that begins in 1.1 [1.3-4] with the words "Joachim was a very rich man" and ends in 24.4 [49.1] with the falling of the lot on Symeon. Thus, based on the information in the epilogue alone, the traditional attribution of *PJ* to an apostle, let alone to James the Just, seems to be conjecture rather than certainty.

The Modern View

The question of *PJ*'s attribution and the meaning of references to "παράδοσις" in early testimonies to the text has received relatively little attention in modern scholarship on *PJ*. The main focus has been on reconstructing the Redaktionsgeschichte (and the date) and on determining the subject matter and models of the work (e.g., the relationship to midrash[64] or to the classical novel[65]). In the modern secondary literature, the question of *PJ*'s author is closely tied to that of the genesis of the written text.

The Genesis of the Text

Three main theories on the composition of *PJ* have been proposed in the last one hundred years. At the heart—and beginning—of the scholarly debate is what Émile de Strycker called the "theory of three documents,"[66] that is, Harnack's suggestion that the text of *PJ* (known to him only in its longer version) consists of three originally independent

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[64] E.g., see E. Cothenet, "Le Protévangile de Jacques: origine, genre et signification d' un premier midrash chrétien sur la Nativité de Marie," *ANRW* 2.25.6 (1988): 4252-69.

[65] See O. Ehlen, *Leitbilder und romanhafte Züge in apokryphen Evangelientexten: Untersuchungen zur Motivik und Erzählstruktur (anhand des Protevangelium Jacobi und der Acta Pilati Graec. B)*, Alterumswissenschaftliches Kolloquium, 9 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2004).

[66] See É. de Strycker, "Le Protévangile de Jacques: Problèmes critiques et exégétiques," *Studia Evangelica* 3 (1964): 339-59 at 342, 344; Cothenet, "Le Protévangile de Jacques," 4258.

documents strung together by a redactor in the middle of the fourth century AD. These documents are what Harnack calls a *Nativity of Mary* (chapters 1-17); an *Apocryphum Iosephi* (chapters 18-20; in *P. Bodmer* 5 in an abbreviated form); and an *Apocryphum Zachariae* (chapters 22-24)—each of which centers on a different protagonist (Mary, Joseph, and Zechariah, respectively).[67] Except for de Strycker, who argues for *PJ*'s original unity (he maintains that most of *PJ* was composed at the same time),[68] most scholars have adopted Harnack's view, although with slight adjustments to take into account the differences between the "longer" and the "shorter" version of *PJ*, which became available with the publication, in 1958,[69] of *P. Bodmer 5*, so far the oldest extant manuscript of *PJ*. The chapters Harnack assigned to the *Apocryphum Iosephi* are now widely held to be part of the *Nativity of Mary* (chapters 1-20),[70] while chapters 22-24 continue to be considered a (more or less) separate narrative revolving around the murder of Zechariah.

The addition of chapters 18-20—the story of the Nativity in the cave—to Harnack's *Nativity of Mary* is not accepted unanimously,[71] mainly because the genesis of *PJ*'s text is no longer seen as the composition of a text from independent treatises (Harnack's suggestion), but as the gradual expansion of a basic document comprising either chapters 1-17 or chapters

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[67] See Cothenet, "Le Protévangile de Jacques," 4259.

[68] See de Strycker, "*Le Protévangile de Jacques: Problèmes critiques et exégétiques*," 352, 342.

[69] See M. Testuz (ed.), *Papyrus Bodmer 5: Nativité de Marie* (Cologny-Genève: Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, 1958).

[70] For chapters 1-20 see O. Cullman, "The Protevangelium of James", in "Infancy Gospels," 421-39 at 424 (chs. 1-20); and Cothenet, "Le Protévangile de Jacques," 4258; for chapters 1-16 (and 25) see Testuz, *Papyrus Bodmer 5: Nativité de Marie*.

[71] See É. de Strycker, *La forme la plus ancienne du Protévangile de Jacques* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1961), 393.

1-20.[72] Even though this new conception of the redaction of *PJ* constitutes an (at least partial) departure from the theory of the three documents, Harnack's partition still influences the interpretation of *PJ,* since many scholars continue to define the boundaries of each of *PJ*'s individual parts based on whomever they consider to be that part's main protagonist. With few exceptions, the person held to unify, and thus delimit, *PJ*'s basic document is Mary—an interpretation that suggests itself, considering that a reference to Mary (her proper name and/or a title) appears in the headings of all of *PJ*'s manuscripts.

Whether *PJ*'s hypothetical core document includes or excludes chapters 18-20 depends to a large degree on how individual scholars evaluate Mary's role in *PJ*'s basic narrative. Read mariologically, *PJ*'s core document is a "Life of Mary,"[73] an encomium exalting Mary's purity for apologetic reasons[74]; consequently, it ends with chapter 17. Read Christologically, the document includes chapters 18-20, since only then does the "Mary narrative" (chapters 1-17) build up to—and culminate in—the description of the events in and at the cave.

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[72] See Cullmann, "The Protevangelium of James". Although chapter 16 would seem to be a more logical conclusion of the "Mary narrative" (chapter 17 begins with an allusion to the beginning of the infancy story in Luke), Harnack included chapter 17 in his *Genesis Marias,* because the diction changes in chapter 18 from the third to the first person. Chapters 18-20 also have in common that the reported events take place at the same location (the cave) and that the midwives are present.

[73] De Strycker, *Le Protévangile de Jacques: Problèmes critiques et exégétiques,* 351-2. In his argument for *PJ*'s original unity de Strycker stresses that the account of the "Nativity in the cave" is a logical continuation of this hagiographical "Life of Mary;" but he also makes it clear that he believes that the author of *PJ* is primarily interested in Mary, not in Jesus (354).

[74] See Cothenet, *Le Protévangile de Jacques,* 4263, 4268, and 4254; de Strycker, *Le Protévangile de Jacques: Problèmes critiques et éxégetiques,* 354; P. A. van Stempvoort, "The Protevangelium Jacobi, the Sources of its Theme and Style and their Bearing on its Date," *Studia Evangelica* 3 (1964): 410-26 at 410-11, 413-15; H. R. Smid, *Protevangelium Jacobi: A Commentary* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1965), 15-17; O. Cullmann, "The Protevangelium of James," in E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha,* rev. ed. (Louisville, KY: Westminster Press, 1991), 1:421-39 at 424-25.

The method of assessing a narrative's unity by the presence (or absence) of a main character is used not only for delimiting a text, but also for singling out sections thought to belong to other narratives—or considered to be narratives in their own right—since they revolve around persons other than the perceived main protagonist. *PJ* 22-24 is such a "foreign" element: the chapters are set apart from the preceding narrative by a different main protagonist and a changed theme—the narrative no longer centers on the Nativity at the cave but on Herod's murder of Zechariah. Both Harnack and the supporters of the theory of an additive composition of *PJ* conclude from this break in the narrative that the story of the murder of Zechariah, told in chapters 22-24, was added to an already existing, independent document. But they disagree on when these texts were merged: according to Harnack, chapters 22-24 and two other independent treatises were joined together at the same time (resulting in the longer version of *PJ*); according to his opponents, these chapters were attached to an independent, rudimentary version of *PJ* some time after it had come into existence. The latter group is divided by its stance on the validity of Harnack's view on chapters 22-24: while one side maintains that the story of the murder of Zechariah already circulated as an independent treatise before it was added to equally independent works, the other conceives of it as a new account, composed of material taken from existing Zechariah traditions and written as a continuation of *PJ*'s original narrative.

For the most part, the notion underlying both theories—namely that the murder of Zechariah, recounted in chapters 22-24, is not an integral part of the narrative in chapters 1-20—has not been seriously challenged. A noteworthy exception is the suggestion that *PJ*

had an "original redactional unity," a thesis de Strycker presented first in 1961[75] and then again in 1964.[76] On both occasions, de Strycker argued that the longer of *PJ*'s two extant versions represents the work's original (that is, its "oldest") form and that *PJ* had not been composed in stages but at a distinct point in time. What makes this theory stand out against the other two reconstructions of *PJ*'s redaction history is not de Strycker's insistence that *PJ* as a whole was created at the same time, but rather his claim that the entire narrative, and not just chapters 22-24, was a newly written and unified work.

De Strycker defends this view by arguing that Harnack's three documents are interconnected building blocks of the same narrative—which rules out the notion that they were at one time autonomous. The individual parts of the narrative are interrelated in two ways—by imitation of plot; and by central character (Mary). The narrative adheres, from chapter 10 on, to the story-line(s) of the canonical infancy gospels—from the annunciations of the births of John (10.2) and Jesus (11.1-3; 14.2), through the Nativity, to the Presentation in the Temple (implied in 21.1 and 24.4). The order in which the events of the narrative are arranged follows the sequence of events in the canonical infancy gospels: this suggests that *PJ*'s seemingly separate parts are linked. De Strycker acknowledges that there are two narratives in *PJ,* one encompassing chapters 1 to 20 and centering on Mary, the other consisting of chapters 21 to 24 and revolving around Zechariah. But he stresses that what Harnack considered to be separate narratives—the *Apocryphum Iosephi* (chapters 18-20; in *P. Bodmer* 5 in an abbreviated form) and the *Apocryphum Zachariae* (chapters 22-24)—are part of a larger whole, a narrative in which a group, consisting of Jesus, Mary, and Joseph,

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[75] See de Strycker, *La forme la plus ancienne du Protévangile de Jacques*, 392-404.
[76] See É. de Strycker, "Le Protévangile de Jacques: Problèmes critiques et exégétiques," 351-2.

plays the central role.[77]   Their journey from the cave (17.1-3), into Judea (21.1), and eventually to Jerusalem (implied by 24.4), redirects the focus of the narrative from the Nativity (chapters 17-20) to the Presentation in the Temple (implied by 24.4).

Implied Author and Audience

All three modern theories on the creation of *PJ* reflect the same opinion about the person who assembled and completed its text, judging him by *PJ*'s perceived shortcomings as a narrative. The writer who is implied—as a redactor—by the theories that describe *PJ* as a composite of three or two narratives did not select texts that fit the theme and plot indicated by the title and content of the original "Nativity of Mary." He chose narratives centered on persons that appear in the original text (Joseph and Zechariah) and arranged them in chronological sequence, but did not sufficiently connect these building blocks to create a coherent whole. As the author of a conclusion to an already existing narrative, the writer failed to "fill out" the narrative outlined in the title and bring the original narrative to a logical conclusion. Finally, as the author of an entirely new narrative, *PJ*'s writer did not prepare the end in advance, was verbose—since he added a long excursus without clear connection to the rest of the narrative—and ended abruptly.

This view of *PJ* and its author implies that the story's first audiences received favorably the work not primarily because of any independently verifiable (i.e., demonstrable) historicity of the reported *events*, or its cogent plot, or a convincing argument supported by

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[77] See de Strycker, "Le Protévangile de Jacques: Problèmes critiques et exégétiques," 352.

proofs (e.g., from Scripture). Rather, they believed in the historicity of the *writer* and considered his name and the information about the circumstances under which he wrote sufficient to guarantee the truthfulness of the account—which otherwise would be implausible, contradictory, and unattested—or (leaving aside the question of historicity) they judged the story to provide useful (edifying) teachings on virtue.

The modern notion that *PJ* was copied and became more widely known *despite* the limited (and ambiguous) information about the author found in the treatise and *despite* the apparent inconsistencies and exaggerations marring the narrative rests on two—more or less unquestioned—assumptions about *PJ*'s early reception. First, the narrative's audiences consistently overlooked (consciously or unconsciously) those elements of this "mixed" account—composed of traditional and new material (invented or of recent memory)—that challenged seeing the work as a truthful (objective) historical narrative or a fictional account exalting virtuous individuals. Second, the individuals who received and commissioned copies of *PJ* used less exacting standards in their study and criticism of the text[78] than many of their contemporaries would have done in similar situations—whether they were like the Athenians in *Acts*[79] interested in hearing of a new teaching or like the members of the synagogue in Beroea searching the Scriptures to see whether it was as Paul said.[80]

There were certainly some—perhaps even many—among those who encountered the story at an early stage in its life who were quick to believe that what they heard was either

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[78] Cf. B. M. Metzger, "The Practice of Textual Criticism among the Church Fathers," *Studia Patristica* 12 (1975): 340-49.
[79] See Acts 17:17-21.
[80] Acts 17:11.

true or false. But that the preservation of the text of *PJ* in its extant forms resulted from—and depended on—a consistently uncritical reading of the narrative by its audiences, as the modern view of the work suggests, seems highly unlikely in the cultural and educational context of the second and third centuries AD—not least because the modern view that *PJ*'s author is wanting as writer *and* as exegete runs counter to the assertion that he wrote for didactic or apologetic reasons.

Any author writing in the period could expect (and thus anticipate) that his execution of compositional and exegetical (technical) tasks would undergo close scrutiny—independently of the audience or purpose for which he wrote. Systematic criticism of a narrative was not the prerogative of a small group of highly educated individuals. Students began to acquire the skills necessary for assessing the qualities of texts like *PJ as narratives* already at a relatively early stage of their education, through "προγυμνάσματα" in the schools of the grammarians.[81] These preliminary exercises prepared the student for the composition and critical assessment of narratives in the schools of the rhetoricians,[82] where

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[81] Contemporary treatises written on the preliminary exercises (προγυμνάσματα) show that students, after learning how to paraphrase and to compose fables (μῦθοι) and narratives (διηγήματα), advanced to the exercises of refutation (ἀνασκευή) and confirmation (κατασκευή) of narratives (e.g., fables or myths) and "fictional" elements in historical accounts (on the latter, see Quint. *Inst*. 2.4.19). In gathering their material for ἀνασκευή and κατασκευή, the students learned to employ headings (κεφάλαια). With the material thus found, they were to argue for or against a narrative by discussing its brevity (συντομία), clarity (σαφήνεια), and credibility (πιθανότης) with respect to as many of its "elements" (e.g., action, person, time, location) as possible.

[82] E.g., see Aelius Theon, *Progymnasmata*, in *Rhetores Graeci*, vol. 2, edited by L. Spengel (Leipzig: Teubner, 1854; repr., 1966), 59-130 at 60.

narratives were composed, refuted (those of the opponent) and defended (one's own) as part of the composition of (mostly) juridical or deliberative speeches.[83]

In both contexts, practice in composition was accompanied by training in evaluating examples (παραδείγματα) illustrating the precepts of the art. Guided by the teacher in their study of authoritative examples, the students learned not only to search for and discover violations of an established standard but also to determine the reasons for these perceived ἁμαρτήματα. Authors who included in their own works material from other written sources thus subjected themselves to two types of criticism: they were evaluated both as exegetes and judges of stylistic and argumentative models and as writers who selected and placed their material where they considered it most useful for attaining an argumentative goal.[84] From the point of view of classical rhetorical theory a work's didactic and apologetic effectiveness hinges more on such technical aspects—and on the skill of the reader (reciter)—than on what audiences may or may not know about its actual author. What counts *argumentatively* is the ethical, not the actual character of the speaker—that is, the ἦθος created in and through the λόγος of which the narrative is a part, since a listener's perception of the knowledgability and trustworthiness (i.e., virtue) of an author—while influenced (positively *or* negatively) by

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[83] In speeches, the narrative prepares the argumentation by describing crucial proofs in a manner later exploited in the argumentation. (Standard examples are the stories of the death of Ajax (see *RhetHer*) and the death of Clytemnestra.)

[84] If *PJ*'s author aimed at defending the antiquity of the Christian religion against "pagans" while distancing himself from Gnostics and their myths, he had to show rhetorical versatility and demonstrate knowledge of teachings since this task requires a re-interpretation of the history of the past and explanation of μυστήρια; knowledge of γραμματική and of the law is necessary to argue against Marcionites and Jews (which requires defending an exegetical method for "opening" the Scriptures).

preconceived views on author or subject matter[85]—also results from the author's argumentation and utilization of proofs (including the interpretation of testimonies and his character and πάθος).

References to *PJ* by authors such as Origen of Alexandria and Epiphanius of Salamis indicate that the work was used in discussions of theological questions. "Hostile" or "envious"—or even simply contentious—readers would certainly have looked for—and criticized—any perceived or real weaknesses of the narrative as a literary composition and used the author's misinterpretations or omissions of written proofs and laws to demonstrate by what kind of teachers and "λόγος" Christians—either as a whole or within a particular branch—are swayed to worship that which is not or to worship a god other than the one their fathers knew. If *PJ* were as vulnerable to criticism as it seems to modern readers, the text would provide material for a well-argued (irrefutable) speech demonstrating—from the authentic words of an apostle—that Christians believe in πλάσματα or false testimonies. The ecclesiastical recognition of such an argumentatively "weak" λόγος as the work of a disciple and apostle—taken to its logical conclusion—would imply that Jesus is *not* "the Christ, the Son of God"[86] and, therefore, did not "reveal the Father."[87]

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[85] The importance attributed to pre-conceived notions (about a particular case and the persons involved, including the speaker) is reflected by the instructions on the composition of introductions and conclusions, and the definition of the types of cases (*genera causarum*) in manuals of classical rhetoric.

[86] Mt 16:17.

[87] Mt 11:27; Lk 10:22; see Jn 14:7, 9; and Jn 1:18. Notice Clement of Alexandria, *Str*. 6.15.122.1-2, discussed in J. Danielou, "Recherche et tradition chez les pères," *Studia Patristica* 12 (1975): 3-13 at 8-9.

Title

One of the more important arguments for the negative judgment about the author and his work in the modern scholarly literature—and the corresponding view of the audience—is a perceived mismatch between the story of the "Death of Zechariah" and the title of *PJ*. Because a work called *Genesis* (or *Gennesis*) *Marias* recounts the "nativity" (γένεσις) of Mary and her "coming-into-being" (τὸ γίγνεσθαι) as mother of the "king of the Jews" (22.1) and of the Christ (22.2, 24.4),[88] the title does not leave room for, or does not require, the story of the murder of Zechariah.

But this argument lacks a solid foundation, since it is based on a short, "generic" title that seems to reflect the manuscript tradition—but is not actually attested.

Only two versions of *PJ* have a "formal" title (i.e., a title without references to the text as "λόγος", "ἱστορία", or "διήγησις")—*Paris. gr. 1468* (11th c.) and *P. Bodmer 5*. While the titles of *PJ* in *Paris gr. 1468* and *P. Bodmer 5* are not the same, they begin with almost identical phrases—"γέννησις μαρίας" (*Paris gr. 1468*) and "γένεσις μαρίας" (*P. Bodmer 5*). "Γένεσις" appears in the introduction of only one of the other manuscripts;[89] however, the noun "γέννησις" is also represented in the introductions of six other manuscripts. Since both titles include the name "Μαρία" in the genitive, this seems to imply that "γέννησις μαρίας" is the work's original (and, therefore, authoritative) title. Both "γένεσις μαρίας" and "γέννησις μαρίας" are translated (without distinction) as "Nativity

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[88] Mary is visible in the narrative until the end of the nativity story in 20.3 (the angel's order to Salome); after that, she appears briefly, as the mother of the little child, at the end of the story of the Adoration of the Magi (in 21.3) and for the last time, as Maria, in the story of the Sign of the Manger (in 22.2).

[89] *Vatic. Gr.* 455 (Ms Fᵇ), described as "ἱστορία Ἰακώβου εἰς τὴν γένεσιν τῆς παναγίας θεοτόκου".

of Mary" (*De Nativitate Mariae*).   This short title (seemingly original) and the title

Protevangelium Iacobi (stemming from the sixteenth century) are usually the ones used to

refer to (and describe) the narrative in the modern secondary literature on the work.

The different etymological explanations of the two verbs "γεννῶ" and "γινῶ", and

discussions of the terms "γένεσις" and "γέννησις" by authors such as Galen,[90] Origen,[91] or

Epiphanius of Salamis[92] show that the difference between the two terms is significant—not

only etymologically[93] and semantically but also with respect to their function (within the

individual works of these authors) as "pointers" to explanatory sources in the writings of the

Old and the New Testaments.

What is more, neither title ends after the first two words, contrary to the modern

usage of referring to the narrative as "Nativity of Mary"; and the syntax of both, together

with morphologically ambiguous forms, allows several readings, all of which can be

supported through material from the body of the text.

Paris. gr. 1468 (E)

The full title of *PJ* in *Paris gr. 1468* (E) is "γέννησις μαρίας τῆς ἁγίας θεοτόκου

καὶ ὑπερένδοξου μήτρος ᾽Ιησοῦ χριστοῦ" (27 syllables). The sentence is followed by the

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[90] E.g., see Galen, *De naturalibus facultatibus*, in *Claudii Galeni Pergameni scripta minora*, 3, ed. J.
Marquardt, I. Müller, and G. Helmreich (Leipzig: Teubner, 1893, repr. 1967), 101-257.
[91] Origen, *Scholia in Matthaeum*, *PG* 17, 289.
[92] E.g., see Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion* 1.372.25-77.15.
[93] E.g., see *EM* 225 <γεννῶ>: τὸ τίκτω· παρὰ τὴν γῆν τὴν πάντων μητέρα. ἔστι γὰρ γέα, ἐξ οὗ ῥῆμα,
γέω, καὶ πλεονασμῷ τοῦ ν, γεννῶ. ἢ παρὰ τὸ γείνω, γεννῶ· ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς γεννήσεως, διὰ δύο νν· ἐπὶ
δὲ τῆς ποιήσεως καὶ κτίσεως, δι᾽ ἑνός ν· ἐξ οὗ καὶ γενητὸς, ὁ κτιστός. τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ γινῶ
γινόμενα ὀνόματα δι᾽ ἑνὸς ν ἐκφέρονται· οἷον, γένεσις, γενέθλιον.

prepositional phrase "ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις τῶν δώδεκα φυλῶν τοῦ Ἰσραήλ" (16 syllables)—

the beginning of the first, longer section of text shared by almost all manuscript versions.

At first glance, the syntax confirms the modern view that the main subject of the

narrative is Μαρία, since the first two words seem a well defined syntactical unit, separated

from the rest of the title by the definite article "τῆς".[94] The noun "Μαρία" is defined by two

genitives as ἡ ἁγία θεοτόκος (the subject of γεννᾶν in the passive voice) and as

ὑπερένδοξος μήτηρ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (the subject of γεννᾶν in the active voice). This

parallelistic reading of the syntax of the title requires defining the gender of "ὑπερένδοξου"

(m. *and* f.) by analogy with "ἁγία" (f.) and interpreting the force of the conjunction "καί" as

connective (resembling in this the definite article τῆς). While this is the reading that has

governed modern interpretations of the content of *PJ*, it is only one of several possible

interpretations of the syntax.

The name "Μαρία", emphasized by its position at the beginning of the long title,

attracts the attention of readers familiar with the writings of the New Testament. Readers

primarily (or only) acquainted with the writings of the Old Testament, or versed in the

technical terminology of γραμματική and ῥητορική, may have been more interested in

"ὑπερένδοξου"—the first word(s) of the second half of the introduction. The composite

adjective "ὑπερένδοξος" is rare, especially in the genitive. In the writings of the Old and

the New Testament it is used only three times—once in a verse at the beginning of the Song

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[94] The article introduces an extended genitive object with two syntactically similiar elements (adjective and "composite" noun) connected to each other through a coordinating conjunction (καί). This genitive—whose gender, number, and case are defined by "τῆς"—is in agreement with "Μαρίας" (i.e. it is the name's predicate); "Μαρίας" in turn, is the genitive object of "γέννησις".

of the Three Young Men in the book of *Daniel*[95] (in the translations of the book according to the Seventy and according to Theodotion)—and twice in the version of the same song in the *Odes of Solomon*.[96] In all three instances, the adjective is in the nominative singular, preceded by the adjective ὑπερύμνητος, and followed by the prepositional phrase "εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας".

The book of *Daniel* is a source emphasized through its position—the narrative begins in 1.1 with a reference to the beginning of the story of *Susanna*[97]; an allusion to the end of *Daniel* is incorporated into Joseph's vision[98]; and the epilogue ends in 25.2 with an allusion to the story of Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the image with feet of clay.[99] Readers familiar with the adjective from the Greek text of the Old Testament are thus more likely to see "ὑπερένδοξος" as an allusion to a passage in the book of *Daniel* or in the *Odes of Solomon* than (solely) as an epithet honoring *a* mother of Jesus Christ. Since the adjective in these books refers to "κύριος", Old Testament usage suggests interpreting ὑπερένδοξος in the title of manuscript E as a substantivized adjective (m.) limited by the genitive "μήτρος" rather than as an adjective attribute in agreement with μήτρος. In this case, the title refers to two "γεννήσεις": the other "γέννησις" described by the title—paralleling the "γέννησις μαρίας τῆς ἁγίας θεοτόκου"—is a "γέννησις ... [τοῦ] ὑπερενδόξου τῆς μήτρος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ".

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[95] See Dn 3:52-56 at 53.
[96] See Odes 8.53, 56.
[97] Sus 4.
[98] See 18.2; *Bel and Dragon* 33.
[99] See Dn 2.

Ὑπὲρ ἐνδόξου

These interpretations of the syntax presuppose that the text of the title is elliptic. But the position of the second half of the title between a conjunction (καί) and a preposition (ἐν ταις ιστοριαις...), and the genitive case and the components of "ὑπερένδοξου" (ὑπέρ is prefix of ἔνδοξος or preposition [+gen.]) also supports reading the second part of the title as an alternative or separate description of the text as λόγος "ὑπὲρ ἐνδόξου μητρὸς ᾽Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ", separated from the first part (or title) by "καί".[100] Separating "ὑπέρ" from the adjective "ἔνδοξος" aligns "ἔνδοξος" in the title with the two references to "παράδοξα" in the narrative,[101] and associates all three (as two of the four τρόποι[102] of a rhetorical "ζήτημα") with an allusion to ἀνακεφαλαίωσις in Joseph's recapitulation of "ἡ ἱστορία τοῦ ᾽Αδάμ" in 13.1.

Such a division of the text into two distinct parts may seem forced when one glances at a modern edition, in which the text of the heading is divided into individual words and the accents have been added. But the results of displaying the text in different ways (stressing the two possibilities) suggest that both interpretations are feasible.

With "ὑπερένδοξου" as composite, the text has 27 syllables and can be displayed in a narrow (9x3 syllables) or in a wide column (3x9 syllables). The narrow column displays an

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[100] Interpreting "ὑπέρ" as preposition rather than as prefix (recognizable only through the position of accents and breathings) and as the beginning of an alternative title is supported by the alternative title of Demosthenes' speech "Περὶ τοῦ Στέφανου"—"ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος". The speech is one of the sources of the phrase "ἀλλ᾽ ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς" in 1.4.
[101] In 19.3 [38.11] and 20.4 [41.6].
[102] The other two are ἄδοξον and ἀμφίδοξον.

acrostic linked to χωρεῖν (οὐδός)[103] and thus etymologically associated with "γῆ" ("ἡ πάντα χωροῦσα"). The second part of the heading is additionally associated with "χωρεῖν" through the midwife's "καινὸν θέαμα", which is linked to the title through the phrase "τῆς μητρὸς + gen." (see below).

9x3	A	l	r	B	l	r	C	l	r	3x9
γέννησις	8	γ	σ		γ	σ		γ	σ	γέννησις μαρίας τῆς ἀγί
μαρίας	6	μ	σ		μ	σ		μ	σ	ας θεοτόκου καὶ ὑπερέν
τῆς ἀγί	6	τ	ι		τ	ι		τ	ι	δοξου μήτρος Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ
ας θεοτ	6	α	τ		α	τ	5	α	ο↓	
όκου καὶ	7	ο↓	ι		ο	ι	8	τ	ι	
ὑπερέν	6	υ	ν	7	υ	δ	6	υ	ν	
δοξου μήτρ	9	δ	ρ	7	ο	τ	7	δ	η	
ος Ἰη	4	ο	η	6	ρ	σ	6	τ	η	
σοῦ χριστοῦ	10	ς	υ	9	ο↑	υ		σ	υ	

Moving the genitive "μαρίας" to the end of the first part of the title eliminates the acrostic "οὐδός". The first part of this altered title displays acrostics, including "γῆ" (A, l).[104]

9x3	A	l	r	B	l	r
γέννησις τ	9	γ↓	τ	8	γ	σ↓
ῆς ἀγί	5	η	ι	6	τ	ι
ας θεοτ	6	α↓	τ	6	α↓	τ
όκου μα	6	ο	α↓	6	ο	α
ρίας καὶ	7	ρ	ι	7	ρ	ι↓
ὑπερέν	6	υ	ν	5	υ	ε
δοξου μή	7	δ	η	10	δ	ρ
τρος Ἰησ	6	τ	η	4	ο	η
οῦ χριστοῦ	10	σ	υ	10	σ	υ

The alternative interpretation of "ὑπέρ" as a preposition (ὑπὲρ ἐνδόξου) rather than a prefix (ὑπερενδόξου) can be stressed by displaying the text of the title in a bisected column

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[103] See *EM* 229.50-53 <γῆ>: παρὰ τὸ γῶ, τὸ χωρῶ, ἡ πάντα χωροῦσα. τοῦτο δὲ παρὰ τὸ χῶ· (τροπῇ τοῦ χ εἰς γ, γῶ·) ἀφ᾽ οὗ παράγωγον, χείω· οἷον, οὐδὸς δ᾽ ἀμφοτέρους ὅδε χείσεται [*Od.* 18.17].

[104] "Αινη" (column A, r) is an adjective (αἰνή) or a verb (αἰνῇ).

whose halves are connected through "καί". In this case, the two columns are semantically

linked through two words in the horizontal lines—ἰατρός (l. 5)[105] and θεότης (l. 6). One

half of each noun is provided by the column to the left (A), the other half by the column to

the right (B).

A	7x2			B	6x2
γέννη					
σις μαρ				ὑπερ	
ίας		καὶ		ένδοξ	
τῆς ἀγ				ου μή	
	¹ία	→	²τρος	᾿Ι	
ς	¹θεοτ	→	²ης	οῦ	
όκου				χριστοῦ	

While acrostics can help prevent alterations in the word order (or signal such

alterations), such horizontal links between the two columns have the same function in the

case of interpolations.

Μήτηρ ᾿Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ

With a personal pronoun (m.) in place of the name ("τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ"), the

phrase "μητρὸς ᾿Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ" has two counterparts in the text, one at the end of the

account of what the midwife (and Joseph) see in the place of the cave (19.2), the other in the

report on what the magi see in the cave (21.3). Both times the phrase is followed by the

name "Μαρία" in the genitive.

19.2   καὶ πρὸς ὀλίγον τὸ φῶς ὑπεστέλλετο ἕως τὸ βρέφος ἐφάνη καὶ ἦλθε καὶ
ἔλαβε μασθὸν ἐκ *τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Μαρίας* καὶ ἀνεβόησεν ἡ μαῖα καὶ εἶπεν
Μεγάλη μοι σήμερον ἡμέρα ὅτι εἶδον τὸ καινὸν θέαμα τοῦτο

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[105] See 20.4.

21.3   ἰδόντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ μάγοι ἑστῶτα μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Μαρίας ἐξενέγκαντες ἀπὸ τῆς πήρας δῶρα χρυσὸν καὶ λίβανον καὶ σμύρναν προσήνεγκαν αὐτῷ

"Τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Μαρίας" in the first sentence is an allusion to a genitive absolute in the first sentence of the narrative on the manner of the "γέννησις" of Jesus Christ in the gospel according to *Matthew*,[106]

τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡ γέννησις οὕτως ἦν. μνησθευθείσης τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Μαρίας τῷ Ἰωσήφ, πρὶν ἢ συνελθεῖν αὐτοὺς εὑρέθη ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου.

The account in *Matthew* includes a paraphrase of prophecies in *Isaiah*,[107] incorporated into the text of the apparition of the angel to Joseph.[108] "Μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Μαρίας" in the second sentence (21.3) is an allusion to the text of the Adoration of the Magi in the gospel according to *Matthew*.[109]

The double allusion in *PJ* 1.1 to the genitive absolute in chapter 1 and the prepositional phrase in chapter 2 of *Matthew* link the phrase "μητρὸς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ" in the title to two sections of the narrative with additional allusions to *Matthew*—the "καινὸν θέαμα" (19.3) announced by the midwife and questioned by Salome (παρθένος ἐγέννησεν—an allusion to *Isaiah* with elements of "τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου διὰ τοῦ προφήτου ..." in Mt 1:22-23), and the σημεῖον seen by the magi, linked to Herod's inquiry from the priests (in 21.2)[110] through his order to the magi, "ἀναζητήσατε ποῦ γεννᾶται

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[106] Mt 1:18.
[107] Is 7:14 and 8:8, 10.
[108] See Mt 1:22-23; Is 7:14, 8:8, 10.
[109] See Mt 2:11.
[110] See Mt 2:4-6.

καὶ ἐὰν εὕρητε ἀπαγγείλατέ μοι ὅπως κἀγὼ ἐλθὼν προσκυνήσω αὐτόν"[111] (paralleling the priests' inquiry in the Scriptures, likewise in 21.2). The one centers on "ἡ γεννῶσα", the other on "ὁ γεννηθεὶς βασιλεύς".

The allusion in 19.2 (ἐκ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Μαρίας) to the account on the "γέννησις" of Jesus Christ in the gospel according to *Matthew* is prepared through an exchange of questions and answers between the midwife and Joseph in 19.1. Asked by her "καὶ τίς ἐστιν ἡ γεννῶσα ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ;", Joseph tells the midwife first "ἐμνηστευμένη μοι αὕτη Μαριάμ ἐστι"; then he recapitulates the events recounted in 8.1-9.3 (the allotment), 13.1-14.1 (Joseph's dream), and 15.1-16.3 (the trial).

> καὶ ἐκληρωσάμην αὐτὴν γυναῖκα· καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν μου γυνή, ἀλλὰ σύλληψιν ἔχει ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου.

When the midwife responds with the question "τοῦτο ἀληθές;", Joseph tells her "ἔρχου καὶ ἴδε".

The two imperatives are an allusion to Philip's words when he hears Nathanael's question, "ἐκ Ναζαρὲτ δύναταί τι ἀγαθὸν εἶναι;"[112] In *PJ* spoken by Joseph, the words align Joseph's answers to the midwife to Philip's announcement at finding Nathanael.

> εὑρίσκει Φίλιππος τὸν Ναθαναὴλ καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ
> ὃν ἔγραψεν Μωϋσῆς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ καὶ οἱ προφῆται εὑρήκαμεν, Ἰησοῦν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Ἰωσὴφ τὸν ἀπὸ Ναζαρέτ.

Consequently, the midwife's reaction to what she sees in the place of the cave (in 19.2-3) is implicitly compared to Nathanael's confession, "ῥαββὶ σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ σὺ

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[111] The personal pronoun in 21.1 refers to the grammatical subject of γεννᾶν in the magi's conclusion from their observation of the star—"καὶ ἡμεῖς οὕτως ἔγνωμεν ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἐγεννήθη ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἤλθομεν προσκυνῆσαι αὐτόν".
[112] Jn 1:46.

εἰ ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ ᾽Ισραηλ"[113]—and similarly answered with an allusion to (or repetition of) Jacob's dream at Bethel.[114]

In conjunction with the participle "ἐμνηστευμένη"[115] and the allusion to the dream apparition (σύλληψιν ἔχει ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου), the name Μαριάμ associates Joseph's answer in 19.1 with the order given in *Matthew* by the angel to Joseph in his dream.[116]

> ᾽Ιωσὴφ υἱὸς Δαυίδ μὴ φοβηθῇς παραλαβεῖν Μαριὰμ τὴν γυναῖκά σου· τὸ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ γεννηθὲν ἐκ πνεύματός ἐστιν ἁγίου ...

"Μαρίαμ" occurs only two times in *Matthew*; thus, the allusion to the first instance of the name in the gospel points to the second, in *Matthew* 13:55, in the account on Jesus' teaching in the synagogue in his πατρίς. The teaching causes astonishment[117] and questions.

> πόθεν τούτῳ ἡ σοφία αὕτη καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις; οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τοῦ τέκτονος υἱός; οὐχὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ λέγεται Μαριάμ, καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ ᾽Ιάκωβος καὶ ᾽Ιωσὴφ καὶ Σίμων καὶ ᾽Ιούδας; καὶ αἱ ἀδελφαὶ αὐτοῦ οὐχὶ πᾶσαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰσιν; πόθεν οὖν τούτῳ ταῦτα πάντα;

Μαριάμ, "ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ" in *Matthew* 13 is identified—through the cross-reference to the first chapter—with the γυνή of Joseph, a son of David.

The substantivized participle "ἡ γεννῶσα" in 19.1 associates the subject of the midwife's question—the antecedent of αὕτη Μαριάμ—with Mary's διακρίνειν of the angel's message in the Annunciation, recounted in 11.2. In E, the verb γεννᾶν occurs two times in the exchange, both times in Mary's (Μαριάμ's) question.

> καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄγγελος κυρίου ἔστη ἐνώπιον αὐτῆς λέγων
> μὴ φοβοῦ Μαριάμ· εὗρες γὰρ χάριν ἐνώπιον τοῦ πάντων δεσπότου, συλλήψῃ γὰρ ἐκ λόγου αὐτοῦ.

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[113] Jn 1:49.
[114] See Jn 1:51.
[115] As allusion to Mt 1:18, "ἐμνηστευμένη" implies the phrase "τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Μαρίας".
[116] In Mt 1:20.
[117] Mt 13:54; see Mt 7:28, 19:25, 22:33.

ἡ δὲ ἀκούσασα διεκρίθη ἐν ἑαυτῇ λέγουσα
    εἰ ἐγὼ συλλήψομαι ἀπὸ κυρίου θεοῦ ζῶντος, καὶ γεννήσω ὡς πᾶσα γυνὴ γεννᾷ;

The direct object of γεννᾶν is implied through the sources of the finite verbs "γεννήσω" (*Ezekiel*) and "γεννᾷ" (*Proverbs*)—the direct object of "γεννήσω" is ἀνθρώποι,[118] of γεννᾷ σοφία.[119]

The questions of Mary (to the angel, in the future tense) and the midwife (to Joseph, a present participle) are linked to the midwife's words to Salome and Salome's response (both past tense) (in 19.3), which follow after the first sentence in E with the phrase "τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Μαρίας".

καὶ ἀνεβόησεν ἡ μαῖα καὶ εἶπεν
    Μεγάλη μοι σήμερον ἡμέρα, ὅτι εἶδον οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου τὸ καινὸν θέαμα.
καὶ ἐξῆλθεν τοῦ σπηλαίου ἡ μαῖα, καὶ ἀπήντησεν αὐτῇ Σαλώμη. καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ ἡ μαῖα
    Σαλώμη Σαλώμη, καινόν θέαμα ἔχω ἐξηγήσασθαι[120] σοι· παρθένος ἐγέννησεν ὃ οὐ χωρεῖ ἡ φύσις αὐτῆς.
καὶ εἶπεν Σαλώμη
    ζῇ κύριος ὁ θεός μου, ἐὰν μὴ ἴδω, οὐ μὴ πεισθῶ ὅτι παρθένος ἐγέννησεν

Both sentences with the phrase "παρθένος ἐγέννησεν"—a compact allusion to *Isaiah* 7:14, 9:5, and 49:21[121]—include phrases from the gospel according to *John*: "οὐ χωρεῖ,"**[122]** with a neuter pronoun, suggests that the midwife refers to the great light that apeared in the cave (καὶ ἐφανὴ φῶς μέγα ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ); "ἐὰν μὴ ἴδω,"[123] spoken by Salome, parallels the midwife's words to the words spoken by the other disciples to Thomas

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[118] See Ez 36:12 καὶ γεννήσω ἐφ᾽ ὑμᾶς ἀνθρώπους τὸν λαόν μου Ισραηλ, καὶ κληρονομήσουσιν ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἔσεσθε αὐτοῖς εἰς κατάσχεσιν· καὶ οὐ μὴ προστεθῆτε ἔτι ἀτεκνωθῆναι ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν.
[119] Pr 8:25; cf. Pr 8:22.
[120] The verb suggests an allusion to Lv 14:57, the "νόμος τῆς λέπρας".
[121] See 3.1.
[122] See Jn 8:37; Jn 21:25.
[123] See Jn 20:25.

the twin—"ἑωράκαμεν τὸν κύριον."[124] Salome's demand for proof corresponds to asking

to see and touch the marks of the nails and the spear—the text in 19.3 presupposes,

paraphrases, and confirms the testimony of the disciple in *John* 19:33-37.

Mary's comparison between herself and "πᾶσα γυνή" in 1.1 suggests an allusion to

Joseph's comparison (in 13.1) between Mary and Εὔα, the γυνή of Adam.[125] But in 11.2,

"πᾶσα γυνή" is the grammatical subject of "γεννᾶν", not τίκτειν.[126] The prepositional

phrase "ἐκ λόγου αὐτοῦ" in the angel's message hints that Mary is pondering whether or not

she will bring forth "ἐκ σπέρματος ἀνδρός".[127] Her question in 11.2 prepares an allusion

to the *Wisdom* of Solomon in 22.2.

> ἀκούσασα δὲ Μαριὰμ ὅτι ἀναιρεῖται τὰ βρέφη, φοβηθεῖσα ἔλαβε καὶ αὐτὴ τὸν
> παῖδα καὶ ἐσπαργάνωσεν αὐτον καὶ ἔθηκεν ἐν φάτνῃ τῶν βοῶν.

The swaddling clothes are mentioned in *Wisdom* (in the same context as "ἐκ

σπέρματος ἀνδρός").[128]

> ἐν σπαργάνοις ἀνετράφην καὶ φροντίσιν.
> οὐδεὶς γὰρ βασιλέων ἑτέραν ἔσχεν γενέσεως ἀρχήν,
> μία δὲ παντων εἴσοδος εἰς τὸν βίον ἔξοδός τε ἴση.

In conjunction with the allusion to *Ezekiel* in the Annunciation (in 11.2), the reference

to the swaddling clothes indicates that Mary has brought forth someone who is

> θνητὸς ἄνθρωπος ἴσος ἅπασιν
> καὶ γηγενοῦς ἀπόγονος πρωτοπλάστου[129]

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[124] Jn 20:25.
[125] Joseph's narrative parallels the account in 11.2, since he speculates on what has happened in his absence.
[126] See Gn 3:16 ἐν λύπαις τέξῃ τέκνα.
[127] See Wis 7:2.
[128] Wis 7:4-6.
[129] Wis 7:1-2.

In 22.2, the child's mortality is stressed through an allusion to the account of the entombment of Christ in *Matthew* 27:59-60 (already prepared in 19.1, through an allusion to the Raising of Lazarus[130]).

> καὶ λαβὼν τὸ σῶμα ὁ Ἰωσὴφ ἐνετύλιξεν αὐτὸ ἐν σινδόνι καθαρᾷ καὶ ἔθηκεν αὐτὸ ἐν τῷ καινῷ αὐτοῦ μνημείῳ ὃ ἐλατόμησεν ἐν τῇ πέτρᾳ καὶ προσκυλίσας λίθον μέγαν τῇ θύρᾳ τοῦ μνημείου ἀπῆλθεν.

At the same time, the allusion to *Proverbs* in 11.2 underlines that the account in chapter 7 of *Wisdom* does not apply in every respect—as Wisdom, he is "begotten before"[131] and, therefore, not "ἐκ σπέρματος ἀνδρὸς καὶ ἡδονῆς ὕπνῳ συνελθούσης."[132]

In the form "ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ," the phrase "μητρὸς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ" has three parallels in the gospel according to *John*—two in the story of the wedding at Cana[133] (where Jesus made the beginning of the signs),[134] and one in the crucifixion (linked to *John* 2 through "ἡ ὥρα αὐτοῦ").[135] In E, the making of the beginning of the signs (in *John* 2) is implied, in 24.4, through the participle γεγενημένον.

> καὶ τὸ πτῶμα αὐτοῦ οὐχ εὗρον, ἀλλὰ τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ λίθον γεγενημένον.

In the gospel according to *John*, "γεγενημένον" refers to the water that became wine (τὸ ὕδωρ οἶνον γεγενημένον).[136]

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[130] "Ἔρχου καὶ ἴδε" in Jn 11:34.
[131] Pr 8:25.
[132] Wis 7:2.
[133] See Jn 2:1, 3.
[134] See Jn 2:11.
[135] See Jn 19:25.
[136] Jn 2:9. The order "γεμίσατε" in Jn 2:7 associates the brief allusion, in 24.3, in the story of the wedding in Cana in the gospel according to *John* with the description of Mary's filling the κάλπις with water in 11.1 (an allusion to the story of David's thirst in 4 Mcc 3:6-18).

The reference to the blood that became stone connects the report on the finding in 24.3 to Zechariah' prediction (or revelation) of the pouring out of innocent blood (in 23.3) and to the allusion to the betrayal of Judas in 14.1. These references come together in Jesus's prediction of the ἐκδίκησις of all the righteous blood poured out onto the earth "ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος Ἄβελ τοῦ δικαίου ἕως τοῦ αἵματος Ζαχαρίου υἱοῦ Βαραχίου ὃν ἐφονεύσατε μεταξὺ τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου".[137] Thus, when one follows the allusions and cross-references, the phrase "μητρὸς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ" in the second part of the title is connected, through allusions to *Matthew* and *John*, to Jesus's word on the the blood of the righteous—the death of Zechariah is an integral element of the title and the narrative.

P. Bodmer 5

The title of *P. Bodmer 5* in its full form poses different exegetical challenges. *P. Bodmer 5* begins with the words "γενεσις μαριας αποκαλυψις ιακωβ", followed by the phrase "εν ταις ιστοριαις των δωδεκα φυλων" (all without accents or punctuation marks). For a title, the juxtaposition of four nouns without conjunction (ἢ or καί) or preposition is highly unusual. Yet even though it is unprecedented in Greek literature and unique to the source, the form of the title of *P. Bodmer 5* is quite unlikely to be a scribal error.[138] *P. Bodmer 5* is a carefully copied and corrected document; and the words of the title appear not

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[137] Mt 23:35.
[138] For a discussion, see É. de Strycker, *La forme la plus ancienne*, pp. 212-213. In those cases in which a treatise is known by two names, the alternative title tends to be separated from the main title by a conjunction (ἢ). Frequently, the second title is introduced by a preposition that either indicates the content (περί) or the recipient (πρός) of the work.

only in the colophon, but also in an identical form at the beginning of the treatise, where they constitute the opening lines of the document.

Modern discussions of the titles of *P. Bodmer 5* may leave the impression that dividing the four words "γενεσις μαριας αποκαλυψις ιακωβ" into two groups and selecting the first (γενεσις μαριας) as the work's main title are the logical—if not inevitable—choices any reader would make when seeing the words on the page. But a look at the document shows quickly that this is not the case. On the first page, they fill the first one and a half lines of the text block; the noun ἀποκάλψις is divided into two halves (αποκα / λυψις), one placed at the end of the first line, the other at the beginning of the second.
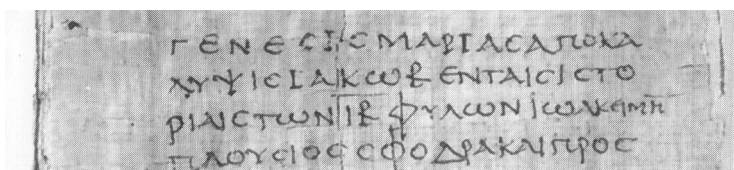
This division of the noun, seemingly necessitated by a line break caused by the width of the page, leaves it open whether "αποκαλυψις" is to be added to the first two words or joined to the fourth.

On the last page, the words of the title are distributed in three lines, visually set apart from the last lines of the text and from the last sentence of the papyrus.
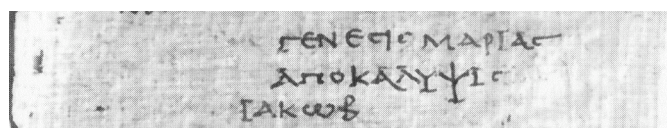
The line breaks suggest that the title falls into three groups (γενεσις μαριας / αποκαλυψις / ιακωβ). The distribution of the words "γενεσισ μαριας αποκαλυψις ιακωβ" in the title section, differences in the size of the letters, and the positions of the words

relative to each other and to other position markers on the page, all suggest that deciding which of the words is the title of *P. Bodmer 5* depends first on determining the criteria for a particular word separation.

The sequence of the nouns suggests analogies—since a nominative singular noun of the third declension is followed by a name in the genitive, followed, in turn, by a second nominative singular of the third declension and a name, the uninflected name "ιακωβ" seems to be a genitive (τοῦ Ιακωβ, corresponding to "μαριας"). The letters of the name "ιακωβ" can represent any grammatical case, however. The conventional form of a title suggests a division following "γενεσις"—"Μαριας αποκαλυψις". Ιακωβ can be linked to the preceding phrase as genitive (limiting αποκαλυψις) or dative ("for" or "through" Ιακωβ), or be a nominative, separated from the phrase in the middle (like γενεσις).

The arrangement of the words in the first lines of page α´ suggests that considerations of numbers and ratios played a role in defining the "width" of the first line, and, with it, of the text column. *P. Bodmer 5*'s "flexible" introductory line comprises 14 syllables (28 letters), divided through a line break into two groups. As in the clause as a whole (14 syllables, 28 letters), the ratio of syllables to letters in these two groups is 1:2 (9+5 syllables, 18+10 letters). An even distribution stresses the 1:2 ratio of the total number of syllables to the total number of letters.

P. Bodmer 5 1.1 [1.1-2]	s	l	**Even Distribution**	s	l
γενεσις μαριας αποκα	9	18	γενεσις μαριας α	7	14
λυψις ιακωβ	5	10	ποκαλυψις ιακωβ	7	14

In both distributions, the letters at three of the four "corners" of the text block are the first three letters of the Greek alphabet. This even continues to be true when the text is displayed in a narrow column of two syllables per line, since the first (and only) letter representing the second to last syllable is an *alpha*, and the last letter of the last syllable is a *beta*. In all three cases, an *alpha* is in the middle of the three letters (γ / α / β); but in the narrowest column, the letter's position changes both in the column—from first to last (second)—and in the respective line—from last to first, and right to left.

While *gamma* and *beta* remain the same in the three configurations, the letter *alpha* belongs each time to a different syllable—but still marks the "end" of a line. This hints at a second criterion for line-breaks, in addition to multiples of the same number—namely ending (or beginning) each line with the same letter. The line break of the first lines of the first page of *P. Bodmer 5*—and the letter's total number—suggest *alpha* as the marker of a line end. In contrast to the other letters in the "corners" (one instance each), the letter *alpha* is represented five times in the brief text—more than any other letter. When added up, the number of letters by which these *alphas* are separated, yield groups of equal sums, first 2(ρι)+1(ς) = 3(πоκ) with the two sums of the "intervals" between the four *alphas* in line 1 (-ρι α̲ ς α̲ πоκ), then with this sum and the number of letters separating the last *alphas* of lines 1 and 2 (2+1+3 (l. 1) = 6 (-ριας απоκα̲ / λυψις ια̲-)). The text columns resulting from such a division are uneven in lenght, both in syllables and numbers—the lines count between 1 and 4 syllables, and 2 and 9 letters.

Numerals		**I**	**II**	
		α´		
		γενεσισ μ**α**	α´ γενεσις μ	μ
β´	2	ρι**α**	**α**ρι	ι
α´	+1	ς **α**	**α**ς	σ
γ´	+3	ποκ**α**	**α**ποκ	κ
ς´	6	λυψις ι**α**	**α**λυψις ι	ι
		κωβ	**α**κωβ	β

  The page number α´—included in both column I and II—serves as a reminder that the same sign can represent a written letter (*alpha*) or a spoken syllable (sound, long or short), but (with the addition of additional signs) also a number—a numeral (εις, μια, ἕν [with rough breathing]) in column I, or an ordinal in column II (α´ = πρωτος, -η, -ον),[139] marking the (position of the) first letter of each line. Read as an allusion to the title of the *Apocalypse* of John, "αποκαλυψις" underlines the latter—"α´" and "ω´" are ordinals and names.[140]

  The letters at the line endings of column II suggest several semantically meaningful words when read downward—μία, σκιά—or upward—βίος; but they always fall short of providing all the letters required to complete the respective word. This aligment does not have to be at the extremes of each line, however (see column II, "α´", read as ordinal and heading of the first one-letter column). The layout of the title on the last page points to a geometrical alignment by position in a sequence of vertically aligned letter-columns as an alternative.

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[139] See 1.2 [1.15] "πρωτω".
[140] E.g., see Apoc 1:8, 22:13.

1st	2nd (β′)	last		4th	
α′				α′	
	γ ′ενεσις	μ↓	γ′	ἐ′νε	ς
	αρ	ι	ισμ	αρ	ι
	α	**α**		α	**σ**
ς↓	α πο	ο		απ	**ο**
κ	α λυψις	ς	κ	αλυψ	**ι**
→ι	**α**′κω		ισι	ακω	**β** ↑
	β′				

The problem to be addressed is the direction of reading, and how to deal with diphthongs/combinations of vowels (i.e., keep them together, so that they are read as a unit,[141] or long vowels (lenghtening through position; βίος, βιοσις, βίωσις;[142] φυλῶν (p. α′, l. 3) and φύλλον (p. β′, l. 3)). The page provides the material for solutions.[143]

The narrowest text column with an equal number of syllables per line has seven lines.

7x2 Syllables	A	l	r	B	l	r
γενεσ	5	γ	σ	4	γ	ἐ
ισμα	4	ι	α	6	ς	ρ
ρια	3	ρ	α	2	ι	α
σαπο	4	σ↓	ο↓	5	σ	κ
καλυψ	5	**κ**	**ψ**	4	**α**	ψ
ισι	3	ι	ι		ι↑	ι
ακωβ	4	**α**	β		α	β

The acrostic "σκιά" (A, l), as part of a title, evokes distinctions between different forms of definition (ὑπογραφή and ὁρισμός);[144] ὄψ (A, r) is a synonym of φωνή used in

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[141] Cf. διαίρεσις.
[142] See Sir pr. 12, Acts 26:4.
[143] For example, in γραμματική, the term διπλᾶ (1.1 [1.6]) denotes double consonants *zeta* (ζ) (δ+σ), *ksi* (ξ, illustrated on page α′ by "ἐξιστι" in l. 15) (κ+σ), and ψ (αποκαλυψις) (π+σ).
[144] E.g., see *Ammonius in Porphyrii isagogen sive quinque voces*, edited by A. Busse, Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 4.3 (Berlin: Reimer, 1891), 54.23-55.7 (Ammonius comments on "ὃ καὶ ὑπογράφοντες ἀποδεδωκασι") ταύτῃ οὖν διαφέρει ὁ ὁρισμὸς τῆς ὑπογραφῆς τῷ τὸν ὁρισμὸν ἐκ τῆς οὐδσίας

etymologies of nouns denoting "human" (such as μέροψ[145] or ἄνθρωπος) to define humans

as beings with an articulate voice (φωνὴ ἔναρθρος). In the context of arranging γράμματα

in lines, the acrostic "ἴασις" (B, l) points to the theory of the four elements (στοιχεῖα,

κρᾶσις).[146]

The "shared" beginning of *PJ* in *P. Bodmer 5* is shorter than its counterpart in the

other manuscripts of the text. Instead of the name of the numeral (δώδεκα—or the sum δυο

καὶ δέκα / δέκα δυο[147]), *P. Bodmer 5* features the number twelve (ιβ´) as numeral; the

genitives limiting "εν ταις ιστοριαις" end with "φυλων", which is immediatedly followed

by the name Ιωακειμ,[148] in turn followed by the finite verb η(ν). Since the number can be

represented as name (δώδεκα) or as sum (δύο δέκα), the text can be 10, 13, or 15 syllables

"long." The shortest version (10 syllables) can be written separatedly or together with the

flexible introduction (24 syllables, divided into 2x12, 3x8, 4x6, 8x3, 12x2 [adding the two

columns together]); the longest version can only be divided separately from the flexible

introduction, and the other (13) can only be read together with the text of the flexible title

(14+13 syllables, arranged 9x3 or 3x9).

δεικνύναι τὰ πράγματα, τὴν δὲ ὑπογραφὴν ἐκ τῶν συμβεβηκότων. ὑπογραφὴ δὲ λέγεται οἷον σκιαγραφία τις οὖσα· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἡ πραὰ τοῖς γραφεῦσι σκιαγραφία δηλοῖ μὲν τὸ μίμημα τῆς εἰκόνος, οὐ μὴν διηρθρωμένως, οὕτως καὶ ἡ ὑπογραφὴ δηλοῖ μέν πως τὸ πρᾶγμα, οὐ μέντοι διηρθρωμένως· ὁ δὲ ὁρισμὸς αὐτὸ ἡμῖν τὸ πρᾶγμα σαφῶς παρίστησιν. ἀναλογεῖ οὖν ὁ μὲν ὁρισμὸς τῇ τελείᾳ γραφῇ, ἡ δὲ ὑπογραφὴ τῇ σκιαγραφίᾳ· διὸ καὶ ὑπογραφὴ λέγεται.

[145] E.g., see *EM* 580.37-41 <μέροψ>: συνώνυμον· γίνεται παρὰ τὸ μείρω, τὸ μερίζω, ὁ μεμερισμένην τὴν ὄπα (ὅ ἐστι τὴν φωνὴν) ἔχων κὰ ἔναρθρον, ὡς πρὸς σύγκρισιν τῶν ἄλλων ζώων· ἐπειδὴ, ἐὰν εἴπω ἄνθρωπος, μερίζεται εἰς συλλαβάς. ἢ ὅτι οὐ πάντες τὴν αὐτὴν φωνὴν ἔχουσι.

[146] See Chapter 3.

[147] E.g., see Ex 28:21, Sir 44:23.

[148] In the other versions the name is preceded by ἦν—and thus spatially separated from "τοῦ Ισραηλ".

5x2 Syllables					2x5 Syllables	Letters	Numbers	Letters
ενταις	ε	ς	ε↓	ς	α′		1	1
ιστο	ι	ο	ι	ο	ε νταισ ιστορ ι	6+6		12
ριαι	ρ	ι	ρ	σ	αι στων ιβ′ φυλ ων	5+5	1	12
στωνιβ′	σ	β↑	ω	β				
φυλων	φ	ν	φ	ν				

A   6x4

    γε νεσις μα **ρ**
    ιας απο
    καλυψις ι
α↓ ακωβ εν ται
σ ς ιστοριαις τ
ω **ω** ν ιβ′ φυλω **ν**

B   4x6

¹**γ** εν(ν)   **γ εν** εσισμαρι α   **α**[2]
          σαποκαλυψις ι
          ακωβ εν ταις ιστορ
³**ι**   ι αις των ιβ′ φυλ ων   **ων**[4]

" Ἄσω" associates the prepositional phrase in the column with the song (ἆσμα) of

Anna, in 6.3 [14.2].

8x3	l	r		l	r	3x8	
γενεσις	γ	ι		γ		γενεσισμαριασαποκ	17
μαριας	ς	σ	ς	μ		αλυψισιακωβενταις	17
αποκα	α	α↓	α	α		ιστοριαιςτων **ιβ**′ φυλων	17
λυψις ι	λ	ι	ι	λ			
ακωβ ε	α	ν	ν	α	ε		
ν ταις ιστορ	τ↑	ο	ο↑	ν	ρ		
ιαις τω	ρ	ν		ι	ω		
ν ιβ′ φυλων	ι	ν		ν	ν		

6x2

ενταισ	ε	ς	ε	ι	ι↓	¹**ε** νταισ ιστο ρια **σ**[2]
ιστο	τ	ο	σ	ο	ο	³**τ** ωνδω δεκαφ υλ **ω**[4](ν)
ριαστ	ρ	τ	ρ	ς	ς	
ωνδω	ω	ω	τ	ω		
δεκαφ	δ	φ↑	δ	φ↑		
υλων	υ↑	ν	υ	ν		

With two syllables per column, and a bisected column (the last letter of "ιακωβ" provides the ordinal/page number for the second column); the two columns are connected horizontally through "γενεσις" and "μαρια".

		α´	β´		
				εντaις	
		γενεσ	→ **ισ**	το	
	ισ	**μα** →	**ρια**	ις	ϛ
	ρια			τωνδω	ω
↓**σ**	σαπο			δεκαφ	**φ**↑
κ	καλυψ			υλων	
ι	ιοι				
α	ακω				

		α´	β´		
				εντa**ις**	**ϛ**
		γενεσ	→ **ισ**	το	**ο**
	ισ	**μα** →	**ρια**ις	**τ**	**τ**
↓**ρ**	**ρι**	**ασ** →	ω	νδω	**ω**
α	απο			δεκα	**α**↑
κ	καλυψ			**φ**υλων	
ι	ιοι				
α	ακω				

When "ιβ´" is transcribed as "δέκα δύο", a line break between "γενεσις" and μαριας makes "Μαρια" the name of the author of the revelation[149]:

<u>γενεσισ</u>	[1]**γεν** εσισ μαριασ αποκ [2]**α**
μαριασ	λυψισ ιακωβ εν ταισ ιστορ
αποκα	[3]**ι** αισ των δεκα δυο φυλ [4]**ων**
λυψισι	
ακωβεν	1-4: *γαιων or* γεν(ν)αιων
ταισιστο	
ριαιστων	
δεκα δυ	
ο φυλων	

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[149] 8 syllables, 16 letters.

In this version, in which the first two lines correspond to the lines in *P. Bodmer 5* (3x9 syllables), the phrase "δέκα δυο φυλῶν" suggests an allusion to *Sirach* 44:23.[150]

How many ἱστορίαι?

In every version of *PJ*, the term "ἱστορία" occurs four times.[151] In two of the four instances, the noun is limited by a "name" in the genitive: "τῶν δώδεκα φυλῶν τοῦ Ἰσραηλ" in the work's "fixed" introductory line (1.1 ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις); and "τοῦ Αδαμ" in the middle of the narrative (13.1 ἡ ἱστορία; with paraphrase).[152] In the other two—both in the epilogue (25.1)—"ἡ ἱστορία" (followed by a demonstrative pronoun) is the direct object of the verb "γράφειν" in a sentence in the first person singular.

In general, modern scholars, following Tischendorf's division of the text, read "ἐγὼ δὲ Ἰάκωβος ὁ γράψας τὴν ἱστορίαν ταύτην ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ" (the words with the first of the two references to "ἡ ἱστορία αὕτη") as one sentence, the first of the epilogue. The demonstrative pronoun limiting "τὴν ἱστορίαν" seems to imply, therefore, that "ἡ ἱστορία αὕτη" refers to the narrative as a whole, thought to end in 24.4 with an allusion to the story of Symeon the Elder and the "Meeting in the Temple" recounted in the gospel according to *Luke*. Moreover, seemingly not part of the narrative proper, and placed side by side with the name Ἰάκωβος (a name in a larger number of manuscripts used in the flexible introductory line), the first reference to "ἡ ἱστορία αὕτη" suggests an allusion to the phrase "ἐν ταῖς

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[150] See Sir 44:23 καὶ διέστειλεν μερίδας αὐτοῦ, ἐν φυλαῖς ἐμέρισεν δέκα δύο.
[151] Except C—the epilogue of the manuscript lacks the reference to "ἡ σοφία τοῦ γράψαι τὴν ἱστορίαν ταύτην".
[152] *P. Bodmer 5* is the only version of *PJ* without the personal names "τοῦ Ἰσραήλ" and "τοῦ Αδάμ" in 1.1 and 13.1.

ἱστορίαις" in 1.1, thus placing "ἡ ἱστορία αὕτη" among (i.e., "ἐν") the "ἱστορίαι" mentioned there. Ἰάκωβος—referring to himself as "ὁ γράψας τὴν ἱστορίαν ταύτην"—claims to be the author of a "ἱστορία τῶν δώδεκα φυλῶν τοῦ Ἰσραήλ", a narrative beginning in 1.1 with "ἦν Ἰωακείμ πλούσιος σφόδρα" and ending in 24.4 with the words "μὴ ἰδεῖν θάνατον ἕως ἂν ἴδῃ τὸν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκί".

Both suggestions are problematic, not to mention that neither one addresses whether or not the Death of Zechariah is an integral—i.e., necessary—part of the narrative. The first rests on an assumption—on the position of the name Ἰάκωβος and the reference to "ἡ ἱστορία αὕτη" in the work, their syntactical relation, and the referent of the demonstrative (the narrative as a whole)—that does not take into account the polyvalence of the written text at the transition from the narrative to the epilogue. The text with the name Ἰάκωβος and the phrase "τὴν ἱστορίαν ταύτην" can be divided (and enunciated) in several ways, depending on the selection of analogies for punctuation. "Ὁ γράψας" is not in all possible versions the predicate of Ἰάκωβος.

The second suggestion (linking the first and the third reference to "ἱστορία" in *PJ*) presupposes two things—namely that the reference to "ὁ γράψας" is part of the epilogue (rather than of the narrative, similar to "ἡ ἱστορία τοῦ Ἀδάμ") and that both references in 25.1 to "γράφειν τὴν ἱστορίαν ταύτην" have the same signified, and (therefore) the same speaker.

The repetition of the phrase "τὴν ἱστορίαν ταύτην" in the epilogue, in sentences with the same grammatical person and number, suggests that "ἡ ἱστορία αὕτη" refers to the

same narrative. But the phrases with γράφειν are very different syntactically. In the first sentence, the words "γράφειν τὴν ἱστορίαν ταύτην" are part of a participial phrase ("ὁ γράψας τὴν ἱστορίαν ταύτην"—the predicate of a name or the subject of a finite verb); in the second, they are bound together as a substantivized infinitive (or imperative) in the genitive ("τοῦ γράψαι τὴν ἱστορίαν ταύτην"). Consequently, the two references recall different models in the writings of the Old and the New Testaments (with the same syntactial patterns), which define the direct objects of γράφειν in the two sentences by analogies. These models, in turn, are linked to other Scriptural patterns.

In addition to alluding to different models in the Old and the New Testaments, the sentences with the references to the writing of "ἡ ἱστορία αὕτη" point readers to different parts of the narrative. The words "ἐγὼ δὲ ᾿Ιάκωβος" align the sentence beginning with the pronoun "ἐγώ" in 25.1 to the beginning of Joseph's vision in 18.2. As in the clause in 25.1, in 18.2 Joseph's description of what he sees begins (in most manuscripts) with the words "ἐγὼ δὲ" followed by a name (᾿Ιωσήφ instead of ᾿Ιάκωβος); the pronoun is preceded by a prepositional phrase with "ἐν" (ἐν Βηθλεέμ) that can be attached to the preceding clause (ending with "μαιαν") or to the clause with "ἐγὼ δέ".

> καὶ παρέστησεν αὐτῇ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτου, καὶ ἐξῆλθων ἐζήτει μαῖαν ῾Εβραίαν ἐν Βηθλεέμ. ἐγὼ δὲ ᾿Ιωσὴφ περιεπάτουν καὶ οὐ καὶ περιεπάτουν.

Περιπατεῖν in 18.2 corresponds to συστέλλειν in 25.1 (in those versions in which the latter is in the first person singular).[153]

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[153] The connection between the two parts of the *narrative* is stressed in versions of *PJ* with "ἐν τόπῳ ἐρήμῳ" in 25.1.

The verbal link connecting 18.2 "ἐγὼ δὲ Ἰωσὴφ περιεπάτουν" and 25.1 "ἐγὼ δὲ Ἰάκωβος ὁ γράψας" and the emphasis on the first person singular suggest that *Daniel* 4 is the main model for περιεπάτουν without the negative[154]—the account in *Daniel* 4 features περιεπάτουν (μετὰ τῶν θηρίων)[155] and ἔγραψε,[156] connected to each other through the same grammatical subject, king Nebuchadnezzar.

The phrase "δοξάζειν τὸν δόντα [+ dat. (personal pronoun) +acc.]" similarily associates the second sentence in 25.1 mentioning "γράφειν τὴν ἱστορίαν ταύτην" with a sentence in the body of the text (14.2). This sentence is placed at the end of a longer account[157] with allusions to the betrayal of Judas in the gospel according to *Matthew*[158] to the narrative of the appearance of an angel to Joseph "κατ᾽ ὄναρ", after Joseph has decided to dismiss Mary secretly.[159]

> καὶ ἀνέστη Ἰωσὴφ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου, καὶ ἐδόξασε τὸν θεὸν Ἰσραὴλ τὸν δόντα αὐτῷ τὴν χάριν ταύτην, καὶ ἐφύλασσεν αὐτήν.

"Καὶ ἀνέστη Ἰωσὴφ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου", the sentence preceding the sentence with the participle "τὸν δόντα" in 14.2 is either a sentence combining two concise statements with different verbs—"ἀνέστη ἀπο τῆς κλίνης" and "ἠγέρθη ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου"[160]—or a

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[154] Another possible model "περιεπάτουν" is in chapter 3 of Theodotion's translation of Daniel. See Dn (θ´) 3:23-24 καὶ οἱ τρεῖς οὗτοι Σεδραχ, Μισαχ καὶ Αβδεναγω ἔπεσον εἰς μέσον τῆς καμίνου τοῦ πυρὸς τῆς καιομένης πεπεδημένοι. καὶ περιεπάτουν ἐν μέσῳ τῆς φλογὸς ὑμνοῦντες τὸν θεὸν καὶ εὐλογοῦντες τὸν κύριον. The participle "πεπεδημένοι" (also in Dn 3:91) leads to Is 9:1 (through Ps 106:10; notice Ps 78(79):10).
[155] A link to 1.1 πειραζόμενος (in Heb 11) and 1.4, an allusion to the Temptation in the gospel according to *Mark*.
[156] See Dn (LXX) 4:37[b].
[157] 13.1-14.2, covering one day, and including the reference to the ἱστορία τοῦ Ἀδάμ.
[158] In 14.1 παραδιδοὺς αἷμα ἀθῶον; see Mt 26:25, 46, 48, and 27:4.
[159] 14.2; see Mt 1:20-24.
[160] With ἀπό +gen., "ἀνέστη" implies (properly speaking) "κλίνης", whereas "ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου" requires "ἠγέρθη"; see *Ammonii qui dicitur liber de adfinium vocabulorum differentia*, edited by K. Nickau (Leipzig: Teubner, 1966), η 216.1-2.

σολοικισμός (use of the preposition "ἀπό" instead of "ἐξ" with "τοῦ ὕπνου"), or else a juxtaposition, in the written text, of parts of diction (a verb, a nominative [sg.], and a preposition) that belong to different thoughts.

Interpreted as two concise statements, the words "καὶ ἀνέστη Ἰωσὴφ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου" describe Joseph (and his actions after "standing up") through allusions to two sources. With "ἐγερθείς", the prepositional phrase "ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου" aligns the end of the account on Joseph's dream in 14.2 to the end of the same account in *Matthew*.[161]

> ἐγερθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰωσὴφ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου ἐποίησεν ὡς προσέταξεν αὐτῷ ὁ ἄγγελος κυρίου καὶ παρέλαβεν τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ.

But "ἀνέστη Ἰωσὴφ ἀπὸ τῆς κλίνης"associates Joseph with Tobias, and glosses the preceding narrative (13.1-14.2) through Tobias' account of the making of Adam and Eve and the events leading to his making of the prayer.[162]

Even though they are linked (through verbal echos) to different parts of the narrative, and thus separated from each other in chapter 25, the two references to "ἱστορία" in 25.1 are connected to each other through their counterparts in the body of text. For, these narratives are bound together through the person of Joseph and through intertexts—for example, both feature allusions to dreams,[163] to "κατακρίνειν θανατῷ",[164] and to Aristotle's *Physica*.[165]

This casts doubt on the notion that the first reference to "ἡ ἱστορία αὕτη" in 25.1 refers to the entire text, or at least raises the question of how the individual narratives in the

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[161] Mt 1:24.
[162] See Tb 8:4-8 ὡς δὲ συνεκλείσθησαν ἀμφότεροι, ἀνέστη Τωβιας ἀπὸ τῆς κλίνης καὶ εἶπεν Ἀνάστηθι, ἀδελφή, καὶ προσευξώμεθα, ἵνα ἡμᾶς ἐλεήσῃ ὁ κύριος.
[163] In 14.2 Mt 1:20 ὄναρ; in 18.2 Dn 4 ἐνύπνιον.
[164] Through the allusion to the betrayal of Judas in 14.1, see Mt 27:4, 20:18; and Dn 4:37ᵃ in 18.2.
[165] 14.1 Arist. *Ph.* 239*a*11 ἠρέμησεν, in 18.2 Arist. *Ph.* 253*a*27, 254*b*1 ἠρεμοῦντα.

text (with different narrators) are related to the narrative as a whole,[166] or to those sections singled out through the noun ἱστορία.

The review of the secondary literature thus leaves us with two questions—the function of the title, and the function and interpretation of the reference to "ἱστορία". In the next chapter we will see that the two are closely related.

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[166] E.g., does the vision correspond to the narrative, and if it does, what are the implications for reading the text?

Chapter 3

Ἱστορία: Διορθοῦν and Γράφειν

We have seen in our discussion (ch. 1) of Galen's example of διδασκαλία "χωρὶς ὅρων" that the interpretation or translation (ἑρμηνεία) of what is signified by a term (in Galen's case πίσυρες) is brought about by juxtaposing two sentences or verses from different passages or texts, one of which allows a clarification of the meaning (but not of the usage) of the word it has in common with the other. The usage of the term is clarified through the juxtaposition, without connectives, of two phrases selected from different origins; these words or phrases evoke tightly woven narratives and arguments that, in their proper locations, clarify their usage. Placed together, these phrases syntactically imitate another sentence featuring both—and thus serving as common referent. Together, the different references point to ὅμοια in the narratives that clarify what is signified by the term.

Without keeping in mind this mode of defining a term (through a λόγος defining the subject descriptively and through usage, illustrated through examples incorporated into the very definiton itself, e.g., through verbal or morphological allusions), the present chapter may seem to lack inner coherence or even relevance for our discussion of *PJ*. But this chapter is meant to help us determine not just the *meaning* but the *usage* of the term ἱστορία in the period when *PJ* was composed and began to circulate—even though much of it is devoted to

a discussion of a chapter in the *Τέχνη Διονυσίου γραμματικοῦ* entitled "περὶ στοιχείου" that does not mention "ἱστορία" at all!

We will see, however, that in order to determine the usage of "ἱστορία" we have to inquire into the usages of γράφειν (and to some extent of ἀναγιώσκειν, too). Despite its heading, "περὶ στοιχείου" is a discussion of both γράμματα *and* στοιχεῖα, with explanations of the terms through etymology and examples demonstrating usage together with the plausiblity of the etymologies. Clarifying the usage of the term "ἱστορία" by studying grammatical teachings on γράμματα and στοιχεῖα, and on writing and reading, does have antecedents in the writings of the grammarians. More importantly, however, taking such a "grammatical" approach is not only true to the period—in the case of the references to "ἱστορία" in *PJ* it is quite necessary. The two verb forms (and substantives) "ὁ γράψας" and "τοῦ γράψαι" are used by the authors of the different versions of *PJ* to allude to sources in the Old and in the New Testaments. But placed together in the same chapter, and juxtaposed to the grammatical term "ἱστορία", they also point point the reader to classical παραδείγματα used by grammarians to illustrate and clarify definitions of the terms "γράμματα" (letters, lines) and "στοιχεῖα" (elements, ἄτομα).

Because definitions of grammatical terms such as "ἱστορία" are accompanied by, and clarified through, "canonical" examples (especially from Homer)—examples that may also be illustrating the usage of other words—the terms themselves are associated with metaphors and signifieds that may not be immediatedly apparent from the abstract definition alone (especially not to the modern reader), or may be fully understandable only in relation to other concepts. In the case of "ἱστορία", such a conceptual web is reflected in (and thus to

some extent accessible through) different characteristics of the appearance and structure of the spoken and written word such as repetitions or paraphrases for completing and "straightening" otherwise fragmentary or misleading statements, usage of vocabulary and syntax that is not σύνηθες or consistent, or preference for indirect speech and pronouns instead of personal names (causing syntactical ambiguities) and "dynamic" (flowing) sentence boundaries.

The different παραδείγματα explaining the terms γράμματα and στοιχεῖα associate the term "ἱστορία" with "general" narratives associated with "γράφειν". They fall into into three groups, corresponding to different explanations of the term "στοιχεῖα" in Dionysius Thrax[167]—one emphasizing an analogy between στοιχεῖα and the four κόσμικα στοιχεῖα, another stressing a link to "στοῖχος" and "τάξις", and a "mixed" one combining aspects of both. These narratives (which draw on the definition of ἄνθρωπος as ζῷον λογικὸν θνητόν and as having a φωνὴ ἐγγράμματος) do fit *PJ* (e.g., Anna's change of clothing, or Zechariah's death), and especially the parts of the treatise called "ἱστορία" (and the models after which the sentences with the term are patterned).

Second, the word is conceptualized as "flowing" (a φωνὴ ἐναρμόνιος, with σύνθεσις as main "ordering" device) or as "architectonic" (φωνὴ ἔναρθρος; with emphasis on "parts" and structure). This implies that when we are reading a text called "ἱστορία", we

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[167] E.g., see *Grammatici Graeci* 1.3, 317.18-28 στοιχεῖα δὲ εἴρηνται ἐκ τοῦ στιχηδὸν γράφεσθαι στίχειον, καὶ πλεονασμῷ τοῦ <ο> στοιχεῖον· οἱ δὲ πλεονασμῷ τοῦ <ς> στοιχεῖόν φασιν, ἐν γὰρ τοῖς τοίχοις ἐγράφοντο πρότερον. πάλιν οὖν λέγουσιν ἄλλοι ὀνομασθῆναι αὐτὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ στείχω, ἐξ οὗ γίνεται στοῖχος· καὶ ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τοῦ πρῶτος γίνεται πρωτεῖον, οὕτω καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ στοῖχος στοιχεῖον. τινὲς δέ φασι στοιχεῖα αὐτὰ ὀνομασθῆναι ἐκ μεταφορᾶς τῶν κοσμικῶν στοιχείων· ὃν τρόπον γὰρ ἐκεῖνα τῇ μίξει τῇ πρὸς ἄλληλα τὰ ἡμέτερα σώματα καθίστησί τε καὶ ἀποτελεῖ, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν στοιχείων τῇ πρὸς ἄλληλα κοινωνίᾳ ἀποτελοῦνται αἱ συλλαβαί, καὶ ἀπὸ συλλαβῶν ἡ τῶν λέξεων σύστασις.

have to take both aspects into account. A ἱστορία is a φωνὴ ἐγγράμματος that may not be harmonious (or remain without thought) without help in restoring the proper proportions (size, τόνος, etc.) and order for reading without stumbling (or sending forth a λόγος).

Διόρθωσις

The problem of distorting a text by removing necessary components from their assigned position or by altering their form falls into the same category as the problem of introducing changes into a text by "correcting" *seeming* textual corruptions. Grammarians writing on the topic of τρόποι and σχήματα (figures of speech and of thought) emphasize that—in order to determine accurately whether a deviation from customary usage (συνήθεια) in writing or speaking is an ἀρετή (or κακία) (which is the basis for judging the poet)—it is necessary to examine whether the discovered "ἁμάρτημα"[168] is voluntary or involuntary and to inquire into the author's reason for committing it. Some even liken this process to an ἄγων in a court of law, in a legal case in which both sides agree that a deed was done but debate its quality (and definition). Consider, for example, Heliodorus' explanation of the difference between σχῆμα and σολοικισμός.[169]

> διαφέρει δὲ σχῆμα σολοικισμοῦ, ἐπειδὴ σχῆμα μέν ἐστι ποιητοῦ ἢ συγγραφέως ἁμάρτημα ἑκούσιον διὰ τέχνην ἢ ξενοφωνίαν ἢ καλλωπισμόν, σολοικισμὸς δὲ ἁμάρτημα ἀκούσιον, οὐ διὰ τέχνην ἀλλὰ δι' ἀμαθίαν γινόμενον.

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[168] "Ἁμάρτημα" reflects the goal of γραμματική—to speak without sinning; e.g., see *Eliae in Porphyrii isagogen et Aristotelis categorias commenaria*, ed. A. Busse, Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 18.1 (Berlin: Reimer, 1900), 5.

[169] *Grammatici Graeci* 1.3, 454.23-26. Similar Tryphon (emphasizing ἀπολογία): σχῆμά ἐστι σολοικισμὸς ἀπολογίαν ἔχων, ὡς ὅταν εἴπωμεν, ὁ κύριος Ἰωάννης, ὃν ὁ θεὸς ἐλεήσει, ἀγαθός ἐστι ("Tryphon: De tropis," ed. M. L. West, *Classical Quarterly* n.s. 15 (1965):230-48, 26.1.12-15).

The emphasis on ἑκούσιον or ἀκούσιον (each additionally divided by the cause—διὰ τέχνην or δι᾽ ἀμαθίαν) associates this definition with discussions on the commonplaces for speeches of defense whose authors stress the defendant's intent.[170]

The search (for corrections or confirmation of an impression (perception) or prejudgment by the reader or listener) requires assessing ὀρθογραφία (and the four κανόνες τῆς ὀρθογραφίας), and identifying the σκοπός of the book.[171]

Ὀρθογραφία

Finding an "ἀπολογία" for a perceived flaw in a written text (and thereby correcting it) includes determining which of the four "κανόνες τῆς ὀρθογραφίας" (ἀναλογία, διάλεκτος, ἐτυμολογία, and ἱστορία) is to be applied in judging the respective case. A κανών[172] can take the form of a paradigm—a phrase demonstrating usage (in which case the "ἁμάρτημα" may be a correctly written allusion to a source)—or the form of an abstract definition (clarified through analoguous examples).

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[170] E.g., see Quint. *Inst*. 7.4.

[171] "Διορθοῦν" (of these ἁμαρτήματα) takes two forms—making physical (and lasting) corrections on the page (or in another place fo the same work), or changing the perception (by pointing to the reason or an analogy demonstrating usage, or by identifying the speaker).

[172] For an etymology of "κανών", see *EM* 489. <κανών>: παρὰ τὸ καίνω, τὸ κόπτω, ὁ τὰ τῶν λέξεων κόπτων ζητήματα. ἔστι δὲ εἴδους περιεκτικοῦ. εἴρηται δὲ κανὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ τεκτονικοῦ κανόνος· ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ τέκτων κέχρηται κανόνι διὰ τὸ ἐπανορθῶσαι τὸ ἀποτελούμενον, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ἡμεῖς κεχρήμεθα τῷ κανόνι διὰ τὸ ἐπανορθῶσαι τὰς λέξεις. ἔστι δὲ κανὼν λόγος ἔντεχνος δηλωτικὸς, ἀπευθύνων ὁμοιότητα πρὸς τὸ καθόλου. <κανόνας> ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος, τὰς ῥάβδους, αἷς ἐκράτουν τὰς ἀσπίδας· οὔπω γὰρ ἐχρῶντο τοῖς πόρπαξιν, οὓς ὄχανα ἐκάλουν· ὕστερον γὰρ ἐπενοήθη ὑπὸ Καρῶν, ὡς Ἀνακρέων φησί.

Both types of κανόνες are represented in this explanation of "ὀρθογραφία", which belongs to a chapter "περὶ προσῳδίας" in the treatise "Περὶ γραμματικῆς" by the grammarian Theodosius.[173]

> ἰστέον δέ, ὅτι δύο σημαίνει τὸ τῆς ὀφρθογραφίας ὄνομα· ἔστι γὰρ ὀρθογραφία λέξις ἡ ὀρθῶς γεγραμμένη· ἔστι καὶ ὁ κανὼν ὁ ἀποδεικτικὸς τῆς ὀρθῶς γεγραμμένης λέξεως
>
> οἷον ἐὰν γράψω· 'ταχεῖα'· διὰ τῆς ει διφθόγγου, αὕτη ἡ λέξις ἡ γραφεῖσα ὀρθῶς ὀρθογραφία καλεῖται·
>
> καὶ ἐὰν ἐρωτηθῶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς γραφῆς καὶ εἴπω τὸν κανόνα, ὅτι 'τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς <υς>' ληγόντων 'ἀρσενικῶν' 'θηλυκὰ παρεσχηματισμένα' 'διὰ τοῦ εια διὰ τῆς ει διφθόγγου γράφονται, οἷον' ταχύς ταχεῖα, ὠκύς ὠκεῖα, ἡδύς ἡδεῖα, ὀξύς ὀξεῖα·[174] αὐτὸς ὁ κανὼν ὀρθογραφία καλεῖται.

"Ταχεῖα" is used twice in the paragraph, in statements paralleled to each other through the repetition of phrases ("οἷον", "διὰ τῆς ει διφθόγγου", "ὀρθογραφία καλεῖται") and also contrasted to each other through the tenses and grammatical persons and numbers of the finite forms of γράφειν—"γράψω" (linked to the λέξις) and "γράφονται" (linked to the γραφή). "Ταχεῖα" in the first sentence is aligned to "γραφεῖσα ὀρθῶς" through its position (immediatedly behind the verb γράφειν) and to "οἷον ταχύς ταχεῖα" through "οἷον"; this suggests that the two words illustrate different usages—the first "ταχεῖα" limits the verb (similar to the adverb "ταχέως", by analogy with "ὀρθῶς"), the second is a substantivized adjective (ὄνομα) in the nominative singular feminine, a "παρεσχηματισμένον" ("οἷον ταχύς ταχεῖα").

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[173] *Theodosii Alexandrini grammatica*, ed. K. Göttling (Leipzig: Libraria Dykiana, 1822), 61.22-32.

[174] The γραφή of the κανών (spoken in answer to the question about the αἰτία τῆς γραφῆς) is composed of a quotation of a sentence, interrupted in the middle by a phrasal allusion (to another sentence). Both sentences are from the grammarian Aelius Herodianus and end with a list of analogies that include "ταχύς ταχεῖα". See *Herodiani partitiones*, ed. J. F. Boissonade (1819; repr., London, 1963), 222.20-223.3; and *Grammtici Graeci* 3.2, 708.27-30.

The list with the four pairs of adjectives suggests that "ταχεῖα", too, has two signifieds. The "λέξις" ταχεῖα (followed, after an utterance, by the adjective ὠκεῖα) points to a phrase in the *Iliad* terminating in "ταχεῖα"—the words spoken by Zeus at dispatching Iris: "βάσκ' ἴθι Ἶρι ταχεῖα".[175] These words begin a message (ἀγγελίη or μῦθος) to be conveyed by the messenger. At the end of the message, a sentence in the third person singular refers to Iris again, this time with an epithet—"ὠκέα Ἴρις".[176] Written with the diphthong "ει", i.e., as ὠκεῖα (the form of the adjective in the list of analogies), the combination of the name with the adjective points to the account on the descent of Iris (born by Electra to Thaumas) in Hesiod's *Theogony*—"ἣ δ' ὠκεῖαν τέκεν Ἶριν".[177] There, the adjective is in the accusative case.[178] By analogy with "ταχεῖα" and "ὠκεῖα"—joined by one referent (Ἴρις)—the two adjectives "ἡδύς" and "ὀξύς" are linked as synonyms of "λιγύς"[179]—and, therefore, point to Nestor.

The correctness of the spelling is based on two criteria—a phrase in Homer (and in Hesiod) serves as measure; the writing is correct but the authority has to be found; or the κανῶν the closest to (i.e., the most like) the writing has to be found, to reconstruct the correct word and identify its analogues.

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[175] *Il.* 8.399; 11.186; 15.158; 24.144.
[176] The spelling "ὠκέα" instead of "ὠκεῖα" is an example illustrating διάλεκτος.
[177] Hes. *Theog.* 266.
[178] The epithet "ὠκεῖα" is explained through a comparison in Hes. *Theog.* 269.
[179] E.g., see *EM* 564.54-57, illustrated with *Il.* 1.248.

Σκοπός and Ἐπιγραφή

Corrective statements can be part of the text itself. But guidance for the reader is also provided by the "σκοπός" of a work, which is in agreement with and "contained" in the ἐπιγραφή. A rigorous scrutiny of what is said in the "λόγος" and of its agreement with the ἐπιγραφή is part of the introductory discussion a work by exegetes. Lists of the headings giding the exegete in this task (ὁ σκοπός, τὸ χρήσιμον, τὸ γνήσιον, ἡ τάξις, ἡ αἰτία τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς, ἡ εἰς τὰ μόρια διαίρεσις, ὁ διδασκαλικὸς τρόπος)[180] appear in commentaries on individual works, such as Aristotle's *Categories* or the Τεχνή of Dionysius Thrax, or Aphthonius the Sophist's *Progymnasmata*, but also in prolegomena to bodies of works (such as the anonymous *Prolegomena Philosophiae Platonicae*[181]).

In this excerpt from Pseudo-Archytas' treatise Περὶ παιδεύσεως ἠθικῆς, the meaning of the term "σκοπός" is clarified through Homeric examples anchored in the text through phrasal allusions.[182]

> ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἐν ἅπαντι πρᾶτον ἀνάγκα σκοπᾶν μὲν τὸ τέλος (τοῦτο γὰρ ποιέοντι κυβερνᾶται[183] μὲν λιμένα νεὼς ἐς ὃν καταχθήσονται[184] προτιθέμενοι, ἀνίοχοι δὲ

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[180] E.g. Προλεγόμενα τῶν Ἀφθονίου Προγυμνασμάτων 1, in *Prolegomenon Sylloge*, ed. H. Rabe (Stuttgart and Leipzig: Teubner, 1995), 73 (see 6 pp. 76-78); *Grammatici Graeci* 1.3, 162.22 (159 l. 9 σκοπός; l. 11 χρήσιμον; 160 l. 24 γνήσιον; 161 l. 9 τάξις, l. 12 αἰτία τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς, l. 17 εἰς τὰ μόρια διαίρεσις, l. 20 διδασκαλικοὶ τρόποι, l. 25 ὑπο τι μέρος).

[181] See *Anonymous Prolegomena to Platonic Philosophy*, translated by L. G. Westerink (Amsterdam: North Holland, 1962).

[182] *The Pythagorean Texts of the Hellenistic Period*, ed. H. Thesleff (Åbo: Åbo Akademi, 1965), 42.29-43.6.

[183] The reference to the τέλος associates the nautical imagery with Alcinous' description of the ships of the Phaecaeans. In conjunction with the chariot race imagery, the image points to *Il.* 23.319.

[184] See *Od.* 10.140-41 (arrival on Circe's island) ἔνθα δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἀκτῆς νηὶ κατηγαγόμεσθα σιωπῇ ναύλοχον ἐς λιμένα, καί τις θεὸς ἡγεμόνευεν. The account continues with a description of Odysseus as σκοπός (εἴ πως ἔργα ἴδοιμι βροτῶν ἐνοπήν τε πυθοίμην) in 10.148-50 ἔστην δὲ σκοπιὴν ἐς παιπαλόεσσαν ἀνελθών, / καί μοι ἐείσατο καπνὸς ἀπὸ χθονος εὐρυοδείης, / Κίρκης ἐν μεγάροισι, διὰ δρυμὰ πυκνὰ καὶ ὕλην.

τέρμα δρόμῳ,[185] τοξόται δὲ καὶ σφενδονᾶται σκοπόν, ποθ᾽ ὃν παντᾷ ἁρμόσδονται), ἀνάγκα καὶ τᾷ ἀρετᾷ προκέεσθαί τινα ὥσπερ τέχνᾳ τῷ βίῳ σκοπὸν ἢ πρόθεσιν, ταῦτα γὰρ ὀνυμαίνω καθ᾽ ἑκατέρων· τοῦτο δὲ φαμὶ εἶμεν τῶν μὲν πρακτικῶν τὸ κράτιστον, τῷ δὲ βίῳ τὸ τέλειον ἀγαθόν, τὸ λέγοντι <τοὶ> τἀνθρώπεια σοφοὶ εὐδαιμονίαν.

The examples illustrating in the first clause what is by necessity the first in everything—namely "σκοπᾶν τὸ τέλος"—are taken from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The second clause—paralleled to the first through the repetition of "ἀνάγκα"—features allusions to a passage in Plato's *Laws* on ἐκφορά and ταφή.[186]

Where the judgment of written statements is concerned the σκοπός is the σκοπός of the writer.[187] Knowing the σκοπός is essential for a successful (knowledgable) reading of the text.[188]

κ αὶ γὰρ τὸν σκοπὸν ζητοῦσιν, ἐπειδὴ ὁ σκοπὸς ἐν συντόμῳ περιέχει πάντα τὰ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ λεγόμενα καὶ ἕξιν τινὰ ἐν τῷ ἀναγινώσκοντι τίθησι

[δῆλον ὅτι πάντα τὰ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ λεγόμενα δεῖ πρὸς τὸν σκοπὸν ἀπευθύνεσθαι]· ὁ γὰρ τὸν σκοπὸν ἀγνοῶν ὀκνηρότερος ἐπὶ τὸ σύγγραμμα ἔρχεται, ὥσπερ οἱ μακρὰν ὁδὸν ἀπιόντες καὶ ἀγνοοῦντες ποῦ ἀπέρχονται. καὶ ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν ὁ τὸν σκοπὸν ἀγνοῶν ἔοικε τυφλῷ βαδίζοντι καὶ πόλλα μοχθοῦντι· καὶ γὰρ ὁ τὸν σκοπὸν ἀγνοῶν οὐκ ἐπίσταται τί ἀναγινώσκει, ἀλλὰ νομίζει πάντα τὰ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ λεγόμενα μάτην λέγεσθαι.

When the σκοπός is not be stated explicitly by the author, it has to be derived (inferred) from the text.

The headings "σκοπός" and "αἰτία τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς" are interrelated.[189]

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[185] The phrase ἀνίοχοι δὲ τέρμα δρμῳ is a combined allusion to *Il*. 23.358-61 and 460 ἡνίοχος. See *Il*. 23.358-61 στὰν δὲ μεταστοιχί, σήμηνε δὲ τέρματ᾽ Ἀχιλλεὺς / τηλόθεν ἐν λείῳ πεδίῳ· παρὰ δὲ σκοπὸν εἷσεν / ἀντίθεον Φοίνικα, ὀπάονα πατρὸς ἑοῖο, / ὡς μεμνέωτο δρόμου καὶ ἀληθείην ἀποείποι.

[186] These allusions to Plato are prepared by the participle "προτιθέμενοι", which links the grammatical subjects of the three Homeric examples to the passage in the *Laws*.

[187] See *Ammonius in Aristotelis categorias commentarius*, ed. A. Busse, Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 4.4 (Berlin: Reimer, 1895), 7.17-21 Τὸν σκοπὸν τοῦ βιβλίου ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ τοξότης, εἰ τύχοι, σκοπόν τινα ἔχει πρὸς ὃν βάλλει καὶ οὐ θέλει τυχεῖν, οὕτω καὶ ὁ γράφων τι πρός τι τέλος ἀφορᾷ κἀκείνου σπουδάζει τυχεῖν· δεῖ τοίνυν τοῦτο ἐπιζητεῖν ὅ τι ποτέ ἐστι, δεύτερον ἐπὶ τούτῳ τί χρήσιμον ἔχομεν ἐκ τοῦ συγγράμματος, εἰ μὴ συναναφαίνοιτο τῷ σκοπῷ (ἐπὶ πολλῶν γὰρ τοῦτο συμβαίνει).

[188] *Davidis prolegomena et in Porphyrii isagogen commentarium*, ed. A. Busse, Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 18.2 (Berlin: Reimer, 1904), 80.16-81.3.

καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν δὲ τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς εὐλόγως ζητοῦσιν, ἐπειδὴ εἰ καὶ θέλει ἡ ἐπιγραφὴ σύμφωνος εἶναι τῷ σκοπῷ καὶ τὸν σκοπὸν ἐν συντόμῳ περιέχειν (οἷον ὥσπερ ἐπιγέγραπται Περὶ οὐρανοῦ, ἐπειδὴ περὶ οὐρανοῦ σκοπὸν ἔχει διαλαβεῖν), ἀλλ᾽ οὖν πολλάκις ἀσαφὴς εὑρίσκεται ἡ ἐπιγραφή, ὥσπερ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐπέγραψεν Ἀναλυτικὰ βουλόμενος Περὶ συλλογισμῶν ἐπιγράψαι, ἐπειδὴ περὶ συλλογισμῶν διαλαμβάνει ἐκεῖ.

Ἱστορία

Similar to the examples of "ταχεῖα" and of the list of adjectives in the "κανών"—both of which lead to examples in Homer illustrating other, related concepts—expositions on the term "ἱστορία" are linked to examples clarifying the meaning of term relative to other concepts, or leading to technical discussions of related terms. Even though these other examples and concepts may not be stated explicitly, they are included in the text through allusions or cross-references and are presupposed in the argumentation (e.g., as referents of abstract statements).

At first glance, abstract definitions of ἱστορία are more or less the same—in general, "ἱστορία" is defined as a type of narrative. For example, the grammarian Tryphon, commenting on the definition of the third part of γραμματική in Dionysius Thrax,[190] first paraphrases an abbreviated quotation of the entry in Dionysius Thrax (stressing συντομία and ἐρώτησις) and then (after distinguishing between διάλεκτος and γλῶσσα) speaks of γλῶσσα and ἱστορία separatedly:[191]

τὸ τρίτον μέρος τῆς γραμματικῆς ἐστιν ἡ σύντομος ἀπόδοσις ἤγουν ἀπόκρισις τῶν τε γλωσσῶν καὶ ἱστοριῶν ...

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[189] *Davidis prolegomena et in Porphyrii isagogen commentarium*, 81.5-11.
[190] See *Grammatici Graeci* 1.1, 6.1 τρίτον γλωσσῶν τε καὶ ἱστοριῶν πρόχειρος ἀπόδοσις.
[191] *Grammatici Graeci* 1.3, 302.33-35, 303.3-4.

συμβάλλεται δὲ ἡ γλῶσσα πρὸς ὀρθογραφίαν καὶ ἐτυμολογίαν. ἱστορία δέ ἐστι παλαιῶν πράξεων ἀφήγησις.

A very similar worded definition of ἱστορία (probably drawing on the story of Arion and the dolphin in Herodotus as clarifying example)[192] is given by the grammarian Theodosius in a brief list with questions and answers on five "τρόποι" of ἀνάγνωσις (ἀναλογία, ἐτυμολογία, συναλοιφή, διάλεκτος, ἱστορία).[193] "Τί ἔστιν ἱστορία;" is the last question.[194] (Except for the third—"συναλοιφή"—these "τρόποι" correspond to the four κανόνες of ὀρθογραφία.)

πόσοι τρόποι τῆς ἀναγνώσεως; πέντε· ἀναλογία, ἐτυμολογία, συναλοιφή, διάλεκτος, ἱστορία.
τί ἔστιν ἀναλογία; ἡ τῶν ὁμοίων παράθεσις.
τί ἔστιν ἐτυμολογία; ἀνάπτυξις λέξεων ἁρμόζουσα τὴν φωνὴν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὑποκειμένου πιθανότητα.
τί ἔστι συναλοιφή; συνέλευσις καὶ συμφωνία δύο συλλαβῶν εἰς μίαν συλλαβήν τῆς τελευταίας συλλαβῆς φυλαττομένης τῆς δὲ πρώτης ἀφανιζομένης.[195]
τί ἔστι διάλεκτος; ἰδίωμα γλώττης.
τί ἔστιν ἱστορία; ἀφήγησις πράξεως παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν.

Both Tryphon and Theodosius associate "ἱστορία" with ὀρθογραφία (which determines/shapes προφορα). In Tryphon, this is accomplished through the comment on γλῶσσα (linked to ἐτυμολογία and ὀρθογραφία through the different spellings—and thus pronuntiations—of words); in Theodosius, the same occurs in a brief definition of the ἀρχὴ

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[192] See Hdt. 1.24. This is suggested by the combination of a *rhematikon* of ἱστορεῖν and a *rhematikon* derived from ἀφηγεῖσθαι in Hdt. 1.24. Aristides Quintilianus uses the phrase in his work Περὶ μουσικῆς; he identifies the "makers" of such accounts with "ποιηταί" (in the context of invoking the Muses and Apollo); see *Aristides Quintiliani de musica libri tres*, ed. R. P. Winnington–Ingram (Leipzig: Teubner, 1963), 1.3.1-5 "ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἡμῖν ἐκτέον τοῦ πρόσω θεὸν μουσηγέτην κατὰ νόμον καλεσαμένοις. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ποιηταῖς καὶ ταῦτα μηδὲν μουσικῆς πέρι διαπονουμένοις μικρῷ δέ τινι ταύτης μορίῳ πράξεων παλαιῶν ἀφήγησιν ποιουμένοις Μοῦσαί τε καλοῦνται καὶ Ἀπόλλων Μουσῶν ἐπιστάτης". Aristides then refers back to "ποιουμένοις" with the words "παλαιοὺς μύθους διηγησομένοις" (1.3.6-7).
[193] See *Theodosii Alexandrini grammatica*, 57.30 (5 modes). Twelve modes are listed in *Grammatici Graeci* 1.3, 169.11-18, 309.6-8, 453.27, and 454.14-16.
[194] *Theodosii Alexandrini grammatica*, 57.29-58.5.
[195] The definition of συναλοιφή presupposes μέρη λέξεως (τελευταία, πρώτη) and a distinction between vowels and consonants; without "συναλοιφή", the τρόποι are bound together by the acrostic "ἰδέα" (read from bottom to top).

and τέλος of γραμματική[196] (with emphasis on barbarisms and solecisms in speaking) in the paragraph preceding the discussion of the question "τί ἔστιν ἀνάγνωσις;"

The same association of ἱστορία with διήγησις as in Tryphon and in Theodosius is part of a complex exposition on the term by Heliodorus. In contrast to Tryphon and Theodosius, however, Heliodorus puts particular emphasis on a connection between ἱστορία and γράμματα and στοιχεῖα. In his exposition, "ἱστορία" is clarified through the definitions and through the examples (from Homer and the ancients) incorporated into them.

Heliodorus refers to "ἱστορία" five times in discussing the description of the third part of γραμματική in Dionysius Trax' Τέχνη. In the middle part of his exposition, he connects individual statements on ἱστορία (and the entry in Dionysius Thrax explained by him) to statements made by him on other, related parts of the Τεχνή. Through the phrase "ἱστορία δὲ διττῶς λέγεται" at the beginning of a longer paragraph,[197] Heliodorus associates a description (λέγειν) of "ἱστορία" as "διήγησις τῶν πάλαι πραγμάτων"[198] with definitions of "ἱστορία", "μῦθος", and "πλάσμα"[199] in his comments on Dionysius Thrax' introduction of γραμματική as "ἐμπειρία τῶν παρὰ ποιηταῖς τε καὶ συγγραφεῦσιν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ λεγομένων";[200] with the same phrase he links the

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[196] See *Theodosii Alexandrini grammatica*, 57.6-11, 56.3-4.
[197] 169 (i.e., 13^2) syllables; 400 letters.
[198] See *Grammatici Graeci* 1.3, 470.4-5 ἱστορία δὲ διττῶς λέγεται καὶ γὰρ τὴν διήγησιν τῶν πάλαι πραγμάτων ἱστορίαν φαμέν καὶ τὴν τῶν παλαῖων χρῆσιν.
[199] See *Grammatic Graeci* 1.3, 449.11-14 ἱστορία δὲ πραγμάτων γεγονότων ἢ ὄντων ἐν δυνατῷ σαφὴς ἀπαγγελία μῦθος δὲ ξένων πραγμάτων ἀπηρχαιωμένων διήγησις ἢ ἀδυνάτων πραγμάτων παρεισαγωγή πλάσμα <δὲ> τὸ δυνάμενον μὲν γενέσθαι μὴ γενόμενον δέ. This connection between the two parts of his explanation is strenghtened through a reference to "πεπλασμέναι" in 470.10-11, at the end of the exposition on different types of γραμματικοί.
[200] *Grammatici Graeci* 1.1, 5.2-3.

sentence(s) about ἱστορία to a description of στοιχεῖον[201] in a discussion of the seeming

contradiction between the beginning of Dionysius' chapter "περὶ στοιχείου" (γράμματά

ἐστιν εἰκοσιτέσσαρα)[202] and its continuation (τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ στοιχεῖα καλεῖται).[203]

The paragraph with the words "ἱστορία δὲ διττῶς λέγεται" begins and ends with a

sentence on ἱστορία.[204] The positions of the individual parts of speech are "fixed" through

acrostics.

13x13 syllables (400 letters)	A	l	r	B	l	r
ἱστορία δὲ διττῶς λέγεται καὶ γὰρ τὴ	30	ι↓	η			
ν διήγησιν τῶν πάλαι πραγμάτων ἱστορί	32	ν	ι			
αν φαμέν, καὶ τὴν τῶν παλαιῶν χρῆσιν· τῶν γὰρ	35	α	ρ			
γραμματικῶν τινὲς λέγονται ἱστορικοί,	33	γ	ι			
τινὲς δὲ βιβλιακοί· καὶ οἱ μὲν βιβλιακ	31	τ	κ			
οὶ ἐλέγοντο, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπεδίδοσαν	26	ο↓	ν↓			ν↓
λόγον, ἀλλ' ἔλεγον, ὅτι οὕτως ἔχει τὰ	28	λ	α	28	λ	α
βιβλία· ἱστορικοὶ δὲ ὅσοι ἔλεγον,	27	β	ο	27	β	ο
ὅτι οὕτως ἔγραψεν ἢ ἀνέγνω ᾿Αρι	25	ο	ι	26	ν	ς
σταρχος. οὐχ ὥσπερ δὲ τὰς γλώσσας πάσας ὀφεί	36	ς	ι↓	36	τ	λ↓
λει ὁ γραμματικὸς εἰδέναι, οὕτω καὶ πᾶσ	32	λ	σ	30	ε	α
αν ἱστορίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τετριμμένην· πο	30	α	ο	31	σ	ο
λλαὶ γάρ εἰσι πεπλασμέναι τοῖς νεωτέροις.	35	λ	ς	35	λ	ς

Heliodorus gives his "double" definition of ἱστορία in explaining Dionysius Thrax'

definition of the third part of γραμματική—"τρίτον γλωσσῶν τε καὶ ἱστοριῶν

πρόχειρος ἀπόδοσις". Yet the participle "τετριμμένη" in the sentence at the end of this

paragraph is an allusion to an adjective in Dionysius Thrax' definition of the first part of

γραμματική—"πρῶτον ἀνάγνωσις ἐντριβὴς κατὰ προσῳδίαν". Moreover, the sentence

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[201] See *Grammatici Graeci* 1.3 λέγεται δὲ στοιχεῖον διττῶς τά τε ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν ἀρχόμενα γράμματα, καὶ τὰ ἐξ ὧν σύγκεινται τὰ σώματα.
[202] *Grammatici Graeci* 1.1, 9.2.
[203] *Grammatici Graeci* 1.1, 9.5-6.
[204] *Grammatici Graeci* 1.3, 470.4-11.

with the reference to ἱστορία as "τετριμμένη" is followed by an explanation (γάρ) with an allusion (the participle πεπλασμέναι) to Heliodorus' first definition of ἱστορία as "σαφὴς ἀπαγγελία", which is part of a discussion of Dionysius' introduction of γραμματική as ἐμπειρία (aligning ἱστορία to λεγόμενα).

Heliodorus additionally stresses the connection between ἱστορία and ἀνάγνωσις in the sentence with the participle "τετριμμένη" through a reference to an explanation (λέγειν and μεταφράζειν) of the pronuntiation (τόνος) of "μῆνιν" for one who is introduced (εἰσαγόμενος)[205], which follows after an exposition on how a grammarian knows "πᾶσα γλῶσσα" (through κανόνες), and a statement on διάλεκτοι and ὀρθογραφία. He draws on the same example (μῆνις) in discussing the order of the different μέρη γραμματικῆς in reference to a νέος, beginning with ἀνάγνωσις.[206] In both cases, "μῆνις" is associated with "ἐμμένειν"—explained through διάλεκτος and through ἐτυμολογία.

The participle τετριμμένη is usually in agreement with ἀνάγνωσις,[207] not with "ἱστορία". The verb "τρίβειν" emphasizes ἀνάγνωσις according to what is transmitted by the ancient grammarians, i.e., customary and examined (ἐντριβής is paraphrased as συνήθης and δεδοκιμασμένη). Ἀνάγνωσις, linked to a discussion on στοιχεῖα (through διττῶς λέγεται), suggests an allusion to the explanation of the term "ἀνάγνωσις" as "ἡ δευτέρα γνῶσις" by γραμματικοί,[208] which expresses a core distinction between συλλαβαί (the subject of "ἡ πρώτη γνῶσις") and μέρη λέξεως (the subject of ἡ δευτέρα

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[205] See *Grammatici Graeci* 1.3, 470.22-28.
[206] See *Grammatici Graeci* 1.3, 453.25-31.
[207] See *Grammatici Graeci* 1.3, 13.11-18; 169.3-6; 305.17-19 454.4-7.
[208] See *Grammatici Graeci* 1.3, 57.12-17; 305.14-16; 453.34-454.1.

γνῶσις) as basic units in the conceptualization of sound. (This distinction corresponds to a distinction between φωνὴ ἐναρμόνιος and φωνὴ ἔναρθρος.)

The sentences on ἱστορία in the discussion of γραμματικοί are preceded by a paragraph with seven phrases excerpted from Homer (varying in length from a single word to two lines); the quotations, which are introduced by a definition of "γλῶσσα",[209] illustrate different modes of how "λύονται αἱ γλῶσσαι".[210] The phrases and the comments on individual words in them are subdivided and bound together through five ordinals (from πρῶτον to πέμπτον, arranged in ascending sequence) and through two acrostics ("ἔδει"),[211] as well as through the books of Homer from which they are taken.

Il. 9.539	χλούνην	Α΄	κατὰ	ε↓	ἐτυμολογίαν		
Il. 16.63[212]	πτόλεμός	Β΄	κατὰ	δ	διάλεκτον		
Od. 5.69	ἡμερίς	Γ΄	κατ᾽	ε	ἐπίλυσιν	ε↓	
Od. 5.70, 22.110f. [Il. 16]	πίσυρες	Δ΄				δ	δι᾽ ἑτέρου τόπου ἐπιλύσεως
Il. 1.106f.	κρήγυον					ε	ἐξ ἀντιφραζόμενου
Il. 1.39.	Σμινθεῦ	Ε΄	κατὰ	ι	ἱστορίαν	ι	

The explanation of "μῆνις" associates the statement on how a grammarian ought to know "πᾶσα ἱστορία" with the last two examples of Heliodorus' list, including "κατὰ ἱστορίαν" (the fifth category with the preposition "κατά"). The adverb "πάλαι", in contrast, links the definition of "ἱστορία" as "ἡ διήγησις τῶν πάλαι πραγμάτων" to the

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[209] See *Grammatici Graeci* 1.3, 469.10-12 γλῶσσά ἐστι λέξις ξένη μεταφραζομένη εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν διάλεκτον, ἡ λεγομένη μὲν προσεχῶς, μεταφραζομένη δὲ εἰς τὸ σύνηθες.
[210] With the exception of "ἐπίλυσις" (with two subdivisions), the categories correspond to the κανόνες of ὀρθογραφία; ἐπίλυσις is in the place of ἀναλογία.
[211] E.g., the first letters of the accusatives of "κατά" form the verb "ἔδει": ἐτυμολογία, διάλεκτος, ἐπίλυσις, ἱστορία.
[212] See *Il.* 6.328, 12.436, 15.413, 17.736.

first entry—"κατὰ ἐτυμολογίαν". This corresponds to a division by speakers—Calchas and

Phoenix—and analogies between ἱστορία and θεοπρόπιον and ἱστορία and ἔτυμον.

Θεοπρόπιον

"Μῆνιν" seems to refer to the first word of book A of the *Iliad*—"μῆνιν ἄειδε θεά

Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος / οὐλομένην"; in Heliodorus' explanation, however, it also points to

Calchas answer, in *Iliad* 1.74-75, to Achilles' suggestion to call for someone to speak on the

cause of the plague—"ὦ Ἀχιλεῦ, κέλεαί με, διίφιλε, μυθήσασθαι / μῆνιν Ἀπόλλωνος

ἑκατηβελέταο ἄνακτος". Which line of the *Iliad* is meant (1.1 or 1.74) depends on the

finite verb of which "μῆνιν" is the direct object—"ἄδειν" or "μυθεῖσθαι"—or on the

speaker—"ἡ θεά" (*Il*. 1.1, a muse), or the referent of "με" (*Il*. 1.74). "Με" has two

antencedents, since Achilles proposes

> ἀλλ᾽ ἄγε δή τινα μάντιν ἐρείομεν ἢ ἱερῆα,
> ἢ καὶ ὀνειροπόλον, καὶ γὰρ τ᾽ ὄναρ ἐκ διός ἐστιν,
> ὅς κ᾽ εἴποι ὅ τι τόσσον ἐχώσατο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων, [213]

and Calchas (the speaker of "κέλεαί με") is introduced as

> ... οἰωνοπόλων ὄχ᾽ ἄριστος,
> ὃς ᾔδη τά τ᾽ ἐόντα τά τ᾽ ἐσσόμενα πρό τ᾽ ἐόντα,[214]
> καὶ νήεσσ᾽ ἡγήσατ᾽ Ἀχαιῶν Ἴλιον εἴσω
> ἣν διὰ μαντοσύνην, τήν οἱ πόρε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων.[215]

The words then spoken by Calchas as μάντις[216]—summarily described by Achilles

as "θεοπρόπιον"[217] spoken by someone with sure knowledge[218]—cause an angry response

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[213] *Il*. 1.62-64.
[214] Notice Hes. *Theog*. 38-39. Similar to Calchas, the muses know of things past, present, and future.
[215] *Il*. 1.69-72.
[216] *Il*. 1.92.
[217] *Il*. 1.85, 385.

by Agamemnon. Heliodorus quotes the first two lines of Agamamnon's words to Calchas in explaining the fourth mode of solving "tongues" (i.e., ἐξ ἀντιφραζομένου).

In the list with the examples, the fourth mode is closely related to the fifth (κατὰ ἱστορίαν)[219]—both are taken from the same book of *Iliad*; and the first implies a reference to the second (Calchas' θεοπρόπιον[220] revealing the cause of Apollo's wrath).[221]

τέταρτον ἐξ ἀντιφραζομένου, μάντι κακῶν οὔ πώ ποτέ μοι τὸ κρήγυον εἶπας / αἰεί τοι τὰ κάκ᾽ ἐστὶ φίλα φρεσὶ μαντεύεσθαι (Α 105-6) ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ κακά τὸ κρήγυον δηλοῦται ἀγαθὸν εἰρῆσθαι ἢ ἀληθές, ὥς τισι δοκεῖ. Πέμπτον κατὰ ἱστορίαν, ὡς τὸ Σμινθεῦ, εἴ ποτέ τοι (Α 38) δεῖ γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἀναλῦσαι τὴν ἱστορίαν τοῦ Σμινθίου.[222] ἐκ τοῦ εἴδους δὲ τὸ γένος βούλεται δηλῶσαι.

In the *Illiad*, each of the quoted passages is linked to a second statement with a description of the respective speaker through the same participle. Chryses makes his first request as "εὐχόμενος".[223] The quotation of his invocation of Apollo has a counterpart in a prayer made by him on behalf of the Danaans,[224] again as εὐχόμενος, after Odysseus returns Briseis to her father with a payment; in this prayer, in Chyrses refers to his first request (emphasizing that he was honored by Apollo). In contrast to his first prayer, Chryses does not invoke Apollo as Σμινθεύς.

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[218] *Il.* 1.385.
[219] 100 syllables from "τέταρτον" to "τοῦ Σμινθίου".
[220] See Il. 1.93-100 (1.94 refers to 1.9-12), 2.384f.; 1.109.
[221] *Grammatici Graeci* 1.3, 469.20-26.
[222] The grammatical form "τοῦ Σμινθίου" in "ἡ ἱστορία τοῦ Σμινθίου" can be explained in two ways: the definite article "τοῦ" is the article of the noun limiting "ἡ ἱστορία" (in the nominative "ὁ Σμίνθιος" (θεός) or "τὸ Σμίνθιον" (ἱερόν); or it is the genitive of a neuter article through which a noun (ὄνομα) quoted in the genitive is substantivized—"τὸ 'Σμινθίου'", in analogy to the first syllables of the verse from Homer quoted for illustration, "ὡς τὸ 'Σμινθεῦ, εἴ ποτέ τοι'" or "τοῦ 'κακά'" in the explanation of the example for the fourth mode (μάντι κακῶν ... τὰ κακ᾽ ἐστι φίλα). "Ἀκούοντος κακὰ ἔργα" is the subject matter of a speech in *Il.* 9.595 (referring to an ἔκφρασις of the taking of a city made by Meleager's wife). Linked to "ἡ ἱστορια", the genitive describes the subject matter of the narrative or inquiry (e.g. ἡ ἱστορία περὶ τοῦ Σμινθίου) or the source of "ἡ ἱστορία".
[223] See *Il.* 1.43.
[224] See *Il.* 1.450-57.

The words that cause Agamemnon's anger are spoken by Calchas as θεοπροπέων. This is stressed by Agamemnon in the lines following Heliodorus' excerpt.[225]

> ἐσθλὸν δ' οὔτε τί πω εἶπας ἔπος οὔτ' ἐτέλεσας
> καὶ νῦν ἐν Δαναοῖσι θεοπροπέων ἀγορεύεις ...

The participle associates the passage with a report on another prophecy by Calchas, this time in a speech by Odysseus. In arguing for enduring rather than leaving, Odysseus recalls the "μέγα σῆμα"[226] of the sparrows and the serpent at the sacrifice in Aulis and Calchas' interpretation of the "δεινὰ πέλωρα" as "τέρας μέγα" shown by Zeus. Similar to Agamemnon, he first mentions what Calchas divined.[227]

> τλῆτε, φίλοι, καὶ μείνατ' ἐπὶ χρόνον, ὄφρα δαῶμεν
> ἢ ἐτεὸν Κάλχας μαντεύεσται, ἦε καὶ οὐκί

Odysseus returns to what Calchas said after describing the great sign witnessed by all. Now he refers to Calchas as one who "spoke prophecying".[228]

> ἡμεῖς δ' ἑσταότες θαυμάζομεν οἷον ἐτύχθη
> ὡς οὖν δεινὰ πέλωρα θεῶν εἰσῆλθ' ἑκατόμβας
> Κάλχας δ' αὐτίκ' ἔπειτα θεοπροπέων ἀγόρευε

At the end of his recitation of Calchas' words, Odysseus again stresses the manner in which Calchas spoke.[229]

> κεῖνος τὼς ἀγόρευε· τὰ δὴ νῦν πάντα τελεῖται

With the assertion that now all things *are* being fulfilled or *will be* fulfilled or accomplished Odysseus counters Agamemnon's argument for returning home—viz. that after nine years, the task of taking Troy is unfulfilled.[230]

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[225] *Il.* 1.108-9. In his paraphrase of Calchas' words, Agamemnon omits mentioning ἀτιμοῦν τὸν ἀρητῆρα, according to Calchas the main reason for Apollo's wrath; see *Il.* 1.94.
[226] See *Il.* 2.308 ἔνθ' ἐφάνη μέγα σῆμα.
[227] *Il.* 2.299-300.
[228] *Il.* 2.320-22.
[229] *Il.* 2.330.

These two instances of θεοπρόπιον involving Calchas illustrate two meanings of the noun (and emphasize Calchas' knowledge of past and future things).[231]

> <θεοπρόπιον>: τὸ ἐκ θεοῦ μάντευμα· ἢ τὸ θεοῖς πρέπον· οὗτοι γὰρ, ὡς πάντα ἐπιστάμενοι, λέγουσι τὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἡγνοημένα· οἴονεὶ θεοπρέπιόν τι ὄν. ἢ θεοπροέπεον, τὸ ἐκ θεοῦ προλεγεόμενον. καὶ θεοπρποπία, θηλυκόν. παρὰ τὸ ἔπω, τὸ λέγω, γίνεται ἔπιον, ὡς λέγω, λόγιον· καὶ μετὰ τῆς πρὸ γίνεται προέπιον· συγκοπῇ, πρόπιον· καὶ μετὰ τοῦ θεὸς, θεοπρόπιον.

The revelation of the dishonoring of the priest as reason why Apollo is angry concerns an ἀγνόημα (Achilles is not aware of it); the sign and its interpretation are spoken beforehand.

The truth of Calchas' statement cannot be determined before the advised action or before the limit (and requires comparison between an event or prediction in the past and events now). It thus depends, in part, on the time whether a narrative can be defined as πλάσμα or ἱστορία.[232]

Ἔτυμον

"Πάλαι" links Heliodorus' definition of "ἱστορία" as "ἡ διήγησις τῶν πάλαι πραγμάτων"[233] to the first entry—"κατὰ ἐτυμολογίαν"—of the modes of γλώσσας λύεσθαι.[234]

> λύονται δὲ αἱ γλῶσσαι πενταχῶς· πρῶτον κατὰ ἐτυμολογίαν, ὡς τὸ 'ὦρσεν ἔπι χλούνην σῦν'·[235] παρὰ τὴν χλόην καὶ τὸ 'εὐνάζεσθαι'[236] ὁ χλοεύνης εἴρηται.

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[230] See *Il.* 2.137-38 ἔργον ... ἀκράαντον.
[231] *EM* 446.1-8.
[232] See *Grammatici Graeci* 1.3, 449.11-14.
[233] *Grammatici Graeci* 1.3, 470.4-5.
[234] *Grammatici Graeci* 1.3, 469.12-14.
[235] *Il.* 9.539; see 9.533 ὦρσε.

The adverb πάλαι associates the definition of ἱστορία with the sentence in Phoenix'

response to Achilles. Before speaking the quoted words (τὸ 'ὦρσεν ἔπι χλούνην σῦν'),

Phoenix refers to what was long ago.

> μέμνημαι τόδε ἔργον ἐγὼ[237] πάλαι, οὔ τι νέον γε,
> ὡς ἦν· ἐν δ' ὑμῖν ἐρέω πάντεσσι φίλοισι.[238]

Phoenix prepares the account on the ἔργον that he remembers by referring to "οἱ

πρόσθεν".[239]

> οὕτω καὶ τῶν πρόσθεν ἐπευθόμεθα κλέα ἀνδρῶν
> ἡρώων, ὅτε κέν τιν' ἐπιζάφελος χόλος ἵκοι·
> δωρητοί τε πέλοντο παράρρητοί τ' ἐπέεσσι.

In addition, Phoenix (the person and speaker) connects Heliodorus' definition of

ἱστορία to the narrative on the chariot race at the funeral games for Patroclus in book 23 of

the *Iliad*, which provides material illustrating "στοῖχος" and "τάξις" in Dionysius Thrax'

explanation of "στοιχεῖα". There, Phoenix appears as "σκοπός".[240]

While "πάλαι" and "τὸ 'ὦρσεν ἔπι χλούνην σῦν'" illustrate the explanation of the

first mode with a passage in the *Iliad*, "τὸ 'εὐνάζεσθαι'" associates the second half of the

exposition with the first sentence[241] voiced (φωνεῖν) by Calypso after hearing from Hermes

that she is to send away with all speed the man who is with her (παρεῖναι).[242]

> σχέτλιοί ἐστε, θεοί, ζηλήμονες ἔξοχον ἄλλων
> οἵ τε θεαῖς ἀγάασθε παρ' ἀνδράσιν εὐνάζεσθαι
> ἀμφαδίην, ἤν τίς τε φίλον ποιήσετ' ἀκοίτην.

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[236] See *Od.* 5.119; *Hymn. Hom. Ven.* 5.190.
[237] See *Il.* 9.475.
[238] *Il.* 9.527f.
[239] *Il.* 9.524-26.
[240] See *Il.* 23.358-61. Through a syntactical ambiguity, "σκοπός" refers to the τέρμα of the race (described in *Il.* 23.324-33, see Il. 7.89 πάλαι κατατεθνηῶτος) and to Phoenix.
[241] *Od.* 5.118-20.
[242] See *Od* 5.105-12, see 5.129.

Because the text in *Iliad* 9 on which Heliodorus draws in his definition of "ἱστορία"

falls into the category of "κατὰ ἐτυμολογίαν", the examples of the speeches of Phoinix and

Calypso are glossed through definitions of ἐτυμολογία[243] and an etymological explanation

of "ἐτυμολογία" as "ἀληθινολογία".[244]

Heliodorus associates his definition of "ἱστορία"—with its allusion to these words

by Phoenix—through the phrase "λέγεται διττῶς" to his explanation of a change from a

discussion of "γράμματα" with a discussion of "στοιχεῖα" in Dionysius Thrax' chapter

περὶ στοιχεῖου. He thereby highlights examples (in the narratives about and by Phoenix)

clarifying etymological explanations of the two terms γράμματα and στοιχεῖα in

Dionysius' Τεχνή. For, "τὸ 'εὐνάζεσθαι'" points to the beginning of Phoenix' answer,

which provides one of the example clarifying the usage of a verb (ξῦσαι) to which Dionysius

Thrax points in explaining the term "γράμματα".[245]

> γράμματα δὲ λέγεται διὰ τὸ γραμμαῖς καὶ ξυσμαῖς τυποῦσθαι· γράψαι[246] γὰρ τὸ
> ξῦσαι[247] παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς ὡς καὶ παρ' Ὁμήρῳ. *νῦν δὲ μ' ἐπι γράψας ταρσὸν*
> *ποδὸς εὔχεαι αὔτως*[248] τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ στοιχεῖα καλεῖται διὰ τὸ ἔχειν στοῖχόν τινα
> καὶ τάξιν.

"Γράψαι γὰρ τὸ ξῦσαι ..."

The phrasal link (through the repetition of "διττῶς λέγεται") between Heliodorus'

definitinon of ἱστορία and his reference to Dionysius Thrax' explanation of the terms

γράμματα ("γράψαι τὸ ξῦσαι") and "στοιχεῖα" suggests that Heliodorus, by adding the

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[243] E.g., see *Grammatici Graeci* 1.3, 470.29-31 ἐτυμολογία ἐστὶ λόγος λέξεων ἔννοιαν ἐξηγούμενος, ἢ ὀνομάτων ἐξήγησις, καθ' ἣν αἰτίαν τὴν πρώτην ἔσχον προσηγορίαν.
[244] *Grammatici Graeci* 1.3, 470.36-71.1 καὶ ἔστιν ἡ ἐτυμολογία ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις ἀληθινολογία.
[245] *Grammatici Graeci* 1.1, 9.2-6.
[246] See *Il*. 13.553.
[247] *Hymn. Hom. Ven.* 224.
[248] *Il*. 11.388; see *Il*. 13.553.

second substantivized phrase to the first, wants his audiences to focus on what Calypso says

after referring to "εὐνάζεσθαι": First the nymph compares her own situation with those in

which two other goddesses found themselves—Dawn (with Orion), and Demeter (with

Iasion). In the comparison between herself and Demeter, she mentions an εὐνή.

ὣς δ’ ὁπότ’ Ἰασίωνι ἐυπλόκαμος Δημήτηρ
ᾧ θυμῷ εἴξασα μίγη φιλότητι καὶ εὐνῇ
νειῷ ἔνι τριπόλῳ· οὐδὲ δὴν ἦεν ἄπυστος
Ζεύς ὅς μιν κατέπεφνε βαλὼν ἀργῆτι κεραυνῷ
ὣς δ’ αὖ νῦν μοι ἄγασθε, θεοί, βροτὸν ἄνδρα παρεῖναι

Then, having described how the ἀνήρ came to her whom she is now ordered by Zeus

to send away, Calypso says

... ἠδὲ ἔφασκον
θήσειν ἀθάνατον καὶ ἀγήραον ἤματα πάντα.[249]

The example of Dawn receives clarification through the story of Dawn and Tithonius

in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*—which is the *second* source of Heliodorus’ “τὸ

εὐνάζεσθαι”. The implications of Calypso’s offer are brought to the fore through this hymn

and through the story of Demeter’s nursing of Demophoön in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*.

Heliodorus points to these narratives by singling out—through his definition of ἱστορία as

“διήγησις τῶν πάλαι πραγμάτων”—a passage in Phoenix’ speech with the adjective

“νέος” and by highlighting (through the juxtaposition of the quotations from Phoenix’ and

Calypso’s speeches) two words found in both speeches—μιγνύναι and θήσειν.

“Νέος” links Phoenix’ introduction to the story of Meleager’s boar to the beginning

of his response to the words spoken by Achilles. The adjective—referring to Phoenix—

occurs in the introduction to the story how Phoenix came to accompany Achilles to Ilium,

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[249] *Od*. 5.135f., repeated in *Od*. 7.257, 23.336.

entrusted by Achilles' father Peleus with teaching Achilles deeds of war and speaking in counsel.[250]

Heliodorus' indirect allusion (through "τὸ εὐνάζεσθαι") to Calypso's reference to Demeter's μιγνύναι points to the reason why Phoenix' father cursed his son. Phoenix recounts how he, persuaded by his mother, had intercourse with his father's concubine before his father (προμιγῆναι).[251]

> ... ἡ δ' αἰὲν ἐμὲ λισσέσκετο γούνων
> παλλακίδι προμιγῆναι ἵν' ἐχθήρειε γέροντα
> τῇ πιθόμην καὶ ἔρεξα πατὴρ δ' ἐμὸς αὐτίκ' ὀισθεὶς
> πολλὰ κατηρᾶτο, στυγερὰς δ' ἐπεκέκλετ' Ἐρινῦς,
> μή ποτε γούνασιν οἷσιν ἐφέσσεσθαι φίλον υἱὸν
> ἐξ ἐμέθεν γεγαῶτα· θεοὶ δ' ἐτέλειον ἐπαράς,
> Ζεύς τε καταχθόνιος καὶ ἐπαινὴ Περσεφόνεια.

He refers to the curses a second time[252] in speaking of how he reared[253] Achilles when Achilles was a child.

Phoenix recalls his mother's pleading and his father's curses in explaining that he does not want to be left behind by Achilles should the latter leave to return to Peleus.[254]

> ὡς ἂν ἔπειτ' ἀπὸ σεῖο, φίλον τέκος, οὐκ ἐθέλοιμι
> λείπεσθ', οὐδ' εἴ κέν μοι ὑποσταίη θεὸς αὐτὸς
> γῆρας ἀποξύσας θήσειν νέον ἡβώοντα,
> οἷον ὅτε πρῶτον λίπον Ἑλλάδα καλλιγύναικα,
> φεύγων νείκεα πατρὸς Ἀμύντορος Ὀρμενίδαο.

The combination of νέος and ἡβωων associates Phoenix with Nestor who describes the strenght in his "supple limbs"[255] when he killed Itymoneus.[256]

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[250] See *Il.* 9.442f. τοὔνεκα με προέηκε διδασκέμεναι τάδε πάντα, / μύθων τε ῥητῆρ' ἔμεναι πρηκτῆρά τε ἔργων.
[251] *Il.* 9.451-7.
[252] See *Il.* 9.492-5.
[253] See *Il.* 9.485 καὶ σε τοσοῦτον ἔθηκα, θεοῖς ἐπιείκελ' Ἀχιλλεῦ, 9.495 ἀλλὰ σὲ παῖδα, θεοῖς ἐπιείκελ Ἀχιλλεῦ, ποιεύμην.
[254] *Il.* 9.444-48.

... οὐ γὰρ ἐμὴ ἲς
ἔσθ᾽ οἵη πάρος ἔσκεν ἐνὶ γναμπτοῖσι μέλεσσιν
εἴθ᾽ ὣς ἡβώοιμι βίη δέ μοι ἔμπεδος εἴη
ὡς ὁπότ᾽ Ἠλείοισι καὶ ἡμῖν νεῖκος ἐτύχθη
ἀμφὶ βοηλασίη, ὅτ᾽ ἐγὼ κτάνον Ἰτυμονῆα

"Θήσειν" aligns Phoenix' description of himself as "μοι ... γῆρας ἀποξύσας" to the description of Odysseus, the βροτός and ἀνήρ who is the referent of Calypso's offer to make him ageless (θήσειν ... ἀγήραον).[257]

Παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς

The verb "ἀποξύειν" and the participle "ἡβώοντα" in Phoenix' hypothetical condition "εἴ κέν μοι ὑπωσταίη θεὸς αὐτὸς γῆρας ἀποξύσας θήσειν νέον ἡβώοντα" point to the text "παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς" with "ξῦσαι" at the heart of Dionysius Thrax' explanation "γράψαι γὰρ τὸ ξῦσαι"—the story of Eos and Tithonius in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*. In this story, the infinitive ξῦσαι—followed by a prefix (ξῦσαι ... ἄπο)—is part of a comment by Aphrodite[258] on a request made by Dawn concerning Tithonius, a βροτὸς ἀνήρ who is "ὑμετέρης γενεῆς,[259] ἐπιείκελον ἀθανάτοισι".

βῆ δ᾽ ἴμεν αἰτήσουσα κελαινεφέα Κρονίωνα
ἀθάνατόν τ᾽ εἶναι καὶ ζώειν ἤματα πάντα·
τῇ δὲ Ζεὺς ἐπένευσε καὶ ἐκρήηνεν ἐέλδωρ.
νηπίη, οὐδ᾽ ἐνόησε μετὰ φρεσὶ πότνια Ἠὼς
ἥβην αἰτῆσαι ξῦσαί τ᾽ ἄπο γῆρας ὀλοιόν

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[255] See *Il*. 11.684 νέος, 11.762.

[256] *Il*. 11.668-72.

[257] Stressed by Heliodorus, the verbal link between the two passages in the (on in the *Iliad*, the other in the *Odyssey*) suggests an implied comparison between the "νέος" (at the time when he left Hellas) and the ἡμερίς "stretching" around the hollow cave of the nymph—both nouns are limited by a participle of "ἡβάω" (ἡβώοντα and ἡβώωσα respectively).

[258] *Hymn. Hom. Ven.* 220-24.

[259] *Hymn. Hom. Ven.* 219; see 199-201 ἔσχεν ἄχος, ἕνεκα βροτοῦ ἀνέρος ἔμπεσον εὐνῇ· / ἀγχίθεοι δὲ μάλιστα καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων / αἰεὶ ἀφ᾽ ὑμετέρης γενεῆς εἶδός τε φυήν τε. The personal pronoun refers to βροτοὶ ἀνέρες like Anchises.

Aphrodite refers to Tithonius in answering a request made by Anchises after she shows herself to him as goddess.[260]

ἀλλὰ σε πρὸς Ζηνὸς γουνάζομαι αἰγιόχοιο,
μή με ζῶντ᾽ ἀμενηνὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἐάσῃς
ναίειν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐλέαιρ᾽· ἐπεὶ οὐ βιοθάλμιος ἀνὴρ
γίγνεται, ὅς τε θεαῖς εὐνάζεται ἀθανάτῃσι

This request is highlighted by Heliodorus in his explanation "κατὰ ἐτυμολογίαν" through the verb εὐνάζεσθαι.

Aphrodite implicitly compares Tithonius—whom Dawn wants "to be deathless and to live all days"—to Ganymede, whom she mentions immediatedly before she recounts the story of Dawn and Tithonius. Ganymede is "ἀθάνατος καὶ ἀγήρως ἴσα θεοῖσιν.[261] Tithonius, in contrast, because of Dawn's oversight, is eventually "pressed down by hateful old age". Aphrodite uses Tithonius' decline and how he eventually "lives all days" in explaining why she will not take Anchises to be deathless among the immortals.[262]

ἀλλ᾽ ὅτε δὴ πάμπαν στυγερὸν κατὰ γῆρας ἔπειγεν,
οὐδέ τι κινῆσαι μελέων δύνατ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ἀναεῖραι,
ἥδε δέ οἱ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀρίστη φαίνετο βουλή·
ἐν θαλάμῳ κατέθηκε, θύρας δ᾽ ἐπέθηκε φαεινάς.
τοῦ δ᾽ ἤ τοι φωνὴ ῥέει ἄσπετος, οὐδέ τι κῖκυς
ἔσθ᾽, οἵη πάρος ἔσκεν ἐνὶ γναμπτοῖσι μέλεσσι
οὐκ ἂν ἐγώ γε σὲ τοῖον ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν ἑλοίμην
ἀθάνατόν τ᾽ εἶναι καὶ ζώειν ἤματα πάντα.

This part of the story is linked to the passage with the infinitive ξῦσαι through a repetition of the words of Dawn's request.[263] This cross-reference is preceded by an allusion to the beginning of the hymn—the phrase "θύρας δ᾽ ἐπέθηκε φαεινάς"[264] associates the

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[260] *Hymn. Hom. Ven.* 187-90
[261] *Hymn. Hom. Ven.* 214.
[262] *Hymn. Hom. Ven.* 233-40.
[263] *Hymn. Hom. Ven.* 240, 221.
[264] *Hymn. Hom. Ven.* 236; see 60.

place where Tithonius' "unspeakable voice flows" (φωνὴ ῥέει ἄσπετος) with the temple of

Aphrodite in Paphos on Cyprus where her precint (τέμενος) and altar are; there, Aphrodite

is bathed by the Graces and anointed with oil and puts on "περὶ χροΐ εἵματα καλά"[265] or

"σιγαλόεντα"[266] before she goes to Troy and appears to Anchises on Ida.[267]

The place where Dawn lays down Tithonius connects the description of the

"τέμενος" on Cyprus to Aphrodites' description of the trees called τεμένη, mentioned by

her in speaking of the nymphs who will rear the son to whom she will give birth. These

pines or oaks, Aphrodite explains, spring up when these nymphs come to be. Towering into

heaven, they are not cut by mortals,[268]

> ἀλλ' ὅτε κεν δὴ μοῖρα παρεστήκη θανάτοιο,
> ἀζάνεται μὲν πρῶτον ἐπὶ χθονὶ δένδρεα καλά,
> φλοιὸς δ' ἀμφιπεριφθινύθει, πίπτουσι δ' ἄπ' ὄζοι,[269]
> τῶν δέ θ' ὁμοῦ ψυχὴ λείπει φάος ἠελίοιο.

The verb "ἀζάνεται" associates this example with ζῆν,[270] the topic stated by

Anchises in his request (μή με ζῶντ' ἀμενηνὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἐάσῃς ναίειν) and

addressed by Aphrodite with her example of Dawns request "[αὐτὸν] ζώειν ἤματα

πάντα".

Aphrodite speaks of the trees after predicting for Anchises what will happen to him

soon, being at present in appearance (εἶδος) like the gods.[271]

> νῦν δέ σε μὲν τάχα γῆρας ὁμοίιον ἀμφικαλύψει

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[265] *Hymn. Hom. Ven.* 64.
[266] *Hymn. Hom. Ven.* 85.
[267] See *Hymn. Hom. Ven.* 60.
[268] *Hymn. Hom. Ven.* 269-72.
[269] Notice *P. Bodmer 5* 20.1 [40.7-8] και ειδου η χειρ μου πυρι αποπιπτι απ εμου.
[270] "῎Αζω"—with smooth breathing—means ξηραίνειν, explained as negation of ζῆν, "τὰ γὰρ ξηρὰ οὐ ζῇ, τὸ δὲ ζῶν καὶ ὑγρόν ἐστιν" (*EM* 22.29). With rough breathing—"ἅζω"—means σέβεσθαι.
[271] *Hymn. Hom. Ven.* 244-46.

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νηλειές, τὸ τ᾽ ἔπειτα παρίσταται ἀνθρώποισιν,
οὐλόμενον, καματηρόν, ὅτε στυγέουσι θεοί περ.

The verb "παριστάναι" aligns γῆρας with μοῖρα θανάτοιο.[272] Thus, by analogy,

the symptoms preceding the death of the trees (and of the nymphs) correspond to the effects

of old age on Anchises, the βροτὸς ἀνήρ. " Ἀποξῦσαι" concerns that which enwraps

(ἀμφικαλύπτειν).

The change in strenght and physical appearance that is old age (or brought about by

it) receives more explanation through an allusion to a passage in the *Odyssey*. The wording

of the verse in between the intratextual allusions (the sentence with ξῦσαι and the sentences

with τεμένη) echos a statement in book 11 of the *Odyssey* (differing only in the tenses of

εἶναι)—Odysseus' description of the ψυχή of Agamemnon.[273]

ἔγνω δ᾽ αἶψ᾽ ἔμ᾽ ἐκεῖνος, ἐπεὶ πίεν αἷμα κελαινόν·
κλαῖε δ᾽ ὅ γε λιγέως, θαλερὸν κατὰ δάκρυον εἴβων,
πιτνὰς εἰς ἐμὲ χεῖρας, ὀρέξασθαι μενεαίνων·
ἀλλ᾽ οὐ γάρ οἱ ἔτ᾽ ἦν ἲς ἔμπεδος οὐδέ τι κῖκυς,
οἵη περ πάρος ἔσκεν ἐνὶ γναμπτοῖσι μέλεσσι.

In the *Odyssey*, these verses are connected to two other references with the phrase

"ἐνὶ γναμπτοῖσι μέλεσσι", in a passage linked to the verse in book 11 through a reference

to Agamemnon's death[274] (of which Odysseus learns from Agamemnon's soul). The two

instances of the prepositional phrase belong to descriptions of a plan and its execution—

beginning with Athena's declaration that she will make Odysseus ἄγνωστος βροτοῖσι.[275]

ἀλλ᾽ ἄγε σ᾽ ἄγνωστον τεύξω[276] πάντεσσι βροτοῖσι·
κάρψω μὲν χρόα καλὸν ἐνὶ γναμπτοῖσι μέλεσσι,
ξανθὰς δ᾽ ἐκ κεφαλῆς ὀλέσω τρίχας, ἀμφὶ δὲ λαῖφος

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[272] *Hymn. Hom. Ven.* 269.
[273] *Od.* 11.390-94 at 394.
[274] See *Od.* 13.382-85, 11.405-34.
[275] *Od.* 13.397-403.
[276] Notice *Od.* 7.235; *Il.* 5.61, .

ἔσσω ὅ κε στυγέῃσιν ἰδὼν ἄνθρωπον ἔχοντα,
κνυζώσω δέ τοι ὄσσε πάρος περικαλλέ᾽ ἐόντε,
ὡς ἂν ἀεικέλιος πᾶσι μνηστῆρσι φανήῃς
σῇ τ᾽ ἀλόχῳ καὶ παιδί, τὸν ἐν μεγάροισιν ἔλειπες.

The description of the execution of the plan closely resembles Athena's announcement. But instead of the one statement about the "λαῖφος", there are two sentences concerning δέρματα (and three with "ἀμφί").[277]

... ἀμφὶ δὲ δέρμα
πάντεσσιν μελέεσσι παλαιοῦ θῆκε γέροντος,
κνύζωσεν δέ οἱ ὄσσε πάρος περικαλλέ᾽ ἐόντε·
ἀμφὶ δέ μιν ῥάκος ἄλλο κακὸν βάλεν ἠδὲ χιτῶνα,
ῥωγαλέα ῥυπόωντα, κακῷ μεμορυγμένα καπνῷ·
ἀμφὶ δέ μιν μέγα δέρμα ταχείης ἕσσ᾽ ἐλάφοιο
ψιλόν ...

The adjective "ἄλλό" suggests that "δέρμα ... γέροντος" corresponds to "ῥάκος"— with an additional analogy between "παλαιός" and the attributes describing "ῥάκος" and "χιτῶν" (ῥωγαλέα ῥυπόωντα, κακῷ μεμορυγγμένα καπνῷ)—and that both nouns render "λαῖφος".

Both ῥάκος and λαῖφος are mentioned again in later books of the *Odyssey*. The ῥάκος resurfaces in Odysseus' "Cretan tale", which is linked through an allusion to the account on Odysseus' encounter with Agamemnon's soul that features the line incoporated into the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*.[278] The first mention made of the ῥάκος in this story is almost identical with line in the account on Odysseus' transformation in book 13. Speaking to Eumaeus, Odysseus now attributes his clothing to Thesprotian sailors.[279]

ἐκ μέν με χλαῖνάν τε χιτῶνά τε εἵματ᾽ ἔδυσαν,
ἀμφὶ δέ μοι ῥάκος ἄλλο κακὸν βάλον ἠδὲ χιτῶνα,
ῥωγαλέα, τὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὅρηαι.

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[277] *Od*. 13.431-37.
[278] See *Od*. 14.329-30, 11.455.
[279] *Od*. 14.341-43.

Odysseus then refers to the ῥάκος again[280] in describing how he escaped from the anchored ship, having been bound by the Thesprotians and left behind alone. The gods easily "bent back" his δεσμόν, he explains, and then

> ... κεφαλῇ δὲ κατὰ ῥάκος ἀμφικαλύψας
> ξεστὸν ἐφόλκαιον καταβὰς ἐπέλασσα θαλαάσσῃ
> στῆθος ...

In the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, "γῆρας ... ἀμφικαλύψει"[281] expresses this link between the first description of the ῥάκος in book 13 and the second.

In addition to the instance in Athene's announcement of what she will do, the noun λαῖφος is used only one more time in the *Odyssey* (in the plural), in lines addressed by the cowherd Philoetius to Odysseus, whom he enounters in the disguise as aged stranger. Having wished him ὄλβος, Philoetius draws a comparison between his master Odysseus and the stranger (to whom he refers as ἀνήρ and as being brought into existence by Zeus πάτηρ).[282]

> ἴδιον, ὡς ἐνόησα, δεδάκρυνται δέ μοι ὄσσε
> μνησαμένῳ Ὀδυσῆος, ἐπεὶ καὶ κεῖνον ὀίω
> τοιάδε λαίφε' ἔχοντα κατ' ἀνθρώπους ἀλάλησθαι,
> εἴ που ἔτι ζώει καὶ ὁρᾷ φάος ἠελίοιο.

The participle "ἔχοντα" reinforces the allusion, which rests on the noun "λαῖφος", to Athena's announcement concerning the λαῖφος that "ὁ στυγέῃσιν ἄνθρωπος ἰδὼν ἔχοντα".

Before speaking to the stranger, Philoetius asks the swineherd Eumaeus questions about him; he ends his inquiry by commenting that the stranger is

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[280] *Od.* 14.349-51.
[281] *Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 244.
[282] *Od.* 20.204-7.

δύσμορος, ἥ τε ἔοικε δέμας βασιλῆι ἄνακτι·
ἀλλὰ θεοὶ δυόωσι πολυπλάγκτου ἀνθρώπους,
ὅππότε καὶ βασιλεῦσιν ἐπικλώσωνται ὀιζύν.[283]

In *Odyssey* 20, the phrases with λαῖφος and δέμας are connected to each other chiastically (τοιάδε λαῖφε᾽ / δέμας βασιλῆι ἄνακτι). This suggests that λαῖφος is a metaphor for the body of a human who is (still) alive[284] (emphasized by ζώει) and that τοιάδε corresponds (i.e., is paralleled or opposed) to what befits a "lord king" (βασιλεὺς ἄναξ).

Read in conjunction with Calypso's offer to Odysseus to make him "ἀθάνατον καὶ ἀγήραον", ἀποξύειν in *Iliad* 9 additionally connects Phoenix' words to the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*. The combination of the two adjectives (and especially ἀγήραος) associate Calypso' words with two lines in the story of Demeter's nursing of Demophoön.[285] The first marks (with ἀγήρων τ᾽ ἀθάνατόν τε) the end of the description of how Demeter cared for the child at day and at night.[286]

νύκτας δὲ κρύπτεσκε πυρὸς μένει ἠύτε δαλὸν
λάθρα φίλων γονέων· τοῖς δὲ μέγα θαῦμ᾽ ἐτέτυκτο,
ὡς προθαλὴς τελέθεσκε· θεοῖσι γὰρ ἄντα ἐῴκει.
καί κέν μιν ποίησεν ἀγήρων τ᾽ ἀθάνατόν τε,
εἰ μὴ ἄρ᾽ ἀφραδίῃσιν ἐύζωνος Μετάνειρα
νύκτ᾽ ἐπιτηρήσασα θυώδεος ἐκ θαλάμοιο
σκέψατο ...

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[283] *Od.* 20.194-6.

[284] E.g., see *EM* 255.36-44 <δέμας>: τὸ σῶμα· παρὰ τὸ δέω, τὸ δεσμεύω· τῇ γὰρ ψυχῇ συνδέδεται τὸ σῶμα· ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ διδῶ διδεεῖς, δίδημι· ὁ παθητικὸς παρακείμενος, δέδεμαι, ἐξ αὐτοῦ δέμας· τὸ γὰρ σῶμα δεσμός ἐστι τῆς ψυχῆς. ἢ παρὰ τὸ δεμῶ, τὸ οἰκοδομῶ, δέμας· περιδόμημα γὰρ ἐστὶ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ οἰκητήριον. ἰστέον ὅτι τὸ βρέτας, δέπας, δέμας, οὐ κλίνονται· οὐ γὰρ λέγουσι τούτων τὰς γενικάς. ζήτει εἰς τὸ <κρέας> τὸν κανόνα. *EG* (ἀάλιον - ζειαί) 344.8-10 <δέμας>: ... δεῖ δὲ γινώσκειν, ὅ τι ὁ ποιητὴς δέμας εἴωθε λέγειν τὸ ἔμψυχον παρὰ τὸ δεδέσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν ἐν αὐτῷ, σῶμα δὲ τὸ ἄψυχον, ἐπειδὴ σῆμά ἐστιν ὡς τάφος τοῦ ποτε ζῶντος.

[285] See *Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 242 and 260.

[286] *Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 239-45 at 242.

The second line (with ἀθάνατόν κέν τοι καὶ ἀγήραον ἤματα πάντα)—is part of Demeter's rebuke of Metaneira, Demophoön's mother. Demeter begins with declaring that humans are are not foreseeing (προγινώσκειν) their lot, whether good or bad; then she contrasts what she would have done with what will come to be (because of Metaneira's interference). (The phrase "ἀθάνατον ἤματα πάντα" echos Dawns request in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*.)

> ἀθάνατόν κέν τοι καὶ ἀγήραον ἤματα πάντα
> παῖδα φίλον ποίησα καὶ ἄφθιτον ὤπασα τιμήν·
> νῦν δ᾽ οὐκ ἔσθ᾽ ὥς κεν θάνατον καὶ κῆρας ἀλύξαι[287]

The reference to κῆρες is one of the explanations of the metaphor "δαλός"[288] used for the child (and the significance of the fire).

In the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, Demeter herself is the example of "shedding off" old age[289]—she is γραῦς at first,[290] but then casts off old age. This action, which parallels apoxuein geras, results in a different appearance, ... and from her body (χροα) shines a light, and her hair becomes gleaming.

The examples (images) from the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* seem to be reflected in nouns whose etymologies are linked to "ξύειν".

> <γραῦς>: ἡ παλαιὰ γυνή· ἀπὸ τοῦ γράειν ὅ ἐστιν ἐσθίειν ἢ ξύειν· ἡ ταῖς ῥυτίσι κατεξυσμένη. ἢ παρὰ τὸ ῥαίω, ῥαῦς καὶ γραῦς, ἡ διαρραισθεῖσα ὑπὸ χρόνου. ἢ παρὰ τὸ γράφεσθαι, ὅ ἐστι καταξέεσθαι, γραῦς, ἡ κατεξυσμένη τὸ σῶμα διὰ τὸ γῆρας
> <γραβδίς>: ἡ λαμπάς, παρὰ τὸ γράφω, τὸ ξύω, ἡ κατεξυσμένη καὶ διεσχισμένη· ἢ παρὰ τὸ γράφεσθαι, τὸ ξέεσθαι, γραβδὶς, ἡ κατεξεσμένη λαμπάς.

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[287] With emphasis on the derivation from μείρω μάρτος (and in analogy to φθείρω, φθαρτός) βροτός is defined as "ὁ ὑπὸ μοῖραν πεπτωκώς" (*EM* 215.43-44) and as "φθαρτὸς ἄνθρωπος". Μοῖρα and φθορά connect (and contrast) "βροτός" and "μάκαρ". The latter explanation of the name is stressed through the second source associated with Phoenix's statement.

[288] *Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 239.

[289] I.e., lack of childbirth and lack of beauty.

[290] See *Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 101 γρηὶ παλαιγενέι, 113 παλαιγενέων ἀνθρώπων.

Through ξῦσαι (γράμματα) στοιχεῖα are explained as the four elements. The stories associted by Heliodorus with "ἱστορία" address the separation of body and soul (θάνατος and Hades), and γένεσις and φθόρα.

Thus, when we pursue the grammatical explanations of these terms, we can see that there are "canonical" narratives: the statement "γράψαι γὰρ τὸ ξῦσαι" (with sources in which to find the verbs and the associations) points to a μεταβολη turning with what is aged and dried, ancient and stained through exposure to heat or smoke, in rags, or blackened, through cleansing (washing, anointing—making the body shine) into something renewed and adorned (clothes and ornaments). This describes a process of change over time (ζῆν, being as one of the μακαρες in appearance).

While this process is illustrated through examples of persons, it also applies to words or phrases. For example, Eunapius, writing about the excess of the παιδεία and ἀνάγνωσις of Libanius, describes Libanius' treatment of an ancient λέξις in the same terms.[291]

> οὗτος λέξιν εὑρών τινα περιττὴν καὶ ὑπ᾽ ἀρχαιότητος διαλανθάνουσαν, ὡς ἀνάθημά τι παλαιὸν καθαίρων, εἰς μέσον τε ἦγε καὶ διακαθήρας ἐκαλλώπιζεν, ὑπόθεσίν τε αὐτῇ περιπλάττων ὅλην καὶ διανοίας ἀκολουθούσας, ὥσπερ ἄβρας τινὰς καὶ θεραπαίνας δεσποίνῃ νεοπλούτῳ καὶ τὸ γῆρας ἀπεξεσμένη.

Παρ᾽ Ὁμήρῳ

The line "παρ ᾽ Ὁμήρῳ" quoted in Dionysius Trax' chapter περὶ στοιχειου belongs to a group of four passages in the *Iliad*—all with (composites) of "γράφειν"—whose individual members are paired (or yoked together) and linked to each other through

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[291] *Eunapii vitae sophistarum*, ed. J. Giangrande (Rome: Polygraphica, 1956), 16.2.5 .

the same words and phrases.   In two of them (*Il.* 11.388 ἐπι γραψας and 4.139 ἐπέγραψε)[292] "ἐπιγράφειν" describes an archer's "scratching" the surface of a body (ἐπιφανεια του σωματος) with an arrow and reddening a dry surface with blood or staining it with a liquid that dries and solidfies (with red or with "black" blood); the other two[293] are linked through the direct object of γράφειν—σῆμα—and through "δεῖξαι".

Χρόα

In the account on the *second* wounding of Diomedes through an arrow—this time by Alexander, husband of Helen[294]—the sentence with the participle "-γραψας" belongs to words addressed by Diomedes to Alexander (after Alexander, and before Nestor (see *Il.* 11.661)); "ἐπι" is either the prefix of the participle (the latter with "με" as accusative) or a preposition with "ταρσόν" as accusative.

> εἰ μὲν δὴ ἀντίβιον σὺν τεύχεσι πειρηθείης,
> οὐκ ἄν τοι χραίσμῃσι βιὸς καὶ ταρφέες ἰοί·
> νῦν δὲ μ' ἐπι γράψας ταρσὸν ποδὸς εὔχεαι αὔτως
> οὐκ ἀλέγω, ὡς εἴ με γυνὴ βάλοι ἢ πάις ἄφρων
> κωφὸν γὰρ βέλος ἀνδρὸς ἀνάλκιδος οὐτιδανοῖο
> ἦ τ' ἄλλως ὑπ' ἐμεῖο, καὶ εἴ κ' ὀλίγον περ ἐπαύρῃ
> ὀξὺ[295] βέλος πέλεται, καὶ ἀκήριον αἶψα τίθησι
> τοῦ δὲ γυναικὸς μέν τ' ἀμφίδρυφοί εἰσι παρειαί,
> παῖδες δ' ὀρφανικοί· ὁ δέ θ' αἵματι γαῖαν ἐρεύθων
> πύθεται, οἰωνοὶ δὲ περὶ πλέες ἠὲ γυναῖκες

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[292] Explicitly linked in Heliodorus, *Grammatici Graeci* 1.3, 324.25-28.

[293] *Il.* 7.187 ἐπιγραψας and *Il.* 6.169 γράψας.

[294] The first time Diomedes is wounded be the arrow of Pandarus (see *Il.* 5.794-5, 798). The two passages are additionally connected through the noun "ἀκήριος" (*Il.* 5.812, 17; 11.392). "'Οξὺ βέλος", in *Il.* 11.392, associates teh accusative "ἀκήριον" is the direct object of "βέλος ... τίθησι". The grammatical subject "ἀκήριος" is linked to being struck by an "ὀξὺ βέλος", the .

[295] "'Οξύς" is etymologically linked to "ξέω". E.g., see *EM* 625.50ff. <ὀξύς>: παρὰ τὸ ξέω ξόος· καὶ ὡς πλάτος πλατύς, οὕτως καὶ ξόος ξοῦς· καὶ ἐν ὑπερβιβασμῷ, ὀξύς. *Ibid*. 627.[-]-5 ὀξύνω ἐκ τοῦ ὀξύς. ὥσπερ δὲ παρὰ τὸ χέω χόος χοῦς, οὕτως παρὰ τὸ ξέω ξόος ξοῦς· καὶ ἐν ὑπερβιβασμῷ, ὀξύς· καὶ ὀξὺ, τὸ ἀντιδιαστελλόμενον τῷ ἀμβλεῖ.

Ταρσός (limited by ποδός) is a term denoting a part or the width (or "ἄκρον") of the foot, which is "dried" and "fleshless".[296] These qualities contrast "ταρσός" in "μ᾽ ἐπι γράψας ταρσὸν ποδός"[297] (and the phrase's parallel "ὀλίγον ἐπαύρῃ")[298] with "γῆ" in "ὁ δε θ᾽ αἵματι γαῖαν ἐρεύθων"—a staining or reddening of earth through blood.

Through Diomedes' comparison, the participial phrase "ἐπι γράψας ταρσὸν ποδός" is associated with a "βέλος" that is "κωφόν" (i.e., not hearing or not talking) and contrasted to an "ὀξὺ βέλος". Such a dart is mentioned at the end of the account.

> ... ὁ δ᾽ ὄπισθε καθεζόμενος βέλος ὠκὺ
> ἐκ ποδὸς ἕλκ ᾽, ὀδύνη δὲ διὰ χροὸς ἦλθ ᾽ ἀλεγεινή.

The sentence with "ἐπι γράψας" in *Iliad* 11.388 (illustrating and explaining the terms "γράμματα" and "στοιχεῖα") is a paraphrase of a third person narrative (in *Il.* 11.368-78) on the wounding of Diomedes—with a first mention of "ταρσός" (the direct object of κατέπηκτο?). This account, which begins with a description of Diomedes' position and posture, is separated from Diomedes' words to Alexander by the word (or line) (ἔπος) with which Alexander, speaking as "εὐχόμενος",[299] sums up the longer narrative.

> ... ὁ δὲ τόξου πῆχυν ἄνελκε
> καὶ βάλεν, οὐδ᾽ ἄρα μιν ἅλιον βέλος ἔκφυγε χειρός,
> ταρσὸν δεξιτεροῖο ποδός διὰ δ᾽ ἀμπερὲς ἰὸς
> ἐν γαίῃ κατέπηκτο· ὁ δὲ μάλα ἡδὺ γελάσσας
> ἐκ λόχου ἀμπήδησε καὶ εὐχόμενος ἔπος ηὔδα·
> βέβληαι οὐδ ᾽ ἅλιον βέλος ἔκφυγεν· ὡς ὄφελόν τοι
> νείατον ἐς κενεῶνα βαλὼν ἐκ θυμὸν ἑλέσθαι ...

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[296] See *EM* 747.7-15 <ταρσός>: ἐκ μέρους ἢ τὸ πλάτος τοῦ ποδὸς, ἢ τὸ ἄκρον τῆς χειρός. ῥητορική. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ποιητική· οἷον *νῦν δέ μ᾽ ἐπιγράψας ταρσὸν ποδός·* παρὰ τὸ τερσαίνεσθαι, ἤγουν ξηραίνεσθαι· ἄσαρκον γὰρ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς δακτύλους μέρος. ὧρος. σημαίνει τρία· τὸ ἀγγεῖον, ὡς τὸ, *ταρσοὶ μὲν τυρῶν βρίθον·* καὶ τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ ποδός. *ταρσὸν δεξιτεροῖο ποδός·* καὶ τὴν πόλιν.
[297] *Il.* 11.388.
[298] *Il.* 11.391. For examples of ἐπαυρεῖν with χρόα as accusative, see *Il.* 11.573, 15.316 πάρος χρόα λευκὸν ἐπαυρεῖν; *Il.* 13.649 μή τις χρόα χαλκῷ ἐπαύρῃ.
[299] *Il.* 11.379.

Diomedes' comparison of the effects of a "κωφὸν βέλος" (hitting ταρσὸν ... ποδός) and an "ὀξὺ βέλος" (reddening the earth with blood) suggests (by reverse analogy) that the reddening of the earth is preceded by hitting (with an ὀξὺ βέλος) "ἐς κενεῶνα" (*Il.* 5.857). This prepositional phrase associates the text [selected in Dionysius Thrax as example] with *Iliad* 5, a description of Diomedes' striking of Ares (with a spear) in book 5 of the *Iliad*. (The two passages are linked through woundings of Diomedes.)

δεύτερος αὖθ' ὡρμᾶτο βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης
ἔγχεϊ χαλκείῳ· ἐπέρεισε δὲ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη
νείατον ἐς κενεῶνα, ὅθι ζωννύσκετο μίτρῃ·
τῇ ῥά μιν οὖτα τυχών, διὰ δὲ χρόα καλὸν ἔδαψεν
ἐκ δὲ δόρυ σπάσεν αὖτις ...

As a result of the wound, Ares bleeds—"δεῖξεν δ' ἄμβροτον αἷμα καταρρέον ἐξ ὠτειλῆς" (*Il.* 5.869). The wound is healed (with the curdling (πηγνύναι) of milk as comparison).

"Ἐπιγράψας" has an antencedent in book four of the *Iliad*. The finite verb ἐπέγραψε in *Iliad* 4.139 belongs to the account on the breaking of the oaths through the wounding of Menelaos.

... διαπρὸ δὲ εἴσατο καὶ τῆς.
ἀκρότατον δ' ἄρ' ὀιστὸς ἐπέγραψε χρόα φωτός·
αὐτίκα δ' ἔρρεεν αἷμα κελαινεφὲς ἐξ ὠτειλῆς.

The passage with ἐπιγράφειν is followed by an image beginning and ending with a reference to staining (μιαίνειν).[300]

ὡς δ' ὅτε τίς τ' ἐλέφαντα γυνὴ φοίνικι μιήνῃ
Μῃονὶς ἠὲ Κάειρα, παρήιον ἔμμεναι ἵππων·
κεῖται δ' ἐν θαλάμῳ, πολέες τέ μιν ἠρήσαντο
ἱππῆς φορέειν· βασιλῆι δὲ κεῖται ἄγαλμα,
ἀμφότερον κόσμος θ' ἵππῳ ἐλατῆρί τε κῦδος·

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[300] *Il.* 4.141-47.

τοῖοί τοι, Μενέλαε, μιάνθην αἵματι μηροὶ
εὐφυέες κνῆμαί τε ἰδὲ σφυρὰ κάλ' ὑπένερθε.

The passages in the *Iliad* with ἐπιγράφειν are all linked to the term "χρόα".

<χρόα>: χροῦν, εἴρηται εἰς τὸ <βόα> <βοῦν>. καὶ <διὰ χροός>[301]. γίνεται παρὰ τὸ χρῶ, ὃ σημαίνει τὸ βάπτω· ἐξ οὗ καὶ χρῶμα. ἡ εὐθεῖα, χροῦς· ὅθεν τὸ *χροὸς ἄμμεναι ἀνδρομέοιο*·[302] ὃ καὶ μεταβολῇ τῆς ΟΥ, χρῶς, ὡς βοῦς βῶς παρὰ Δωριεῦσι.

Staining with blood leads to χρώζειν.

Σῆμα

" Ἐπιγράψας" (with "ἐπι" as prefix) associates the words addressed by Diomedes to Alexander and quoted in the chapter "περὶ στοιχείου" with the account on the selection of Ajax through the casting of lots (λαχεῖν) for single combat with Hector.[303]

> ὣς ἄρ' ἔφαν, πάλλεν δὲ Γερήνιος ἱππότα Νέστωρ,
> ἐκ δ' ἔθορε κλῆρος κυνέης, ὃν ἄρ' ἤθελον αὐτοί,
> Αἴαντος· κῆρυξ δὲ φέρων ἀν' ὅμιλον ἁπάντη
> δεῖξ' ἐνδέξια πᾶσιν ἀριστήεσσιν Ἀχαιῶν·
> αἱ δ' οὐ γιγνώσκοντες ἀπηνήναντο ἕκαστος.
> ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τὸν ἵκανε φέρων ἀν' ὅμιλον ἁπάντη,
> ὅς[304] μιν ἐπιγράψας κυνέῃ βάλε,[305] φαίδιμος Αἴας,
> ἦ τοι ὑπέσχεθε χεῖρ' ὁ δε' ἄρ' ἔμβαλεν ἄγχι παραστάς,
> γνῶ δὲ κλήρου σῆμα ἰδών, γήθησε δ' θυμῷ.
> τὸν μὲν πὰρ πόδ' ἑὸν χαμάδις βάλε φώνησέν τε·
> ὦ φίλοι, ἦ τοι κλῆρος ἐμός, χαίρω δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς
> θυμῷ, ἐπεὶ δοκέω νικησέμεν Ἕκτορα δῖον.

Limited by the genitive "κλήρου", the noun "σῆμα" associates the sentence with the participle ἐπιγράψας (in *Il.* 7.187) with the description of marking of the κληροι (in *Il.* 7.175), thus aligning ἐπιγράφειν to σημαίνειν. But, through the reference to Hector, the

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[301] *Il.* 11.398.

[302] *Il.* 21.70.

[303] *Il.* 7.181-92 at 187.

[304] The relative pronoun ὅς links the verse with the participle to Nestor's general description of the one of the nine about to be choosen; see *Il.* 7.171-74 κλήρῳ νῦν πεπάλεσθε διαμπερές, ὅς κε λάχησιν· / οὗτος γὰρ δὴ ὀνήσει ἐυκνήμιδας Ἀχαιούς, / καὶ δ' αὐτὸς ὃν θυμὸν ὀνήσεται, αἴ κε φύγῃσι / δηίου ἐκ πολέμοιο καὶ αἰνῆς δηιοτῆτος.

[305] The phrase "κυνέῃ βάλε" clarifies that ἐπιγράφειν (*Il.* 7.187) corresponds to [κλῆρον] σημαίνειν (*Il.* 7.175).

noun also points to a σῆμα described by Hector when issuing the challenge that leads to the casting of the lots. Hector declares that he will bring the armor of his opponent as offering to the temple of Apollo, but will give the body (νέκυς) to the Achaeans for burial.

> σῆμά τε οἱ χεύωσιν ἐπὶ πλατεῖ Ἑλλησπόντῳ
> καί ποτέ τις εἴπῃσι καὶ ὀψιγόνων ἀνθρώπων
> νηὶ πολυκλήιδι πλέων ἐπὶ οἴνοπα πόντον·
> 'ἀνδρὸς μὲν τόδε σῆμα πάλαι κατατεθνηῶτος
> ὅν ποτ' ἀριστεύοντα κατέκτανε φαίδιμος Ἕκτωρ'
> ὥς ποτέ τις ἐρέει· τὸ δ' ἐμὸν κλέος οὔ ποτ' ὀλεῖται

The verse with the reference to "σῆμα" has a very similar parallel in *Iliad* 23.331, in Nestor's advice to his son, to always look at the turning-post (in the race) and, at first, at the man who leads.

> σῆμα δέ τοι ἐρέω μάλ' ἀριφραδές, οὐδέ σε λήσει
> ἕστηκε ξύλον αὖον ὅσον τ' ὄργυι' ὑπὲρ αἴης
> ἢ δρυὸς ἢ πεύκης· τὸ μὲν οὐ καταπύθεται ὄμβρῳ,
> λᾶε δὲ τοῦ ἑκάτερθεν ἐρηρέδαται δύο λευκὼ
> ἐν ξυνοχῇσιν ὁδοῦ, λεῖος δ' ἱππόδρομος ἀμφίς·
> ἤ τευ σῆμα βροτοῖο πάλαι κατατεθνηῶτος,
> ἢ τό γε νύσσα τέτυκτο ἐπὶ προτέρων ἀνθρώπων,
> καὶ νῦν τέρματ' ἔθηκε ποδάρκης δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς

Instead of ἀνήρ, Nestor speaks of a βροτός.[306]

The conclusion "κλέος οὔ ποτ' ὀλεῖται" associates the σῆμα on the plane of the Hellespont with Calchas' θεοπρόπιον on the μέγα σῆμα in Aulis.[307]

Σήματα

"Σῆμα" in the plural is the direct object of γράφειν in the account on the meeting of Diomedes and Glaucus in book six.[308] The sentence with γράφειν is part of Glaucus'

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[306] Here, too, is a casting of lots, linked to arrangement in order; and Phoenix appears again, as "σκοπός".
[307] *Il.* 2.323-29 at 325.
[308] See *Il.* 6.169.

answer to a Diomedes' question whether his one of the immortals (in which case Diomedes would not challenge him) or a mortal. In his answer, Glaucus first addresses whether he is βροτός by comparing the γενεά of men to leaves poured "χαμάδις". Then Glaucus turns to speaking on his γένος, claiming descent from Bellerophon. The passage with the verb γράφειν (ὁ γράψας) is preceded by a brief account on the reason why Bellerophon was sent by Proetus to the king of Lycia to perish there. (Bellerophon had been falsely accused by Anteia, Proetus' wife, of having wanted to sleep with her against her will.)[309]

> πέμπε δέ μιν Λυκίηνδε, πόρεν δ' ὅ γε σήματα λυγρά,
> γράψας ἐν πίνακι πτυκτῷ θυμοφθόρα πολλά,
> δεῖξαι δ' ἠνώγειν ᾧ πενθερῷ, ὄφρ' ἀπόλοιτο

Σήματα—the direct object of "γράψας" (in attributive position)—and "πόλλα"—the direct object of both γράψας and δεῖξαι is taken up twice in the next part of the narrative, the account on the king's request, on the tenth day, to see a σῆμα.[310]

> καὶ τότε μιν ἐρέεινε καὶ ᾔτεε σῆμα ἰδέσθαι,
> ὅττι ῥά οἱ γαμβροῖο πάρα Προίτοιο φέροιτο
> αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ σῆμα[311] κακὸν παρεδέξατο γαμβροῦ
> πρῶτον μέν ...
> δεύτερον αὖ ...
> τὸ τρίτον αὖ ...
> τῷ δ' ἄρ' ἀνερχομένῳ πυκινὸν δόλον ἄλλον ὕφαινε ...

From these deeds, says Glaucus, the king of Lykia "γίγνωσκε θεοῦ γόνον ἠὺν ἐόντα".[312]

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[309] See *Il.* 6.164-65 ᾽τεθναίης, ὦ Προῖτ᾽, ἢ κάκτανε Βελλεροφόντην, / ὅς μ᾽ ἔθελεν φιλότητι μιγήμεναι οὐκ ἐθελούσῃ.

[310] *Il.* 6.176-90.

[311] An entry on "σῆμα" in *EM* clarifies the meaning of "σῆμα" in the story of Bellerophon through other examples (*EM* 711.9-13): "σῆμα παρὰ τὸ σῶ, τὸ ὑγιαίνω. σημαίνει δὲ καὶ τὸ γράμμα· Ἰλιάδος ζ´, *καὶ ᾔτεε σῆμα ἰδέσθαι· τὸ σημεῖον· ὡς τὸ σῆμα δέ τοι ἐρέω μάλ' ἀριφραδές* [*Il.* 23.326, *Od.* 11.126]: *καὶ τὸν τάφον, ὡς τὸ, ἀνδρὸς μὲν τόδε σῆμα πάλαι κατατεθνηῶτος*" [*Il.* 7.89 ἀνήρ; 23.331 βροτός]". The verse with "ἐρέω" (identical in *Iliad* and *Odyssey*) points to two texts—Nestors instructions for his son before the race, and the sign given to Odysseus by Teiresias.

[312] *Il.* 6.191.

Chapter 4

P. Bodmer 5

The most prominent (and most discussed) difference between *P. Bodmer 5* and other manuscript versions of *PJ* is the absence of longer parts of the narrative from the text. More puzzling, however, is a feature less visible to modern readers of *PJ*, who are most likely to encounter the text in the form of a modern, printed edition, in which the text is displayed in the form of numbered paragraphs (not text columns), with word divisions, accents and breathing marks provided by the editor(s). The text of *P. Bodmer 5* has almost no punctuation, accents, or breathing marks, even though the papyrus ends with an *explicit* reference to a reader (25.2 [49.16-17]). In addition, despite two different systems of corrections—which suggests that the text was read and corrected either by at least two persons or twice by the same person—the manuscript is full of uncorrected phonetic spellings or duplications (e.g. και / και[313] and πτω / πτωμα[314]); corrections are at times confusing; and emendations (interlinear and in the margins) suggest that entire words or phrases were omitted or added. This raises two questions: If *P. Bodmer 5* is a faithful copy of a (no longer extant) original, why correct some mistakes and not others? If it is an original

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[313] See 24.3 [48.4-5].
[314] See 24.3 [47.15-48.1]

(i.e., an autograph), why not correct all mistakes to create the basis of a clean copy, which then can serve as model for future copies?

The incompleteness of the corrections in *P. Bodmer 5* might simply be due to inattentive proofreaders. But there is another possible explanation, one that is grounded in an approach to reading the text trained through exercises in composition.

Correcting a copy by comparing the written text of copy and original and making adjustments where a scribe accidentally omitted or misspelled letters or words is a comparatively mechanical task that does not require much training. Διόρθωσις (*emendatio*) in the technical sense is the work of the critic and of the teacher. In the case of the latter, correction means not only correction of the written work (e.g., by adding punctuation or making stilistic improvements) but also of the student, or rather of the student's assessment (manifest in his compositions) of the models provided for him by the teacher for imitation and emulation.

Imitation and emulation of authors can take two forms, since what is imitated can be the diction or an author's treatment of thought or subject matter. The two are interrelated,[315] but whichever aspect is emphasized would determine the questions with which a reader approaches a work or even only a passage, to study them in detail with view to imitation. Plutarch sets forth the modes of reading suited for both. He stresses that the student is to examine how something is said, trying to find better ways of expressing the same thought.[316]

> χρήσιμον δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο καὶ τὸ τῆς παραβολῆς, ὅταν γενόμενοι καθ᾽ αὑτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκροάσεως καὶ λαβόντες τι τῶν μὴ καλῶς ἢ μὴ ἱκανῶς εἰρῆσθαι δοκούντων

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[315] Implied, for example, by Quintilian's comments on commonplaces; see Quint. *Inst*. 2.4.30.

[316] Plut. *Mor*. 40*e*. He points his readers to Plato's dialogue *Phaedrus* for a more detailed discussion.

ἐπιχειρῶμεν εἰς ταὐτὸ καὶ προάγωμεν αὐτοὺς τὰ μὲν ὥσπερ ἀναπληροῦν, τὸ δ᾽ ἐπανορθοῦσθαι, τὰ δ᾽ ἑτέρως φράζειν, τὰ δ᾽ ὅλως ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς εἰσφέρειν πρειρώμενοι πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν. ὃ καὶ Πλάτων ἐποίησε πρὸς τὸν Λυσίου λόγον. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀντειπεῖν οὐ χαλεπὸν ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ ῥᾴδιον εἰρημένῳ λόγῳ.

This exercise either demonstrates that the author exercised much diligence in formulating his thought, or points to the cause or origin of the perceived flaws.[317] (Quintillian puts a similar emphasis on studying in detail individual authors[318] or passages[319] that will be used for imitation.)

Imitation of the subject matter, in contrast, requires paying attention to κεφάλαια.[320]

τοὺς δ᾽ ἀργοὺς ἐκείνους παρακαλῶμεν, ὅταν τὰ κεφάλαια τῇ νοήσει περιλάβωσιν, αὐτοὺς δι᾽ αὑτῶν τὰ λοιπὰ συντιθέναι, καὶ τῇ μνήμῃ χειραγωγεῖν τὴν εὕρεσιν, καὶ τὸν ἀλλότριον λόγον οἷον ἀρχὴν καὶ σπέρμα λαβόντας ἐκτρέφειν καὶ αὔξειν.

Once learned, this mode of attending to what is said does no longer require a teacher (or rests on finding different expressions of the same thought by different authors). But for those who have not yet acquired this critical skill, a teacher's guidance is necessary. Stressing that the teacher may not discourage the student through the strictness of a correction (*emendationis severitate*), Quintillian recommends two methods of correction for teachers:[321] Leaving certain parts without comment, the teacher (*praeceptor*) is either to

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[317] See Plut. *Mor*. 40b.

[318] See Quint. *Inst*. 10.1.20. Having stressed that a speech's *virtutes* are often hidden, Quintilian warns to be cautious in judging canonical authors (and persons), "modesto tamen et circumspecto iudicio de tantis viris pronuntiandum est, ne, quod plerisque accidit, damnent quae non intellegunt".

[319] See Quint. *Inst*. 10.5.8.

[320] Plut. *Mor*. 48b-48c.

[321] See Quint. *Inst*. 2.4.12-13: iucundus ergo tum maxime debet esse praeceptor, ut remedia, quae alioqui natura sunt aspera, molli manu leniantur: laudare aliqua, ferre quaedam, mutare etiam reddita cur id fiat ratione, inluminare interponendo aliquid sui. nonnumquam hoc quoque erit utile, totas ipsum dictare materias, quas et imitetur puer et interim tamquam suas amet: at si tam neglegens ei stilus fuerit, ut emendationem non recipiat, expertus sum prodesse, quotiens eandem materiam rursus a me retractatam scribere de integro iuberem: posse enim eum adhuc melius. Quintilian gives his recommendations in a digression in a chapter on the preliminary exercises (progymnasmata). These exercises provide training in assessing the quality of a work, e.g., with

praise some parts of a student's composition while correcting others (*mutare etiam reddita cur id fiat ratione, inluminare interponendo aliquid sui*), at times additionally prescribing or dictating (*dictare*) complete themes (*totae materiae*) for imitation; or, having gone over the same *materia* again, he is to order (*iubere*) the student to write on it anew and better (helped by the additional explanations).[322]

Corrections (added to the text as visible corrections) do provide alternative readings of a passage and do, therefore, reflect—and invite—comparison and judgment of which alternative is better, or what subject matter is clarified. The absence of almost all punctuation marks (emphasizing ἀνάγνωσις according to ὑπόκρισις, προσῳδία, and διαστολή) and the uncorrected misspellings etc. that are characteristics of *P. Bodmer 5* suggest that the reader is meant to examine sentences by reading them with different boundaries, discover reasons for alterations, or determine which lack of clarity is to be helped through the additions. Statements are to be corrected by analogy with the models incorporated into the text and in view of the teachings represented in the text through allusions. *P. Bodmer 5* provides the basis—the material and the argument (or παράδειγμα)—for creating different, "beautified" versions of the same narrative; the authors of these other versions emphasize different alternatives.

P. Bodmer 5 provides examples for assessing alternatives. In this chapter we will examine two—the account on Anna's second vow, and Zechariah's name. In the case of Anna's vow, uncorrected deviations from ὀρθογραφία that seem to indicate phonetic

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respect to its credibility (through the exercises ἀνασκευή and κατασκευή) or through comparison (σύγκρισις) (not only of persons, but also of statements expressing the same thought through different words).

[322] Quint. *Inst.* 2.4.12-13.

spelling (i.e., "βαρβαρισμοί") lead to *intentional* "phonetic" ambiguities (expressing a "kinetic" quality of the text) based on different ἀναλύσεις of vowels (i.e., an etymological assessment of changes). Corrections provide alternative readings of the same text by pointing to differen Scriptural models and by creating different cross-connections. Zechariah's name (spelled Ζαχχαριας) links two spatially separate parts of the narrative.

"της μητρος αυτης"

Anna makes her second vow when she sets Mary on the ground (χαμαί) to test whether the child can stand and Mary, "having walked around seven and seven steps," comes to the bosom of her mother.

ια΄ 11-17   ημερα δε και ημερα εκρατευετο η παις γεναμενους αυτης εξαμε^{ν}νου εστησεν αυτη^ν· η μητηρ αυτη^ς χαμε· διαπειρασε^{323}· η ιστατε και επτα και επτα βηματα περιπατησασα ηλθεν εις τον κολπον της μη·

ιβ΄ 1-5   τρος αυτης και ανηρπασεν αυτην η μητηρ αυτης λεγουσα ζη ΚΣ ο ΘΣ μου ου μη περιπατησης εν τη γη ταυτη εως σε απαξω εν τω ναω ΚΥ.

This account is a narrative nodal point, connected through the adverb "χαμαί" (spelled χαμε) to the account on Joseph's reaction at finding "ογκωμενη" (13.1 [26.16] εριψεν αυτον χαμαι), through περιπατεῖν to the account on Anna's going down "ις τον παραδεισον αυτης του περιπατησαι" (2.4 [5.6-7]), and through the verb "απαξω" to Joseph's description of the place (17.3 [37.7]) where he finds the cave. In addition to these

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[323] "Διαπειρᾶσαι" suggests an allusion to the introductory statement of a speech, by relatives of the king, on his continued attempts to "αφανισαι" the Jews (i.e., to send them to Hades) (3 Macc 5:39-40)—"οἱ δὲ συνανκείμενοι συγγενεῖς τὴν ἀσταθῆ διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ θαυμάζοντες προεφέροντο τάδε Βασιλεῦ, μέχρι τίνος ὡς ἀλόγους ἡμᾶς διαπειράζεις προστάσσων ἤδη τρίτον αὐτοὺς ἀφανίσαι καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκ μεταβολῆς ἀναλύων τὰ σοὶ δεδογμένα; ..." The speech is paralleled by a προσευχή by Eleazar (one of the priests of the region) and the elders around him. "Ἀλόγους", the direct object of διαπειράζειν in 3 *Maccabees*, and προφέρειν (τάδε) associates the account with the verb in 6.1 with an earlier one in *PJ*, linked to the account with "διαπειρᾶσαι" through phrasal cross-references based on the corrections of "αυτη" in 6.1.

phrasal links, the time limit (ἐως) joins the narrative on the making of the vow to the account on its fulfillement—Mary's entrance into the temple, in 7.2-3.

The text describing Mary's steps (βήματα) features a larger number of words that, in spelling and syntax, deviate from customary usage (τὸ συνήθες). This is not only surprising because the account is so well connected to other passages (which suggests that readers of the papyrus consulted it more than once for clarification) but also because some of these mistakes are corrected while others are not. Words that remain without correction are "ἐκρατευετο" and "γεναμενους"[324] and the endings of "χαμε", "διαπειρασε", and "ιστατε" (all with "ε" instead of "αι"). Letters are added to correct the adjective "εξαμενου" (an "η" is written above the "ε") and alter the case endings of "εξαμηνου" (εξαμηνους) and of the pronoun "αυτη".

This (seeming) inconsistency in correcting the text illustrates the problem of corruption through *incorrect* alterations of a text (word or sentence)—and thus underlines the importance of determining the reasons for deviations from συνήθεια. For, a closer look at the sources of the unclear words and phrases demonstrates that there are indeed "λόγοι"— arguments and parallels for the drawing of analogies—that can be "returned" for leaving "ἐκρατευετο" uncorrected and for having alternative endings (and punctuation) for "αυτη · η μητηρ αυτη".

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[324] Testuz suggests "γεναμενης", de Strycker (*La forme la plus ancienne*, 251-52) a contamination of "γεναμενους" and "γενομενης".

The letters " εκρατευετο" suggest two "κανόνες" in the writings of the Old and the New Testaments for "straigthening" the phrase—"ἐκραταιοῦτο" or "ἐγκρατεύεται".[325] Together, the sources combined in "εκρατευετο" through these allusions point to a shared signified—being ἅγιος.

"Εκρατευετο" (or either one of its "correct" versions) does not have any verbal parallels in *PJ*. Joined by a pronoun, the noun "ἡ μήτηρ", in contrast, does occur three times in the account on Anna's second vow in 6.1. The corrections alter the grammatical cases (and syntax) of the pronouns preceding and following the first instance of the noun: a *nu*, written above a στιγμή (or *sigma*)[326] separating the pronoun from the definite article of η μητηρ, turns the first pronoun (with η παις as antecedent) from the nominative into the accusative; a *sigma* (possibly followed by a cancelled *nu*), written (in raised position) in the space between the letters *eta* (of the second pronoun) and *chi* (of χαμε) turns the second pronoun from the nominative into the genitive. The change in the grammatical cases highlights what would otherwise be unclear, because of the absence of breathing marks—the *corrected* pronouns are personal pronouns, not demonstrative pronouns.
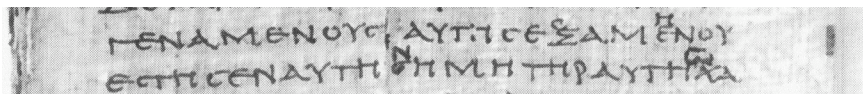
The sentence with the corrections is followed by a sentence in which "η μητηρ" is in the genitive and limits the accusative of the preposition εἰς—"περιπατησασα ηλθεν εις τον κολπον της μη·τρος αυτης". Because of the grammatical case of μητηρ, the syntax

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[325] Rhythmically, the two verbs differ from each other and their model through the lenghts of the ultimate and the penultimate.

[326] Testuz' reading; but cf. 24.3 [48.1] "ουχ ευρωσαν·", the only other instance of a sign in this shape in *P. Bodmer 5*. (Testuz omits the στιγμή.)

of "αυτης" has two explanations—the pronoun is in agreement with the noun (η μητηρ αυτη), or it limits the noun as genitive (η μητηρ αυτης). Each reading pairs "της μητρος αυτης" with a different phrase in the text—syntactically, "της μητρος αυτης" (limiting "εις τον κολπον") corresponds either to "η γη αυτη" (the dative of the preposition "εν" [12.4], paralleled by "εν τω ναω ΚΥ") or to "η μητηρ αυτης" (contrasting "εστησεν αυτην χαμε" on page ια´ (6.1 [11.14]) with "ανηρπασεν αυτην" on page ιβ´ (6.1 [12.2]) or "ανηρπασεν" on page ιγ´ (6.3 [13.14-15])). Since the personal pronoun αὐτῆς limiting ἡ μήτηρ refers to the grammatical subject of "εκρατευετο", the referent of the noun "ἡ μήτηρ" changes with the verb chosen as the correct form of the barbarism "εκρατευετο".

In conjunction with the prepositional phrase "εις τον κολπον", the "Schriftbild" suggests the phrase with the corrections displays "layered" allusions to two παραδείγματα of mothers—the mother of the little child in the judgment of Solomon,[327] combined with a τιθηνός in a comparison in the story of the "μνήματα τῆς ἐπιθυμίας" in *Numbers*;[328] and mothers mentioned in *Lamentations* 2:12. The one model depicts Mary as "ὁ λαὸς οὗτος", taken into the bosom of the one who took her into the womb (γαστήρ), gave birth to her (τίκτειν), and is feeding her with morsels of cakes made of manna, with the tase of honey.[329] Θηλάζειν (in both *Numbers* and 3 *Kings*) stresses the reference to Anna's giving the breast to the child and "naming her name" in the sentence preceding the account on Mary's steps (in 5.2 [11.9-11]); at the same time, the phrasal allusion to the story of the Judgment of Solomon indicates that her mother gives her share of the little child away (to

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[327] See 3 Kgs 3:27 αὐτὴ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ, with κόλπος in 3:20.
[328] See Nm 11:12; and 3 Kgs 3:21.
[329] Notice the references to Mary's taking "τροφην εκ χειρος αγγελου" (or αγγελων) in 8.1, 13.2, and 15.3; see Wis 16:20.

another woman whose son died) lest the child who is alive be put to death.[330] The other

model[331]—based on the interpretation of "της μητρος αυτης" as "η μητηρ αυτης"—

portrays Mary as a ψυχή (the subject of Anna's first vow), poured out into the bosom of her

mother.**332**

Both phrases (η μητηρ αυτη and η μητηρ αυτης) have referents in other parts of

the narrative, to which they are connected through the repetition of phrases and through

intertexts. The implied comparison between "η μητηρ αυτη" and "η γη αυτη" (suggested,

in 6.1, by the first interpretation of the genitive "της μητρος αυτης"—corresponding to the

not corrected "αυτης· η μητηρ αυτη") associates the dative "εν τη γη αυτη" in Anna's

vow with a dative in the last question raised by Anna in the lament made by her after going

down "ις τον παραδεισον αυτης του περιπατησαι". The answer to the question is the

only one in the lament in which Anna does confirm a likeness:

> οιμμοι τινι ομοιωθην εγω τη γη ταυτη οτι και η γη προφερει τους καρπους αυτης
> κατα καιρον και σε ευλογι ΚΕ

In 3.1-3, the referent of "η γη αυτη" in Anna's lament is defined in detail through

allusions to a wide variety of sources (discussed below). In 6.1, all of these receive

additional commentary through an allusion to the gospel according to *John*.

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[330] See 3 Kgs 3:25-26.

[331] Lm 2:12.

[332] See Lm 2:11-12 ἐξέλιπον ἐν δάκρυσιν οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου, ἐταράχθη ἡ καρδία μου, / ἐξεχύθη εἰς γῆν ἡ δόξα μου ἐπὶ τὸ σύντριμμα τῆς θυγατρὸς τοῦ λαοῦ μου / ἐν τῷ ἐκλιπεῖν νήπιον καὶ θηλάζοντα ἐν πλατείαις πόλεως. / Ταῖς μητράσιν αὐτῶν εἶπαν Ποῦ σῖτος καὶ οἶνος; / ἐν τῷ ἐκλύεσθαι αὐτοὺς ὡς τραυματίας ἐν πλατείαις πόλεως, / ἐν τῷ ἐκχεῖσθαι ψυχὰς αὐτῶν εἰς κόλπον μητέρων αὐτῶν.

"Χαμε" is a verbal link associating the account on Mary's steps with the report on Joseph's finding of "ογκομενη". But the two parts of the narrative are also connected through allusions to weeping for the σύντριμμα of a daughter.[333]

We will see that the different analogies for the corrected phrase "αυτη^ν· η μητηρ αυτη^ς" connect the report on the steps of the child to passages with allusions to grammatical concepts (linked to the desccription of Mary's steps through "περιπατεῖν" and "χαμαί"— λόγος προφορικός and ἀνάγνωσις (περιπατεῖν) and διαστολή (13.1 χαμαί).

" Ἐκραταιοῦτο"

Read as "εκραταιουτο" (i.e., interpreting the letters "ευ" and "ε" as representing the diphthongs "αι" and "ου"), the letters "εκρατευετο" associate the first sentence after the report on the naming of Mary (in 5.2 [11.10-11]) with two instances of the phrase "τὸ δὲ παιδίον ηὔξανεν καὶ ἐκραταιοῦτο" in chapters 1 and 2 of the gospel according to *Luke*. In *Luke*, the grammatical subjects of the verb are John the Baptist[334] and Jesus.[335] The account in *PJ* with the verb "εκρατευετο" contains links to both passages. Mary is thus implicitly compared to both "παιδία"[336]—but with different emphases. The brief descriptions of her naming and of the location where she is until the fulfillment of her mother's second vow

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[333] Lm 2:11 τὸ σύντριμμα τῆς θυγατρὸς τοῦ λαοῦ μοῦ in 3.1; Is 22:4 in 13.1.
[334] See Lk 1:80.
[335] See Lk 2:40.
[336] The terms "παιδίον" and "παις" denote different stages in the γένεσις and αὐξήσις of a human being—as does Mary's ability to "walk around": "παιδίον δὲ τὸ τρεφόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς τιθηνοῦ· παιδάριον δὲ τὸ ἤδη περιπατοῦν καὶ λέξεως ἀντεχόμενον· παιδίσκος δὲ ὁ ἐν τῇ ἐχομένῃ ἡλικίᾳ· παῖς δὲ ὁ διὰ τῶν ἐγκυκλίων μαθημάτων δυνάμενος ἰέναι· τὴν δὲ ἐχομένην ταύτης ἡλικίαν οἱ μὲν πάλληκα, οἱ δὲ βούπαιδα, οἱ δὲ ἀντίπαιδα, οἱ δὲ μελλέ[μ]φηβον καλοῦσιν" (*Herennius Philo: De diversis verborum significationibus*, ed. V. Palmieri (Naples: d'Auria, 1988), 42.5-10).

align the reference to Mary's "κραταιοῦσθαι" to the sentence concerning John (the son born for Zechariah from Elizabeth).[337]

> τὸ δὲ παιδίον ηὔξανεν καὶ ἐκραταιοῦτο πνεύματι, καὶ ἦν ἐν ταῖς ἐρήμοις ἕως ἡμέρας ἀναδείξεως αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Ἰσραήλ

Her mother's first vow—patterned after the vow with which Hannah, the mother of Samuel, dedicates her son as Nazirite[338]—and the allusion to Anna's purification from childbirth associate the sentence with the sentence on Jesus, preceded by a reference to the "law of the Lord" and to Nazareth.[339]

> καὶ ὡς ἐτέλεσαν ἄπαντα τὰ κατὰ τὸν νόμον κυρίου ὑπέστρεψαν εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἑαυτῶν Ναζαρέθ. τὸ δὲ παιδίον ηὔξανεν καὶ ἐκραταιοῦτο πνεύματι πληρούμενον σοφίας καὶ χάρις θεοῦ ἦν ἐπ᾽ αὐτό.

Mary is paralleled to John through the position of the sentence with the verb ἐκρατευετο in *PJ*—it is preceded by a brief report on the naming of Mary[340] and followed by a description of the ἁγίασμα in which she is.[341] This (implied) comparison between the two texts stresses the naming of the child's name "Μαρια" and helps fills out the brief report in *PJ* through the drawing of analogies with the more detailed account in *Luke*.

In the gospel according to *Luke*, the account on the naming of John falls into two parts—first Elizabeth objects to the name by which they were calling him, then Zechariah declares in writing what the little child's name is.[342]

> καὶ ἐκάλουν αὐτὸ ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Ζαχαρίαν.
> καὶ ἀποκριθεῖσα ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ εἶπεν·
>   οὐχί, ἀλλὰ κληθήσεται Ἰωάννης.

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[337] Lk 1:80.
[338] 4.1 [7.16-8.4]; see 1 Kgs 1:11.
[339] Lk 2:39-40.
[340] See 5.2 [11.10-11].
[341] See 6.1 [12.5-8].
[342] Lk 1:59-63.

καὶ εἶπαν πρὸς αὐτὴν ὅτι
   οὐδείς ἐστιν ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας σου ὃς καλεῖται τῷ ὀνόματι τούτῳ.
ἐνένευον δὲ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ τί ἂν θέλοι καλεῖσθαι αὐτό.
καὶ αἰτήσας πινακίδιον ἔγραψεν λέγων·
   Ἰωάννης ἐστὶν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ.

Elizabeth's correction "ἀλλὰ κληθήσεται" echos a phrase in a sentence in chapter 60 of *Isaiah*.[343]

καὶ οὐκ ἀκουσθήσεται ἔτι ἀδικία ἐν τῇ γῇ σου οὐδὲ σύντριμμα οὐδὲ ταλαιπωρία ἐν τοῖς ὁρίοις σου, ἀλλὰ κληθήσεται Σωτήριον τὰ τείχη σου καὶ αἱ πύλαι σου Γλύμμα

The verbal echo aligns the name "Ἰωάννης" (by which the little child will be called—as Elizabeth prophecies) with "Σωτήριον" (in *Isaiah* applied to the walls of the city) and "Γλύμμα" (applied to the gates).[344]

More importantly, perhaps, in *PJ* it associates Anna's description of the steps of the little child's steps—alluding to *John* 8:12 (on following the "φῶς τοῦ κόσμου") –with a prophecy in *Isaiah* concerning a promise of the φῶς αἰώνιον.[345]

The name written by Zechariah—"Ἰωάννης"—is the name revealed to Zechariah by Gabriel in the temple.[346] It is the name of a son of the priest Symeon[347] and the name of one of the five sons of this Symeon's son Mattathias.[348] The name stresses an explanation on the "seed of these men" in 1 *Maccabees* 5:62—"ἦσαν ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων οἷς ἐδόθη σωτηρία Ισραηλ διά χειρὸς αὐτῶν".

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[343] Is 60:18. Chapter 60 begins with the call "Φωτίζου φωτίζου, Ιερουσαλημ, ἥκει γάρ σου τὸ φῶς, καὶ ἡ δόξα κυρίου ἐπὶ σὲ ἀνατέταλκεν", an allusion to the three days of darkness in Egypt (Is 60:2, see Ex 10:22-23), and a call to "ἆρον κύκλῳ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς σου καὶ ἰδὲ συνηγμένα τὰ τέκνα σου".
[344] In Is 60, the references to the walls and the gates draw on a brief passage in Is 60:10-11.
[345] See Is 60:19.
[346] See Lk 1:13.
[347] See 1 Mcc 2:1.
[348] See 1 Mcc 2:2 ὁ ἐπικαλούμενος Γαδδι.

The infinitive "καλεῖσθαι" aligns the question directed to Zechariah to the second of two offers made by king Alexander in a letter to Jonathan[349]

> καὶ νῦν καθεστάκαμέν σε σήμερον ἀρχιερέα τοῦ ἔθνους σου καὶ φίλον βασιλέως καλεῖσθαί σε (καὶ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτῷ πορφύραν καὶ στέφανον χρυσοῦν) καὶ φρονεῖν τὰ ἡμῶν καὶ συντηρεῖν φιλίας πρὸς ἡμᾶς.

Zechariah's written response—Ἰωάννης, not Ιωναθαν—highlights the offer of the archpriesthood. This associates "Ἰωάννης" with John (Gaddi), mentioned as archpriests at the end of the first book of *Maccabees*,[350] and points to another golden wreath—the στεφάνος χρυσοῦς in the description of Aaron in *Sirach*.[351]

In addition to the implied comparison between the names (which does highlight the name "Μαριαμμη" in 17.2-3[352]), the allusion to the παιδίον by the name Ἰωάννης points to Anna's making of the ἁγίασμα and aligns Mary's stay there with her stay in the temple.[353] In the case of the little child John, *Luke* reports that

> τὸ δὲ παιδίον ηὔξανεν καὶ ἐκραταιοῦτο πνεύματι, καὶ ἦν ἐν ταῖς ἐρήμοις ἕως ἡμέρας ἀναδείξεως αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Ἰσραήλ.

The noun "τὸ παιδίον" at the beginning of the sentence has two antecedents, both of which bound back to the first reference; one belongs to a description of the reaction of all those who heard "all these words", the other is part of Zechariah's prophecy—"καὶ σὺ δέ, παιδίον, προφήτης ὑψίστου κληθήσῃ".[354] Through the allusion to the "προφήτης

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[349] 1 Mcc 10:20.
[350] See 1 Mcc 16:24.
[351] See Sir 45:12. The passage is linked to the account on Mary's steps through a reference to Aaron's steps (βήματα) in Sir 45:9.
[352] Mariamne the Hasmonean was the second wife of Herod the Great; falsely accused of adultery and of plotting to murder her husband, she was executed by Herod.
[353] See 8.1.
[354] "Κληθήσῃ", with a person as grammatical subject (and with reference to ἔρημοι), associates Zechariah's words with Is 58:12 οἰκοδόμος φραγμῶν.

ὑψίστου", the phrase "ἐν ταῖς ἐρήμοις" recalls *Ezekiel* 13:4 and its context.[355] In *Ezekiel*,

the place in which the prophets were to stand is "ἐν στερεώματι".[356]

Anna's vow features an allusion to words in the gospel according to *John* that are

preceded by the question about the prophet from Galilee[357] and followed by questions about

his father (with emphasis on two or three witnesses).[358] This phrasal allusion stresses an

(implied) comparison between Mary and Jesus—as Nazirites. The vow of the Nazirite is

implied by the wording of Anna's first vow, echoing the vow made by Hannah.[359] It is also

implied by "απαξω"—in the counterpart of the verb in Anna's second vow in a question by

Joseph, in 17.3 [37.7]—"που σε απαξω;" This question is modelled after a question in 1

Maccabees 3 in which the pronoun refers to Nazirites:[360]

> καὶ ἤνεγκαν τὰ ἱμάτια τῆς ἱερωσύνης καὶ τὰ πρωτογενήματα καὶ τὰς δεκάτας καὶ ἤγειραν τοὺς ναζιραίους, οἳ ἐπλήρωσαν τὰς ἡμέρας, καὶ ἐβόησαν φωνῇ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν λέγοντες
> Τί ποιήσωμεν τούτοις καὶ ποῦ αὐτοὺς ἀπαγάγωμεν, καὶ τὰ ἅγιά σου καταπεπάτηνται καὶ βεβήλωνται καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς σου ἐν πένθει καὶ ταπεινώσει;

Mary, in 6.1 the grammatical subject of " ἐκραταιοῦτο", is the prophetess[361] and a

Nazirite (i.e., ἁγία).

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[355] See Ez 13:2-6 ἐρεῖς πρὸς αὐτούς Ἀκούσατε λόγον κυρίου Τάδε λέγει κύριος Οὐαὶ τοῖς προφητεύουσιν ἀπὸ καρδίας αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ καθόλου μὴ βλέπουσιν. οἱ προφῆταί σου, Ισραηλ, ὡς ἀλώπεκες ἐν ταῖς ἐρήμοις· οὐκ ἔστησαν ἐν στερεώματι καὶ συνήγαγον ποίμνια ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Ισραηλ, οὐκ ἀνέστησαν οἱ λέγοντες Ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κυρίου· βλέποντες ψευδῆ, μαντευόμενοι μάταια οἱ λέγοντες Λέγει κύριος, καὶ κύριος οὐκ ἀπέσταλκεν αὐτούς, καὶ ἤρξαντο τοῦ ἀναστῆσαι λόγον.

[356] See Ex 26:33-34 καὶ θήσεις τὸ καταπέτασμα ἐπὶ τοὺς στύλους καὶ εἰσοίσεις ἐκεῖ ἐσώτερον τοῦ καταπετάσματος τὴν κιβωτὸν τοῦ μαρτυρίου· καὶ διοριεῖ τὸ καταπέτασμα ὑμῖν ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ἁγίου τῶν ἁγίων. καὶ κατακαλύψεις τῷ καταπετάσματι τὴν κιβωτὸν τοῦ μαρτυρίου ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ τῶν ἁγίων. Anna's making of a ἁγίασμα in her bedchamber (6.1 [12.5-6]) suggests an allusion to placing of the curtain and its function—διορίζειν (see Gn 1:6 διαχωρίζειν).

[357] See Jn 7:52.

[358] See Jn 8:17-19.

[359] See 4.1; 1 Kgs 1:11.

[360] 3 Mcc 3:49-51.

[361] See Is 8:3.

" Ἐγκρατεύεται"

"Εκραταιουτο" is the reading attested in all manuscripts versions of *PJ* except *P. Bodmer 5*. The verb "περιπατεῖν"—used twice in the relatively brief account in 6.1 (περιπατησασα and περιπατησης)— suggests "ἐγκρατεύεται" as an alternative correction of "εκρατευετο"—and thus an allusion to a different text: 1 *Corinthians* 9:25.

> οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι εἰ ἐν σταδίῳ τρέχοντες πάντες μὲν τρέχουσιν, εἷς δὲ λαμβάνει τὸ βραβεῖον; οὕτως τρέχετε ἵνα καταλάβητε. πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἀγωνιζόμενος πάντα ἐγκρατεύεται, ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν ἵνα φθαρτὸν στέφανον λάβωσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἄφθαρτον.

Here, too, the reference to the (first) naming of Mary plays a role in supporting this "corrected" reading of "εκρατευετο". But in contrast to the allusion to *Luke* resulting from a reading of "εκρατευετο" as "ἐκραταιοῦτο", the emphasis is on the words used for the giving of the name (and on allusions based on them).

> και εδωκε τον μασθο(ν) τη παιδι και ονομασεν το ονομα αυτης μαρια

" Ὄνομα ὀνομάζειν", concerning the name of a female, associates the sentence with a promise in *Isaiah* 62. In the prophecy, the name is joined by a reference to a στέφανος.

> διὰ Σιων οὐ σιωπήσομαι καὶ διὰ Ιερουσαλημ οὐκ ἀνήσω, ἕως ἂν ἐξέλθη ὡς φῶς ἡ δικαιοσύνη μου, τὸ δὲ σωτήριόν μου ὡς λαμπὰς καυθήσεται. καὶ ὄψονται ἔθνη τὴν δικαιοσύνην σου καὶ βασιλεῖς τὴν δόξαν σου, καὶ καλέσει σε τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ καινόν, ὃ ὁ κύριος ὀνομάσει αὐτό. καὶ ἔση στέφανος κάλλους ἐν χειρὶ κυρίου καὶ διάδημα βασιλείας ἐν χειρὶ θεοῦ σου.

The name "Μαρια" is likened to the name of a "city of David".

Διδόναι +dat. (τη παιδι) associates the two clauses in 5.2 describing the nursing of the child by Anna and the naming of her name with a brief account on a blessing. At the

banquet given by Joachim when the first year comes around, Mary (η παις) is offered by

Joachim to the priests whom he called and blessed by them.[362]

> και προσηνεγκεν την παιδα ιωακειμ[363] τοις ιερευσιν κα ηυλογησαν αυτην λεγοντες
>   ο ΘΣ ΤΩ ΠΡΩΝ ημων ευλογησον την παιδα ταυτην και δος αυτη ονομα
>   ονομαστον αιωνιον εμ·πασες ται γενεες
> και ειπεν ο λαος γενοιτο αμην

The part of the blessing singled out in the account on the naming of Mary (through

the phrase διδοναι τη παιδι ... ονομα) draws on a promise in *Isaiah*, spoken by the Lord as

the one who gathers together the dispersed of Israel. Identified through the noun ὄνομα

(modified by the two adjectives "αἰώνιον" and "ὀνομαστόν") the line in *Isaiah* selected in

PJ marks the end of a section of a promise that follows after a call to "do justice and

mercy"[364] and the announcement of the approaching of the σωτήριον of the Lord and the

impending revelation of his mercy.[365]

> μὴ λεγέτω ὁ ἀλλογενὴς ὁ προσκείμενος πρὸς κύριον ᾽Αφοριεῖ με ἄρα κύριος ἀπὸ
> τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ· καὶ μὴ λεγέτω ὁ εὐνοῦχος ὅτι ᾽Εγώ εἰμι ξύλον ξηρόν. τάδε λέγει
> κύριος
>   Τοῖς εὐνούχοις, ὅσοι ἂν φυλάξωνται τὰ σάββατά μου καὶ ἐκλέξωνται ἃ ἐγὼ θέλω
>   καὶ ἀντέχωνται τῆς διαθήκης μου,
> δώσω αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μου καὶ ἐν τῷ τείχει μου τόπον ὀνομαστὸν κρείττω υἱῶν
> καὶ θυγατέρων, ὄνομα αἰώνιον δώσω αὐτοῖς καὶ οὐκ ἐκλείψει.

The blessing of "η παις" by the priests (with the invocation of this promise) implies

that Mary is "εὐνοῦχος".

This allusion to *Isaiah* in 6.2 stresses the context of the second instance of the verb

"ἐγκρατεύεσθαι" in the First Letter to the *Corinthians*:[366]

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[362] 6.2 [13.3-7].

[363] The finite verb "προσηνεγκεν" (echoing Heb 11:4; see Heb 9:14) suggests that Ιωακειμ is portrayed as Abel (i.e., as δίκαιος); see Heb 11:4. This allusion aligns Ιωακειμ's offering of the child to Abel's offering of a θυσία.

[364] Notice Gn 24:49; and Is 63:7ff.

[365] Is 56:3-5.

[366] 1 Cor 7:8-9.

λέγω δὲ τοῖς ἀγάμοις καὶ ταῖς χήραις, καλὸν αὐτοῖς ἐὰν μένωσιν ὡς κἀγώ· εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἐγκρατεύονται, γαμησάτωσαν, κρεῖττον γάρ ἐστιν γαμῆσαι ἢ πυροῦσθαι.

In conjunction with the allusion to being εὐνοῦχος, the allusion to this advice (resting on ἐκραταιοῦτο) associates the account on Mary's steps with the word on being eunuch in the gospel according to *Matthew*.[367] The word is preceded by Jesus' answer to a question with which the Pharisees test him—"εἰ ἔξεστιν ἀνθρώπῳ ἀπολῦσαι τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ κατὰ πᾶσαν αἰτίαν;"[368] This answer causes the disciples to comment "εἰ οὕτως ἐστὶν ἡ αἰτία τοῦ ἀνθρώπου μετὰ τῆς γυναικός, οὐ συμφέρει γαμῆσαι".[369]

In the gospel according to *Matthew*, the noun αἰτία occurs only three times—twice in the discussion on divorce, and one time the crucifixion.[370] In the crucifixion, αἰτία is part of the sentence describing the placement of the written charge against him (40 syllables). The text displays acrostics when it is arranged in lines of four or of five syllables.[371]

I 10x4	l	r	II 8x5		l	r		l	r		l	r
καὶ ἐπέθηκ	κ↓	κ	καὶ ἐπέθηκαν	11	κ	ν		κ	α↓			
αν ἐπάνω	α	ω	ἐπάνω τῆς κε	10	ε	ε	11	ν	φ			
τῆς κεφαλῆς	τ	σ↓	φαλῆς αὐτοῦ τὴν	13	φ↓	ν	11	α↓	η			
αὐτοῦ τὴν αἰ	α	ι	αἰτίαν αὐτοῦ	11	α	υ	13	ν	γ	12	α	γ↓
τίαν αὐτου γ	τ	γ	γεγράμμενην οὗτ	14	γ	τ	12	ε	υ	12	ε	υ
εγράμμενη	ε	η	ός ἐστιν Ἰη	9	ο	η	11	τ	σ	10	τ	η
ν οὗτός ἐστιν	ν	ν↓	σοῦς ὁ βασιλεὺς	13	ς	σ	11	ο	υ	13	σ	ς
Ἰησοῦς ὁ	ι	ο	τῶν Ἰουδαίων	11	τ	ν	12	ς	ν	11	τ	ν
βασιλεὺς τῶ	β	ω										
ν Ἰουδαίων	ν	ν										

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[367] See Mt 19:11-12.
[368] Mt 19:3.
[369] Mt 19:10.
[370] Mt 27:37.
[371] On νοῶν (I r), see Mt 24:15, with Hb 2:2, 4; on φάγος (II A l), see Mt 11:19.

"η γη αυτη"

Anna's vow features phrasal links to three definitions of "η γη"—"η γη αυτη", the phrase "ου μη περιπατησης εν", and the referent of the demonstrative pronoun (χαμε).

Anna's lament

Περιπατεῖν "on this earth" connects the vow to Anna's walk in her garden (κατεβη ις τον παραδεισον αυτης του περιπατησαι)[372] and to her θρῆνος, in which she refers to herself as being like "this earth/land".[373]

The lament is preceded (and thus seemingly caused) by the sight of a "καλλια στρουθων εν τη δαφνιδεα",[374] seen by Anna after she goes down into the garden, sits down beneath a laurel tree, rests, prays to the master (ελιτανευσε(ν) τον δεσποτην),[375] and groans up into heaven (ανεστεναξεν). Having seen the "sparrows' hut" (καλιά), Anna immediately "makes" a lament "εν αυτη". In all versions, the lament falls into two parts, the second of which is additionally divided into two sections. The first part—in which Anna asserts that she was begotten/brought forth as a curse before all and before the sons of Israel (thus contrasting "εὐλογεῖν")—begins with brief questions with allusions to *Isaiah*, the Pseudo-Aristotelian treatise *De Mundo*, and Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* and ends with a

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[372] 2.4 [5.5-7].
[373] See 3.3 [7.5-10].
[374] 3.1 [5.16-17].
[375] 2.4 [5.9-10].

reference to the temple—"και εξωριζαν με εγ ναου ΚΥ του ΘΥ μου".[376] The second part begins with comparisons based on being "γονιμα ενωπιον σου, ΚΕ" and ends with a section on εὐλογεῖν. It includes comparisons between Anna and "τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ" and between her and "ἄλογα ζῷα", and ends with comparisons drawn by Anna between herself and "ὕδατα" and between herself and "ἡ γῆ". (The latter is the only comparison in which Anna affirms a likeness.)

> και ειδεν καλλιαν στρουθων εν τη δαφνιδεα και ευθεως εποιησεν θρηνον Αννα εν αυτη λεγουσα
>> οιμμοι τις μοι εγγεννησεν ποια δε μητρα εξεφοισεν με ...
>> οιμοι τινι ο·μοιωθην εγω ουκ ομοιωθη(ν) τοις πετινοις του ουρανου οτι γονιμα εστιν ενωπιον σου· ΚΕ
>> οιμμαι τινι ομοιωθην εγω ουκ ᾽ ομοιωθεν τοις αλογοις ζωοις οτι και τα αλογα ζωα γονιμα εισιν ενωπιον σου ΚΕ ...
>> οιμμοι τινι ομοιωθην εγω ουκ᾽ ομοιθωην τοις υδασιν τουτοις οτι και τα υδατα ταυτα γαληνιωντα και σκιρτωντα και οι ιχθυες αυτων σε ευλογουσιν ΚΕ
>> οιμμοι τινι ομοιωθην εγω τη γη ταυτη οτι και η γη προφερει τους καρπους αυτης κατα καιρον και σε ευλογι ΚΕ

The first question (τις μοι εγεννησεν) associates the lament with a prophecy in *Isaiah* 49.[377] The second question—ποια μητρα εξεφυσε με—associates it with Sophocles' tragedy *Oedipus Tyrannus*. The question contains allusions to three lines spoken by Oedipus, each in a different part of the tragedy.[378]

In conjunction with the interrogative pronoun "ποῖα;", the phrase "ἐκφύειν με" directs the reader to a question toward the end of Oedipus' consultation of the seer Teiresias.[379]

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[376] 3.1 [6.7-9].
[377] See Is 49:21 καὶ ἐρεῖς ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου Τίς ἐγέννησέν μοι τούτους; ἐγὼ δὲ ἄτεκνος καὶ χήρα, τούτους δὲ τίς ἐξέθρεψέν μοι; ἐγὼ δὲ κατελείθην μόνη, οὗτοι δέ μοι ποῦ ἦσαν;
[378] See Soph. *OT* 437 ποίοισι; μεῖνον· τίς δέ μ᾽ ἐκφύει βροτῶν; 827 ἐξέθρεψε κἀξέφυσέ με, and 1017 ἐξέφυσε μέ.
[379] Soph. *OT* 437.

TE.   οὐδ᾽ ἱκόμην ἔγωγ᾽ ἄ, εἰ σὺ μὴ 'κάλεις.
OI.   οὐ γάρ τί σ᾽ ἤδη μῶρα φωνήσοντ᾽, ἐπεὶ σχολῆ σ᾽ ἂν οἴκους τοὺς ἐμοὺς
        ἐστειλάμην.
TE.   ἡμεῖς τοιοίδ᾽ ἔφυμεν, ὡς μὲν σοὶ δοκεῖ, μῶροι, γονεῦσι δ᾽ οἵ σ᾽ ἔφυσαν,
        ἔμφρονες.
OI.   ποίοισι; μεῖνον· τίς δέ μ᾽ ἐκφύει βροτῶν;
TE.   ἥδ᾽ ἡμέρα φύσει σε καὶ διαφθερεῖ.
OI.   ὡς πάντ᾽ ἄγαν αἰνικτὰ κἀσαφῆ λέγεις.
TE.   οὔκουν σὺ ταῦτ᾽ ἄριστος εὑρίσκειν ἔφυς;

Here, the pronoun "ποῖοι" refers to γονεῖς; the grammatical subject of "ἐκφύειν"

(in *P. Bodmer 5* μητρα) is "τις βροτῶν" (ἔμφρων). The demonstrative pronoun "ταῦτ᾽" in

Teiresias' reponse to Oedipus' characterization of the seer's words prepare Teiresias' last

description of the person for whom Oedipus is looking.[380]

TE.   φανήσεται δὲ παισὶ τοῖς αὑτοῦ ξυνὼν
        ἀδελφὸς αὐτὸς καὶ πατήρ, κἀξ ἧς ἔφυ
        γυναικὸς υἱὸς καὶ πόσις, καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς
        ὁμόσπορός τε καὶ φονεύς. καὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἰὼν
        εἴσω λογίζου.

The grammatical subject of the phrase "ἐξέφυσε μέ" in *P. Bodmer 5* is "μητρα".

This underlines the noun "γυνή" in Teiresias' response.

In *Isaiah*, the prophecy continues with a second, similarly phrased question—"ἐγὼ

δὲ ἄτεκνος καὶ χήρα, τούτους δὲ τις ἐξέθρεψέν μοι;"[381] The allusion to the verb

"εξεθρεψεν" in *Isaiah* (implied by the phrase "τις μοι εγεννησεν") glosses an allusion to

De Mundo in *P. Bodmer 5* whose referent is defined through a combination of the verb

"ἐκφύειν" in the question at the beginning of the lament and the prepositional phrase "κατὰ

καιρόν" at its end. With "ἡ γῆ" as grammatical subject, the prepositional phrase "κατὰ

καιρόν" associates the last sentence of the lament with the pseudo-Aristotelian treatise *De

Mundo*. In *De Mundo,* "ἐκφύειν" is the first of several participles following "κατὰ καιρόν"

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[380] Soph. *OT* 457-61.
[381] Is 49:21.

and limiting "ἡ γῆ"; the second participle (joined to the first through "τε ... καὶ ...") is "τρέφουσα".[382]

> ἥ τε γῆ φυτοῖς κομῶσα παντοδαποῖς νάμασί τε περιβλύζουσα καὶ περιοχουμένη ζῴοι, κατὰ καιρὸν ἐκφύουσά τε πάντα καὶ τρέφουσα καὶ δεχομένη, μυρίας τε φέρουσα ἰδέας καὶ πάθη, τὴν ἀγήρω φύσιν ὁμοίως τηρεῖ καίτοι καὶ σεισμοῖς τινασσομένη καὶ πλημυρίσιν ἐπικλυζομένη πυρκαϊαῖς τε κατὰ μέρος φλογιζομένη.

"Ἐκτρέφειν" highlights verbal links[383] between this paragraph and a second one.[384]

> γίνονται δὲ ὑετοὶ κατὰ καιρὸν καὶ ἄνεμοι καὶ δρόσοι τά τε πάθη τὰ ἐν τῷ περιέχοντι συμβαίνοντα διὰ τὴν πρώτην καὶ ἀρχέγονον αἰτίαν. ἕπονται δὲ τούτοις ποταμῶν ἐκροαί, θαλάσσης ἀνοιδήσεις, δένδρον ἐκφύσεις, καρπῶν πεπάνσεις, γοναὶ ζῴων, ἐκτροφαί τε πάντων καὶ ἀκμαὶ καὶ φθίσεις, συμβαλλομένης πρὸς ταῦτα καὶ τῆς ἑκάστου κατασκευῆς, ὡς ἔφην.

Not mentioned in the second paragraph, "ἡ γῆ", in *De Mundo*, is defined at the beginning of the treatise in a definition of "κόσμος" (by its position, an epithet from the *Homeric Hymns to Demeter* and *to Delian Apollo* and from Hesiod's *Theogony*), and two metaphors (ἑστία καὶ μήτηρ).

> ταύτης δὲ τὸ μὲν μέσον, ἀκίνητόν, τε καὶ ἑδραῖον ὄν, ἡ φερέσβιος εἴληχε γῆ, παντοδαπῶν ζῴων ἑστία τε οὖσα καὶ μήτηρ.

In the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, "φερέσβιος" is the attribute of "ἄρουρα";[385] thus, the allusion to *De Mundo* in *P. Bodmer 5* singles out another reference in Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus*.[386]

> φοίτα γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἔγχος ἐξαιτῶν πορεῖν,
> γυναῖκά τ' οὐ γυναῖκα, μητρῴαν δ' ὅπου
> κίχοι διπλῆν ἄρουραν οὗτε καὶ τέκνων.

In *P. Bodmer 5*, the two paragraphs in *De Mundo* (one identified by "ἐκφύειν", the other by "ἡ γῆ") are joined to each other through an allusion to an epithet of God in the

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[382] Arist. [*Mund.*] 397a24-29.
[383] See Arist. [*Mund.*] 399a24, 25, 35 "κατὰ καιρόν", "πάθη", and "μυρίαι ἰδέαι".
[384] Arist. [*Mund.*] 399a24-30.
[385] See *Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 9.
[386] Soph. *OT* 1255-57.

second book of *Maccabees*. Anna's entreaty, which precedes the sight of the "καλλια

στρουθων εν τη δαφνιδεα",[387] is introduced by an allusion to an entreaty[388] with a more

detailed direct object of "λιτανεύειν" than "τὸν δεσπότην".

ἀκούσαντες δὲ τὴν τοῦ Νικάνορος ἔφοδον καὶ τὴν ἐπίθεσιν τῶν ἐθνῶν
καταπασάμενοι γῆν ἐλιτάνευον τὸν ἄχρι αἰῶνος συστήσαντα τὸν αὐτοῦ λαόν, ἀεὶ
δὲ μετ᾿ ἐπιφανείας ἀντιλαμβανόμενον τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μερίδος.

Implicitly present in *P. Bodmer 5* through the allusion framing Anna's entreaty, the

participle "τὸν συστήσαντα" points on the one hand to the definition of "κόσμος" as

"σύστημα ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν τούτοις περιεχομένων φύσεων"[389]

preceding the definition of earth in *De Mundo* and on the other hand to the question about the

permanence of the σύστημα ἐξ ἐαντίων ἀρχῶν.[390]

Anna's vow

The phrase "ου μη περιπατησης" associates Anna's vow with a testimony by Jesus

in the gospel according to *John*.[391]

πάλιν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἐλάλησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγων·
ἐγὼ εἰμι τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου· ὁ ἀκολουθῶν ἐμοὶ οὐ μὴ περιπατήσῃ ἐν τῇ
σκοτίᾳ, ἀλλ᾿ ἔξει τὸ φῶς τῆς ζωῆς.

This testimony by Jesus is linked to the second ending of the gospel according to

John through the participial phrase "ὁ ἀκολουθῶν μοι"—a definition clarified in *John* 21

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[387] 3.1 [5.16-17].
[388] In 2 Mcc 14:15.
[389] Arist. [*Mund.*] 391*b*9-10.
[390] Arist. [*Mund.*] 396*a*33-34.
[391] Jn 8:12 36 syllables. Arrangend in 9 lines of 4 syllables each, the initial letters of lines 5-8 read "ὀπτά", the final letters of lines 6-9 "ναός".

with an example—the call to Peter "σύ ἀκολούθει μοι"[392] and the word signifying how Peter would glorify God (featuring the verb περιπατεῖν).[393]

In the gospel according to *John*, the testimony incorported into Anna's vow is additionally linked to the second ending through an acrostic—"ὄπτά" (A, l)—and through a confirmation of the truth of the μαρτυρία.

Jn 8:12 **9x4 Syllables**	**A**	**l**	**r**	**Jn 8:14** **8x3 Syllables**	**B**	**l**	**r**		**l**	**r**
ἐγώ εἰμι	7		ι↓	ἀληθή	5	**α**↓		5		
τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσ	11		**σ**	ς ἐστιν ἡ	7	**σ**		7		
μου· ὁ ἀκο	7		**ο**	μαρτυρί	7	**μ**		7		
λουθῶν ἐμοὶ	10		**ι**	α μου, ὅ	5	**α**		5		
οὐ μὴ περι	8	**ο**↓		τι οἶδα	6			6		
πατήσῃ ἐν	8	**π**	**ν**↓	πόθεν ἦλθ	8	**π**↓	**θ**↓	8	π	**λ**↓
τῇ σκοτίᾳ,	8	**τ**	**α**	ον καὶ ποῦ	8	**ο**	**υ**	9	λ	**υ**
ἀλλ' ἕξει τὸ	9	**α**	**ο**	ὑπάγω	5	**υ**	**ω**	5	υ	**ω**
φῶς τῆς ζωῆς.	10		**ς**							

Jn 21:24 **13x3 Syllables**				
οὗτος ἐστ	**τ**		οὗτος ἐστ	
ιν ὁ μα	**α**		ιν ὁ μα	
θητὴς ὁ	**ο**↓		θητὴς ὁ	
μαρτυρῶν π	**π**		μαρτυρῶν π	
ερὶ τούτ	**τ**		ερὶ τούτ	
ων ὁ γρά	**α**	**ω**↓	ων ὁ γρά	
ψας ταῦτα κ	κ	**ψ**	ψας ταῦτα κ	**κ**↓
αὶ οἶδα	α		αὶ οἶδα	**α**
μεν ὅτι	ι		μεν ὅτι	**ι**
ἀληθὴ	**η**↓	**α**↓	ἀληθὴ	
ς αὐτου ἡ μ	**μ**	**σ**	ς αὐτου ἡ	
αρτυρί	**ι**	**μ**	μαρτυρί	
α ἐστίν	**ν**	**α**	α ἐστίν	

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[392] Jn 21:22, 19.
[393] See Jn 21:19.

The allusion associates Anna's vow with the sentence on "ὁ γραψας την ιστοριαν ταυτην" in 25.1—one of the sources of the sentence is the second ending of the gospel according to *John*.[394]

"Περὶ αὐτῆς"

The prepositional phrase "εἰς τον κολπον της μητρος αυτης" is preceded by the participle phrase "περιπατησασα επτα και επτα βηματα"—an allusion to two passages in the Wisdom of *Sirach* with the noun "βῆμα" in the plural. The one refers to a human being's βήματα as signs: "στολισμὸς ἀνδρὸς καὶ γέλως ὀδόντων καὶ βήματα ἀνθρώπου ἀναγγελεῖ τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ".[395] The other associates βήματα with the sound of the bells on the λῶμα of the στολή of Aaron.[396]

> καὶ ἐκύκλωσεν αὐτὸν ῥοΐσκοις,
> χρυσοῖς κώδωσιν πλείστοις κυκλόθεν,
> ἠχῆσαι φωνὴν ἐν βήμασιν αὐτοῦ,
> ἀκουστὸν ποιῆσαι ἦχον ἐν ναῷ
> εἰς μνημόσυνον υἱοῖς λαοῦ αὐτοῦ

This account draws on the instructions to Aaron in *Exodus* 28:35

> καὶ ἔσται Ααρων ἐν τῷ λειτουργεῖν ἀκουστὴ ἡ φωνὴ αὐτοῦ εἰσιόντι εἰς τὸ ἅγιον ἐναντίον κυρίου καὶ ἐξιόντι, ἵνα μὴ ἀποθάνῃ.

"Τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ"—in *Sirach* 19:30 the direct object of ἀναγγελεῖ—associates the description of the steps in 6.1 with the words spoken by Joseph in 13.1, having found "αυτην ογκωμενην" and cast himself onto the ground (εριψεν αυτον χαμαι). Weeping bitterly[397] Joseph asks first "ποιω προσωπω τενισω προς KN τον ΘN τι αρα ευξωμαι περι

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[394] See ch. 5.
[395] Sir 19:30.
[396] Sir 45:9.
[397] An allusion to the "σύντριμμα τῆς θυγατρὸς τοῦ γένους μου", in Is 22:4.

αυτης". Then he explains and/or confesses "οτι παρθενον παρελαβον εκ ναου ΚΥ του

ΘΥ και ουκ εφυλαξα αυτην".[398]

In *P. Bodmer 5*, question and narrative (or reason) together have 33 syllables (11x3 or

3x11). The introductory phrase in *P. Bodmer 5*—"τι αρα"—aligns Joseph's question in

13.1—"τι αρα ευξωμαι περι αυτης;" (10 syllables)—to Euthine's question in 2.3—"τι

αρα εσωμε σε" (7+11 syllables).[399] Euthine speaks of Anna's "μητρα".[400] The intratextual

allusion to Euthine's words connects the paraphrase "περι αυτης" (2.3) to the question

"ποια δε μητρα εξεφοισεν με" (3.1 [6.3-4]).

Joseph (13.1)		**Euthine (2.3)**	
	τι αρα		τι αρα
ε↓	ευξωμαι	ε	εσωμε
π	περι αυ	σ	σε καθοτ
τ	της οτι π	ι	ι ουκ ηκ
α	αρθενον	ο	ουσας της
	παρελαβ	φ↑	φωνης μου
	ον εκ να		
	ου ΚΥ του		
θ↓	ΘΥ και ουκ		
ε	εφυλαξ		
α	α αυτην		

In most versions the finite verb of the question is εὔξομαί. "Εὔξομαι" is an allusion

to the account, in chapter eight of *Exodus*, on the Lord's "παραδοξάζειν"[401] of the land of

Geshem through the plague of the κυνόμυια. As grammatical subject of the finite verb in *PJ*

13.1, Joseph is implicitly compared to Moses. For, in *Exodus* 8, seemingly responding to the

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[398] 13.1 [27.2-7].
[399] 2.3 [4.12-13].
[400] 2.3 [4.14-16].
[401] See Ex 8:18.

request "εὔξασθε οὖν περὶ ἐμοῦ πρὸς κύριον",[402] Moses says to Pharaoh "ὅδε ἐγὼ ἐξελεύσομαι ἀπὸ σοῦ καὶ εὔξομαι πρὸς τὸν θεόν".[403] "Εὔξομαι", in the first part of Joseph's speech, prepares Joseph's statement (or question) "και εξεπατησεν" in the story about the serpent and Eve in the second part of the speech, since Moses, having announced the departure of the κυνόμυια, ends with the words "μὴ προσθῆς ἔτι, Φαραω, ἐξαπατῆσαι τοῦ μὴ ἐξαποστεῖλαι τὸν λαὸν θῦσαι κυρίῳ".[404]

This is not the only function of the allusion, however. The selected passage demonstrates how ἐξαπατᾶν is brought about.

The adverb "ἔτι" and the phrase "θῦσαι κυρίῳ" indicate that the answer in *Exodus* 8:25—which connects Joseph's question "τὶ εὔξομαι περὶ τῆς κόρης ταύτης", in 13.1, to the narrative on Eve—concerns not only Pharaoh's request in the account on the plague of the κυνόμυια but also an earlier, identically worded request in the account on the plague of the frogs. During this plague, Pharaoh says to Aaron and Moses,[405]

εὔξασθε περὶ ἐμοῦ πρὸς κύριον, καὶ περιελέτω τοὺς βατράχους ἀπ᾽ ἐμοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐμοῦ λαοῦ, καὶ ἐξαποστελῶ τὸν λαόν,[406] καὶ θύσωσιν κυρίῳ.

"Εὔξωμαι"—the variant reading of the question in *P. Bodmer 5*—is an allusion to Moses' answer then. In the plague of the frogs Moses gives an order, requesting from Pharaoh that he set a time.[407]

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[402] Ex 8:24.
[403] Ex 8:24-25.
[404] Ex 8:25.
[405] Ex 8:4.
[406] Pharaoh does not specify whose people he will send away.
[407] Ex 8:5. The position of the third personal pronoun σου—limiting "λαός" or "βάτραχοι"—highlights the two references to a λαός in Pharaoh's request, and the two sources of frogs.

τάξαι πρὸς με, πότε εὔξωμαι περὶ σοῦ καὶ περὶ τῶν θεραπόντων σου καὶ περὶ τοῦ λαοῦ σου ἀφανίσαι τοὺς βατράχους ἀπὸ σοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ σου καὶ ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν ὑμῶν, πλὴν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ ὑπολειφθήσονται.

Preceded by a prepositional phrase with πρός +acc., Joseph's question "τι ευξωμαι περι αυτης"—has elements in common with Moses' answers in *Exodus* 8:24 (εὔξωμαι περὶ σου) and *Exodus* 8:8 (εὔξομαι πρὸς τὸν θεόν). Pharaoh specifies "πρὸς κυρίον". The account on the plage of the κυνόμυια in *Exodus* 8 features two more sentences with the verb εὔχεσθαι—in both, the phrase reads "ηὔξατο πρὸς θεόν". In the account on the frogs—where it is "πρὸς κυρίον"—the verb is βοᾶν, not εὔχεσθαι, and the genitive of "περί" is "τοῦ ὁρισμοῦ τῶν βατράχων". The only instance of εὔχεσθαι in the writings of the Old and the New Testaments in which Moses is the grammatical subject of εὔχεσθαι and the pattern is ηὔξατο +πρὸς κύριον +περὶ +gen. is in the account on the making of the serpent of bronze in *Numbers* 21:7.

> καὶ παραγενόμενος ὁ λαὸς πρὸς Μωυσῆν ἔλεγον ὅτι
> ἡμάρτομεν ὅτι κατελαλήσαμεν κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ κατὰ σου· εὔξαι οὖν πρὸς κύριον, καὶ ἀφελέτω ἀφ᾽ ἡμῶν τὸν ὄφιν.
> καὶ ηὔξατο Μωυσῆς πρὸς κύριον περὶ του λαοῦ.
> καὶ εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς Μωυσῆν
> ποίησον σεαυτῷ ὄφιν καὶ θὲς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ σημείου, καὶ ἔσται ἐὰν δάκῃ ὄφις ἄνθρωπον, πᾶς ὁ δεδηγμένος ἰδὼν αὐτὸν[408] ζήσεται.
> καὶ ἐποίησεν Μωυσῆς ὄφιν χακλοῦν καὶ ἔστησεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ σημείου, καὶ ἐγένετο ὅταν ἔδακνεν ὄφις ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ἐπέβλεψεν ἐπὶ τὸν ὄφιν τὸν χαλκοῦν καὶ ἔζη.

Λόγος προφορικός and ἐνδιάθετος

The preposition "ἐν" is used twice in the narrative preceding the participle "λέγουσα"[409] in the account on Anna in the garden. The repetition suggests that the personal

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[408] The difference in wording between the instruction and the execution highlights that the relative pronoun "αὐτόν" in the instruction (the direct object of "ἰδὼν") has an ambiguous antecedent—"ὄφις" (the direct object of "θές" or the grammatical subject of "δάκη") or "ἄνθρωπος".

pronoun refers to the laurel tree (εν τη δαφνιδεα),[410] thus likening Anna to a sparrow and her "making a lament" and "speaking" in the tree to the activities and sounds of these "birds of heaven" (πετινα του ουρανου).[411] But because of the position of the prepositional phrase between the personal name Anna and the participle "λεγουσα", it is also possible that the pronoun refers to Anna (εν αυτη), which would place inside her the "making of a lament" and the "speaking" and portray Anna (in her entreaty) as Hannah, the mother of Samuel.[412] Depending on the interpretation of the referent of the pronoun, Anna's words are audible or silent.

An allusion to *Isaiah* (and later an allusion to Hannah's vow)[413] puts the second (aspirated) reading of "εν αυτη" first. The question "τις μοι εγγηννησεν" defines "εν αυτη" more closely by aligning the prepositional phrase in Anna's lament to a prepositional phrase in a prophecy in chapter 49 of the book of *Isaiah*—"καὶ ἐρεῖς ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου Τίς ἐγέννησέν μοι τούτους;" The "technical" implications of the two prepositional phrases—εν αυτη in *P. Bodmer 5*, ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ in *Isaiah*—are clarified through the verb προφέρειν in the sentence at the end of the lament.[414]

Προφέρειν, contrasted to "εν αυτη λεγουσα", describes Anna's words as "λόγοι" (corresponding to "οι καρποι αυτης"[415] [i.e., "τῆς γῆς"]) and points to a distinction between two species of λόγος—one ἐνδιάθετος (emphasizing "ἐν αὐτῇ"), the other

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[409] See 3.1 [6.2].
[410] 3.1 [5.17].
[411] See 3.1 [6.11].
[412] See 1 Kgs 1:13, 15.
[413] See 4.1 [8.1-4], 1 Kgs 1:11.
[414] See 3.3 [7.9-10].
[415] 3.3 [7.10].

προφορικός. The "λόγοι" spoken by Anna "ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ" are "ἐνδιάθετοι", according to the author of an explanation of the noun "προφορά" in Dionysius Trax' definition of "ἀνάγνωσις" as "ποιημάτων ἢ συγγραμμάτων ἀδιάπτωτος προφορά".[416]

> τί ἐστιν ἀδιάπτωτος προφορά; ἀδιάπτωτον μὲν οὖν νόησον τὸν ἀμετάπτωτον σκοπὸν τοῦ ἀναγινώσκοντος, τουτέστιν μὴ ἔξω τῆς προκειμένης ἀναγνώσεως μεταπίπτοντα· προφορὰν δὲ τὴν διὰ φωνῆς ἐκφορὰν τοῦ λόγου νόησον· ἔστι γὰρ λόγος προφορικὸς ὁ διὰ φωνῆς ἐκφερόμενος, καὶ ἔστιν λόγος ἐνδιάθετος ὁ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μελετώμενος.[417] πρῶτος δέ ἐστιν ὁ ἐνδιάθετος τοῦ προφορικοῦ· πρῶτον γὰρ μελετῶμεν ὃ θέλομεν εἰπεῖν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ἡμῶν ἐνδιαθέτως, καὶ οὕτως τότε προφορικῶς ἐκφέρομεν.

The allusion to the "twofold" λόγος at the beginning and end of the lament stresses the question and answer on "ἄλογα ζῷα" in the middle and the prepositional phrase "κατὰ καιρόν" at the end. Ἄλογα ζῷα, in the second context, stresses that ἐνδιάθετος is linked to a definition of "ἄνθρωπος" as "ζῷον λογικὸν θνητόν", since ἄλογα ζῷα, too, can have a "λόγος προφορικός".[418] But in contrast to the sounds issued by "ἄλογα ζῷα", a human's voice is "brought forth" by thought[419]—the completion of which is indicated by a στιγμή (since syllables, not μέρη λέξεως determine the "length" of the utterance).

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[416] *Grammatici Graeci* 1.3, 568.36-42.

[417] Similar (with emphasis on the etymology of "φωνή" as "φωτίζουσα νοῦν") in *Eustathii archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam*, 2 vols. in 1, ed. G. Stallbaum (Leipzig: Weigel, 1:1825; 2:1826, repr. 1970), vol. 2, 7.36 τοιοῦτος γὰρ ὁ προφορικὸς λόγος, διαφωτίζων τοῖς ἀκροαταῖς τὸν ἐνδιάθετον, ὃς ἐν καρδίᾳ μελετᾶται. With "λαλούμενος" in the place of "μελετώμενος" in Basil of Caesarea, *In illud: In principio erat verbum*, PG 31.477.1-7 (combining Jn 1:1 and 1 Cor 13:1).

[418] E.g., see Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus mathematicos* 8.275-76 οἱ δὲ δογματικοὶ πρὸς ἔκαστον μὲν τῶν οὕτως ἐπικεχειρημένων πεφίμωνται, τοὐναντίον δὲ κατασκευάζοντές φασιν, ὅτι ἄνθρωπος οὐχὶ τῷ προφορικῷ λόγῳ διαφέρει τῶν ἀλόγων ζῴων (καὶ γὰρ κόρακες καὶ ψιττακοὶ καὶ κίτται ἐνάρθρους προφέρονται φωνάς), ἀλλὰ τῷ ἐνδιαθέτῳ, οὐδὲ τῇ ἁπλῇ μόνον φαντασίᾳ (ἐφαντασιοῦτο γὰρ κἀκεῖνα), ἀλλὰ τῇ μεταβατικῇ καὶ συνθετικῇ. Here, "προφορικὸς λόγος" is associated with a "φωνὴ ἔναρθρος" (and contrasted to "ἐνδιάθετος λόγος"—implied through the reference to ἐπιχειρήματα).

[419] E.g., see Diog. Laert. 7.55.4-56.8 ἔστι δὲ φωνὴ ἀὴρ πεπληγμένος ἢ τὸ ἴδιον αἰσθητὸν ἀκοῆς, ὥς φησι Διογένης ὁ Βαβυλώνιος ἐν τῇ Περὶ φωνῆς τέχνῃ. ζῴου μέν ἐστι φωνὴ ἀὴρ ὑπὸ ὁρμῆς πεπληγμένος, ἀνθρώπου δ' ἐστὶν ἔναρθρος καὶ ἀπὸ διανοίας ἐκπεμπομένη, ὡς ὁ Διογένης φησίν, ἥτις ἀπὸ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν τελειοῦται. ... λέξις δέ ἐστιν κατὰ τοὺς Στωικούς, ὥς φησι Διογένης, φωνὴ ἐγγράμματος, οἷον Ἡμέρα. λόγος δέ ἐστι φωνὴ σημαντικὴ ἀπὸ διανοίας ἐκπεμπομένη, <οἷον Ἡμέρα ἐστί>. διάλεκτος δέ ἐστι λέξις κεχαραγμένη ἐθνικῶς τε καὶ Ἑλληνικῶς, ἢ λέξις ποταπή, τουτέστι ποιὰ κατὰ διάλεκτον, οἷον κατὰ μὲν τὴν Ἀτθίδα Θάλαττα, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰάδα Ἡμέρη.

Διαστολή

What is the purpose of the allusion, in 13.1, to the two interconnected accounts in *Exodus* 8, and why are these passages associated with *Numbers* 14? Both passages in *Exodus* contain technical vocabulary—"διαστολή" in the plague of the κυνόμυια, "ὁρισμός" in the plague of the frogs—and examples illustrating them. In addition, both frame the account on the plague of the gnats, explained by the ἐπαοιδοὶ as "δάκτυλος θεοῦ"[420]—a link to the "πλάκες λίθιναι".[421] In *Exodus* 8, the announcement of the παραδοξάζειν of the land is followed by an explanation of the purpose of "τὸ σημεῖον τοῦτο",

ἵνα εἰδῇς ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι κύριος ὁ κύριος πάσης τῆς γῆς καὶ δώσω διαστολὴν ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ἐμοῦ λαοῦ καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σοῦ λαοῦ· ἐν δὲ τῇ αὔριον ἔσται τὸ σημεῖον τοῦτο ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

The attributive position of the personal pronouns in "τοῦ ἐμου λαοῦ" and "τοῦ σοῦ λαοῦ" addresses διαστολή and points to a distinction in the ἀπόδοσις of Pharaoh's vow between "τοῦ ἐμοῦ λαοῦ" and "τὸν λαόν" and an ambiguity in θύσωσιν (who, whom?), both highlighted in Moses's response "ἀπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ σοῦ ἀφανίσαι τοὺς βατράχους". The repetition of "ἀπό", and the beginning of the sentence with a verb suggest a paritition into four clauses (mentioning "κύριος" in the first and the last).

εὔξασθε περὶ ἐμοῦ πρὸς κύριον καὶ
περιελέτω τοὺς βατράχους ἀφ' ἐμοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐμοῦ λαοῦ καὶ
ἐξαποστελῶ τὸν λαόν καὶ
θύσωσιν κυρίῳ

The distinction between two λαοί in the phrase "ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ἐμοῦ λαοῦ καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σοῦ λαοῦ" highlights that "καί"—the first syllable of the second group of 24 syllables, between the two prepositional phrases with "ἀπό"—can be a sign of the beginning

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[420] Ex 8:15.
[421] Ex 31:18, Dt 9:10.

of a new thought that marks a turning from the request to the ἀπόδοσις. Such a division into two sections is suggested by a change in the mood of the verbs (from aorist imperative to future indicative) and through the number of syllables in each section (2x24).

εὔξασθε περὶ ἐμοῦ πρὸς κύριον καὶ
περιελέτω τοὺς βατράχους ἀφ' ἐμοῦ
καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐμοῦ λαοῦ
καὶ ἐξαποστελῶ τὸν λαόν
καὶ θύσωσιν κυρίῳ

Since it is placed between "ἐξαποστελῶ" and "θύσωσιν", the accusative "τὸν λαόν" can be the direct object of either one of the two verbs.[422] To avoid this ambiguity, the sentence requires a brief stop after the last "καί".

8x6 Syllables

	εὔξασθε περὶ ἐ	ε↓
	μοῦ πρὸς κύριον καὶ	ι
	περιελέτω τοὺς	ς
β↓	βατράχους ἀφ' ἐμου	
α	καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐμου	
λ	λαοῦ καὶ ἐξαποστ	τ↓
ε	ελῶ τὸν λαόν καὶ	ι
	θύσωσιν κυρίω	

With shorter lines, other acrostics emerge.

4x3			**8x3**			**4x3**		
			περιε					
			λέτω τοὺς					
εὔξασθε π	π↓		βατράχους	σ↓		στελῶ τὸν	ν↓	
ερὶ ἐ	ε		ἀφ' ἐμου κ	κ		λαόν καὶ	ι	
μοῦ πρὸς κύρ	ρ		αι ἀπο	ο		θύσωσιν κ	κ	
ιον καὶ	ι		τοῦ ἐμου λ	λ		υρίω	ω	
			αοῦ και	ι				
			ἐξαπο	ο				

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[422] Addressed in Ex 8:22.

The position of the prepositional phrase ἐν τῇ αὔριον indicates problems with the division of the sentence according to verbs. (But it does stress a parallelism aligning διαστολήν and τὸ σημεῖον τοῦτο.)

> ἵνα εἰδῇς ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι κύριος ὁ κύριος πάσης τῆς γῆς καὶ
> δώσω διαστολὴν
> ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ἐμου λαοῦ
> καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σοῦ λαοῦ
> ἐν δὲ τῇ αὔριον
> ἔσται τὸ σημεῖον τοῦτο
> ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς

Consideration of number and acrostics does not recommend a division (e.g., ἄτομα are indivisible by definition).

16x4	A	l	l	r	B	l	r
ἵνα εἰδῇς	8			σ			
ὅτι ἐγώ	6			ω			
εἰμι κύρι	8			ι			
ος ὁ κύρι	7			ι			
ος πάσης τῇ	9	**o↓**		η	10		σ
ς γῆς καὶ δώσω δ	12	**σ**		δ	10	γ	ω
ιαστολὴν	8	**ι**		ν	8	δ	**η↓**
ἀνὰ μέσον	8	**α**	**α↓**	ν	9	ν	**ν**
τοῦ ἐμοῦ λα	9		**τ**	α	9	**τ↓**	α
οῦ καὶ ἀνὰ	8		**o**	α	8	**o**	**α↓**
μέσον τοῦ σοῦ λ	12		**μ**	λ	11	μ	**υ**
αοῦ ἐν δὲ τ	8		**α**	**τ↓**	9	λ	**τ**
ῇ αὔριο	6			**o**	6	**η↓**	**o**
ν ἔσται τὸ σημ	11			**μ**	11	**ν**	μ
ειον τοῦτο	9			**o**		μ	o
ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς	9			**ς**		ϵ	ς

In Moses' address to Pharaoh in the plague of the κυνόμυια, the adverb "αὔριον" separates the announcement of the departure (ἀπελεύσεσθαι) of the κυνόμυια and the order not to add to the deceiving. "Αὔριον" (a "καιρός") is the time in given by Moses in announcing the departure of the κυνόμυια—corresponding to the time (ἐν αὔριον, similarly

between two verbs—δώσω and ἔσται) when "τὸ σημεῖον τοῦτο" came to be on the land. The adverb draws back on Pharaoh's answer—"ὁ δὲ εἶπεν εἰς αὔριον". Ἐξαπατᾶν is linked to the words (or manner) of the statement and to its tense (τὸ μέλλον, not specifying the καιρός).

"Ζαχχαριας"

In *P. Bodmer 5,* a brief reference to Zechariah's silence and its duration (10.1) and two reference to his being murdered are linked through a unique spelling of the name—Ζαχχαριας instead of Ζαχαριας.[423] The spelling, which is not attested in any other literary sources, thus visually (and audibly[424]) connects accounts on two events that, in all versions of *PJ,* are also linked through references to a φωνή, allusions or references to the pouring out of water or of blood, and through intertexts—the narrative on the annuntiation of the birth of John the Baptist in *Luke* and chapter 9 in the book of *Daniel*[425] and 10 (απεσταλην and οραν οπτασιαν), the models for the two "sides" of the narrative in *Luke.*

The text in *Luke* also provides the model for Zechariah's inquiry and prayer "περι αυτης" after the council of the priests when Mary has been in the temple for twelve years. This associates these texts with Joseph's question in 13.1—through "εὔξεσθαι ..."—alluding, therefore, to *Exodus* 8 and to the making of the serpent of bronze.

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[423] See 10.2 Ζαχχαριας εσιγησεν, 23.3 περι το διαφαυμα εφονευθη Ζαχχαριας, and 24.2 Ζαχχαριας εφονευται.
[424] The doubling of the consonant lenghtens the first syllable.
[425] Through references to the "ὥρα θυμιάματος" and to Gabriel in Lk 1:19, 10; see Dn 9:21, 8:16.

Given that there are these other links, why connect the two passages through the unusual spelling?

Openings

The unusual spelling of the name Ζαχχαριας serves to encourage comparing (σύγκρισις)—and clarifying through the drawing of analogies—seemingly unrelated or disconnected parts of the narrative(s). Visual parallels and symmetries between individual elements of the text displayed on facing pages faciliate a comparative mode of reading. At the same time, the nearly but not entirely effected juxtaposition of repeated phrases (or the syntactical continuation of lines) suggests alterating the relative positions of words in lines of juxtaposed sections of the column, for example by displaying the text in lines of equal lenghth.

κβ´ and κγ´

The name Zechariah occurs twice on page κβ´ of the papyrus (10.1). It is first spelled Ζαχα/ριας (ll. 4-5, with elongated *iota*), divided through a line break into two groups of four letters and four syllables, and then Ζαχχαριας (l. 7, centered).[426]

The text on page κβ´ is written in fifteen lines, with marginal emendations at the end of line 2 and the beginning of line 3 and an interlinear emendation between lines 2 and 3.

[426] The addition of a second *chi* raises the number of letters from eight to nine. This has the (intended or uninteded) effect of creating an acrostic with the *nomen sacrum* ΧΡΣ (χριστός) when the nine letters are displayed in three lines of three.

The facing page (κγ´) has the same number of lines (15), and two corrections.[427] The opening displays visual parallels through juxtaposition (παράθεσις) (based on continuation of the lines in reading) that invite drawing analogies between what is on the left and what is on the right.[428] For example, the clause with the customary spelling "Ζαχαριας"—"Ζαχαριας εσιγησεν"—is on the same height on page κβ´ as "και ηλκεν την προφυραν" is on page κγ´ (corresponding to "μαρια δε λαβουσα το κοκκινον εκλωθε(ν)); etymological links between ἕλκειν and κλώθειν (connecte through κατάκλωθειν)[429] and between κλώθειν and γλῶσσα[430] and portrayals of both Ζαχαριας and Μαρια as wise persons[431] suggest an implied comparison between the silence of the one and the words spoken by the other. Similarly, the name Ζαχχαριας is in the same position as the name μαρια in "λεγων μη φοβου μαρια ..." (the first syllable of the name is the eighth syllable from the end of the line)—thus suggesting an allusion to the first words of the angel in *Luke* 1:13 with the

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[427] On page κγ´, the noun "καπι(ν)" (l. 2) is corrected to read "καλπι(ν)" (a *lambda* is placed in raised position between the letters *alpha* and *pi*); the correction corresponds in its position on the page to "την" on page κβ´. A personal pronoun (αυτου) has been added in line 9 after "λογου", written above the letters "η δε" on the base line. The emendation αυτου in line 9 of κγ´ is in the same line as the sentence with "καλπιν" on page κβ´.

[428] E.g., in line 3, "λαβουσα" (κβ´) is mirrored by "ελαβεν" (κγ´); in line 7, the name "μαρια" occurs on both sides (in the nom. on p. κβ´, in the voc. on p. κγ´); similar, in line 12, "λεγουσα" (limiting φωνη, followed by the question "ποθεν") on page μβ´ has a counterpart on page μγ´ ("λεγουσα εν αυτη", limiting μαρια).

[429] E.g., see *EM* 495.24-28 <κατάκλωθες>: κατάκλωθές τε βαρεῖαι [Od. 7.196-8]. αἰ ἐπικλώσεις τῶν Μοιρῶν, παρὰ τὸ κλώθω· τοῦτο δὲ παρὰ τὸ κάτω καθέλκειν τοὺς τῶν νημάτων ὁκλούς· <κλώθειν> γὰρ τὸ νήθειν· ὅθεν καὶ <κλώστης>, παρὰ τὸν κλώσω μέλλοντα, καὶ <κλωστήρ>.

[430] E.g., see Orion, *Etymologicum (excerpta e cod. Darmstadino 2773), gamma* 613.23-26 γλῶσσα, οἱον γνῶσσα· διαγνωθικὴ οὖσα τῶν κρυπτῶν ἰδιωμάτων· ἢ κλωσσά τίς ἐστι· κλωθομένη γὰρ τὴν ἔναρθρον φωνὴν ἀποδίδωσι γλίχεσθαι, παρὰ τὸ λίαν ἔχεσθαι, *EM* 235.20-24 <γλῶσσα>: παρὰ τὸ γνῶ γνώσω γνῶσα καὶ γλῶσσα, ἡ ὑπὸ γνῶσιν ἄγουσα τὰ ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ· ἢ δι᾿ ἧς τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς βουλεύματα γινώσκομεν. ἢ παρὰ τὸ κλώθω κλώσω, κλῶσα, καὶ γλῶσσα· κλωθομένης γὰρ τῆς γλώσσης ἐξέρχονται οἱ λόγοι. ἢ διὰ τὸ εὐχερῶς κλᾶσθαι· καὶ γὰρ κλωμένη τὴν ἔναρθρον φωνὴν ἀποδίδωσι.

[431] The reference to Zechariah's silence (10.1 [22.4-5] εσιγησεν; see Lk 1:20 καὶ ἰδοὺ ἔσῃ σιωπῶν καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος λαλῆσαι) suggests an allusion to Sir 20:5-7 ἔστιν σιωπῶν εὑρισκόμενος σοφός, / καὶ ἔστιν μισητὸς ἀπὸ πολλῆς λαλιᾶς. / ἔστιν σιωπῶν, οὐ γὰρ ἔχει ἀπόκρισιν, / καὶ ἔστιν σιωπῶν εἰδὼς καιρόν. / ἄνθρωπος σοφὸς σιγήσει ἕως καιροῦ, / ὁ δὲ λαπιστὴς καὶ ἄφρων ὑπερβήσεται καιρόν. Through her spinning of material for the weaving of the curtain of the temple (10.1 [21.2-3, 21.14-22.4]), Mary is implicitly compared to the women described in Ex 35:25 καὶ πᾶσα γυνὴ σοφὴ τῇ διανοίᾳ ταῖς χερσὶν νήθειν ἤνεγκαν νενησμένα, τὴν ὑάκινθον καὶ τὴν πορφύραν καὶ τὸ κόκκινον καὶ τὴν βύσσον.

vocative of the name Zechariah—"μὴ φοβοῦ, Ζαχαρία". (In *PJ*, the vocative occurs two times, both times in the angel's instructions to Zechariah in 8.2 [18.4-5].)

κβ´   κγ´

βυσσον και το σιρικον και το υα   γενομενη εισηει εις τον οικον
κινθινον και το κοκκινον και   την   αυτης και αναπαυσασα την κα^λπι(ν)

αληθινην   πορφυραν και τοκκινον

λαβουσα εποιει εν τω οικω αυ   ελαβεν την πορφυραν και εκαθι
της τω δε καιρω εκινω **ζαχα**   σεν επι τω θρονω και ηλκεν
ριας εσιγησεν εγενετο αντι   την πορφυραν και ειδου εστη
αυτου σαμουηλ μεχρι οτε ε>   *   αγγελος ενωπιον λεγων μη
λαλησεν **ζαχχαριας** μαρια δε   *   φοβου μαρια ευρες γαρ χαριν>
λαβουσα το κοκκινον εκλωθε(ν)   *   ενωπιον του παντων δεσποτου
και ελαβεν την καλπιν και εξηλ   *   συνλημψη εγ λογου ^αυτου η δε ακου
θεν γεμισε υδωρ και ιδου αυ·   σασα μαρια διεκριθη εν εαυτη
τη **φωνη** λεγουσα χαιρε χα   *   *   λεγουσα εγω συνλημψομε>
ριτωμενη συ εν γυναιξιν και   *   *   απο ΚΥ ΘΥ ζωντος ως πασα γυ
περιεβλεπεν τα δεξια και τα   *   νη γεννα και ειδου αγγελος ε
αριστερα μαρια ποθεν αυτη   στη αυτη λεγων αυτη ουχ ουτως
ειη η **φωνη** και εντρομος   μαρια δυναμις γὰρ ΘΥ επισκια

The sentence with the name Ζαχχαριας is short (38 syllables), especially compared to the much longer account on the discovery of his death. It comprises two main clauses bound together in a chiasm, without conjunction or particle—the first clause begins with a reference to time and ends with a verb, the second clause begins with a verb and ends with a reference to time. The name "Ζαχχαριας" is immediately followed by the name "Μαρια", the grammatical subject of the next clause (marked off against the preceding one through "δέ"). This has the effect of juxtaposing two syllables that (disregarding the boundaries of the "λόγοι" and of the individual "μέρη λέξεως") can be pronounced together as "ᾆσμα". In a more complex form, the same continuation of a word (in the same line, without consideration of the empty space between the individual sections of the column) occurs in the

text of a "trisected" column in which the three names Ζαχαριας, Σαμουηλ, and Ζαχχαριας

are at the bottom of each section of the column.

	A 6x2	**B 7x2**	**C 6x2**
1		σιγη	
↑	τω δε	σεν ε	μεχρι
Time	καιρω	**γενετ** →	**o** τε
↓	εκιν	**o a**	ε> λαλ
5 ↑	ω **ζ a** →	**ντι** αυτ →	ησ εν
Name	**χαρι**	ου **σα**	**ζαχχαρ**
↓	**as** ε	**μου ηλ** →	<u>**ιας**</u>

The text displays the preposition "ἀντί" twice (in column B ll. 4-5; and in l. 5 AB,

with an additional genitive—αυτης (paralleling αυτου)), and similarly the verb "ἐγενετο"

(in column B ll. 2-4; and in l. 3 BC). The last line adds a name composed of a part of the

name Σαμουηλ and a part of the name Ζαχχαριας—ʿΗλίας (l. 7 BC). In the context of the

sentence (alluding to the birth of John the Baptist and to the song of Zechariah), the name

ʿΗλίας points to the prophecy about Elijah in the prophet *Malachi*[432] and to the reports on the

Transfiguration.[433]

This reading the text vertically (from top to bottom) and horizontally (from left to

right) applies to the text on the pages of the openings as well, without any re-scribing and

arranging of the letters. The description of Mary's reaction to the voice—"περιεβλεψεν τα

δεξια και τα αριστερα"[434]—suggests following her example in applying such an

examining of two sides (and of the question πόθεν;[435]) also in the case of the "φωνὴ

ἐγγράμματος" displayed in single columns on the two pages, or on one page in two

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[432] See Mal 3:22; Mt 17:10-13, Mk 9:11-13.
[433] See Mt 17:3, Mk 9:4, Lk 9:30-31.
[434] 11.1 [22.13-14]. The verb "περιβλέπειν" associates this passage with the description of Elizabeth's search for a τόπος ἀπόκρυφος, in 22.3 [43.11].
[435] 11.1 [22.14]; see 13.3 [28.13, 29.1].

columns. Similarly, distinguishing (διακρίνειν) between (and then comparing) what is earlier and what is later—e.g., the words of the "φωνη λεγουσα" (below the sentence with "διεκριθη" and to the left of Mary's question) and of the "αγγελος λεγων"[436] (above the sentence with "διεκριθη")—is recommended through the emphasis on time in the description, on page κβ΄, of the duration of Zechariah's silence ("Τω δε καιρω εκινω", "μεχρι οτε") and through allusions, on page κγ΄, to the order of the travelers on their journey to Bethlehem (17.2).[437]

μϛ΄ and μζ΄

The other two instances of the name Zechariah spelled "Ζαχχαριας" are written on facing pages near the end of the manuscript (μϛ΄ and μζ΄). On page μϛ΄, the name written on the base line is spelled Ζαχαριας; a second "χ" and a στιγμή are placed in a raised position between the letters *alpha* and *chi* (ζα^χ˙χαριας). On page μζ΄, both *chis* share the same base line, but are separated by a line break and a dot (ζαχ˙/χαριας). The names are the grammatical subjects of "εφονευθη" ([46.4]) and "εφονευται" ([47.6]), respectively.

μϛ΄	μζ΄
ποτες μου δεξητε οτι αθοο(ν)	σαν παντες τολμησας δε >
* αιμα εκχυνις εις το^a προθυρα	τις εξ αυτων εισηλθεν εις το
του ναου ΚΥ και περι το διαφαυ *	αγιασμα και ειδεν παρα το θυ

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[436] In lines 12-13 the φωνή "χαιρε κεχαριτωμενη συ εν γυναιξιν" corresponds to Mary's paraphrase of the message of the angel—Mary's words are thus a paraphrase of both the φωνή and the message; in addition, Mary discerns "in herself" the two messages in the lines on the two pages (ll. 6-9 on page κγ΄ and 11-12 on page κβ΄) connected through the sentence "μαρια διεκριθη εν εαυτη" (l. 10) on page κγ΄.

[437] The name Samuel and the verbs "ηλκεν" and "εκαθισεν" occur in 10.1-11.1 and in 17.2 [35.15-36.2]—και εστρωσεν τον ονον και εκαθισεν αυτην και ηλκεν ο υιος αυτου και ηκολουθι Σαμουηλ.

μα **εφονευθη** <u>ζα^χ·χαριας</u>   *   σιαστηριον ΚΥ αιμα πεπηγος

5   και ουκ ηδεισαν οι υιοι ΙΗΛ πως   * *   και **φωνην** λεγουσαν <u>ζαχ·</u>

   εφων˙ευθη αλλα την ωραν   * *   <u>χαριας</u> **εφονευται** και ουκ εξα

   του ασπασμου απηλθασιν   *   λιφθησηται το αιμα αυτου εως

   οι ιερεις και ουκ ηπηντησεν   *   ελθη εκδικος και ακουσας τω(ν)

   αυτοις κατα το εθος τη ευλογι   λογων τουτων εφοβηθη >

10   α του ζαχαριου και εστησαν   και εξηλθεν και ενηγγιλεν

   οι ιερεις προσδοκωντες το(ν)   τοις ιερευσιν α ειδεν και ηκου

   ζαχαριαν τους ασπασασ   σαν και ειδαν το γεγονος τα πα

   θαι αυτον εν ευχῃ^{αις} και δοξα   θνωματα του ναου ολολυξα(ν)

   σαι^ς τον ψιστον ΘΝ χρονι   και αυτοι περιεσχισαντο επα

15   σαντος δε αυτου εφοβηθη   νωθεν εως κατω και το πτω·

The position (on the same base line) and size of the two *chis* link the name on page μζ´ (ll. 5-6) to the name on page κβ´ (l.), in the paraphrase with the allusions to Gabriel's pronouncement (on not being able to speak)[438] and the opening of Zechariah's mouth at the naming of John.[439] At the same time, the combination of letter and στιγμή (χ·) associates the lines with the third instance of the name (with this spelling) on page μζ´ with the "corrected" version on the preceding page (μϛ´), a relation stressed through the verb φονεύειν and the positions of the names in lines at roughly the same height on facing pages.

The spatial juxtposition of the name of Zechariah spelled with two *chis* highlights a difference in the spelling of two finite verbs in the passive voice on page μζ´ that, at first glance, seems to result from an uncorrected, unintended mistake—the first verb reads "εφονευθη", the second "εφωνευθη". The misspelling of the second verb is especially eyecatching because it is placed side by side with a second instance of the verb φονεύειν in the same line on the page to the right (μζ´), this time in the middle voice—"εφονευται".

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[438] See Lk 1:20.
[439] See Lk 1:64.

The same page also offers an analogue for the long second vowel of "ἐφωνευθη" (23.3 [46.6])—the noun "φωνη" (24.2 [47.5]). This raises a question—which verb, or noun, is the "ὀρθογραφία"?

ἡ πορφύρα: νήθειν, κλώθειν, and στρωφᾶν

"Ζαχαριας εσιγησεν" is on the same height on the left side (κβ´) of the opening as "και ηλκεν την προφυραν" is on the right (κγ´). This juxtaposition suggests that the material spun by Mary corresponds to the words spoken by her.

In 11.1, Mary's words and appearance are described through allusions—through the task of spinning for the curtain of the temple, she is presented in 11.1 as "γυνη σοφη εν διανοια"; the angel's words "ευρες γαρ χαριν ενωπιον του παντων δεσποτου" in 11.1 portray her as an Esther;[440] "εκαθισεν" (11.1) associates her—through "εστρωσεν" in 17.2—with Judith.[441]

Of what kind the words spoken by Esther are, this is indicted in Esther's entreaty in preparation for her meeting with the king. Esther requests of the Lord

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[440] See Est 5:8, 7:3.

[441] See Jdt 12:15 καὶ ἔστρωσεν αὐτῇ ... χαμαὶ τὰ κώδια. Judith's words require following along; see Jdt 11:5-6. The implied comparison between Mary and Judith (strenghthened through allusions to the book of *Judith* in 1.2 (Jdt 4:14 προσέφερον) and 25.1 (Jdt 6:1 κατέπαυσεν ὁ θόρυβος) (the response to Achior's λόγος)) portrays Mary as having wisdom, being "ἀγαθὴ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῆς", and having σύνεσις λόγων; see and Jdt 11:20-23. The allusion, in 11.1 (and 17.2), to Judith as γυνὴ ἀγαθή (Jdt 11:5-6 connects as intertext the passages with "ἐκάθισεν" in 11.1, 17.2) prepares the prediction, in 25.2 (with 14.2), that those who fear the Lord will have this χάρις—an allusion to the γυνὴ ἀγαθή of Sir 26.3.

δὸς λόγον εὔρυθμον εἰς τὸ στόμα μου ἐνώπιον τοῦ λέοντος καὶ μετάθες τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ εἰς μῖσος τοῦ πολεμοῦντος ἡμᾶς εἰς συντέλειαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ὁμονοούντων αὐτῷ.[442]

The reference to ῥυθμός associates the λόγος for which Esther asks with number (ἀριθμός) and with speech that, while emphasizing the "χρόνων τάξις"[443]—and thus the arrangment of phrases and κῶλα into περίοδοι—never is entirely metrical.

The depiction of the scene, the paraphrasing of "κλώθειν" and "νήθειν" as "ἕλκειν",[444] and the references to πορφύρα[445]—"ἡ αληθινη πορφυρα"[446] (i.e., ἁλιπόρφυρα) and "πορφυρα"[447]—suggest that the author draws not only on Scriptural models but also on Homeric ones, and especially on two παραδείγματα from the *Odyssey*— Helen and Arete. The reference to the θρόνος points to Helen[448] and (where speech is

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[442] Est 4:17ˢ.

[443] E.g., see Anonymi in Hermogenem, *Commentarium in librum περὶ ἰδεῶν*, in *Rhetores Graeci*, vol. 7.2, ed. C. Walz (1834; repr., Stuttgart: Cotta, 1968), 861-1087 at 892.7-893.13, especially 892.7-893.5 κ΄. ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς τοιᾶσδε συνθήκης τῆς λέξεως καὶ τῆς καταλήξεως τῶν κώλων ὁ τοιόσδε συνίσταται ῥυθμός· ῥυθμὸς δέ ἐστι χρόνος διῃρημένος ὑπὸ λέξεως ἢ κινήσεως κατά τινα τάξιν ὡρισμένην λόγῳ, ὡς δὲ Ἀριστόξενος καὶ Ἡφαιστίων φασὶ, χρόνων τάξις. χρόνος δέ ἐστι μόριον ποδὸς ἢ φωνῆς μέτρον ἐλάχιστον ἢ μέτρον τι κινήσεως, καὶ ὥσπερ ἐκ χειρῶν τυχὸν καὶ ποδῶν μερῶν ὄντων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁ ἄνθρωπος συνίσταται, ὅς ἐστιν εἶδος, οὕτως ἐκ συνθήκης καὶ ἀναπαύσεως γίνεται ὁ ῥυθμός, ἐκ μερῶν ὄντων ἐκείνων, αὐτὸς ὥσπερ εἶδος ὤν. διαιρεῖται δὲ εἰς ἄρσιν καὶ θέσιν.

[444] See *Il.* 12.433-35 ἀνέλκει. And *EM* 495.24-28 <κατακλῶθες>: κατάκλωθές τε βαρεῖαι [*Od.* 7.197]. αἱ ἐπικλώσεις τῶν Μοιρῶν, παρὰ τὸ κλώθω· τοῦτο δὲ παρὰ τὸ κάτω καθέλκειν τοὺς τῶν νημάτων ὁλκούς· <κλώθειν> γὰρ τὸ νήθειν· ὅθεν καὶ <κλώστης>, παρὰ τὸν κλώσω μέλλοντα, καὶ <κλωστήρ>.

[445] The reference to πορφύρα and the distinction between "πορφύρα" and "ἀληθινὴ πορφύρα" are etymological glosses on the text. E.g., see *EM* 684.10-19 <πορφύρα>: ἀπὸ τοῦ πορφύρω ῥήματος, τοῦ σημαίνοντος τὸ βουλεύομαι, γίνεται πορφύρα· τοῦτο παρὰ τὸ περιφέρειν τὸν νοῦν ὧδε κἀκεῖσε. Ὀδυσσείας δ΄. πολλὰ δὲ οἱ κραδίη πόρφυρε κιόντι [*Od.* 4.427, 572; 10.309]. τὸ δὲ Ἰλιάδος ξ΄, ὡς δ’ ὅτε πορφύρει πέλαγος [*Il.* 14.16]· ἀντὶ τοῦ μελανίζει. καὶ γὰρ <πορφύρεον θάνατον> λέγουσι τὸν μέλανα· καὶ <κῦμα πορφύρεον>, τὸ μέλαν. ἔνιοι δὲ μετέφρασαν τὸ πορύρει, ἀντὶ τοῦ κατὰ βάθος κινεῖται· ἔνθεν καὶ τὸ κατὰ βάθος κινεῖται· ἔνθεν καὶ τὸ κατὰ βάθος μεριμνᾶν <πορφυρεῖν> λέγουσι. And 486.30-34 <Κάλχας>: παρὰ τὸ καλχαίνειν, ὅ ἐστι κατὰ βάθος μεριμνᾶν· καὶ <κάλχη>, ἡ πορφύρα· ὅθεν παρ’ αὐτὴν πορφύρειν, τὸ μεριμνᾶν. ἢ παρὰ τὸ κάλχη, ὃ σημαίνει τὴν βοτάνην, δι’ ἧς ἡ πορφύρα βάπτεται. Κάλχας δέ ἐστιν, ὁ τὰ βάθη τῶν μαντειῶν ἐρευνῶν· ἢ ὁ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι τὰ ἐκ θεοῦ μαντεύματα φανερῶν.

[446] 10.1 [22.2-3] with marginal and interlinear emendation.

[447] 10.1 [23.3].

[448] See *Od.* 4.133-6 τόν ῥά οἱ ἀμφίπολος Φυλὼ παρέθηκε φέρουσα / νήματος ἀκητοῖο βεβυσμένον· αὐτὰρ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ / ἠλακάτη τετάνυστο ἰοδνεφὲς εἶρος ἔχουσα. / ἕζετο δ’ ἐν κλισμῷ, ὑπὸ δὲ θρῆνυς ποσὶν ἦεν.

concerned) her φάρμακα,[449] especially her μῦθος on Odysseus' secret entering of Troy.[450]

Arete is a model suggested by the references to the purple and to Mary's seated position.[451]

Τὸ κόκκινον: φωνεῖν and φονεύειν

"Φονεύειν", "φωνεῖν", "φωνή", and φόνος, together with the spelling of φατνώματα as παθνωματα in 24.3 (which provides analogies for adjusting the spellings), the announcement of an ἐκδίκησις, all associate the account on the death of Zechariah with a group of interrelated etymologies. These etymologies draw on a number of examples in Homer, and are linked through them to examples illustrating ἐπιγράφειν.

Φωνή/φονή and φωνεῖν are etymological linked to φόνος and φονεύειν.

<φωνή>:[452] παρὰ τὸ φῶς καὶ τὸν νοῦν, ἢ τὰ ἐν τῷ νῷ φωτίζουσα· ἢ τὸ τοῦ νοὸς φῶς· παρὰ τὸ φάος εἶναι τοῦ νοός· διὰ γὰρ τῆς φωνῆς τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐνθυμήματα γινώσκομεν· φαονή τις οὖσα, καὶ φωνή. τὰ δὲ εἰς ΝΗ δισύλλαβα τῷ ω παραληγόμενα βαρύνεται· πλὴν τῶν ἀπὸ τέλους ῥηματικῶν.

"Φόνος" (murder) is linked to φωνή through empasis on the sound (ἦχος) caused by the pouring (χύσις) of the blood (associating legein with χέειν—and with conceptualizations of voice/sound as liquid (flowing; with syllables as smallest units)).

<φόνος>:[453] παρὰ τὸ φῶ, τὸ φονεύω, φένω· καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ φόνος· ἀπὸ τῆς φυσήσεως, καὶ τοῦ ἤχου τοῦ γινομένου ἐν τῇ χύσει τοῦ αἴματος

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[449] See *Od.* 4.220-32.
[450] See *Od.* 4.239-64. The text of the μῦθος contains one of the grammatical examples explaining ἀναγινώσκειν, at *Od.* 4.250; for another example, see *Od.* 23.206.
[451] See *Od.* 6.52-3 ἡ μὲν ἐπ' ἐσχάρῃ ἧστο σὺν ἀμφιπόλοισι γυναιξὶν / ἠλάκατα στρωφῶσ' ἁλιπόρφυρα, 6.305-7 ἡ δ' ἧσται ἐπ' ἐσχάρῃ ἐν πυρὸς αὐγῇ, / ἠλάκατα στρωφῶσ' ἁλιπόρφυρα, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι, / κίονι κεκλιμένη.
[452] *EM* 803.803.52-57.
[453] *EM* 798.8-10.

A connection made in this entry between "φόνος" and "φένω" adds the notion of "τελειοῦν".[454]

> τὸ δὲ φόνος παρὰ τὸ φένω, τὸ ἀναιρῶ, ὡς λέγω λόγος· τὸ δὲ φένω παρὰ τὸ ἔνω, τὸ φονεύω, ἐξ οὗ καὶ Ἐνυάλιος καὶ Ἐνυώ, ἡ πολεμικὴ θεός· τὸ δὲ ἔνω παρὰ τὸ ἔω, τὸ τελειῶ.

Φένω points to an explanation of the derivation of φόνος by analogy with λέγω that combines φῶ (λέγω) and φῶ (φονεύω). Φῶ has four significations.[455]

> <φῶ>: σημαίνει δ΄· φῶ τὸ λέγω, ἐξ οὗ καὶ φωνή· φῶ, τὸ φαίνω, ἐξ οὗ καὶ φῶς· φῶ, τὸ φονεύω, ἐξ οὗ καὶ φόνος· φῶ, τό θάλπω, ἐξ οὗ καὶ φῶσαι, τὸ θάλψαι. τὸ δὲ φῶ, τὸ λέγω, παρὰ τὸ φῶς· φῶς γὰρ τῶν πραγμάτων, οἱ λόγοι.

Φόνος is source of φονή—explained as "ὁ τόπος τῶν ἀναιρουμένω"[456] or "ὁ τόπος ὅπου οἱ νεκροὶ κεῖνται"[457] , and illustrated through the story Odysseus' and Diomedes' raid of the encampment of the Thracians (see *Il.* 10.521). Φόνος and φονή, in turn, are linked to ποινή.[458]

> <Ποινή>:[459] ἡ ὑπὲρ φόνου ζημία καὶ ἀντέκτισις καὶ τιμωρία, φονή τις οὖσα, πλεονασμῷ τοῦ ι· ὅθεν καὶ παρ' Ὁμήρῳ <ἄποινα>· οἷον, *Λυσόμενός τε θύγατρα, φέρων τ' ἀπερείσι' ἄποινα.* σημαίνει δὲ τὰ ὑπὲρ ἀπολυτρώσεως φόνου προσαγόμενα δῶρα. καὶ ἄποινον ᾠδὴν τῷ κυρίῳ ὁ θεόπτης ἢ Μωϋσῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ῥυσθέντων τοῦ παρ' Αἰγυπτίων φόνου, καὶ εἶπεν, Αἴσωμεν τῷ κυρίῳ. Ἰστέον ὅτι ἔστι τείνω διὰ τῆς ΕΙ διφθόγγου· ἐξ οὗ γίνεται τοινὴ καὶ ποινή· εἰ δ' ἂν ἐμοὶ τιμὴν Πρίαμος, καὶ ἑξῆς· τίνειν οὐκ ἐθέλησι, μαχήσομαι εἵνεκα ποινῆς. ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ πόνος γένεται πονὴ καὶ ποινή. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ποινὴ γίνεται <ποιναῖος>, καὶ <ποιναίῳ>, ἀντὶ τοῦ τιμωρητικῷ.

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[454] *EG* (ἀάλιον — ζειαί) s.v. ἄποινα, 170.21-171.3.
[455] *EM* 804.1-5.
[456] *EM* 170.10.
[457] *EM* 798.12-13.
[458] See *EG* (ἀάλιον — ζειαί) s.v. ἄποινα, 170.6-171.5.
[459] *EM* 678.57-679.13.

While φονεύειν (and φόνος, through an allusion[460]) and φωνή are represented in written form on the pages of the opening, ποινή, another, related terms is only implied by the references to the ἐκδίκος and the "wiping off" of Zechariah's blood in 24.2 [47.8, 6-7].

Φονή, in the story of Odysseus' and Diomedes' raid, describes what a counselor of the Thracians sees when he wakes up.[461] The death of the men (through the hand of Diomedes) is recounted at the beginning of the story.

> ... τῷ δ' ἔμπνευσε μένος γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη,
> κτεῖνε δ' ἐπιστροφάδην· τῶν δὲ στόνος ὄρνυτ᾽ ἀεικὴς
> ἄορι θεινομένων, ἐρυθαίνετο δ' αἵματι γαῖα.

The phrase αἵματι γαῖα ἐρυθαίνειν[462] and Diomedes as the one inflicting the wounds associate the example in *Iliad* 10 illustrating a usage of φονή with one of the examples illustrating the usage of ἐπιγράφειν—in the passage with the line quoted by Dionysius Thrax in his chapter περὶ στοιχείου (ἐπιγράψας ταρσὸν ποδός),[463] Diomedes boasts that a man hit by his weapon will be caused to rot, reddening the earth with blood (ὃ δέ θ' αἵματι γαῖαν ἐρεύθων / πύθεται).[464] Through "φοινίσσειν", reddening is part of the semantic (etymological) field of φόνος—φοινός is explained with references to φόνος and to φοινίσσειν, i.e., dyeing with blood (αἵματι βάπτειν).[465]

While ἐρυθαίνειν in *Iliad* 10 is a link to the grammatical explanation of the usage of the term γράμματα, "ἐπιστροφάδην" associates the description of the φονή with στοῖχος

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[460] To Ez 43:7-8 (through τοᾱ προθυρα (sg.), in 23.3 [46.2-3]).
[461] See *Il.* 10.521 ἄνδρασ τ᾽ ἀσπαίροντας ἐν ἀργαλέῃσι φονῇσιν.
[462] See *Il.* 10.484 ἐρυθαίνετο δ' αἵματι γαῖα.
[463] *Il.* 11.388 in *Grammatici Graeci* 1.1.9.4-5.
[464] *Il.* 11.394-5.
[465] For φοινός, see *EM* 797.25ff. s.v. "φοινίξ" and 797.35 "φοινίζω"; and *EM* s.v., "Δαφοινός", "Φοίνικες", "Φοινικοῦν", "Φοινίττων".

(one of the explanations given in Dionysus Thrax for the term στοιχεῖα). The εὐναί of the men killed by Diomedes are arranged in three rows (τριστοιχί).[466]

This connection between φόνος and φονή, signaled in *P. Bodmer 5* through the spelling of the passive form of φονεύειν as "εφονευθη" 23.3 [46.4] and as "εφωνευθη" [46.6], associates the description of the coagulated blood (αιμα πεπηγος) at the side of the altar with with examples in Homer illustrating the usage of ἐπιγράφειν. In addition, these etymological allusions associate the description of the murder of Zechariah with earlier references τὸ κόκκινον, since the latter is one of the synonyms offered for ἐρυθαίνειν.[467]

"Τὸ κόκκινον" is mentioned in the Annuntiation as direct object of κλώθειν.[468] The substantivized adjective also appears in the account on the Visitation, where it denotes an object thrown by Elizabeth (12.[25.] ερριψεν το κοκκινον). The verb ῥίπτειν associates Elizabeth's κόκκινον with the σκεπάρνον thrown by Joseph at the sounding of the trumpet with which "all the widowers of the people" are gathered.[469] The implied comparison between these two objects suggests that, in Elizabeth's case, "σκεπάρνον" signifies "ἔριον".[470] The indirect allusion in 23.3 to the carpenter's axe (σκεπάρνον) additionally associates the report on the revelation of the death of Zechariah with grammatical explanations of writing and reading. In the *Odyssey*, Odysseus uses a σκεπάρνον ἐΰξοον as

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[466] See *Il*. 10.471-73.

[467] See *Iohannis Zonarae lexicon ex tribus codicibus manuscriptis*, 2 vols., ed. J. A. H. Tittmann (1808; repr., Leipzig: Crusius, 1967), 875.6 <ἐρυθαίνει>. πυῤῥὸν ποιεῖ ἢ κόκκινον ἢ μέλαν.

[468] 10.1 [22.8].

[469] See 12.2 [25.6] εριψεν το κοκκινον, 9.1 [18.13] ριψας το σκεπαρνον.

[470] See, e.g. *EM* 717.26-27 <σκέπαρνον>: τὸ ἔριον, διὰ τὸ σκέπειν τὸν ἄρνα. This allusion to the etymology of σκέπαρνον suggests that the passages with "ηλκει" in the description of Mary's spinning of the πορφύρα (11.1) and "το κοκκινον" in the account on the Annuntiation (12.2) are connected through an intertext—*Iliad* 12.434.

tool for smoothening (ξέειν) the wood cut by him for his raft.[471]   The counterpart of this

third person narrative is Odysseus' recounting of how he made the λέχος (which included

ἀμφιξέειν and ξέειν[472]). Odysseus gives σήματα ἔμπεδα[473] and σήματα ἀριφραδέα ...

τῆς εὐνῆς[474] "known again" (ἀναγινώσκειν) by Penelope through which Penelope knows

that his claim to be who he is and the report about his return are true (ἐτεόν).[475] Penelope's

explanation why she did not love him at first when she saw him—she refers to Helen who

"ἀνδρὶ αρα' ἀλλοδαπῷ ἐμίγη φιλότητι καὶ εὐνῇ"—links her account to the example of

Demeter and mentioned by Calypso, which is associated with ξῦσαι.

These allusions (which rely on cross-connections) are glosses on the report about the

death of Zechariah that associate the text with theoretical discussions of reading and writing;

their presence enourages searching it for other examples illustrating and clarifying these and

related concepts with the methods in agreement with them.

Σιγή and πέρας

The first part of *P. Bodmer 5* presents several alternative readings, since the text on

the first page does not have a "fixed" number of syllables or letters. The page features

emendations in lines 3 (η(ν)) and 15-16 (τα δω / ρα σου)) that may (or may not) be included

in the count, a group of four letters in line 5 (τω κω) that may (or may not) have been

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[471] See *Od*. 5.237 σκεπάρνον, 5.245 ξέσσε δ' ἐπισταμένως καὶ ἐπὶ στάθμην ἴθυνεν; and Od. 23.197 εὖ
καὶ ἐπισταμένως, καὶ ἐπὶ στάθμην ἴθυνα. For ξέειν (instead of—or with—ξύειν) as explanation for
γράμματα, see *EG* (ἀάλιον - ζειαί) 321.13-17.
[472] See *Od* 23.196, 199.
[473] See *Od*. 23.206.
[474] See *Od*. 23.225.
[475] See Od. 23.107-8.

cancelled, as the letters are encircled with dots and the third and fourth seem blurred, and a number in line 3 (ιβ´) that may (or may not) be counted as a syllable or as letters. Depending on whether or not the syllables and letters of the "augmented" text are included, the number of syllables can differ by six syllables (14 letters [+end *nu*], and 2 numbers).

Similar to "Ἰακωβ", the name "Ἰωακειμ" lacks a definite article and is not inflected; its grammatical case is solely defined by its syntax. Since the position and letter(s) of "ἦν" suggest that the verb was added to line three (it is written in the margin), "ιωακειμ", read as the first word of the narrative, is the grammatical subject (nom. sg.) of two clauses—the one elliptic (ιωακειμ / πλουσιος σφοδρα), the other with a finite verb in the imperfect (ιωακειμ ην / πλουσιος σφοδρα).

The existence of these alternative beginnings does not affect the display of the text of the two parts of the introduction, which together comprise 24 syllables (14+10, counting ιβ´ as one syllable).[476] But when the text up to the end of Ιωακειμ's inner speech is divided—which includes not only "η(ν)" but also the two "cancelled" syllables of "τω κω", the letters in the first nine lines of *P. Bodmer 5* represent synoptically three different texts (14+10+x)—one with 85 syllables (with "τω κω", but without "ην"; x=61), another with 86 (with "h(n)" and "τω κω"; x=62), and a third with 83 (with "η(ν)", but without "τω κω"; x=59). Of these three text segments, only one can be displayed in a text column with lines of equal lenght—namely the text in which the beginning of the narrative is elliptic (85 syllables, 17x5 or 5x17—both without acrostics).

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[476] See Chapter 2.

The same principle applies to the text of the first part of *PJ* as a whole. The addition or subtraction of the two parts of the introduction (together or individually) results in different text blocks. Counting only the syllables within the boundaries of the text block, without the 24 syllables of the introduction and the five syllables of the marginal emendations (η(ν) and τα δω / ρα σου), the number of *syllables* is a cubic number—7^3. (Omitting the page number, the first page has 343 *letters*.) When the syllables of the emendations (5) and of "τω κω" (2) are included, the text has a total of 372 (i.e., 31x12) syllables (a multipe of twelve, the text in the first 13 lines corresponds to the text on page α΄); the number of the *letters* on the first page (ll. 1-13) in this configuration (omitting the page number and the end-*nu* of ἤν) is 343—i.e., 7^3. When the dots encircling "τω κω" are read as cancellation signs (but the emendations are included), the number of syllables is a multiple of ten (370, i.e., 37x10).

The text of the first part with the elliptic beginning (7^3 syllables, omitting all marginal emendations) displays acrostics (σιγή and σιωπή) that have (implied) counterparts in those two parts of the narrative in which the name Zechariah is spelled Ζαχχαριας on the base line. When the columns are shifted vertically relative to each other—with "ελυπηθη Ιωακειμ σφοδρα" and "[ε]λυπειτο ιωακειμ σφοδρα" in the same line in different columns—the lines display words composed of fragments from two neighboring parts of the trisected column; the placement of words in the same lines of different parts of the column visualizes analogies and parallels (e.g., "εστησαν" and "[αν]εσησαν" (with their respective grammatical subjects) or highlight syntactical ambiguities (πρωτω); or different endings (allusions to different texts).

150

A 15x7 Syllables		B 19x7		C 15x7	
Ιωακειμ πλουσιος		λ λεγων ουκ εξιστι σοι π			
σφοδρα και**προσεφερ ε**	→	**ρω τω** ενεγκειν καθο	**o↓**		
τω κω τα δωρα αυτου		τι σπερμα ουκ εποιησ	**σ**		
διπλα λεγων εν εαυ		ας εν τω ισραηλ και	**ι**		
τω εστε το της περι		**ελυπηθη** ιωα	**α**	**λυπειτο** ιωακειμ	
σσιας μου απαντι τω		κειμ **σφοδρα** και απηλθεν		**σφοδρα** και ουκ εφανη	
7 λαω και το της αφε		**7** εις την δωδεκαφυλλον		**7** τη γυναικει αυτου αλλ	
σ↓ σεως ΚΩ τω ΘΩ εις ιλ		του λαου ι εγω μον		α εδωκεν εαυτον	
ι ιασμον εμοι ενηγ		ος ουκ εποιησα σπε	**o↓**	εις την ερημον επηξ	
γ γισεν δε η ημερα		ρμα εν τω ισραηλ ηρ	**ρ**	εν την σκηνην αυτου εκ	
η η μεγαλη ΚΩ και προσ	**σ↓**	αυνησα και ευρον παν	**α**	ει και ενηστευσεν μ´ ημ	
εφερον οι υιοι	**ι**	τας τους δικαιους οτισ**π**	**τ**	**ερας** και νυκτας μ´ λεγων	→
ΙΣΗΛ τα δωρα αυτω	**ω**	ερμα εν τω ΙΣΗΛ αν	**ε**	εν εαυτω ιωκειμ	
14 νκαι **εστησαν** κατενωπ	**π**	**14 εστησαν** και εμνησθη		**14** ου **καταβησομαι** ου	
ιον αυτου και ρουβη	**η**	ν του πατριαρχου αβρα		τε επι βρωτον ουτε	
		αμ οτι εν τη εσχα		επι ποτον εως ε	
		τη αυτου ημερα ε		**πισκεψηται** με ΚΣ ο ΘΣ μου	→
		δωκεν αυτω ΚΣ ο ΘΣ υι		και εστε μου η ευχη β	
		ον τον ισαακ και ε		**ρω** ματα και πομ ατα	→

The acrostic "σιγή" (A ll. 8-11) in this distribution of the text (49x7 syllables) explains why the noun "ἱλασμος" (A ll. 8-9) is written "ιλιασμος"—the second (incorrect) *iota* is the *iota* of the acrostic. "Σιγή" is represented in the text through "ε/σιγη/σε" in the paraphrase of the annuntiation of the birth of John the Baptist. "Σιωπή" has a referent in the allusion to the prophecy of a "πέρας" in the prophet Amos,[477] incorporated into the account on "το γεγονως" in 24.3 through the reference to the wailing of the coffered ceilings of the temple. It is noteworthy, therefore, that the juxtaposition of columns B and C with "λυπεῖν" as first line features "π / ερας" in l. 12 (B/C).

Exegesis

The parts of the text with the references to Ζαχχαριας feature allusions to technical aspects of exegesis.

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[477] See Am 8:2.

"Ζαχαριας εσιγησεν"

A Zechariah is mentioned twice in the summary account with the references to the beginning and the end of his silence (10.1 [22.4]).

> τω δε καιρω εκινω ζαχαριας εσιγησεν εγενετο αντι αυτου σαμουηλ[478] μεχρι οτε ελαλησεν ζαχχαριας

The referents of the two written names ζαχαριας and ζαχχαριας are seemingly the same—but they are distinguished from each other as grammatical subjects of finite verbs with different counterparts in the Old and the New Testaments: "εσιγησεν" associates the name "ζαχαριας" with a syntactical parallel in the book of *Acts*; the verb λαλεῖν, in conjunction with a defined time, identifies the referent of the name "Ζαχχαριας" through Gabriel's prediction and its fulfillment in the first chapter of *Luke*.[479]

In the gospel according to *Luke*, Gabriel announces the time until which Ζαχαριας will not be able to speak.

> ἐγώ εἰμι Γαβριὴλ ὁ παρεστηκὼς ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ 'ἀπεστάλην'[480] 'λαλῆσαι πρὸς σὲ'[481] καὶ εὐαγγελίσασθαί σοι ταῦτα· καὶ ἰδοὺ ἔσῃ σιωπῶν καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος

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[478] The name Samuel (which highlights two allusions to Samuel in Gabriel's announcement of the birth of John the Baptist in the gospel according to *Luke*—see 1 Kgs 1:11, 7:3) and the brief reference to a succession link this note (and the reports on the event on which it is based) to the priests' decision to "set up someone for the place of Zechariah"—"μετα δε τας τρις ημερας εβουλευσαντο οι ιερεις τινα αναστησουσιν εις τον τοπον του Ζαχαριου και ανεβη ο κληρος επι Συμεων" (24.4 [48.]). An allusion to a report in the first book of *Maccabees*, on the taking down of the altar defiled by the nations and the building of a new one, underlines here the words of Gabriel to Daniel (about the βδέλυγμα τῶν ἐρημώσεων; see Dn 9:27) in the source of the account, in the gospel according to *Luke*, on the ὀπτασία seen by Zechariah in the temple. With "ἱερεῖς" as grammatical subject, "ἐβουλεύσαντο" juxtaposes the deliberation and decision of the priests in 24.4 about the "τόπος τοῦ Ζαχαρίου" to a deliberation "περὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου τῆς ὁλοκαυτώσεως τοῦ βεβηλωμένου" in the first book of *Maccabees* (see 1 Mcc 4:43-46). The defilement of the altar is reported in *1 Maccabees* 1:54 and 59, with an explicit reference to the building of a "βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως" on the altar. The account on the deliberation in *1 Maccabees* 4 ends with the limitation of the storage of the stones until here would be a prophet who would answer concerning them.

[479] See Lk 1:20, 64; notice Lk 1:70, Acts 3:21 ἐλάλησεν διὰ στόματος τῶν ἁγίων.

[480] See Dn θ´ 10:11.

[481] See Dn θ´ 10:11.

λαλῆσαι[482] ἄχρι ἧς ἡμέρας γένηται ταῦτα, ἀνθ ᾽ ὧν οὐκ ἐπίστευσας τοῖς λόγοις μου,[483] οἵτινες πληρωθήσονται εἰς τὸν καιρὸν αὐτῶν.

"Καιρός", the first noun of the paraphrase in *PJ*, is present in Gabriel's words in *Luke* in three ways: through the name "Γαβριήλ", the prepositional phrase "εἰς τὸν καιρὸν αὐτῶν", and the participle "σιωπῶν". The choice of the finite verb "ἐσίγησεν" in 10.1 [22.4]—combined with the participle σιωπῶν[484]—defines the referent of the name Ζαχαριας generically, through an allusion to the Wisdom of *Sirach*, as "ἄνθρωπος σοφός".[485] A reference to Daniel's Chaldean name Belteshazzar at the beginning of the vision in *Daniel* 10[486] that serves as model for the second part of the narrative on the annuntiation of the birth of John in *Luke* hints at the type of wisdom, since Zechariah is likened (through the allusion to Daniel/Belteshazzar) to the four παιδάρια mentioned in chapter 1 of *Daniel*.[487]

> καὶ τὰ παιδάρια ταῦτα, οἱ τέσσαρες αὐτοί, ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς σύνεσιν καὶ φρόνησιν ἐν πάσῃ γραμμτικῇ καὶ σοφίᾳ· καὶ Δανιηλ συνῆκεν ἐν πάσῃ ὁράσει καὶ ἐνυπνίοις.

"Ἐσίγησεν" (10.1 [22.4]) further explains this allusion to "γραμματική" by connecting it to an account in *Acts* (the council of Jerusalem) with two instances of the verb ἐξηγεῖσθαι.

> ἐσίγησεν δὲ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος καὶ ἤκουον Βαρναβᾶ καὶ Παύλου ἐξηγουμένων ὅσα ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν δι᾽ αὐτῶν μετὰ δὲ σιγῆσαι αὐτοὺς ἀπεκρίθη Ἰάκωβος λέγων
> ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, ἀκούσατέ μου Συμεὼν ἐξηγήσατο καθὼς πρῶτον ὁ θεὸς ἐπεσκέψατο λαβεῖν ἐξ ἐθνῶν λαὸν τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτου. καὶ τούτῳ συμφωνοῦσιν οἱ λόγοι τῶν προφητῶν ...

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[482] See Dn θ´ 10:17.
[483] See Dn θ´ 10:11; 10:9, 15.
[484] See Lk 1:20.
[485] See Sir 20:6-7 ἔστιν σιωπῶν οὐ γὰρ ἔχει ἀπόκρισιν / καὶ ἔστιν σιωπῶν εἰδὼς καιρόν. / ἄνθρωπος σοφὸς σιγήσει ἕως καιροῦ, / ὁ δὲ λαπιστὴς καὶ ἄφρων ὑπερβήσεται καιρόν.
[486] Dn θ´ 10:1, see Dn θ´ 1:7.
[487] Dn θ´ 1:17.

The indirect allusion to "ἐξηγεῖσθαι" in 10.1 connects the brief reference to the silence of Ζαχαριας to the midwife's words to Salome in 19.3 [39.11-12]—"κενον[488] σοι θεαμα εχω εξηγησασθαι". In 19.3, the verb is an allusion to the law of leprosy in *Leviticus*[489] *and* points to the second part of γραμματική—"ἐξήγησις κατὰ τοὺς ἐνυπάρχοντας ποιητικοὺς τρόπους".[490]

"οτι Ζαχαριας πεφονευται"

The narrative on the murder of Zechariah raises the same question for its reader as the prophet Isaiah does for the Ethiopian eunuch:[491]

περὶ τίνος ὁ προφήτης λέγει τοῦτο; περὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἢ περὶ ἑτέρου τινός;

In *P. Bodmer 5*, this question includes whether the corrected name is "spoken" (or written) by Zechariah.

At first glance, the sentence with the first instance of the name Zechariah with the "double" *chi* seems to belong to the same account (and writer) as the sentence with the second, as it follows after what *seems* to be the end of Zechariah's answer to Herod's second order, addressed to him through assistants.

Zechariah's words resemble those of his first answer in their brevity and diction (first person). He identifies himself as "μαρτυς ... του θεου" and as being "του θεου"[492] and,

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[488] See Dt 32:47 ὅτι οὐχὶ λόγος κενὸς οὗτος ὑμῖν, ὅτι αὕτη ἡ ζωὴ ὑμῶν. In 19.3, the λόγος is "παρθενος εγεννησεν α ου χωρι η φυσις αυτης".
[489] See Lv 14:57.
[490] *Grammatic Graeci* 1.1, 5.5.
[491] Acts 8:34.

with an explanation, tells Herod "εχε μου το αιμα".[493] The sentence with the "corrected" name comes next, in what seems to be a report on Herod's response (the sending of murderers), followed by the account on the uncovering of what the sons of Israel did not know about this Zechariah—viz. "πως εφωνευθη".[494] The corrected name suggests that the sentence with "εφωνευθη" (Ζαχ^Χαριας) corresponds to the sentence with "εφονευται" (Ζαχχαριας) and that both are related to the passage on Samuel's succession "μεχρι οτε ελαλησεν Ζαχχαριας".[495]

But the more one compares the ending of Zechariah's answer to Herod's first inquiry the less clear it becomes whether the word about the πρόθυρα in the second account is indeed the end of the message spoken by Zechariah, to be conveyed to Herod through the assistants. In the first inquiry, Zechariah is explicitly said to answer speaking to (and through) the assistants sent by Herod.[496] The end of the answer is signaled by a brief reference to the departure of the assistants and their report to Herod—"και απηλθωσαν οι υπηρεται αυτου και απηγγιλαν αυτω παντα ταυτα".[497] Such explicit mention of the assistants' departure is absent from the account on Herod's second inquiry—if the word(s) on the "προθυρα του ναου ΚΥ" are the end of Zechariah's answer. Only their departure to Zechariah is mentioned, and that they spoke to him.

και απηλθοσαν οι υπηρεται και ανηγγειλαν αυτω ταυτα
και αποκριθεις ειπεν
        μαρτυς

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[492] See Nm 16:5.
[493] See 23.2 [45.15-46.3].
[494] 23.3 [45.5-6].
[495] 10.1 [22.5-7].
[496] 23.2 [44.9-11, 13] "και ε^αεστειλεν υπηρετας εν τω θυσιαστηριω προς ζαχαριαν λεγων αυτω ... ο δε απεκρινατο λεγω(ν) αυτοις ...".
[497] 23.2 [45.12-14].

εἰμι του ΘΥ εχε μου το αιμα το δε ΠΝΑ μου ο δεσποτης μου δεξητε οτι
αθοο(ν) αιμα εκχυνις εις τθ^a προθυρα του ναου ΚΥ
και περι το διαφαυμα εφονευθη ζαχ^χ·αριας
και ουκ ηδεισαν οι υιοι ΙΗΛ πως εφωνευθη αλλα την ωραν του ασπασμου
απηλθασιν οι ιερεις ...

The verb ἀπαγγέλλειν occurs only one more time after the sentence in 23.2 [45.4]—in 24.3, following the last sentence of an account introduced with the words "και ηκου·σαν και ειδαν το γεγονως".[498]

και πτω
πτωμα αυτου ουχ ευρωσαν αλλα ευρον το πτωμα αυτου λιθον γεγεννημενον και φοβηθεντες εξηλθαν και
και απεγγειλαν οτι ζαχαριας πεφονευται κα^ι ησαν πασαι αι φυλαι του λαου και επενθησαν ...

In 23.2, ἀπαγγέλλειν is used with a direct and an indirect object ("αυτω παντα ταυτα"). In 24.3, the verb is followed by words *resembling* the beginning of the φωνή in the sanctuary ("Ζαχ·χαριας εφονευται"). Agreement in number with the verb of the preceding sentence *suggests* that the grammatical subject of "απεγγειλαν" is the same as the one of "εξηλθαν". The combination of the two verbs "ἐξέρχεσθαι" and "φοβεῖσθαι" *suggests* that "φοβηθεντες εξηλθαν" in 24.3 [48.4] is an allusion to the report, in 24.2 [47.8-11], on the exit of the "one of them" who "dared to enter the sanctuary", meant to align the two accounts. The number of the direct object of "ενηγγιλεν" and the position of the three sentences relative to each other *suggest* that the grammatical subject of "ηκου·σαν", in 24.3 [47.11], is "ἱερεῖς" and also "αυτοι", the grammatical subject of the verb of the sentence placed behind "και ειδαν το γενονως".

και ακουσας τω(ν) λογων τουτων εφοβηθη και εξηλθεν και ενηγγιλεν τοις ιερευσιν α ειδεν

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[498] "Το γεγονως" combines "τὸ γεγονός" and "ὁ γεγονώς". The latter is an allusion to 2 Mcc 4:1 and Gal 3:17.

καὶ ηκουˑσαν καὶ ειδαν το γεγονωϛ τα παθνωματα του ναου ολολυξα(ν) και αυτοι περιεσχισαντο επανωθεν εωϛ κατω

Preceded in 24.3 [47.8-9] by the statement "τῶν λογων τουτων εφοβηθη", the composite of σχίζειν in the middle voice in 24.3 [47.14] suggests an allusion to a description, in the book of *Isaiah*, of how three men—Eliakim, Shebna, and Joah—report the words of the ambassador sent by king Sennacherib of Assyria to king Hezekiah, to Jerusalem.[499]

> καὶ εἰσῆλθεν Ελιακιμ ὁ τοῦ Χελκιου ὁ οἰκονόμος καὶ Σομνας ὁ γραμματεὺς τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ Ιωαχ ὁ τοῦ Ασαφ ὁ ὑπομνηματογράφος πρὸς Εζεκιαν ἐσχισμένοι τοὺς χιτῶνας καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν αὐτῷ τοὺς λόγους Ραψακου.

In the fourth book of *Kings*, the same scene is reported with *almost* identical words.[500]

> καὶ εἰσῆλθεν Ελιακιμ υἰὸς Χελκιου ὁ οἰκονόμος καὶ Σομνας ὁ γραμματεὺς καὶ Ιωας υἰὸς Ασαφ ὁ ἀναμιμνησκων πρὸς Εζεκιαν διερρηχότες τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ ἀνήγγειλαν αὐτῷ τοὺς λόγους Ραψακου.

"Περιεσχισαντο", with "τοὺς χιτῶνας", *seems* to be a gesture similar in meaning to the phrase "διαρρηγνύναι τὰ ἱμάτια"—a sign of mourning. This chain of associations seems to imply that, unlike "απηγγιλαν" in 23.2 [45.4], the direct object of "απεγγειλαν" in 24.3 [48.5] is not "αυτω" (i.e., Herod) but "πασαι αι φυλαι του λαου", relating the mourning mentioned in 24.3 [48.7]) to the proclamation "οτι Ζαχαριας πεφονευται".

But "φοβηθεντεϛ εξηλθαν και απηγγειλαν"[501] can also be a delayed reference to the assistants' departing and reporting to Herod, corresponding to "και απηλθωσαν οι υπηρεται αυτου και απηγγιλαν αυτω παντα ταυτα" in 23.2 [45.2-3]. In this case, "οτι Ζαχαριας πεφονευται" (24.3 [48.5-6]) is a summary of everything said by Zechariah "αποκριθειϛ" (23.3 [45.14]), including "περι το διαφαυμα εφονευθη Ζαχ^Χαριας", and

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[499] Is 36:22; see Is 37:6.
[500] 4 Kgs 18:37.
[501] 24.3 [48.4-6].

the explanation of the enigmatic words (or παράδειγμα)—either by him, or by someone else; and φοβηθεντες parallels those who leave to Joseph (9.3 [20.9]), thus aligning the account in 24 to the story of Dathan, Abiram, and Koreh, and of their αντιλογία, recounted in 9.3 by the priest, and to Joseph's recapitulation of it in 13.1, having found "εν τη οικω ... ογκωμενην".[502]

The text is composed in such a manner (with respect to number of syllables and placement of verbs) as to allow excerpting—without leaving traces—long passages corresponding to both interpretations from the text, to emphasize the different interpretations of the diction (mimetic or simple). (In both configurations, the raised dot separating "εφων" and "ευθη"[503] is placed at the end of a line; in addition, when the text is displayed in two columns, a change in the grammatical subject—from "ενηγγιλεν ... α ειδεν"[504] to "ηκου·σαν και ειδαν"[505] –becomes more apparent.)

The different alignments illustrate an aspect of ἀνάγνωσις mentioned in the grammarians—finding the proper order of graphic elements for reading well[506]—and present ἐξήγησις as a "ὁδήγησις" taking place on a plane, i.e., in two dimensions (through continuation along the same lines but in different columns of text, and through spatial "παράθεσις" for comparisons and the drawing of analogies).

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[502] 13.1 [26.14-15].
[503] 23.3 [46.6].
[504] 24.2 [47.10-12].
[505] 24.3 [47.11-12].
[506] E.g., implied in *Grammatic Graeci* 1.3 197.9-11, 319.16-20, 324.38-325.2.

310 (31x10) Syllables

και περι το διαφαυμα εφον		αιμα πεπηγος και φωνην <u>λεγου</u>
ευθη Ζαχ^χ·αριας και ουκ <u>ηδεισ</u> →		<u>σαν</u> Ζαχχαριας εφονευται και
<u>αν</u> οι υιοιοι ΙΗΛ πως εφων·		ουκ εξαλιφθησηται το αιμα
ευθη αλλα την ωραν του ασπασ		αυτου εως ελθη εκδικος και
μου απηλθασιν οι ιερεις και		ακουσας τω(ν) λογων τουτων εφοβ
ουκ ηπηντησεν αυτοις κατα το		ηθη και εξηλθεν και ενηγγιλ **λ↓**
εθος τη ευλογια του ζαχαρ		εν τοις ιερευσιν α ειδεν και **ι**
ιου και <u>εστησαν</u> οι ιερεις →		<u>ηκου·σαν και ειδαν</u> το γεγονως τ **τ**
προσδοκωντες το(ν) ζαχαριαν του**ς υ↓ α↓**		α παθνωματα του ναου ολολ **ο**
ασπασασθαι αυτον εν ευχη͞^{αις} κα**ι ι υ**		υξα(ν) και αυτοι περιεσχισαν **ν**
δοξασαι^ς τον Ψιστον ΘΝ χρονισαντ**ο ο τ**		το επανωθεν εως κατω και τ
ς ς δε αυτου εφοβηθησαν παντε**ς τ ς ο**		ο πτω πτωμα αυτου ουχ ευρωσαν
		αλλα ευρον το πτωμα αυτου λιθ
ο ολμησας δε τις εξ αυτων <u>εισηλθ</u> →		<u>ον</u> γεγεννημενο(ν) και φοβηθε **ε↓**
ε εν εις το αγιασμα και ειδε		ντες εξηλθαν και και απεγγειλαν **ν**
ν↑ ν παρα το θυσιαστηριον ΚΥ		οτι ζαχαριας πεφονευται **ι**

294 (42x7 / 2x (21x7)) Syllables

	και ουκ ηδεισαν οι υ	**ριας εφονευται** και
	οιοι ΙΗΛ πως εφων·	ουκ εξαλιφθησηται
	ευθη αλλα την ωραν	το αιμα αυτου εως
	του ασπασμου απηλθας	ελθη εκδικος και ακ
	ιν οι ιερεις και ουκ	ουσας τω(ν) λογων τουτων
	ηπηντησεν αυτοις κατ	εφοβηθη και εξηλθ
7	α το εθος τη ευλογ	εν και ενηγγιλεν τοις
	ια του ζαχαριου	ιερευσιν α ειδεν
	και <u>εστησαν οι ιερ</u> *	και <u>ηκου·σαν</u> και <u>ειδαν</u>
	<u>εις</u> προσδοκωντες το(ν) ζαχ	το γεγονως τα παθνω
	αριαν τους ασπασα	ματα του ναου ολο
	σθαι αυτον εν ευχη͞^{αις} και	λυξα(ν) και αυτοι περι
	δοξασαι^ς τον Ψιστον ΘΝ χρον	εσχισαν το επανωθ
14	ισαντος δε αυτου ε	εν εως κατω και <u>το</u>
	φοβηθησαν παντες <u>το</u>	πτωπτωμα αυτου ουχ ευρ
	λμησας δε τις εξ αυτων	ωσαν αλλα ευρον το
	εισηλθεν εις το αγι	πτωμα αυτου λιθον γε
	ασμα και ειδεν παρα	γεννημενο(ν) και φοβη
	το θυσιαστηριον	θεντες εξηλθαν και και
	ΚΥ αιμα πεπηγος και	απεγγειλαν οτι ζαχ
21	**φωνην λεγουσαν Ζαχχα** →	**αριας πεφονευται**

In this interpretation, the φωνή seen in the sanctuary and the proclamation are one—which is an invitation to determine in which way the two statements "Ζαχχαριας εφονευται" and "Ζαχαριας πεπφονευται"—and their sources—correspond to each other.

Read in conjunction with the description of the φωνή in 24.2 [47.5] and with the number indicated by the definite article "τό", Zechariah's reference to "το προθυρον" in his answer to Herod prepares the reports on the murder in 24 by pointing to a sentence at the beginning of a prophecy in a report on a vision of the glory of the Lord in the book of *Ezekiel*.[507]

> καὶ οὐ βεβηλώσουσιν οὐκέτι οἶκος Ισραηλ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἅγίον μου, αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ ἡγούμενοι αὐτῶν, ἐν τῇ πορνείᾳ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν τοῖς φόνοις τῶν ἡγουμένων ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν, ἐν τῷ τιθέναι αὐτοὺς τὸ πρόθυρόν μου ἐν τοῖς προθύροις αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς φλίας μου ἐχομένας τῶν φλιῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ἔδωκαν τὸν τοῖχόν μου ὡς συνεχόμενον ἐμοῦ καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐβεβήλωσαν τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἅγιόν μου ἐν ταῖς ἀνομίαις αὐτῶν, αἷς ἐποίουν.

Through the allusion to *Ezekiel*, the φωνή in the sanctuary is equated with the φωνή from the house,[508] which comes to Ezekiel in his vision; the person who witnesses it (having dared to enter—an allusion to Joseph of Arimathea)[509] is likened to Ezekiel. The same prophecy is followed by an order to make a διαγραφή of the house.[510] This is the last of three passages in *Ezekiel* with references to διαγράφειν; they provide links to εὔξωμαι in 13.1 (through σημεῖον τοῦτο in Ez 4:3), the context for the references to γράφειν in the epilogue of *PJ*.

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[507] Ez 43:7-8.
[508] See Ez 43:6 καὶ ἔστην, καὶ ἰδοῦ φωνὴ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου λαλοῦντος πρός με.
[509] 24.2 [47.1], see Mk 15:43.
[510] See Ez 43:12, 11.

Summary

The examples of "αυτη· η μητηρ αυτη" and of "Ζαχχαρας", phrases with corrections, are both accompanied by verbs resembling in their written form customary verb forms without matching them entirely. We have seen in this chapter that in both cases the uncorrected misspellings and the corrected words or phrases do have an exegetical function.

"Εκρατευετο", seemingly a ἁμάρτημα (a barbarism), can be interpreted as misspelled form of "ἐκραταιοῦτο" or "ἐγκρατεύεται", verb forms represented in the writings of the New Testament. The one (ἐκραταιοῦτο) defines the grammatical subject of the verb in 6.1 as "ἅγια" (by analogy with "ἅγιος" in Lk 1:80,[511] and Ναζωραῖος in Lk 2:40[512]), the other (ἐγκρατεύεται) associates the account in 6.1 with discussions, in *1 Corinthians*, on ἀγωνίζεσθαι and whether or not to marry[513] and with explanations, in the gospel according to *Matthew*, on the αἰτία τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.[514] Synonyms (κλώθειν, ἕλκειν) and distinctions in the referents of homonyms (πορφύρα and ἀληθινὴ πορφύρα) in chapter 11 and vowel changes ("εφονευθη" and "εφων΄ευθη") in chapter 24 associate the two passages with references to Ζαχχαριας with clarifying examples in Homer; these examples, in turn, are linked to texts used in grammatical treatises to explain usages of γράφειν— ξῦσαι in the case of Mary's spinning (11), ἐπιγράψας in the case of the murder (24).

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[511] Emphasizing λειτουργῶν in Anna's first vow (4.1 [8.2-4]). On ἅγιος, see Nm 17:20, 16:7.

[512] Emphasized through Joseph's question "που σε απαξω" in 17.3 [37.7], which is an allusion to 1 Mcc 3:49-50.

[513] See 1 Cor 7:9 "εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἐγκρατεύονται, γαμησάτωσαν, κρεῖττον γὰρ ἐστιν γαμῆσαι ἢ πυροῦσθαι"; 9:25 ἐγκρατεύεται.

[514] Mt 19:3-12 (with Gn 1:27, 5:2, 2:24 and Dt 24:1, 3), 27:37; linked, in *P. Bodmer 5* (6.2 [.5-6]) to Wis 3:13-14, through Is 56:3, 5.

Similar to the function of the graphically ambiguous form of the verb "ἐκρατεύετο" (containing verbal allusions to different texts), the phrase "αυτη· η μητηρ αυτη", and Ζαχχαριας—are "double" cross-references, split into an allusion based on the "original" form and another based on the corrected one.

A double reading of "αυτη^ν· η μητηρ αυτη^s" makes the account in 6.1 on Mary's steps and Anna's second vow a "middle", connecting Anna's lament in the garden and Joseph's finding of "ογκωμενην". This connection between the three parts of the narrative is bolstered by cross-references through the repetition of phrases (τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ and χαμαί) and through intertexts.[515] Both Anna's lament and Joseph's inner speech are associated with grammatical concepts (λόγος προφορικός and ἐνδιάθετος; and διαστολή and ὁρισμός) that have bearing on the reading and interpretation of the description of Mary's steps.

An allusion to two references to βήματα in *Sirach*[516] in 6.1 underlines verbal links between the accounts on Zechariah's and Joseph's making of a vow.[517] The phrase "ηὔξατο περὶ +gen." (8.3) and the verb form "εὔξωμαι" (13.1) are rare in the writings of the Old and New Testaments—"ηὔξατο περὶ +gen." is represented twice,[518] "εὔξωμαι" only once.[519] In *P. Bodmer 5*, both point to the same source—the story of the making of the serpent of bronze in *Numbers* 21.[520] In 6.1, the site of the double allusion to *Sirach*, Anna's vow features an

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[515] Jb 31:4, 30:23 in 6.1 and Arist. [*Mund.*] 397*a*26 and 391*b*14 in 3.1; and Lam 2:11 in 6.1 and Is 22:4 in 13.1.
[516] See Sir 19:30, 45:9.
[517] "Ηυξατο περι αυτης", in 8.3 [18.3], with mention of the bells on the vestment of the highpriest (λαβων τον ιβ΄ κωδωνα) in [18.1-2]; and "ευξωμαι περι αυτης" in 13.1 [27.4].
[518] See Nm 21:7, 4 Mcc 4:13.
[519] See Ex 8:5.
[520] The one (ηὔξατο περὶ +gen. in 8.3) through its exact grammatical form, the other through the combination of εὔχεσθαι with two prepositional phrases (πρὸς +acc. and περὶ +gen. in 13.1).

allusion to the testimony on the "φῶς τοῦ κόσμου" in the gospel according to *John*;[521] this associates the vow with the second ending of *John*—one of the sources of the reference to "ο γραψας την ιστοριαν ταυτην" in 25.1. The allusion in 6.1 to the gospel according to *John* (and to the sentence in 25.1) is a gloss on the allusions to the sign of the serpent in 8.3[522] and 13.1[523]; the sign(s) there are linked to the reference to the exaltation of the son of man in *John* 3:14-15, and thus to *John* 12:32-33 (adding the phrase "ποίῳ θανάτῳ"). These allusions to *John* link the references to vows in 6.1, 8.3, and 13.1 to the sentence on "ο γραψας την ιστοριαν ταυτην" in 25.1, stressing the call "σὺ ἀκολούθει μοι" and the prediction on how Peter would glorify God,[524] and associating "ἱστορία" with "εὐχή".

The allusions to different sources have structural functions. For example, εὔξωμαι, in 13.1, points not only to διαστολή in Exodus 8:19 and ὁρισμός in *Exodus* 8:8 but also to a reference to "τὸ σημεῖον τοῦτο", a phrase used only twice with the definite article in the writings of the Old and of the New Testaments[525] and only once without.[526] The allusion to *Acts* (τὸ σημεῖον τοῦτο τῆς ἰάσεως) emphasizes "ωρα" in 13.1[527]—which is a link connecting 2.4 (περι ωραν θ´), 8.3,[528] and 13.1 (εν τη ωρα της δοξολογιας αυτου)—and associates the account in 13.1 with the report on the healing of the lame man at the Beautiful Gate and Peter's and John's words in the Stoa of Solomon and before the Sanhedrin. The

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[521] Jn 8:12.
[522] Implicitly compared to the sign of Jonah the prophet in Mt 16:1 through the verb ἐπιδεικνύειν in 8.3 [18.7-8]—"ω εαν επιδιξη ΚΣ ο ΘΣ σημιον ...".
[523] Equated with "τὸ σημεῖον τοῦτο" in Ex 8:19, Acts 4:22, and Ez 4:3.
[524] Jn 21:19, 22.
[525] In Ex 8:19 and Acts 4:22.
[526] In Ez 4:3.
[527] See Acts 3:1.
[528] The narrative draws on account on Zechariah's vision at the hour of incense in Lk 1:10, and its model in Dn 9:21.

indirect allusion to "σημεῖόν ἐστι τοῦτο" in *Ezekiel* 4:3 (a prophecy beginning with the

διάγραφειν of Ιερουσαλημ as πόλις on a brick) is emphasized through the first words of

Joseph's question concerning making a vow "τι αρα ..."—which, by associating Joseph's

question with Euthine's question and explanation,[529] stresses συγκλείειν in the prophecy in

Ezekiel. As intertext, the allusion to *Ezekiel* 4 connects Joseph's words (and thus Euthine's

also), to the reference to "το^α προθυρα" in 23.3 [46.2]—in the singular, the noun is an

allusion to *Ezekiel* 43:8 (likewise with διαγράφειν).

The passages from *Exodus* 8, *Matthew* 27, and *John* 8 and 21 incorporated in *P.*

Bodmer 5 feature statements with acrostics. This—or, rather, the arrangment of text in

lines—is illustrated by the sentences with "Ζαχχαριας". Even without any rewriting of the

text, the openings with this spelling of the name (κβ´ - κγ´ and μς´ - μζ´) display spatial

parallels between statements and actions that suggest the drawing of analogies. The layout of

the text on the pages invites (and facilitates) σύγκρισις through παράθεσις. Rewriting of

the text with lines of equal lenghth and changing how these lines are arranged (in a bisected

(24) or trisected (11) column) stress these parallels and clarify ambiguous sentence

boundaries, syntax, or referents (e.g., by indicating changes in the number of verbs or

connecting statements through shared grammatical subjects). The correction, in 24.1, of

"Ζαχαριας" as "Ζαχ^{χ}αριας" (the one name corresponding to "Ζαχαριας εσιγησεν" in

10.1 [22.4-5], the other to "ελαλησεν Ζαχχαριας" [22.6-7]) highlights a diffculty in

determining the diction—or, rather, the speaker—of the account with the reference to the

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[529] See 2.3 [4.14-15], Gn 20:18.

φωνή in the sanctuarcy.[530]   Allusions to sources with emphasis on reading and interpretation—*Daniel*[531] and *Luke* 4[532]—point to demonstrations (in *Daniel* and in *Luke*) on the mode of reading required for "opening" or "unfolding" the text.

Through emendations and cancellations, in *P. Bodmer 5* the first part of *PJ* is represented in three versions, each with a different number of syllables. When written in a trisected column, the text of one of the three versions—lacking "$\eta\nu$" in line 3 and "$\tau\alpha$ $\delta\omega$ / $\rho\alpha$ $\sigma\sigma\upsilon$" in lines 15 and 16—reveals the same two-dimensional (vertical and horizontal) layering of the text (interweaving or superimposing two sentences or phrases on the other) exemplified by the passages with the references to Ζαχχαριας. The latter are connected to this (first) part of the narrative through acrostics—"σιωπή" points to an allusion to *Amos* 8 in 24.3 (τα παθνωματα του ναου ολολυξα(ν));[533] σιγή to the reference to Ζαχχαριας in 10.2.

The examined examples represent two grammatical explanations of the term στοιχεîα. Emphasis on στοιχεîα in Anna's lament and on ἰατρεîα in the passages related to the account on Mary's steps[534] and in other parts of the narrative[535] suggests that στοιχεîα in the case of "αυτη· η μητηρ αυτη" are associated with the four elements (their κρâσις

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[530] The speakers are Zechariah, the father of John the Baptist, on the death of Zechariah, the son of Barachi, or a third person narrator on the death of Zechariah, the father of John the Baptist.

[531] Esp. Dn 9:2 and 1:4, 17.

[532] Through allusions to the sign of Sennacherib in 24.3 [47.14] "περισχιζαντο" (Is 36:22; see Is 37:6; 4 Kgs 18:37); 24.3 [48.5] "πεφονευται" (Tb 2:3, with references to Sennacherib in Tb 1:18, 22); and 1.2 [1.16] "σπερμα ουκ εποιησας" (Is 37:31). The sign is represented in Lk 4:17 through "ἀναπτύξας" (see 4 Kgs 19:14).

[533] See Am 8:3 καὶ ὀλολύξει τὰ φατνώματα τοῦ ναοῦ· ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, λέγει κύριος, πολὺς ὁ πεπτωκὼς ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ, ἐπιρρίψω σιωπήν.

[534] 6.1 Nm 11:12, 20; 13.1 (Acts 4:22 τὸ σημεîον τοῦτο τῆς ἰάσεως).

[535] See 20.3 [40.1] "και ιαθη Σαλωμη"; 24.4 [48.11] "αναστησουσιν" (Ps 87(88):11).

and μίξις). The arrangement of the text in lines suggests that, in the case of the references to Ζαχχαριας, στοιχεῖα are linked to στοῖχος and τάξις.

These findings are strong evidence that the author of *P. Bodmer 5* was familiar with the concepts and παραδείγματα of γραμματική and with the writings of the Old and the New Testaments and wrote for an audience of whom he did (or could) expect the same.

Chapter 5

Ἐξήγησις

In the previous chapter I showed that, in *P. Bodmer 5*, graphic and syntactic ambiguities and the addition of corrections have an exegetical function. They lead the reader through the narrative by pointing out cross-connections; at the same time, these characteristics of the papyrus provide (or necessitate) a recapitulation of grammatical teachings concerning γράμματα and στοιχεῖα. Corrections in the text (even different "transcriptions" of numbers) lead to alternative readings that demand of the reader to determine whether or not they are "ἁμαρτήματα", which "layer" of the synoptically displayed versions yields which reading, and whether or not these readings agree with each other.

These features are absent from the other manuscripts of *PJ*. But even in *P. Bodmer* they merely assist the structural and subject defining function of the four sentences with the noun ἱστορία. These sentences allude to phrases in sources that are connected to each other in two ways: through references, in a single text, to several of them;[536] and through interpretations (readings) of the earlier texts in the later ones (as in layered transparencies).

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[536] E.g., "nested", as in 2 Mcc or Heb 11:17-19.

Because of these interconnections (and their subject- and argument-defining function), finding—or describing—a structure or unifying subject matter of the narrative in *PJ* is not an easy task. Instead of providing, in a single sentence or paragraph, a clear and concise definition of the subject matter and purpose of the narrative, the text demands of the reader an inductive approach leading—through re-readings, repeated comparisons, and cumulative evidence—from a rough sketch to an increasingly more detailed image of the narrative's structure and subject matter.[537]

The type of reading required by *PJ* may perhaps be best described as "apocalyptic" in the Scriptural sense of "ἀποκαλύπτειν τὸ ὠτίον" or "ἀποκαλύπτειν τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς". Ἀποκαλύπτειν τὸ ὠτίον[538]—illustrated, for example, by the story of the making of a covenant between Jonathan and David—denotes a telling beforehand or making known a plan in words clarified through the account of how the annnounced event came to be.[539] Ἀποκαλύπτειν τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς similarly implies a comparison. The meaning of the phrase is explained by the story of Balaam and his ass[540]—a brief narrative on Balaam's attempts, on the way to Balak who called him to curse Israel for him, to "straighten"[541] the path of the ass whom he rides, as the ass first walks into the plain, then brushes at the side of a wall, and finally "sits" down beneath her rider. Each time, Balaam strikes her, believing that she mocked him. Only when God opens first the mouth of the ass and then the eyes of

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[537] E.g., by pointing to ὅμοια (the shared signified unifying the many allusions) or to the same texts (interpreted in different sources).

[538] E.g., see 1 Kgs 20:1-21:1 at 20:2, 13; 1 Kgs 22:8, 17; 9:15-17 at 9:15 (similar to 16:1, 3, 12); or 2 Kgs 7:27 (with 7:19-21).

[539] E.g., see 1 Kgs 20:2, 2 Kgs 11:27, 12:11-12, 16:20-22.

[540] See Nm 22:15-35. Ἀποκαλύπτειν τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς is additionally illustrated through Balaam's παραβολή; see Nm 24:4, 24:16.

[541] See Nm 22:23 καὶ ἐπάταξεν τὴν ὄνον τῇ ῥάβδῳ τοῦ εὐθῦναι αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ. Notice Nm 23:3 καὶ ἐπορεύθη εὐθεῖαν.

the prophet does Balaam see that of which, before, he did not take notice—an angel opposing him on the way and a drawn sword in his hand, the sight of which caused the ass to deviate to the left and to the right[542] and from what is her habit.[543]   God's ἀποκαλύπτειν τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς enables the prophet to see what he overlooked (ὑπεριδεῖν)—because he referred the signs to the wrong causes—and to recognize what he did not know before.[544]

Among the elements of the text that might be heard imperfectly or overlooked at first are instructions on how to read, included in the text through allusions.   Through these allusions, the authors of the different versions of *PJ* warn their readers to pay attention to what is implied or will be addressed later, and to what is said, in what manner and by whom. For example, all versions include an allusion to Demosthenes' speech Περὶ τοῦ Στεφάνου (*De Corona*) in 1.4.   Demosthenes begins his speech by emphasizing Solon's laws on how judges are to listen.[545]   Similarly, all versions of *PJ* include an allusion to the treatise *De Mundo* in Anna's lament, which includes discussions of different systems of structure and order, one in close proximity to the passage with the phrase included in Anna's lament,[546] the other nearer to the end.[547]   Other instructions on how to read the text are demonstrative, based on intertexts and paraphrases.   For example, all versions begin with an indirect allusion to the sacrifices of Abel and Cain, which puts emphasis on dividing correctly (ὀρθῶς

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[542] See Nm 22:26 οὐκ ἦν ἐκκλῖναι δεξιὰν οὐδὲ ἀριστεράν, Nm 22:33.
[543] See Nm 22:30 καὶ λέγει ἡ ὄνος τῷ Βαλααμ Οὐκ ἐγὼ ἡ ὄνος σου, ἐφ' ἧς ἐπέβαινες ἀπὸ νεότητός σου ἕως τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας; μὴ ὑπεροράσει ὑπεριδοῦσα ἐποίησά σοι οὕτως;
[544] See Nm 22:34 καὶ εἶπεν Βαλααμ τῷ ἀγγέλῳ κυρίου Ἡμάρτηκα, οὐ γὰρ ἠπιστάμην ὅτι σύ μοι ἀνθέστηκας ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ εἰς συνάντησιν.
[545] See Dem. *De Cor.* 1-2, 7.
[546] See Arist. [*Mund.*] 396*a*33-397*a*8.
[547] See Arist. [*Mund.*] 399*b*29-400*a*4.

διαιρεῖν).[548] Small differences in phrasing have an exegetical, structural function. Reuben's explanation "καθότι σπέρμα οὐκ ἐποίησας ἐν τῷ Ἰσραήλ" (1.2)—an allusion to the sign of Sennacherib in the book of *Isaiah*—is paraphrased by Ἰωακείμ as "εἰ ἐγὼ μόνος οὐκ ἐποίησα σπέρμα ἐν τῷ Ἰσραήλ;" (1.3)—an allusion to the words "καὶ κατελείφθην ἐγὼ μόνος" spoken by Simon Maccabeus.[549] The connection between the two texts is the participle οἱ καταλελειμμένοι in *Isaiah* 37:31 καὶ ἔσονται οἱ καταλελειμμένοι ἐν τῇ Ιουδαίᾳ φυήσουσιν ῥίζαν κάτω καὶ ποιήσουσιν σπέρμα ἄνω. The two allusions are taken up again individually at the end of the narrative, in 24.3, the one in the proclamation that "Ζαχαρίας πεφόνευται",[550] the other in the description of the mourning for Zechariah by all the tribes of the people (καὶ ἐπένθησαν αὐτόν).[551]

In this chapter, we will have a look at three features like these to see how the authors of the different versions of *PJ*, as exegetes, guide (ὁδηγεῖν)[552] the readers through the text—the "layering" of allusions (exemplified by the phrases "πλούσιος σφόδρα" and "ὁ γράψας"), allusions and cross-connections linking the different references to ἱστορία through intertexts, and the endings of the different versions of *PJ*.

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[548] See Lk 18:23, Gn 4:6-7; and Gn 15:10.
[549] See 1 Mcc 13:4, combining Gn 7:23 and 3 Kgs 19:4.
[550] 24.3; see Tb 2:3 (S) εἷς ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους ἡμῶν πεφόνευται. The beginning of the book of *Tobit* includes references to the reign and death of Sennacherib; see Tb 1:15, 18-19, 21. An allusion to Am 8:3 in 24.3 stresses Tb 2:6 (with quotation of Am 8:10).
[551] See 1 Mcc 13:26, 12:52.
[552] On the explanation of ἐξήγησις as ἡ τοῦ ἐξῆς ὁδήγησις, see *Grammatici Graeci* 1.3 302.11-19, 455.22-456.22. For an example, see Acts 8:26-39 at 8:31. Philip is exegete, guiding the eunuch through the landscape of the text.

"ἦν πλούσιος σφόδρα καὶ προσέφερε τὰ δῶρα ..."

The phrase "πλούσιος σφόρδα" in 1.1 associates the beginning (and first clause) of *PJ* with three protagonists and narrative contexts—Abraam (in *Genesis*),[553] Joachim (in *Susanna*),[554] and one of the rulers (in *Luke*).[555] "Προσέφερε", the finite verb of the second clause of the narrative, has parallels in two texts—the book of *Job*, and the letter to the *Hebrews*. The allusion to *Job* adds a fourth example of one who is "very rich" to the other three.[556]

With Abraam as the grammatical subject, the phrase "προσέφερε τὰ δῶρα" in 1.1 is an allusion to the first two clauses of a paraphrase of the Sacrifice of Isaac in the Letter to the *Hebrews*.[557]

> πίστει προσενήνοχεν[558] ᾽Αβραὰμ τὸν ᾽Ισαὰκ πειραζόμενος[559] καὶ τὸν μονογενῆ
> προσέφερεν, ὁ τὰς ἐπαγγελίας ἀναδεξάμενος, πρὸς ὃν ἐλαλήθη
> ὅτι ἐν ᾽Ισαὰκ κληθήσεταί σοι σπέρμα[560] λογισάμενος ὅτι καὶ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐγείρειν[561]
> δυνατὸς ὁ θεός,[562] ὅθεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐν παραβολῇ ἐκομίσατο.[563]

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[553] See Gn 13:2 Αβραμ δὲ ἦν πλούσιος σφόδρα κτήνεσιν καὶ ἀργυρίῳ καὶ χρυσίῳ.

[554] See Sus 4 ἦν Ιωακειμ πλούσιος σφόδρα καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ παράδεισος γειτνιῶν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν προσήγοντο οἱ Ιουδαῖοι διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐνδόξοτερον πάντων. The story addresses the commandment not to desire a neighbor's wife (see Sus θ´ 61; with Ex 20:17, Dt 5:21, and Dt 22:24, 26; notice 4 Mcc 2:5) and the laws on guiltless blood (Sus θ´ 62 αἷμα ἀναίτιον; see Dt 19:10, 13; 21:8, 9).

[555] See Lk 18:23 ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ταῦτα περίλυπος ἐγενήθη· ἦν γὰρ πλούσιος σφόδρα.

[556] See Jb 1:3. In addition, the allusion to Jb 1:5 stresses the phrase "κατὰ τὸν ἀριθμόν" in Jo 4:5, the source of the genitive τῶν δώδεκα φυλῶν τοῦ ᾽Ισραήλ limiting "ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις" in 1.1.

[557] Heb 11:17-19; 96 syllables. In the letter to the *Hebrews*, the account on the Sacrifice of Isaac in the book of *Genesis* is explicated through through cross-references to other parts of the letter based on the repetition of phrases or nouns (e.g., σπέρμα ᾽Αβραάμ (Heb 2:16); παραβολή (Heb 9:9)) and through allusions to a variety of sources—*Numbers* (προσενήνοχεν); *Job* (προσέφερε), *Luke* (πειραζόμενος and ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐγείρειν), *Psalm* 18 of the *Psalms of Solomon* (μονογενής and σπέρμα ᾽Αβραάμ), 4 *Maccabees* (ἀναδεξάμενος), *Wisdom* (λογισάμενος, linked to 1.3 through Wis 8:17, 3 Kgs 5:21 ἔδωκεν τῷ Δαυιδ υἱὸν φρόνιμον), and *Daniel* (δυνατὸς ὁ θεός).

[558] The perfect tense of προσφέρειν suggests that in Heb 11:17*a* the offering recounted in Gn 22 is explained through the context of Nm 31:50 "καὶ προσενηνόχαμεν τὸ δῶρον κυρίῳ, ἀνὴρ ὃ εὗρεν σκεῦος χρυσοῦν, χλιδῶνα καὶ ψέλιον καὶ δακτύλιον καὶ περιδέξιον καὶ ἐμπλόκιον, ἐξιλάσασθαι περὶ ἡμῶν ἔναντι κυρίου".

[559] See Gn 22:1-2 "καὶ ἐγένετο μετὰ τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα ὁ θεὸς ἐπείραζεν τὸν Αβρααμ ...". Aside from Heb 11:17, "πειραζόμενος" is only used in Mk 1:13, Lk 4:2, and Jas 1:13.

Through the allusion to *Hebrews*, the finite verb "προσέφερε" in 1.1 has potentially

three grammatical subjects, each of them a participle—"πειραζόμενος", "ἀναδεξάμενος"

and "λογισάμενος", the latter additionally defined through a paraphrase—"ὅτι ... δυνατὸς

ὁ θεός".

Two of the three participles—"πειραζόμενος" and "ἀναδεξάμενος" connect the

clause with "προσέφερε" in 1.1 to two brief segments of the narrative at the end of the first

chapter of *PJ*, in 1.4 (πειραζόμενος) and in 1.3 (ἀναδεξάμενος). These consecutive parts

of the chapter are connected to each together through a shared theme—"τὸ ζῆν". In

addition, each is joined (through intertexts) to a sentence with the term "ἱστορία"—the one

in 1.4 (πειραζόμενος) points to the sentence with the substantivized infinitive "τοῦ γράψαι

τὴν ἱστορίαν ταύτην" in 25.1,[564] the other, in 1.3 (ἀναδεξάμενος), is linked to the

sentence with "τοῦ γράψαι τὴν ἱστορίαν ταύτην" in 25.1 and to Joseph's question

concerning "ἡ ἱστορία τοῦ ᾽Αδάμ" in 13.1.[565]

In 1.1, the different texts incorporated through allusions into the paraphrase of the

Sacrifice of Isaac in *Hebrews* 11:17-19 are glossed through the phrases by which the allusion

to *Hebrews* is preceded. For example, the phrases "τῶν δώδεκα φυλῶν τοῦ ᾽Ισραήλ" and

"προσφέρειν τὰ δῶρα" clarify the referent(s) of an allusion in *Hebrews* 11:17 based on

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[560] Gn 21:12.
[561] In conjunction with "ἀρχηγός" in Heb 12:2, "ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐγείρειν ..." (Heb 11:19), associates the entry with Acts 3:15.
[562] See Gn 18:14; Dn 3:17.
[563] See 2 Mcc 8:33 (καὶ τὸν ἄξιον τῆς δυσσεβείας ἐκομίσατο μισθόν); notice 2 Mcc 8:36 (ὁ ... ἀναδεξάμενος). The allusion to 2 Mcc 8:33 suggests that the referent of the demonstrative pronoun αὐτόν in Heb 11:19 is μισθός—the sentence alludes to the promise of a "μισθὸς πολὺς σφόδρα" in Gn 15:1.
[564] With Demosthenes' speech *De Corona* as intertext.
[565] Through allusions to 2 and 4 Mcc.

"προσενήνοχεν". "Προσενήνοχεν"[566]—in 1.1 with "δῶρα" as (implied) direct object—is an indirect allusion to Balaam's advice to Balak, associated with the stories of the Baal of Phegor and Phineas' zeal.[567] The offering of a δῶρον by each of the χιλιάρχοι and ἑκατοντάρχοι after the defeat of the five kings of Midian[568] (reported in *Numbers* 31) is linked to the Lord's vow on the death of the generation of ἄνδρες πολεμισταί,[569] and (therefore) to the census in the Sinai and at the Jordan. The accounts on these two census are also connected to each other through a crossreference to the first ἐπίσκεψις under Moses with Aaron in the summary of the ἐπίσκεψις under Moses and Eleazar.[570]

> καὶ αὕτη ἡ ἐπίσκεψις Μωυσῆ καὶ Ελεαζαρ τοῦ ἱερέως, οἳ ἐπεσκέψαντο τοὺς υἱοὺς Ισραηλ ἐν Αραβωθ Μωαβ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ιορδάνου κατὰ Ιεριχω.
> καὶ ἐν τούτοις οὐκ ἦν ἄνθρωπος τῶν ἐπεσκεμμένων ὑπὸ Μωυσῆ καὶ Ααρων, οὓς ἐπεσκέψαντο τοὺς υἱοὺς Ισραηλ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ Σινα·
> ὅτι εἶπεν κύριος αὐτοῖς
>   Θανάτῳ ἀποθανοῦνται ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ·
> καὶ οὐ κατελείφθη ἐξ αὐτῶν οὐδὲ εἷς πλὴν Χαλεβ υἱὸς Ιεφοννη καὶ Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Ναυη

" Ὅτι εἶπεν κύριος αυτοῖς Θανάτῳ ἀποθανοῦνται", the explanation of reason why not a single person of those examined by Moses and Aaron remained—save Caleb and Joshua—links the report on the census in *Numbers* 26 to the vow in *Numbers* 14. But the wording of the explanation adds important details: Θανάτῳ ἀποθανοῦνται is an allusion to the commandment given to Adam in *Genesis* 2:17, "ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ γινώσκειν καλὸν καὶ πονηρόν, οὐ φάγεσθε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ· ᾗ δ' ἂν ἡμέρᾳ φάγητε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, θανάτῳ

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[566] Heb 11:17.
[567] Recounted in the book of *Numbers* (see Nm 251-18, 31:8, 15) and in the ode in *Deuteronomy* (See Dt 32:15-21).
[568] See Nm 31:8.
[569] See Dt 2:14, 16, linked to Nm 31:49 through the phrase ἄνδρες πολεμισταί; on the oath, see Nm 14:20-24, 28-35; 14:3. The definition, in Nm 14:23, of those to whom the Lord will give the land is incorporated into Is 7:16 "διότι πρὶν ἢ γνῶναι τὸ παιδίον ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν ἀπειθεῖ πονηρίᾳ τοῦ ἐκλέξασθαι τὸ ἀγαθόν ...".
[570] See Nm 26:64.

ἀποθανεῖσθε". Thus, the explanation in the summary of the census at the Jordan points to the death of all humans.[571] "Καὶ οὐ κατελείφθη ἐξ αὐτῶν οὐδὲ εἷς" parallels the death of the men to the death of Pharaoh and his military force in *Exodus* 14:28. Together, these allusions point to a single text, the sign in *Numbers* 16 by which the congregation will know that the Lord sent Moses.[572]

> καὶ εἶπεν Μωυσῆς
>   ἐν τούτῳ γνώσεσθε ὅτι κύριος ἀπέστειλέν με ποιῆσαι πάντα τὰ ἔργα ταῦτα, ὅτι
>   οὐκ ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ· εἰ κατὰ θάνατον πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀποθανοῦνται οὗτοι, εἰ καὶ
>   κατ' ἐπίσκεψιν πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐπισκοπὴ ἔσται αὐτῶν, οὐχὶ κύριος
>   ἀπέσταλκέν με· ἀλλ' ἢ ἐν φάσματι δείξει κύριος, καὶ ἀνοίξασα ἡ γῆ τὸ στόμα
>   αὐτῆς καταπίεται αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς οἴκους αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς σκηνὰς αὐτῶν καὶ
>   πάντα, ὅσα ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς, καὶ καταβήσονται ζῶντες εἰς ᾅδου, καὶ γνώσεσθε ὅτι
>   παρώξυναν οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὗτοι τὸν κύριον.

Καταπίνειν and καλύπτειν in the description of the fulfillment[573] associate this sign with the retelling of the fate of Pharaoh and his army in *Exodus* 15 (where θάλασσα is in the place of γῆ).

In *PJ*, this connection between the first clause of the entry on the Sacrifice of Isaac in *Hebrews* and the census of all humans in *Numbers* 16 is emphasized through the placement of the phrase "πλούσιος σφόδρα" between the phrases "προσφέρειν δῶρα" and "τῶν δώδεκα φυλῶν τοῦ Ἰσραήλ".[574] The latter is an allusion to a speech addressed by Joshua to twelve men of the ἔνδοξοι, summonded by him from the sons of Israel.[575] In the book of *Joshua*, the text with the phrase "τῶν δώδεκα φυλῶν τοῦ Ἰσραήλ" is preceded by a speech

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[571] See Nm 16:29. The place "ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ" associates this with the description, in *Numbers* 14, of the falling of those of the census in the desert; see Nm 14:29 ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ταύτῃ πεσεῖται τὰ κῶλα ὑμῶν καὶ πᾶσα ἡ ἐππισκοπὴ ὑμῶν καὶ οἱ κατηριθμένοι ὑμῶν ἀπὸ εἰσκοσαετοῦς καὶ ἐπάνω, ὅσοι ἐγόγγυσαν ἐπ' ἐμοί.
[572] Nm 16:28-30.
[573] See Nm 16:28-30.
[574] Jo 4:5.
[575] See Jo 4:4.

with a very similar sounding beginning.[576] In this first speech, Joshua calls the sons of Israel

to draw near and hear the word of the Lord their God;[577] then he declares that "ἐν τούτῳ

γνώσεται ὅτι θεὸς ζῶν ἐν ὑμῖν". Through the almost identical introductory words, the

sign announced by Joshua is paralleled to the sign of the census spoken of by Moses in

Numbers 16.

The allusions to Joshua's address to the ἔνδοξοι in the book of *Joshua* and to the

offerings brought by the leaders of hundreds and thousands in the book of *Numbers* highlight

that the "πλούσιος σφόδρα" mentioned in 1.1 is ἐνδόξοτερος πάντων [τῶν ᾿Ιουδαίων]

(according to *Susanna*) and "τις ... ἄρχων" (according to the Gospel according to *Luke*). As

readings of the passage in *Genesis* with the first instance of the phrase, the two later texts

point out links connecting *Genesis* 13:2 (Αβραμ δὲ ἦν πλούσιος σφόδρα κτήνεσιν καὶ

ἀργυρίῳ καὶ χρυσίῳ) to the stories of Lot's captivity and Melchizedek's blessing in *Genesis*

14,[578] the promise of seed to Abraam in *Genesis* 15,[579] and the oath sworn by the Lord by

himself in *Genesis* 22.[580] They thus prepare a reference to Abraham as πατριάρχης in 1.3,

which, in the letter to the *Hebrews*, draws on two very similar worded sentences describing

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[576] See Jos 3:9-13. Like the speech addressed to the twelve ἐνδόξοι, this earlier speech (addressed to all the sons of Israel) begins with the imperative προσαγάγετε (followed by a reference to a location), features a sentence with ἐκλείπειν as finite verb, and—in describing the ark as "ἡ κιβωτὸς τῆς διαθήκης κυρίου πάσης τῆς γῆς"—associates the crossing of the Jordan with the σημεῖον of the κυνόμυια—i.e. the giving of a διαστολή between the people of Pharaoh and the people of the Lord (recounted in chapter eight of the book of *Exodus*).

[577] See Jo 3:9 προσαγάγετε ὧδε καὶ ἀκούσατε τὸ ῥῆμα κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν. The reference to the ῥῆμα is probably an allusion to Dt 1:26.

[578] E,g, Abraam and Lot, the owners of flocks and herds, are brothers (Gn 13:7-8; see Gn 14:16; cf. Gn 14:12); "πλούσιος σφόδρα" (Gn 13:2) is taken up again in "πλουτίζειν" (Gn 14:23, 20).

[579] See Gn 14:14 ἀκούσας δὲ Αβραμ ὅτι ᾐχμαλώτευται Λωτ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ, ἠρίθμησεν τοὺς ἰδίους οἰκογενεῖς αὐτοῦ, τριακοσίους δέκα καὶ ὀκτώ, Gn 15:3, 5.

[580] See Gn 22:17-18, 24:60.

Melchizedek—"ᾧ καὶ δεκάτην ἀπὸ πάντων ἐμέρισεν Ἀβραάμ"[581] and "ᾧ καὶ δεκάτην Ἀβραὰμ ἔδωκεν ἐκ τῶν ἀκροθινίων ὁ πατριάρχης".[582]

The participle "πειραζόμενος" in *Hebrews* has several parallels in the writings of the New Testament.[583] The second participle in *Hebrews* 11:17-19—"ἀναδεξάμενος" (an allusion to the ὑπόδειγμα of Eleazar's death in *2 Maccabees* 6)—and allusions, in 1.3, to an ἀπαρχή (through the term ἀκροθινία)[584] and to the ἀγών of Eleazar and the seven sons and her mother in the fourth book of *Maccabees* (resting on the phrase Ἀβραὰμ ὁ πατριάρχης) suggest that the source of the participle "πειραζόμενος" singled out in 1.1 is the *Letter of James*. James speaks of one who is put to the test (πειραζόμενος) in the context of an argument for enduring trial (ὑπομένειν πειρασμόν) to attain to the "στέφανος ζωῆς" promised by God to those who love Him. He continues by declaring death to be an offspring of sin[585] and reminding his audience that they were born to be an ἀπαρχή τῶν αὐτοῦ κτισμάτων.[586] The reference to the στέφανος (which implies an ἀγών)[587] and to death are taken up through allusions, in the paraphrase of the Sacrifice of Isaac in *Hebrews* 11, to *Hebrews* 12 and *2 Maccabees* 6.

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[581] Heb 7:2.

[582] Heb 7:6.

[583] Aside from the sentence in the letter to the *Hebrews*, the participle occurs three times in the writings of the Old and the New Testaments—two of the three instances appear in the story of the Temptation—in the Gospel according to *Mark* (see Mk 1:13) and according to *Luke* (see Lk 4:2); a third example is in the first chapter of the letter of *James* (see Jas 1:13).

[584] E.g., see *EM* 53:10-13 <ἀκροθίνια>: ἀκροθίνια λέγονται αἱ ἀπαρχαὶ αἱ τῶν καρπῶν· θινῶν δὲ κυρίως, ἤγουν τῶν σωρῶν, ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ θήρας, καὶ ἄλλων. παρὰ τὸ θὶν θινός, ὃ σημαίνει τὸν σωρὸν τῶν χρημάτων, θίνιον, καὶ ἀκροθίνιον.

[585] See Jas 1:12-15 μακάριος ἀνὴρ ὃς ὑπομένει πειρασμόν, ὅτι δόκιμος γενόμενος λήμψεται τὸ στέφανον τῆς ζωῆς ὃν ἐπηγγείλατο ὁ κύριος τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν. μηδεὶς πειραζόμενος λεγέτω ὅτι ἀπὸ θεοῦ πειράζομαι· ὁ γὰρ θεὸς ἀπείραστός ἐστιν κακῶν, πειράζει δὲ αὐτὸς οὐδένα. ἕκαστος δὲ πειράζεται ὑπὸ τῆς ἰδίας ἐπιθυμίας ἐξελκόμενος καὶ δελεαζόμενος· εἶτα ἡ ἐπιθυμία συλλαβοῦσα τίκτει ἁμαρτίαν, ἡ δὲ ἁμαρτία ἀποτελεσθεῖσα ἀποκύει θάνατον.

[586] The pronoun refers to τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν φώτων; see Jas 1:17.

[587] See Heb 12:1, 4 Mcc 17:11.

In *Hebrews* 11:17, the direct object of προσέφερε is the substantivized adjective " ὁ μονογενής". In conjunction with the allusion to the seed of Abraham in *Hebrews* 11:18 (through "ἐν Ἰσαὰκ κληθήσεταί σοι σπέρμα"),[588] the referent of this accusative is defined by analogy with the accusative of the preposition "ἐπί" in *Psalm* 18 of the *Psalms of Solomon*.[589]

> τὰ κρίματά σου ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν μετὰ ἐλέους,
> καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη σου ἐπὶ σπέρμα Αβρααμ υἱοὺς Ισραηλ.
> ἡ παιδεία σου ἐφ᾽ ἡμᾶς ὡς υἱὸν πρωτότοκον μονογενῆ
> ἀποστρέψαι ψυχὴν εὐήκοον ἀπὸ ἀμαθίας ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ.
> καθαρίσαι[590] ὁ θεὸς Ισραηλ εἰς ἡμέραν ἐλέους ἐν εὐλογίᾳ,
> εἰς ἡμέραν ἐκλογῆς ἐν ἀνάξει[1] χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ.

Through this allusion to παιδεία, "πειραζόμενος" is additionally explained as an allusion to the account on the Temptation of Jesus in the Gospel according to *Luke* (connecting 1.1 to 1.4).[591]

"Καὶ τὸν μονογενῆ προσέφερεν" associates the entry on the Sacrifice of Isaac in *Hebrews* 11 with an argument, in *Hebrews* 12:5-11, for enduring and continuing to run in the contest. This argument (or παράκλησις)[592] is preceded, in *Hebrews* 12:1-3, by a call to "let us run" looking towards Jesus.[593]

> τοιγαροῦν καὶ ἡμεῖς τοσοῦτον ἔχοντες περικείμενον ἡμῖν νέφος μαρτύρων, ὄγκον
> ἀποθέμενοι πάντα καὶ τὴν εὐπερίστατον ἁμαρτίαν, δι᾽ ὑπομονῆς τρέχωμεν τὸν
> προκείμενον ἡμῖν ἀγῶνα ἀφορῶντες εἰς τὸν τῆς πίστεως ἀρχηγὸν[594] καὶ τελειωτὴν
> Ἰησοῦν, ὃς ἀντὶ τῆς προκειμένης αὐτῷ χαρᾶς ὑπέμεινεν σταυρὸν αἰσχύνης
> καταφρονήσας ἐν δεξιᾷ τε τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ θεοῦ κεκάθικεν. ἀναλογίσασθε γὰρ τὸν
> τοιαύτην ὑπομεμενηκότα ὑπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀντιλογίαν, ἵνα μὴ κάμητε
> ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν ἐκλυόμενοι.

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[588] See Gn 21:11-12.
[589] *Psalms of Solomon* 18:3-5. The psalm is entitled "ψαλμὸς τῷ Σαλωμων· ἔτι τοῦ χριστοῦ κυρίου".
[590] The allusion to Jb 1:5 (resting on the same verb—προσέφερε) emphasizes καθαρίζειν.
[591] See Lk 4:2, 4, with Dt 8:3, 5 as intertext.
[592] See Heb 12:5, with quotation of Pr 3:11-12.
[593] The repetition of ὑπόμενειν suggests a comparison between the direct objects of the verb—"ὑπέμεινεν σταυρόν" and "τὸν τοιαύτην ὑπομεμενηκότα ... ἀντιλογίαν".
[594] See Heb 2:10.

The appellation "ἀρχηγός" and the phrase "ἐν δεξιᾷ τε τοῦ θρόνου ... καθίζειν" associate this paragraph with a paraphrase of *Psalm* 8:6 in *Hebrews* 2:10 (stressing στεφανοῦν and θάνατον γεύεσθαι) and with a "κεφάλαιον ἐπὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις" in *Hebrews* 8:1 ("τοιοῦτον ἔχομεν ἀρχιερέα")[595] followed by references to "τὸ προσφέρειν δῶρα τε καὶ θυσίας"[596] (see 1.1) and to those who "ὑποδείγματι καὶ σκιᾷ λατρεύουσιν τῶν ἐπουρανίων".[597]

The topic of παιδεία—and of the archpriest who offered himself[598]—is reinforced through "ἀναδεξάμενος", the second of three participles in the entry on Abraham in *Hebrews* 11:17-18. Ἀναδεξάμενος is an allusion to the beginning of the account on Eleazar in the Second book of *Maccabees*.[599]

> Ελεάζαρός τις τῶν πρωτευόντων γραμματέων, ἀνὴρ ἤδη προβεβηκὼς τὴν ἡκλικίαν καὶ τὴν πρόσοψιν τοῦ προσώπου κάλλιστος, ἀναχανὼν ἠναγκάζετο φαγεῖν ὕειον κρέας. ὁ δὲ τὸν μετ᾽ εὐκλείας θάνατον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν μετὰ μύσους βίον ἀναδεξάμενος, αὐθαιρέτως ἐπὶ τὸ τύμπανον προσῆγεν, προπτύσας δὲ καθ᾽ ὃν ἔδει τρόπον προσέρχεσθαι τοὺς ὑπομένοντας ἀμύνασθαι ὧν οὐ θέμις γεύσασθαι[600] διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ ζῆν φιλοστοργίαν.

The description of Eleazar's death is preceded by an exhortation to reckon the recounted events as τιμωρίαι not for the destruction but rather for the παιδεία of the γένος of the Jews.[601]

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[595] See Heb 8:1-2 κεφάλαιον δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις, τοιοῦτον ἔχομεν ἀρχιερέα, ὃς ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ θρόνου τῆς μεγαλωσύνης ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, τῶν ἁγίων λειτουργὸς καὶ τῆς σκηνῆς τῆς ἀληθινῆς, ἣν ἔπηξεν ὁ κύριος, καὶ οὐκ ἄνθρωπος.

[596] See Heb 8:3.

[597] See Heb 8:5 ἑαυτὸν ἀνενέγκας; Jas 2:21.

[598] See Heb 7:27.

[599] 2 Mcc 6:18-20.

[600] See Heb 2:9 τὸν δὲ βραχύ τι παρ᾽ ἀγγέλους ἠλαττωμένον βλέπομεν Ἰησοῦν διὰ τὸ πάθημα τοῦ θανάτου δόξῃ καὶ τιμῇ ἐστεφανωμένον ὅπως χάριτι θεοῦ ὑπὲρ παντὸς γεύσηται θανάτου.

[601] See 2 Mcc 6:12 παρακαλῶ οὖν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας τῇδε τῇ βίβλῳ μὴ συστέλλεσθαι διὰ τὰς συμφοράς, λογίζεσθαι δὲ τὰς τιμωρίας μὴ πρὸς ὄλεθρον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς παιδείαν τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν εἶναι. The verb "συστέλλειν" in 25.1 suggests an allusion to this passage.

"ʿΟ μετ᾽ εὐκλείας θάνατος", the direct object of the participle, receives two additional comments in the account on Eleazar in *2 Maccabees* 6. Both times Eleazar's death—that is, his "ὑπὲρ τῶν σεμνῶν καὶ ἁγίων νόμων ἀπευθανατίζειν" and the manner of his μεταλλάσσειν [τὸν βίον])—is declared a ὑπόδειγμα.[602] In the letter to the *Hebrews*, the indirect allusion to the story of the Baal of Phegor in the first sentence of the paraphrase of the Sacrifice of Isaac underlines that Eleazar refuses even only pretending (ὑποκρίνεσθαι)[603] eating the meat of impure animals[604] and "τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ποροστεταγμένα τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς θυσίας κρεῶν"[605] lest the young are led astray because of him. In *PJ*, the indirect allusion to this ὑπόδειγμα connects "προσέφερε τὰ δῶρα"[606] (in 1.1) to "μὴ ἰδεῖν θάνατον" in 24.4 (a maxim that, in *Hebrews* 11:5, refers to Henoch—according to *Sirach* a "ὑπόδειγμα μετανοίας"[607]) and to "ὁ γράψας" in 25.1 (associated in the Gospel according to *John* with the giving of the ὑπόδειγμα at the meal before the feast, in John 13[608]).

In *PJ* 1.1, the indirect allusion to Eleazar (through ἀναδεξάμενος in Hebrews 11:17-19) is preceded by an allusion to the beginning of the story of *Susanna* (πλούσιος σφόδρα),

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[602] See 2 Mcc 6:28 τοῖς δὲ νέοις ὑπόδειγμα γενναῖον καταλελοιπὼς εἰς τὸ προθύμως καὶ γενναίως ὑπὲρ τῶν σεμνῶν καὶ ἁγίων νόμων ἀπευθανατίζειν, and 6:31 καὶ οὗτος οὖν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον μετήλλαξεν οὐ μόνον τοῖς νέοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πλείστοις τοῦ ἔθνους τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θάνατον ὑπόδειγμα γενναιότητος καὶ μνημόσυνον ἀρετῆς καταλιπών.
[603] See 2 Mcc 6:21, 24, 25.
[604] 2 Mcc 6:18 φαγεῖν ὕειον κρέας.
[605] 2 Mcc 6:21; see Nm 25:2-3 καὶ ἐκάλεσαν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις τῶν εἰδώλων αὐτῶν, καὶ ἔφαγεν ὁ λαὸς τῶν θυσιῶν αὐτῶν καὶ προσεκύνησαν τοῖς εἰδώλοις αὐτῶν. καὶ ἐτελέσθη Ισραηλ τῷ Βεελφεγωρ. Similar in Ps 105(106):28.
[606] See Heb 11:17 and 8:5, with ὑπόδειγμα in Heb 8:5 and 2 Mcc 6:28, 31.
[607] See Sir 44:16. The indirect allusion *Sirach* in 24.4 stresses two allusions to *Sirach* in *Rm* 16, one of the sources of "ὁ γράψας" in 25.1 (Rm 16:25 στηρίξαι, Sir 42:17, 24; Rm 16:27 μόνῳ σοφῷ θεῷ, see Sir 1:8, 4 Mcc 7:23).
[608] Jn 21:24 γράψας ταῦτα καὶ οἴδαμεν is linked to Jn 13:17 εἰ ταῦτα οἴδατε, μακάριοί ἐστε ἐὰν ποιῆτε αὐτά; a ὑπόδειγμα is mentioned in Jn 13:15 ὑπόδειγμα γὰρ ἔδωκα ὑμῖν ἵνα καθὼς ἐγὼ ἐποίησα ὑμῖν καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιῆτε.

which features a reference to κυβερνᾶν.[609]   In conjunction with what is said in *Hebrews* about the atoning sacrifice of this highpriest, κυβερνᾶν associates the bearer of the name Eleazar (the referent of ἀναδεξάμενος) with a priest by the name Eleazar[610] in the fourth book of *Maccabees*. This Eleazar is compared to an ἄριστος κυβερνήτης who sailed for and reached the beach of the immortal victory[611] and to a city that is besieged but not taken.[612]   More importantly, however, in view of the allusion to the hiehpriest who offered himself (Heb 7:27), in *4 Maccabees* 7:11-12 Eleazar is compared to Aaron—with an explicit reference to Aaron's ἐξιλάσκεσθαι περὶ τοῦ λαοῦ in *Numbers* 17:11-15. This comparison stresses and explicates a prayer made by Eleazar.[613]

> ἵλεως γενοῦ τῷ ἔθνει σου ἀρκεσθεὶς τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δίκῃ. καθάρισον[614] αὐτῶν ποίησον τὸ ἐμὸν αἷμα καὶ ἀντίψυχον αὐτῶν λαβὲ τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχήν.

"Δυνατὸς ὁ θεός" (Heb 11:19), finally, is an allusion a part of the answer of the three young men to Nebuchadnezzar in *Daniel* (LXX) 3:16-18.

> βασιλεῦ, οὐ χρείαν ἔχομεν ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ τῇ ἐπιταγῇ ταύτῃ ἀποκριθῆναί σοι· ἔστι γὰρ θεὸς ἐν οὐρανοῖς εἷς κύριος ἡμῶν, ὃν φοβούμεθα, ὅς ἐστι δυνατὸς ἐξελέσθαι ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς καμίνου τοῦ πυρός, καὶ ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν σου, βασιλεῦ ἐξελεῖται ἡμᾶς· καὶ τότε φανερόν σοι ἔσται, ὅτι οὔτε τῷ εἰδώλῳ σου λατρεύομεν οὔτε τῇ εἰκόνι σου τῇ χρυσῇ, ἣν ἔστησας, προσκυνοῦμεν.

This allusion emphasizes what Nebuchadnezzar says to his friends after hearing the three men's singing of hymns and seeing them alive[615] and the report on what he, the rulers, and the friends of the king see when the three go forth from the fire.

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[609] See Sus θʹ 5 καὶ ἀπεδείχθησαν δύο πρεσβύτεροι ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ κριταὶ ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἐκείνῳ, περὶ ὧν ἐλάλησεν ὁ δεσπότης ὅτι Ἐξῆλθεν ἀνομία ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἐκ πρεσβυτέρων κριτῶν, οἳ ἐδόκουν κυβερνᾶν τὸν λαόν.
[610] See 4 Mcc 5:4.
[611] See 4 Mcc 7:1-3.
[612] See 4 Mcc 7:4.
[613] 4 Mcc 6:28-29.
[614] The function of the blood is underlined, in 1.1, through allusions to "καθαρίσαι" in *Psalms of Solomon* 18:5 and "ἐκαθάριζεν αὐτούς" in Jb 1:5.

καὶ ἐθεώρουν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐκείνους, ὅτι οὐχ ἥψατο τὸ πῦρ τοῦ σώματος αὐτῶν, καὶ αἱ τρίχες αὐτῶν οὐ κατεκάησαν καὶ τὰ σαράβαρα αὐτῶν οὐκ ἠλλοιώθησαν, οὐδὲ ὀσμὴ τοῦ πυρὸς ἦν ἐν αὐτοῖς.

In *PJ* 1.1, present in the text through the allusion to *Hebrews* 11:17-19, the allusion to the statement "θεὸς εἷς" in the answer of the three young men (where it is combined with "εἷς κύριος") is highlighted through the beginning of the account with the phrase "πλούσιος σφόδρα" in chapter 18 of the Gospel according to *Luke*.[616]

καὶ ἐπηρώτησέν τις αὐτὸν ἄρχων λέγων·
    διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ, τί ποιήσας ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομήσω;[617]
εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς·
    τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν; οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ εἷς ὁ θεός.

The words of both question and answer are carefully chosen and placed to display additional words when written in bisected columns. In both cases, the words connecting the two parts of the column provide glosses on the text written in the column and on the text of the story of the ruler's question.

The question of the ruler has 22 syllables.

A l 6x2	r 5x2	B l 7x2	r 4x2	C l 6x2	r 5x2
1 διδάσκ		**διδάσκ** →	**ών** ι	διδάσκ	
αλε		αλε	ον κληρ	αλε	ἠν αἰ
ἀγαθ →	**ἠν** αἰ	**ἀγαθ** →	**ον** ο	**ἀγαθ** →	**ών** ι
4 έ, τί	ών ι	έ, **τί** →	**μήσω**	έ, τί	ον κληρ
ποιήσ →	**ον** κληρ	ποιήσ		**ποιήσ** →	**ον** ομ
ας **ζω** →	**ον** ο	ας ζω		ας **ζω** →	**ή** σω
7	μήσω	ἠν αἰ			

In two distributions of the text in the bisected column (A and C), the letters in line 5 combine to read "ποίησον".[618] In A, line 3 reads "ἀγαθήν",[619] and line 6 ζῷον;[620] in B, line 3 displays "ἀγάθον"[621] and line 4 "τιμήσω".[622]

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[615] See Dn (LXX) 3:92 ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ὁρῶν ἄνδρας τέσσαρας λελυμένους περιπατοῦντας ἐν τῷ πυρί, καὶ φθορὰ οὐδεμία ἐγενήθη ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἡ ὅρασις τοῦ τετάρτου ὁμοίωμα ἀγγέλου θεοῦ.
[616] Lk 18:18-19.
[617] See Gn 15:8; Lk 10:25, 18:18.

The ruler's wish to have life (implied by his question) and emphasis on teaching

(διδάσκειν) turn his question "τί ποιήσας ...;" into an allusion to an instruction in *Psalm*

33(34).[623]

> δεῦτε τέκνα ακούσατέ μου·
> φόβον κυρίου διδάξω ὑμᾶς.
> τίς ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος ὁ θέλων ζωὴν
> ἀγαπῶν ἡμέρας ἰδεῖν ἀγαθάς;
> παῦσον τὴν γλῶσσάν σου ἀπὸ κακοῦ
> καὶ χείλη σου τοῦ μὴ λαλῆσαι δόλον.
> ἔκκλινον ἀπὸ κακοῦ καὶ ποίησον ἀγαθόν,
> ζήτησον εἰρήνην καὶ δίωξον αὐτήν.

In *PJ* 1.1, the indirect allusion to εἰρήνην διώκειν (Ps 33(34):15) underlines an

exhortation in *Hebrews* 12:14 (after the discussion on παιδεία)—"εἰρήνην διώκετε μετὰ

πάντων καὶ τὸν ἁγιασμόν, οὗ χωρὶς οὐδεὶς ὄψεται τὸν κύριον".

Unlike the ruler's question, Jesus' question and response (spoken by him as a teacher)

can be represented in columns of different width (18 syllables, i.e., 9x2 or 6x3).

A 9x2					**B 6x3**		
τί με	**θ↓**	θόν οὐδ	εἰ μὴ		τί μ **ελέγ** →	**όν** οὐδεὶς	εἰ μὴ **εἷς**
λέγει	**ε**	**εἰσάγ** →	**εἶ** ς ὁ		εις ἀγαθ	**ἀγαθὸς** →	ὁ **θεός**
ς ἀγα	**α**	αθὸς	**θεός**				

Εἰσάγει (A) with the allusion to the "ἀγαθόν" in *Psalm* 72(73) suggests an allusion

to *Deuteronomy* 8:7—"present" in 1.1 and 1.4 through allusions to the the first challenge by

the slanderer in the text of the Temptation in *Luke*.[624]

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[618] See Ps 33(34):15.

[619] As alternative direct object of "κληρονομήσω", "ἀγαθήν" suggests a link to the promise of "ἡ γῆ ἀγαθή" in Ex 3:7. The sentence with "κληρονομήσω" after which the ruler's question is patterned is first spoken by Abraham, in *Genesis* 15:8. In *Genesis*, the verb has a different direct object than in the Gospel according to *Luke*—αὐτήν [i.e., τὴν γῆν ταύτην] instead of ζωὴν αἰώνιον. The phrase "γῆ ἀγαθή" occurs in the story of the apostasy at Kadesh, in *Numbers* 14:7 (recalled in Dt 1:25).

[620] See Sir 13:15-16; with Ps 72(73):28.

[621] See Lk 18:19, Ps 33(34):15.

[622] See Nm 22:17, 24:11.

[623] Ps 33(34):12-15 at 15.

The statement "ἀγαθὸς ὁ θεός" (emphasized through the letter distribution in B) is an allusion to the first verses of *Psalm* 72(73) (entitled Ψαλμὸς τῷ Ασαφ).

> ὡς ἀγαθὸς τῷ Ισραηλ ὁ θεός
> τοῖς εὐθέσι τῇ καρδίᾳ
> ἐμοῦ δὲ παρὰ μικρὸν ἐσαλεύθησαν οἱ πόδες,
> παρ᾽ ὀλίγον ἐξεχύθη τὰ διαβήματά μου.

Psalm 72(73) has a reversal in the middle in which the speaker refers back to what he said before, commenting that, without considering the ἔσχατα of the sinners, it is without understanding. Consequently, a description **of** the destruction of the lawless follows (together with a self-assessment by the speaker). The psalm ends with a statement on what the speaker judges to be an ἀγαθόν.[625]

> ὅτι ἰδοὺ οἱ μακρύνοντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ σοῦ ἀπολοῦνται,
> ἐξωλέθρευσας πάντα τὸν πορνεύοντα ἀπὸ σοῦ.
> ἐμοὶ δὲ τὸ προσκολλᾶσθαι τῷ θεῷ ἀγαθόν ἐστιν,
> τίθεσθαι ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ τὴν ἐλπίδα μου
> τοῦ ἐξαγγεῖλαι πάσας τὰς αἰνέσεις σου
> ἐν ταῖς πύλαις τῆς θυγατρὸς Σιων.

"Προσκολλᾶν τῷ θεῷ"—the ἀγαθόν for the speaker of *Psalm* 72(73)—links the end of the psalm to the condition of a longer promise in *Deuteronomy* 11:22[626] as well as to *Sirach* 13:16.

The allusions to the Sacrifice of Isaac, the reference to "θεὸς εἷς", and the allusion to the letter of *James* based on the participle πειραζόμενος associate the beginning of the

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[624] Through πειραζόμενος in 1.1 (Heb 11:17, placed in Lk through Lk 18: πλούσιος σφόδρα), combined with Mt 4:2-4 (1.4) defined through Jo 4:6, 7, 21 οἱ λίθοι οὗτοι (1.1)
[625] Ps 72(73):27-28.
[626] See Jo 23:8.

narrative with a part of the letter of *James* in which James turns from one audience to another.[627]

> ἀλλ' ἐρεῖ τις· σὺ πίστιν ἔχεις, κἀγὼ ἔργα ἔχω· δεῖξόν μοι τὴν πίστιν σου ἐκ τῶν ἔργων σου, κἀγώ σοι δείξω ἐκ τῶν ἔργων μου τὴν πίστιν μου. σὺ πιστεύεις ὅτι ὁ θεὸς εἷς ἐστιν, καλῶς ποιεῖς· καὶ τὰ δαιμόνια πιστεύουσιν καὶ φρίσσουσιν.
>
> θέλεις δὲ γνῶναι, ὦ ἄνθρωπε κενέ, ὅτι ἡ πίστις χωρὶς τῶν ἔργων νεκρά ἐστιν; Ἀβραὰμ ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων ἐδικαιώθη ἀνενέγκας Ἰσαὰκ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον; βλέπεις ὅτι ἡ πίστις συνήργει τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ἡ πίστις ἐτελειώθη, καὶ ἐπληρώθη ἡ γραφὴ ἡ λέγουσα· ἐπίστευσεν δὲ Ἀβραὰμ τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην καὶ φίλος θεοῦ ἐκλήθη.

The three sources—the letter of *James* (φίλος θεοῦ), the letter to the *Hebrews*, and *Luke* (εἷς ἀγαθός)—lead to a description of wisdom in the *Wisdom* of Solomon,[628] a book quoted at the beginning of the letter to the *Hebrews*[629] and represented in the paraphrase of the Sacrifice of Isaac through the participle "λογισάμενος".[630]

> ἀπαύγασμα γάρ ἐστιν φωτὸς ἀιδίου καὶ ἔσοπτρον ἀκηλίδωτον τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνεργείας καὶ εἰκὼν τῆς ἀγαθότητος αὐτοῦ. μία δὲ οὖσα πάντα δύναται καὶ μένουσα ἐν αὑτῇ τὰ πάντα καινίζει καὶ κατὰ γενεὰς εἰς ψυχὰς ὁσίας μεταβαίνουσα φίλους θεοῦ καὶ προφήτας κατασκευάζει· οὐθὲν γὰρ ἀγαπᾷ ὁ θεὸς εἰ μὴ τὸν σοφίᾳ συνοικοῦντα. ἔστιν γὰρ αὕτη εὐπρεπεστέρα ἡλίου καὶ ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν ἄστρων θέσιν.

The juxtaposition of "πλούσιος σφόδρα" and "προσέφερε τὰ δῶρα" in 1.1 thus amounts to a commentary on the account on the Sacrifice of Isaac in Hebrews. Together, all of these sources define the τέλος of the work (τὸ ἀγαθόν, ὁ ἀγαθός) and point to the teaching[631] handed on through it.

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[627] Jas 2:18-23.

[628] Wis 7:26-29.

[629] See Heb 1:3.

[630] See Heb 11:19; Wis 8:17. In *PJ*, "λογισάμενος" in Heb 11:19—an allusion to Wis 8:17—limits the referents of the phrase "ἐκ νεότητός μου" in Lk 18:21 (ταῦτα πάντα ἐφύλαξα ἐκ νεότητός μου) to Wis 8:2, thus explaining the ruler's answer to Jesus' reference to the five commandments (in Lk 18:20) as an allusion to the wisdom and understanding of this people (see Dt 4:6, with Dt 4:10, Ps 33(34):12).

[631] See Mt 22:31-32, Mk 12:26-27, Lk 20:37-38.

Ἱστορίαι

All sentences in *PJ* referring to ἱστορία have models in the writings of the Old and the New Testaments. But despite allusions to multiple sources, the number of texts connecting the different references to "ἱστορία" is remarkably limited. All of these sources (e.g., *Esther*, *Esdras*, *Maccabees*, *Sirach*) are "contained" (in one way or another) in the letter to the *Hebrews*, or (in the case of allusions to Demosthenes) attached to parts it.[632]

Statements such as the exhortation "κατέχωμεν τὴν ὁμολογίαν τῆς ἐλπίδος ἀκλινῆ"[633] and its context—an ἐπισυναγωγή[634]—associate the letter to the *Hebrews* with the second and the fourth books of *Maccabees*.[635] The text of the second book of *Maccabees* includes allusions and references to the book of *Esther* (at the beginning, in the greeting of the second letter,[636] and at the end[637]) as well as to *Jeremiah*[638] and *1 Esdras*[639] (both in the second letter at the beginning of 2 *Maccabees*).

"ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις" and "ὁ γράψας τὴν ἱστορίαν ταύτην"

The older (earlier) sources of the phrases with the noun ἱστορία in *PJ* are incorporated into the later sources through allusions. Thus, "ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις" in 1.1

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[632] The letter to the *Hebrews* is represented in *PJ* through several allusions at the beginning and the end of the narrative; see 1.1 προσέφερε (Heb 11:17); 2.3 τοῦ πατριάρχου Ἀβραάμ (Heb 7:4); 2.4 βρώματα καὶ πόματα (Heb 9:10); 24.4 χρηματισθείς (Heb 11:7), and 24.4 μὴ ἰδεῖν θάνατον (Heb 11:5).

[633] See Heb 10:23.

[634] See Heb 10:25.

[635] See 2 Mcc 2:7 ἐπισυναγωγή; 4 Mcc 6:7, 17:3 ἀκλινής.

[636] See 2 Mcc 1:10, Est 6:1.

[637] See 2 Mcc 15:36, Est 8:12ᵘ, 9:21.

[638] See 2 Mcc 2:1 ἐν ταῖς ἀπογραφαῖς.

[639] See 2 Mcc 2:13, 1 Esdr 2:17 ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνηματισμοῖς.

represents two prepositional phrases in two letters in the book of *Esther*—ἐν τοῖς γεγραμμένοις[640] and ἐκ τῶν παλαιοτέρων ἱστοριῶν;[641] both letters (and the prepositional phrases) are paralleled, through phrasal allusions, to writings mentioned in *1*[642] and *2*[643] *Esdras*. Echoing parts of sentences in the endings of the letter to the *Romans* and the Gospel according to *John*,[644] the phrase "ὁ γράψας τὴν ἱστορίαν ταύτην" in 25.1 draws on these sources—the letter to the *Romans* features allusions to *Esther*[645] and *1* and *2 Esdras*;[646] the endings of the Gospel according to *John* feature phrases from *1 Esdras*.[647]

In the letter to the *Romans*, "ὁ γράψας" is preceded by a personal pronoun (first person singular) and a name (transcribed and Hellenized), and followed by a noun of the first declension (fem. sg.) and a prepositional phrase with "ἐν"—a pattern also displayed by the sentence in *PJ*.

25.1   ἐγὼ δὲ Ἰάκωβος / ὁ γράψας τὴν ἱστορίαν ταύτην / ἐν Ἰερουσαλημ
Rm 16:22   ἐγὼ Τέρτιος / ὁ γράψας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν / ἐν κυρίῳ

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[640] See Est 3:13ᶠ.

[641] See Est 8:12ᵍ.

[642] "Τὰ ὑπογεγραμμένα" in Est 8:12ᵃ draws on 1 Esdr 2:19; the allusion suggests that the ἱστορίαι in Est 8:12ᵃ correspond to the ὑπομνηματισμοί in 1 Esdr 2:17 (and in 2 Mcc 2:13).

[643] "Ἐβουλήθην", in Est 3:13ᵇ, is an allusion to Ps 39(40):8-9 τότε εἶπον Ἰδοὺ ἥκω, / ἐν κεφαλίδι βιβλίου γέγραπται περὶ ἐμοῦ· / τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ θέλημά σου ὁ θεός μου ἐβουλήθην, / καὶ τὸν νόμον σου ἐν μέσῳ τῆς καρδίας μου. "Κεφαλίς" associates the letter with 2 Esdr 6:2 καὶ εὑρέθη ἐν πόλει ἐν τῇ βάρει τῆς Μήδων πόλεως κεφαλὶς μία. "Κεφαλὶς βιβλίου" (Ps 39(40):8) is taken up in Ez 2:9.

[644] Respectively Rm 16:22 ἐγὼ ... ὁ γράψας +acc. (τὴν ἐπιστολὴν) and Jn 21:24 ὁ γράψας +acc. (ταῦτα). The letter to the *Romans* is a source incorporated into the account on "ἡ ἱστορία τοῦ Ἀδάμ" through the verb "ἀνακεφαλαιοῦσθαι" (13.1) (see Rm 13:9) and joined to *Hebrews* through a quotation of Hb 2:4—ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ... ζήσεται (see Rm 1:17, Heb 10:28); the report on the Wedding in Cana in the Gospel according to *John* is the source of the participle "γεγενημένον" in 24.3, and the allusions to the second ending of *John* (γράψας and δοξάζειν τὸν θεόν) in 25.1 are linked through an intertext (1 Esdr 1:30 ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ἐπένθησαν) to the reference to the mourning (πενθεῖν) of the people at hearing that "Ζαχαρίας πεφόνευται" (24.3).

[645] See Rm 16:17 (Est 8:12ᵍ), subscriptio (Est 8:10).

[646] See Rm 16:26, 1 Esdr 1:16. Rm 10:5 Μωϋσῆς γὰρ γράφει τὴν δικαιοσύνην τὴν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου ὅτι ὁ ποιήσας αὐτὰ ἄνθρωπος ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς, 2 Esdr 19:29. (The personal pronoun "αὐτὰ" suggests that the quotation is from 2 Esdr 19:29 rather than from Lv 18:5. The quoted line is part of an entreaty preceded by a reference to the reading of the law and followed by a reference to writing and sealing.)

[647] See Jn 20:30, 1 Esdr 1:12 γεγραμμένα ἐν βιβλίῳ; Jn 21:25, 1 Esdr 1:31 καθ' ἕν.

The syntactical and verbal similarities suggest that the direct objects of "γράψας" in 25.1 and in *Romans* 16:22—"ἡ ἱστορία αὕτη" and "ἡ ἐπιστολή"—and the referents of the names and of the two participles correspond to each other.

In the Gospel according to *John* (Jn 21:24), the substantivized participle "ὁ γράψας" is the second of two participles. Similar to the sentence in the letter to the *Romans*, "ὁ γράψας" is followed by an accusative—in this case "ταῦτα". In most manuscripts, the two participles are not separated from each other through a conjunction but connected through a prepositional phrase (περὶ τούτων). A conjunction connects the statement(s) with the participles to a sentence with a finite verb in the first person plural.

24.4-25.1	οὗτος γὰρ ἦν ὁ χρηματισθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος μὴ ἰδεῖν θάνατον … ἐγὼ δὲ Ιακωβος ὁ γράψας τὴν ἱστορίαν ταύτην
Jn 21:24	οὗτος ἐστιν ὁ μαθητὴς ὁ μαρτυρῶν περὶ τούτων ὁ γράψας ταῦτα καὶ οἴδαμεν ὅτι ἀληθὴς αὐτοῦ ἡ μαρτυρία ἐστίν

The similarities (in morphology and position) between the participle in 25.1 and "ὁ γράψας" in the Gospel according to *John* are less pronounced than in the letter to the *Romans,* since the sentence in the Gospel lacks the combination of "ἐγώ" and personal name.

The "double" allusion to the two sentences—one in the letter to the *Romans*, the other in the Gospel according to *John*—provides a gloss on "τὴν ἱστορίαν ταύτην" in 25.1 by suggesting analogies between the direct objects of "γράψας" in the three texts.

"τὴν ἐπιστολήν"

In the majority of manuscripts of the letter to the Romans, the passage with the participial phrase "ὁ γράψας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐν κυρίῳ" is followed by a greeting, a

sentence fragment or dedication (120 syllables), and a brief statement composed of two clauses (19 syllables), joined to (or separated from) the doxology through "ἀμήν" (2 syllables).

ἀμήν τῷ δὲ δυναμένῳ ὑμᾶς στηρίξαι ... μόνῳ σοφῷ θεῷ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ἀμην ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐγράφη διὰ Φοίβης διακόνου.[648]

The grammatical subject of "ἐγραφή" joins the last sentence to the sentence with the substantivized participle "ὁ γράψας" in *Romans* 16:22, since these are the only sentences with the noun ἐπιστολή in the letter.

Esther in Romans

The allusions to *Esther* are in built in *Romans* into the paragraphs that precede and follow the section with the participial phrase "ὁ γράψας τὴν ἐπιστολήν". One of them is stressed by (and paired with) the allusion in 1.1—the same sentence that provides the model for the prepositional phrase "ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις +gen. (pl.)" also provides the material for an allusion in *Romans* (σκοπεῖν +εἰς).[649] The other—with one of the instances of the verb γράφειν in Romans—is at the very end of the letter, in the subscriptio (ἐγράφη διὰ +gen.).[650]

"Σκοπεῖν"

Esther 8:12ᵍ (ἐκ τῶν παλαιοτέρεων ἱστοριῶν)—the sentence with one of the models for the prepositional phrase in 1.1 (ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις τῶν δώδεκα φυλῶν τοῦ Ισραήλ)—is incorporated, through the infinitive "σκοπεῖν", into an exhortation in *Romans*

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[648] Rm subscriptio. On Φοίβη, see Rm 16:1-2.
[649] Rm 16:17; see Est 8:12ᵍ.
[650] See Est 8:10.

16:17-20. In the *Mehrheitstext*, the paragraph has 190 syllables. Arranged in lines of 19 syllables each, the text displays an acrostic—"ἡ δάφνη" (ll. 4-10), the tree sacred to Apollo, associated with oracles and with ῥαψῳδία. The presence of the acrostic suggests a link to teachings on γράμματα and στοιχεῖα.

10x19 Syllables

παρακαλῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀδελφοί, σκοπεῖν τοὺς τὰς διχοστασίας
καὶ τὰ σκάνδαλα παρὰ τὴν διδαχὴν ἣν ὑμεῖς ἐμάθετε ποι
οῦντας, καὶ ἐκλίνατε ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν· οἱ γὰρ τοιοῦτοι τῷ κυρίῳ
η↓ ἡμῶν Χριστῷ οὐ δουλεύουσιν ἀλλὰ τῇ ἑαυτῶν κοιλίᾳ, καὶ
δ διὰ τῆς χρηστολογίας καὶ εὐλογίας ἐξαπατῶσιν τὰς κ
α αρδίας τῶν ἀκάκων. ἡ γὰρ ὑμῶν ὑπακοὴ εἰς πάντας ἀ
φ φίκετο· χαίρω οὖν τὸ ἐφ᾽ ὑμῖν, θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς σοφοὺς μὲν εἶν
ν ναι εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἀκεραίους δὲ εἰς τὸ κακόν. ὁ δὲ θεὸς τ
η ῆς εἰρήνης συντρίψει τὸν σατανᾶν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας ὑμῶν ἐν
τάχει. ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστου μεθ᾽ ὑμῶν.

Unlike the sentence with σκοπεῖν in *Esther*, the sentence in *Romans* lacks any explicit information on where to examine "τοὺς ... ποιοῦντας".[651]

The paragraph singled out in *PJ* through the allusions to *Esther* in 1.1 and to *Romans* in 25.1 features an indirect allusion to the sign of the διαστολή in *Exodu*s 8 (incorporated in *PJ* into the Joseph's speech in 13.1 through the finite verbs εὔξομαι or (in *P. Bodmer 5*) εὔξωμαι). This allusion rests on the juxtaposition of the verbs μανθάνειν and ἐξαπατᾶν in the paragraph with the infinitive σκοπεῖν in *Romans* 16.

" Ἐμάθετε", the finite verb of the relative clause limiting "ἡ διδαχή" is the only instance of the verb μανθάνειν in written form in the letter to the *Romans*. The verb is implicitly present in a sentence in *Romans* 11:9, however, through an allusion to the

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[651] The adjective παλαιοτέρεων (Est 8:12[g]) does have counterparts in the letter—in Rm 6:6 (τοῦτο γινώσκοντες ὅτι ὁ παλαιὸς ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπος συνεσταυρώθη) and Rm 7:6 (ὥστε δουλεύειν ἡμᾶς ἐν καινότητι πνεύματος καὶ οὐ παλαιότητι γράμματος).

prophecy on Ariel in *Isaiah* 29.[652] "Πνεῦμα κατανύξεως", the direct object of "ἔδωκεν" in

a composite quotation in *Romans* 11:9,[653] echos a dative in a sentence in *Isaiah* 29:10;[654] in

Isaiah, this sentence is immediately followed by a comparison.

> καὶ ἔσονται ὑμῖν πάντα τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα ὡς οἱ λόγοι τοῦ βιβλίου τοῦ
> ἐσφραγισμένου τούτου, ὃ ἐὰν δῶσιν αὐτὸ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐπισταμένῳ γράμματα λέγοντες
>   Ἀνάγνωθι ταῦτα·
> καὶ ἐρεῖ
>   Οὐ δύναμαι ἀναγνῶναι, ἐσφράγισται γάρ.
> καὶ δοθήσεται τὸ βιβλίον τοῦτο εἰς χεῖρας ἀνθρώπου μὴ ἐπισταμένου γράμματα,
> καὶ ἐρεῖ αὐτῷ
>   Ἀνάγνωθι τοῦτο·
> καὶ ἐρεῖ
>   Οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι γράμματα.

The verb μανθάνειν occurs twice at the end of the chapter.[655]

Because of this (indirect) link to *Isaiah* 29, the warning, in *Romans* 16, to stay away

from those who διὰ τῆς χρηστολογίας καὶ εὐλογίας ἐξαπατῶσιν τὰς καρδίας τῶν ἀκάκων

and the emphasis put on the need for examining "τοὺς ... ποιοῦντας" suggests an allusion to

Isaiah 28:22-21

> καὶ ἐξωλεθρεύθησαν οἱ ἀνομοῦντες ἐπὶ κακίᾳ καὶ οἱ ποιοῦντες ἁμαρτεῖν ἀνθρώπους
> ἐν λόγῳ· πάντας δὲ τοὺς ἐλέγχοντας ἐν πύλαις πρόσκομμα θήσουσιν καὶ
> ἐπλαγίασαν ἐν ἀδίκοις δίκαιον.

The prophecy on Ariel includes a reference to a στιγμή[656]—a technical term for a

sign indicating a διαστολή[657] (and implying reading "κατὰ διαστολὴν", with emphasis on

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[652] An allusion to the same prophecy is incorporated into the first sentence of the prologue of *Sirach*; see Sir prol. 4.

[653] See Rm 11:9 καθὼς γέγραπται· ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς πνεῦμα κατανύξεως, ὀφθαλμοὺς τοῦ μὴ βλέπειν καὶ ὦτα τοῦ μὴ ἀκούειν, ἕως τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας. The sentence begins with an allusion Is 29:10 (see Is 6:9) and ends with a quotation of a phrase from Dt 29:3.

[654] See Is 29:9-10 ἐκλύθητε καὶ ἔσκτητε καὶ κραιπαλήσατε οὐκ ἀπὸ σικερα οὐδὲ ἀπὸ οἴνου· ὅτι πεπότικεν ὑμᾶς κύριος πνεύματι κατανύξεως καὶ καμμύσει τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν προφητῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων αὐτῶν, οἱ ὁρῶντες τὰ κρυπτά.

[655] In Is 29:24 καὶ γνώσονται οἱ τῷ πνεύματι πλανώμενοι σύνεσιν, οἱ δὲ γογγύζοντες μαθήσονται ὑπακούειν, καὶ αἱ γλῶσσαι αἱ ψελλίζουσαι μαθήσονται λαλεῖν εἰρήνην.

[656] See Is 29:5 καὶ ἔσται ὡς στιγμὴ παραχρῆμα παρὰ κυρίου σαβαωθ.

the completion of a thought (διάνοια).[658]   In conjunction with the verb ἐξαπατᾶν in *Romans* 16, ἐμάθετε thus suggests an allusion to *Exodus* 8.

A quotation of verses from *Psalm* 68(69) in *Romans* 11: 9-10—including v. 23 "γενηθήτω ἡ τράπεζα αὐτῶν ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν εἰς παγίδα, καὶ εἰς ἀνταπόδοσιν καὶ εἰς σκάνδαλον"—provides a verbal link (based on the noun σκάνδαλον) between the passage with the allusion to *Isaiah* 29 (in Rm 11:8) and the passage with the allusion to the sentence from Esther's and Mardochai's letter (in Rm 16:17).   This psalm connects the allusion based on the infinitive σκοπεῖν to the second allusion to *Esther* in *Romans*—which rests on the phrase "ἐγράφη διὰ +gen.".

"ἐγράφη διὰ +gen."

The phrase "ἐγράφη διὰ +gen." associates the sentence in the subscriptio of *Romans* with a sentence in a third person account, in the book of *Esther*, on the writing of the letter with the sentence with the phrases "σκοπεῖν" and "ἐκ τῶν παλαιοτέρων ἱστοριῶν".   In *Esther*, the verb ἐγράφη either has no explicit grammatical subject or has as subject the direct object of ἐξαπέστειλαν—τά γράμματα.[659]

> ἐγράφη δὲ διὰ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἐσφραγίσθη τῷ δακτυλίῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξαπέστειλαν τὰ γράμματα διὰ βιβλιαφόρων ὡς ἐπέταξεν αὐτοῖς ...

In the book of *Esther*, the references to the δακτύλιον and to sealing, and the verb "ἐπιτάσσειν" associate this sentence with the king's answer to Esther's request concerning

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[657] In *Romans*, the term διαστολή occurs twice—first in Rm 3:22, then in Rm 10:12.
[658] See *Grammatici Graeci* 1.1 7.3-8.2.
[659] Est 8:10-11.

the γράμματα sent by Haman. "Γράφειν", in this answer, has a direct object—the pronoun "ὅσα".[660]

> ὅσα γὰρ γράφεται τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιτάξαντος καὶ σφραγισθῇ τῷ δακτυλίῳ μου, οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτοῖς ἀντειπεῖν.

The tense of the verb associates "ὅσα γὰρ γράφεται" with the first sentence of the letter written by Haman.[661]

> Βασιλεὺς μέγας Ἀρταξέρξης τοῖς ... ὑποτεταγμένοις τάδε γράφει· ...

"Γράφειν" occurs in the letter to the *Romans* only six times in the active voice—three times in the imperfect (ἐγράφη) (counting the verb in the *subscriptio*),[662] one time in the present tense (γράφει, the only instance in which the verb has a named subject),[663] and two times in the aorist (ἔγραψα and γράψας).[664] Only one of these verbs—ἔγραψα in *Romans* 15:15–is in the first person singular.

The finite verb ἐγράφη in the subscriptio has two parallels in the body of the letter. The verb nearer to the beginning of the letter, in *Romans* 4:23, is preceded by a negative and followed by the reason (διὰ +acc.) for writing what is then introduced by "ὅτι"—a brief quotation of only two words (ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ).

> οὐκ ἐγράφη δὲ δι' αὐτὸν μόνον ὅτι 'ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ' ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς, οἷς μέλλει λογίζεσθαι, τοῖς πιστεύουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐγείραντα Ἰησοῦν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν ἐκ νεκρῶν, ὃς παρεδόθη διὰ τὰ παραπτώματα ἡμῶν καὶ ἠγέρθη διὰ τὴν δικαίωσιν ἡμῶν.

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[660] Est 8:8; see Rm 15:4.
[661] Est 3:13ᵃ. In contrast to the report on the writing of the letter by Mardochai and Esther, in the account on the writing of the letter authored by Haman (Est 3:12-13)—which features the same phrase (γράφειν dia +gen.)—γράφειν is in the aorist plural: καὶ ἐκλήθησαν οἱ γραμματεῖς τοῦ βασιλέως ... καὶ ἔγραψαν, ὡς ἐπέταξεν Αμαν ... δι' Ἀρταξέρξου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἀπεστάλη διὰ βιβλιαφόρων εἰς τὴν Ἀρταξέρξου βασιλείαν ἀφανίσαι τὸ γένος τῶν Ιουδαίων ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ μηνὸς δωδεκάτου, ὅς ἐστιν Αδαρ, καὶ διαρπάσαι τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτῶν.
[662] See Rm 4:23, 15:4, and the subscriptio.
[663] See Rm 10:5.
[664] See Rm 15:15, 16:22.

"Ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ" is a triple allusion to *Genesis* 15:6,[665] *Psalm* 105(106),[666] and *1 Maccabees* 2:52. The sentence with the phrase in *Genesis* (referring to Abraham) and the person to whom "αὐτῷ" in *Psalm* 105(106) refers (Phineas) are "in" the speech with the third instance of the phrase in *1 Maccabees*—they are inlcuded among the examples of which Mattathias reminds his children at his death,[667] enouraging them to strive for receiving an ὄνομα αἰώνιον.[668]

The allusion to the entry on Phineas in *Psalm* 105(106) associates the paragraph with "ἐγράφη" in *Romans* 4 with a paraphrase, in *Psalm* 105(106), of the story of the Baal of Phegor in *Numbers* 25,[669] glossed with an allusion to Aaron's atoning for the people in *Numbers* 17.[670] Through the allusion to one of the books of *Maccabees* (in the text of the letter), the implied comparison between Aaron and Phineas, the son of Eleazar the son of Aaron the priest, connects the allusion, in *Romans* 4, to Mattathias' brief reference (in 1 Mcc) to the priest(s) atoning for the people to a comparison between Aaron and Eleazar (the γέρων) in *4 Maccabees*.[671]

In *Romans* 4, the allusion to the Baal of Phegor (through the reference to Phineas' zeal) is combined with an allusion to *Daniel* 3 (explaining offering to idols and prostrating in front of them). In *Romans* 4:22, a slightly longer quotation of the phrase from *Genesis*

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[665] Quoted in Rm 4:3 and 4:22.

[666] See Ps 105(106):30-31 καὶ ἔστη Φινεες καὶ ἐξιλάσατο, / καὶ ἐκόπασεν ἡ θραῦσις· / καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην / εἰς γενεὰν καὶ γενεὰν ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος.

[667] See 1 Mcc 2:52-54 Αβρααμ οὐχὶ ἐν πειρασμῷ εὑρέθη πιστός, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην; Ιωσηφ ἐν καιρῷ στενοχωρίας αὐτοῦ ἐφύλαξεν ἐντολὴν καὶ ἐγένετο κύριος Αἰγύπτου. Φινεες ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ ζηλῶσαι ζῆλον ἔλαβεν διαθήκην ἱερωσύνης αἰωνίας.

[668] See 1 Mcc 2:51; cf. 1 Mcc 5:57, Gn 11:4. Isaiah's prophecy on the ὄνομα αἰώνιον (Is 56:5) is included in *PJ* in a blessing (in 6.2).

[669] See Nm 25:1-3; Ps 105(106):28 καὶ ἐτελέσθησαν τῷ Βεελφεγώρ, / καὶ ἔφαγον θυσίας νεκρῶν.

[670] See Nm 17:13, Ps 105(106):30 καὶ ἔστη ... / καὶ ἐκόπασεν ἡ θραῦσις.

[671] We have encountered the latter already in discussing *Hebrews* 11:17-19.

15:6—in the conclusion of a descripton of the νέκρωσις of Abraham's and Sarah's bodies—precedes the sentence with ἐγράφη.[672]

> εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ θεοῦ οὐ διεκρίθη τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ ἀλλ᾽ ἐνεδυναμώθη τῇ πίστει, δοὺς δόξαν τῷ θεῷ καὶ πληροφορηθεὶς ὅτι ὃ ἐπήγγελται δυνατός ἐστιν καὶ ποιῆσαι. διὸ 'καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην'.

The phrase "δυνατός ἐστιν" is an allusion to a statement in the response of the three young men to Nebuchadnezzar question "καὶ τίς ἐστιν θεός, ὃς ἐξελεῖται ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν μου;"[673]—which we have already encountered in discussing the paraphrase of the Sacrifice of Isaac in *Hebrews* 11:17-19. As allusion to chapter 3 of *Daniel*, "δυνατός" connects the allusion to the promise of the birth of Isaac (Gn 17) in *Romans* 4 to another example given by Mattathias—Mattathias reminds his children that "Ανανιας, Αζαριας, Μισαηλ πιστεύσαντες ἐσώθησαν ἐκ φλογός".[674] In the letter to the Romans, the phrase "ἐσώθησαν ἐκ φλογός"[675] adds to the allusion, in *Romans* 4:21, to the young men's answer to Nebuchadnezzar an allusion to the reason given in *Daniel* 3 for the order "εὐλογεῖτε τὸν κύριον". The order is addressed to Ανανιας, Αζαριας, and Μισαχ at the end of the song sung by them "as if from one mouth".[676]

> εὐλογεῖτε, Ανανια, Αζαρια, Μισαηλ, τὸν κύριον·
> ὑμνεῖτε καὶ ὑπερυψοῦτε αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας,
> ὅτι ἐξείλετο ἡμᾶς ἐξ ᾅδου καὶ ἔσωσεν ἡμᾶς ἐκ χειρὸς θανάτου
> καὶ ἐρρύσατο ἡμᾶς ἐκ μέσου καιομένης φλογὸς
> καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐλυτρώσατο ἡμᾶς

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[672] Rm 4:21-22.
[673] See Dn 3:15-18.
[674] 1 Mcc 2:59.
[675] Implied through the allusion to Dn 3:17 in Rm 4:21 and "ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ" in Rm 4:23.
[676] Dn 3:88; see Dn 3:51.

The song ends with words directed to all "οἱ σεβόμενοι τὸν κύριον τὸν θεὸν τῶν θεῶν"—thus reverting to the first part of the song, where σέβειν is mentioned for the first time.[677]

The first sentence with "ἐγράφη" in the body of the letter (Rm 4:22) is connected to the second (Rm 15:4) through two intertexts—the story of Balaam's advice to Balak in *Numbers* 22;[678] and the story of the three young men in the fiery furnace, in chapter 3 of the book of *Daniel*.

The other instance of "ἐγράφη", in *Romans* 15:4, nearer to the end of the letter, is preceded by a line from *Psalm* 68(69), the phrase ὅσα προέγραφη, and a prepositional phrase (εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν διδασκαλίαν).[679]

ἕκαστος ἡμῶν τῷ πλησίον ἀρεσκέτω εἰς τὸ ἀγαθὸν πρὸς οἰκοδομήν·[680] καὶ γὰρ ὁ Χριστὸς οὐχ ἑαυτῷ ἤρεσεν, ἀλλὰ καθὼς γέγραπται·
οἱ ὀνειδισμοὶ τῶν ὀνειδιζόντων σε ἐπέπεσαν ἐπ᾽ ἐμέ.
ὅσα γὰρ προεγράφη, εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν διδασκαλίαν ἐγράφη, ἵνα διὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς καὶ διὰ τῆς παρακλήσεως τῶν γραφῶν τὴν ἐλπίδα ἔχωμεν.

In *Romans* 15, the connection between *Romans* 4:22 "οὐκ ἐγράφη δὲ δι᾽ αὐτὸν μόνον" and *Romans* 15:4 "εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν διδασκαλίαν ἐγράφη" resting on the story of the Baal of Phegor in the book of *Numbers* as intertext is highlighted through the phrase

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[677] See Dn 3:33.
[678] Summarily in Nm 31:16.
[679] Rm 15:2-4.
[680] This is the second of two references to οἰκοδομή in the letter to the Romans. The noun occurs for the first time in Rm 14:19 ἄρα οὖν τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης διώκωμεν καὶ τὰ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς τῆς εἰς ἀλλήλους. The proximity and the phrasal link between the two passages suggest that "ἀγαθόν", in Rm 15:2, is an allusion to Ps 33(34):15 ἔκκλινον ἀπὸ κακοῦ καὶ ποίησον ἀγαθόν, / ζήτησον εἰρήνην καὶ δίωξον αὐτήν.

"ἀρέσκειν +dat." in the sentence preceding the quotation of the verse from *Psalm* 68(69).

The phrase with "ἀρέσκειν" occurs in the same psalm, but in a different verse.[681]

> αἰνέσω τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ μετ᾽ ᾠδῆς,
> μεγαλυνῶ αὐτὸν ἐν αἰνέσει,
> καὶ ἀρέσει τῷ θεῷ ὑπὲρ μόσχον νέον
> κέρατα ἐκφέροντα καὶ ὁπλάς.

The only other instance of "ἀρέσει τῷ θεῷ" (in this form) in the writings of the Old

and the New Testaments belongs to a sentence addressed by Balak to Balaam, in *Numbers*

23:27—"δεῦρο παραλάβω σε εἰς τόπον ἄλλον, εἰ ἀρέσει τῷ θεῷ καὶ καταρᾶσαί μοι

αὐτὸν ἐκεῖθεν". The account introduced by these words includes a reference to the building

of altars and the offering (ἀναφέρειν) of a calf and a ram, followed by a description of what

Balaam does[682] and says, and by a brief reference to his advice for Balak.[683]

While this allusion to the story of the Baal of Phegor is "in" the psalm quoted in

Romans 15, the allusion to *Daniel* 3 rests on the phrase "ἐν ἑνὶ στόματι δοξαζειν" in the

prayer following the sentence with the two instances of the verb γράφειν.

> ὁ δὲ θεὸς τῆς ὑπομονῆς καὶ τῆς παρκλήσεως δῴη ὑμῖν τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν ἐν ἀλλήλοις
> κατὰ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ἵνα ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐν ἑνὶ στόματι δοξάζητε τὸν θεὸν καὶ
> πατέρα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

In conjunction with the phrase "δοξάζειν τὸν θεόν", the prepositional phrase "ἐν

ἑνὶ στόματι" associates the purpose clause with a comparison at the beginning of the

second part of the song of the three young men.

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[681] Ps 68(69):31-32 at 32.

[682] See Nm 24:1 οὐκ ἐπορεύθη κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς εἰς συνάντησιν τοῖς οἰωνοῖς καὶ ἀπέστρεψεν τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν ἔρημον. The prepositional phrase κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς is incorporated, in Lk 4, into the account on the reading of the prophet Isaiah in the synagogue of Nazarath (see Lk 4:16).

[683] See Nm 24:14.

τότε οἱ τρεῖς ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος ὕμνουν καὶ ἐδόξαζον καὶ εὐλόγουν καὶ ἐξύψουν
τὸν θεὸν ἐν τῇ καμίνῳ λέγοντες
    εὐλογητὸς εἶ κύριε ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν,
    καὶ αἰνετὸς καὶ ὑπερυψούμενος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ...

The juxtaposition, in *Romans* 15:3-4, of a quotation of *Psalm* 68(69) and an allusion to the brief narrative section separating the two parts of the song in *Daniel* 3 singles out an additional verse of *Psalm* 68(69).[684]

ἰδέτωσαν πτωχοὶ καὶ εὐφρανθήτωσαν,
ἐκζητήσατε τὸν θεὸν καὶ ζήσεσθε.
ὅτι εἰσήκουσεν τῶν πενήτων ὁ κύριος,
καὶ τοὺς πεπεδημένους αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐξουδένωσεν.

The three young men are cast into the furnace "pepedemenoi". This links the beginning of the account with the bipartite ode to the end, with Nebuchadnezzar's report on what he observes.

Esdras in Romans

The sentence with the allusion to *Esther* 8:10 in the subscriptio is preceded by a reference to γραφαί in *Romans* 16:26, in a sentence fragment bracketed by two participles in the genitive.

φανερωθέντος δὲ νῦν διά τε γραφῶν προφητικῶν κατ᾽ ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ αἰωνίου θεοῦ
εἰς ὑπακοὴν πίστεως εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη γνωρισθέντος

The prepositional phrase "κατ᾽ ἐπιταγὴν", followed by the genitive "τοῦ αἰωνίου θεου"[685] links this passage to the end of the first half of the account on king Joshiah in the first book of *Esdras*.

καὶ συνετελέσθη τὰ τῆς θυσίας τοῦ κυρίου ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἀχθῆναι τὸ πασχα
καὶ προσενεχθῆναι τὰς θυσίας ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ κυρίου θυσιαστήριον κατὰ τὴν ἐπιταγὴν
τοῦ βασιλέως Ιωσιου

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[684] Ps 68(69):33-34.
[685] An allusion to Gn 21:33 and Sus 42.

The syntactical parallelism between "κατ ᾽ ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ αἰωνίου θεοῦ" and "κατὰ τὴν ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ βασιλέως Ιωσιου" implicitly portrays "ὁ αἰώνιος θεός" as king; a chiasm suggested by the positions of the attributes "αἰώνιος" and "Ιωσια" in the respective prepositional phrases contrasts "αἰώνιος" and "Ιωσια"—and thereby stresses the report on the death of Josiah, his burial, and the mourning for him in 1 *Esdras*.

"ὁ γράψας"

In the letter to the *Romans*, the participle "ὁ γράψας" belongs to a group of four greetings preceded by the elliptic statement—"ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ μεθ᾽ ὑμων" and "ἀμήν"—and followed by the first part of a doxology.[686] Each of the four greetings begins with a finite form of the verb "ἀσπάζεσθαι", followed by the direct object (ὑμᾶς), and the grammatical subject(s) (personal names in the nominative—four (divided into one and three), one, one, and two respectively). The participle is placed in the middle between the second and the third instance of the finite verb.

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ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς Τιμόθεος ὁ συνεργός μου
        καὶ Λούκιος καὶ Ἰάσων καὶ Σωσίπατρος οἱ συγγενεῖς μου
ἀσπάζομαι ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ Τέρτιος
        ὁ γράψας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐν κυρίῳ
ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Γάϊος
        ὁ ξένος μου καὶ ὅλης τῆς ἐκκλησίας
ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Ἔραστος ὁ οἰκονόμος τῆς πόλεως καὶ Κούαρτος ὁ ἀδελφός
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Without punctuation, the written text does not reveal whether "ὁ γράψας" is the predicate of Τέρτιος or Γάϊος, or whether the participial phrase or the reference to Γάϊος are elliptic clauses standing on its own. It is similarly unclear whether "ἐν κυρίῳ" modifies

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[686] See Rm 16:25-27.

the participle "ὁ γράψας" or the finite verb "ἀσπάζεται", or whether the personal pronoun "μου" of "ὁ ξένος μου" refers to "ἐγώ" or to the same person as the pronouns limiting "συνεργός" and "οἱ συγγενεῖς".

In *Romans* 16:22-23, the problem of determining how to read κατὰ διαστολήν is accompanied by one of signification. The transliterated Hellenized name "Τέρτιος" (i.e., τρίτος)[687] can refer to a Latin name (Tertius) or ordinal (in which case "ἐγώ" could be the third person who "wrote the letter"). Also, the antecedent of the personal pronoun "μου" (limiting ξένος) is ambiguous—the pronoun in the sentence with the third instance of "ἀσπάζεσθαι" refers to ἐγώ or has the same referent as the pronouns in the sentence with the first instance of "ἀσπάζεσθαι" (In Rm 16:21 ὁ συνεργός μου and οἱ συγγενεῖς μου.).

The tense associates "ὁ γράψας"—the model invoked through the phrase "ἐγὼ +name +ὁ γράψας" in 25.1—with the grammatical subject of "ἔγραψα" in *Romans* 15:15—that is, according to a detailed comparison (ἔγραψα ... ὡς) following the finite verb, one who wrote "ἀπὸ μέρους ὡς ἐπαναμιμνήσκων" and was given the χάρις from God to be "λειτουργὸς Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ εἰς τὰ ἔθνη" and "ἱερουργῶν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ".[688]

The substantivized adjective "ὁ ξένος μου" suggests that "ὁ γράψας", read as grammatical subject of "ἀσπαζεται ... Γάϊος", points back to the quotation of the verse

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[687] See Κούαρτος, in Rm 16:23.
[688] See Rm 15:15-16: τολμηρότερον δὲ ἔγραψα ὑμῖν ἀπὸ μέρους ὡς ἐπαναμιμνήσκων ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, διὰ τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσάν μοι ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς τὸ εἶναί με λειτουργὸν Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ εἰς τὰ ἔθνη, ἱερουργοῦντα τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ, ἵνα γένηται ἡ προσφορὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν εὐπρόσδεκτος, ἡμγιασμένη ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ.

from *Psalm* 68(69):9-10 in *Romans* 15:4. The lines preceding in *Psalm* 68(69) (ll. 9-10) the

verse quoted in *Romans* 15:3 feature a reference to one who has become "ξένος".

> ἀπηλλοτριωμένος ἐγενήθην τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου
> καὶ ξένος τοῖς υἱοῖς τῆς μητρός μου
> ὅτι ζῆλος τοῦ οἴκου σου κατέφαγέν με
> καὶ οἱ ὀνειδισμοὶ τῶν ὀνειδιζόντων σε ἐπέπεσαν ἐπ᾽ ἐμέ

The difficulties with separating the individual λέξεις are reflected by different

acrostics that emerge when one divides the 44 syllables of the two sentences with

ἀσπάζεται (23 and 21 syllables respectively) according to μέρη λέξεως or units of thought

and arranges them in order. The number of syllables allow for only a few meaningful

divisions.

When both sentences are written together in four lines, both sides of the text block

display acrostics—on the left side "ᾄσω" (ll. 1-3),[689] on the right side "οἶος" (ll. 1-4; see Rm

16:18).

4x11 Syllables

α↓	ἀσπάζομαι ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ Τέρτιο	ο↓
σ	ς ὁ γράψας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐν κυρι	ι
ω	ῳ ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Γάϊος ὁ	ο
ξ	ξένος μου καὶ ὅλης τῆς ἐκκλησίας	ς

Without personal names, the letters of the elliptic clause yield an allusion to *Daniel*

(αἰνῶ).[690]

	A	**l**	**r**	**B**	**l**	**r**
ὁ γράψα	6	ο	α↓		ο	α
ς τὴν ἐπι	7	σ	ι		σ↓	τ
στολὴν ἐν	8	σ	ν	7	ο	κ

κυρίῳ   5 κ   **ω**   4 **υ**   ω

Distributing the text in 22 lines of two syllables, in a trisected column, connects κύριος and ξένος and emphasizes "εἷς κύριος".[691]

7x2	8x2		7x2
ἀσπάζ	τὴν ἐ		
ομαι	**πιστο**	→	ï ος
ὑμᾶς	λὴν ἐ	**ε**	ὁ **ξέν**
ἐγω	ν **κυρι**	ι	→ **ος** μου
Τέρτι	→ φ ἀσ	**ς**	καὶ ὅλ
ος ο	πάζετ		ης τῆ
γράψας	αι ὑμ		ς ἐκκλησ
	ᾶς Γα		ίας

The letter to the *Romans* is one of the sources of "ἀνακεφαλαιοῦσθαι" in 13.1—which aligns "ἡ ἱστορία τοῦ Ἀδάμ" (13.1) to "τις ἑτέρα ἐντολή"[692] and both to "ἡ ἱστορία αὕτη" (25.1), which, in turn, is implicitly compared to "ἡ ἐπιστολή" (in *Romans* and *Esther*). " JO gravya~ th;n iJstorivan tauvthn" (the writer and the ἱστορία) is defined through all of these references, and linked to the sources connecting them as intertext.

"περὶ τούτων" and "ταῦτα"

The second ending of the gosepl according to *John*—which features the substantivized participle ὁ γράψας-—is linked to the first ending in two ways—through an

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[691] See Dn (LXX) 3:17.
[692] See Rm 13:9

intertext (chapter 1 of the first book of *Esdras*) and through a sentence with "περὶ τούτων"

in *John* 17:20.

Esdras in John

Each ending of the Gospel according to *John* features an allusion to a different

section of the first chapter of 1 *Esdras*. In chapter 20 of *John*, this connection rests on the

juxtapositon of a participle and a prepositional phrase—"γεγραμμένα ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ

τούτῳ".[693]

> πολλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα σημεῖα ἐποίησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐνώπιον τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ, ἃ οὐκ ἔστιν γεγραμμένα ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τούτῳ· ταῦτα δὲ γέγραπται ἵνα πιστεύσητε ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ἵνα πιστεύοντες ζωὴν ἔχητε ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ.

Through the position of the participle relative to the prepositional phrase, the phrase

"γεγραμμένα ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τούτῳ" aligns the clause in *John* 20 to a statement in the first

chapter of *1 Esdras* on how sacrifices were offered.

> καὶ ταῦτα τὰ γενόμενα· εὐπρεπῶς ἔστησαν οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ Λευῖται ἔχοντες τὰ ἄζυμα κατὰ τὰς φυλὰς καὶ κατὰ τὰς μεριδαρχίας τῶν πατέρων ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ λαοῦ προσενεγκεῖν τῷ κυρίῳ κατὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐν βιβλίῳ Μωυσῆ, καὶ οὕτω τὸ πρωινόν.[694] καὶ ὤπτησαν τὸ πασχα πυρὶ[695] ὡς καθήκει καὶ τὰς θυσίας ἤψησαν ἐν τοῖς χαλκείοις καὶ λέβησιν μετ᾽ εὐωδίας καὶ ἀπήνεγκαν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ.

The manner and (recipient) of προσφέρειν "κατὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐν βιβλίῳ

Μωυσῆ" is clarified through an allusion to a contrary example—the phrase "ὡς καθήκει", in

conjunction with the mention of χαλκεῖον and λέβης, points to Eli's sons.[696]

In *1 Esdras*, the words "γεγραμμένα ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ" are bound together through a

preposition and set apart from the next clause through a conjunction. In the sentence with the

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[693] Jn 20:30-31.
[694] See 1 Esdr 5:50; Ex 29:38-42.
[695] See Ex 12:8.
[696] See 1 Kgs 2:16; and 1 Esdr 1:18.

reference to "γεγραμμένα ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ" in chapter 20 of *John* (92 syllables) the position of the prepositional phrase leaves it open whether "ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τούτῳ" is to end the first part of the sentence (36+7 or 9x4 +7 syllables) or be added to the second (7+49, or 7+7², 14x4). Only dividing the text into lines of four syllables allows combining the two parts of the sentence into one (25x4).

To make possible a division of the text into lines of equal lenght (other than 4 syllables), the number of syllables of the three sections (36+7+49) requires adding "ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τούτῳ" to the second half (36+56)—i.e., dividing the sentence into a section with 36 syllables (I) and another with 56 syllables (II).[697]

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Ia        7x2              6x2              5x2
          πολλα      α     ὁ 'I             ν αὐτοῦ
   μ↓     μὲν οὖ     υ↓    ησοῦς            ἃ οὐκ
ν  ν      ν καὶ ἄλλ  λ     ἐνώπ      π↓     ἔστιν
α  α      α ση       η     ιο        ο      γεγραμμ
μ↑        μεῖα             ν τῶν μαθ θ  →   ἔ να
          ἐποί             ητῶ       ω
          ησεν
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Ib   6x3            6x3          │ 6x6                     l   r       l   r
     πολλα μὲν                   │ πολλα μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄ  15  π           π   α
     οὖν καὶ ἄλλ    ἐνώπι        │ λλα σημεῖα ἐποί      13  λ   ι       λ   ι
     α σημεῖ    →   ον τῶν μαθ   │ ησεν ὁ 'Ιησοῦς       11  η   σ       η   υ
     α ἐ ποί    →   ητῶν αὐ      │ ἐνώπιον τῶν μα       12  ε   α       σ   θ↑
     ησεν ὁ          τοῦ ἃ οὐκ   │ θητῶν αὐτοῦ ἃ οὐκ    14  θ           η
     'Ιησοῦς         ἔστιν γε    │ ἔστιν γεγραμμένα     15  ε           ε
                    γραμμένα     │                      80
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[697] Separating the phrase into "ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ" and "τούτῳ" and dividing the passage in this manner results in two groups of syllables whose numbers are prime numbers—41 and 51.

II	A 15x2	13x2	B (1+7)x2		l	r		l	r
	ἐν τῷ		ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τούτῳ	15	ε	ω	16	ε	τ
	βιβλί		ταῦτα δὲ γέγραπται ἵν	18	τ	ν	16	**α**↓	ι
ω↓	ῳ τού	υἱ	α πιστεύσητε ὅτι	14	**α**	ι	15	**ν**	ι
τ	τῳ τ **αὖτ** →	**ὸς** τοῦ	Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ χρι	**15**	ι	ι		ι	ι
α	α δὲ	θεοῦ κ	στὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θε	14	σ	ε		σ	ε
	γέγραπτ →	**αὶ** ἵν	οῦ καὶ ἵνα πιστεύο	15	**ο**↑	ο		ο	ο
	αι ἵν	α **πιστ**	ντες ζωὴν ἔχητε ἐν	15		**ν**↑		ν	ν
	α **πιστ** →	**εύον**	τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ	14				τ	υ
	εύση	τες ζω		120					
10	τε ὅ	ὴν ἔχ	**χ**↓						
	τι Ἰ	ητε	**ε**						
	ησοῦς	ἐν τῷ	**ω**						
	ἐστι	ὀνό							
	ν ὁ **χρισ** →	**μα** τι							
15	τὸς ὁ	αὐτοῦ							

In II A, γέγραπται (l. 6) and πιστεύον (ll. 7-8) are doubled.

In the second ending of the Gospel according to *John* (Jn 21), the element pointing to *1 Esdras* 1 is the prepositional phrase "καθ᾽ ἕν". In *1 Esdras* 1:31, the sentence with this phrase—the last sentence of the account on Josiah[698]—includes two references to a "βίβλος";[699] "ἱστορεῖν" is the finite verb.

> ταῦτα δὲ ἀναγέγραπται ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ τῶν ἱστορουμένων περὶ τῶν βασιλέων τῆς Ἰουδαίας· καὶ τὸ καθ᾽ ἕν πραχθὲν τῆς πράξεως Ιωσιου καὶ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς συνέσεως αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ κυρίου, τά τε προπραχθέντα ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ νῦν, ἱστόρηται ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ τῶν βασιλέων Ισραηλ καὶ Ιουδα.

In contrast to the ending in *John* 20—in which "ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τούτῳ" blurs the boundaries of the two parts of the sentence—the sentence with the prepositional phrase in

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[698] The two last sentences of the account are preceded by a description of the mourning for Josiah, a lament by Jeremiah, and the institution of a lament for the king (see 1 Esdr 1:30). In *PJ*, this lament is one of the sources underlying a reference to "ἐπένθησαν αὐτόν" in 24.3.

[699] In Codex Alexandrinus.

John 21 is set apart from the sentence by which it is preceded through the repetition of the verb ἐστιν. The full text of the second ending of *John* (Jn 21:24-25) has 88 syllables.[700]

10x4 Syllables　　　　　　**12x4**

				ιν δὲ καὶ αλλ		
				α πολλὰ οσ		
	οὗτος **ἐστι**	ι↓	→	**α** ἐποίησ		
	ν ὁ μαθητὴς	σ		εν ὁ ᾽Ιησ		
	ὁ μαρτυρῶ	ω		οῦς ἅτινα		
	ν περὶ τούτων	ν		ἐὰν γράφη		
	ὁ γράψας **ταῦ**	→		**τα** ι καθ᾽ ἕν οὐδ᾽	υ↓	
τ↓	**τα** καὶ οἴδαμ			αὐτὸν οἶμαι τ	ι	
ε	εν ὅτι ἀ		ο↓	ὸν κόσμον χω	ω	
λ	ληθὴς αὐτοῦ		ρ	ρήσειν τὰ γραφ		
η	ἡ μαρτυρι		ο	όμενα, βιβλ		
	α ἐστιν **ἔστ**	→	ι	**ία** αμην		

"ὁ γράψας"

The referent(s) of the pronoun—and the diction of the sentence—can be clarified through the drawing of analogies with other instances, in *John* or elsewhere, of those syntactical patterns in the body of the text that are present in "synoptic" and contracted, abstract form in the sentence with "ὁ γράψας" in *John* 21:24 (and *PJ* 25.1). For example, the prepositional phrase "περὶ τούτων", can be read with either "ὁ μαρτυρῶν" or "ὁ γράψας". Similarly, because of its position between two verbs, "ταῦτα" in *John* 21:24 can be read as the direct object of the participle by which it is preceded (γράψας) *or* of the finite verb by which it is followed (οἴδαμεν).

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[700] The number of syllables of the last sentence—which is the sentence with "καθ᾽ ἕν"—is a square number (7^2).

"Περὶ τούτων", the prepositional phrase placed in *John* 21:24 between the two participles "ὁ μαρτυρῶν" and "ὁ γράψας", is one of only two instances of this phrase in the Gospel according to *John*. The other sentence with "περὶ τούτων", in *John* 17:20, is part of Jesus' prayer at sanctifying himself.

> καθὼς ἐμὲ ἀπέστειλας εἰς τὸν κόσμον, κἀγὼ ἀπέστειλα αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν κόσμον· καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐγὼ ἁγιάζω ἐμαυτόν, ἵνα ὦσιν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἡγιασμένοι ἐν ἀληθείᾳ. οὐ περὶ τούτων δὲ ἐρωτῶ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῶν πιστευόντων διὰ τοῦ λόγου αὐτῶν εἰς ἐμέ, ἵνα πάντες ἓν ὦσιν, καθὼς σύ, πάτερ, ἐν ἐμοὶ κἀγὼ ἐν σοί, ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν ἡμῖν ὦσιν, ἵνα ὁ κόσμος πιστεύσῃ ὅτι σύ με ἀπέστειλας.

"Ou περὶ τούτων δὲ ἐρωτῶ μόνον", in *John* 17:20, echos a phrase in *John* 17:9 with a definition of the genitive of "περί".

The participial phrase "πιστεύοντες διὰ τοῦ λόγου αὐτῶν" associates the sentence with "περὶ τούτων" (i.e., Jn 17:20) on the one hand with the μαρτυρία of John περὶ τοῦ φωτός, in *John* 1:7 (οὗτος ἦλθεν εἰς μαρτυρίαν ἵνα μαρτυρήσῃ περὶ τοῦ φωτός ἵνα πάντες πιστεύσωσιν δι' αὐτοῦ), and, on the other hand, with the first ending of *John*, through the purpose stated there.

The phrase "ταῦτα καὶ οἴδαμεν" (Jn 21:24) has two syntactical counterparts in the text of the gospel—"οὗτοι οἴδασιν ἃ εἶπον ἐγώ", in *John* 18:21 (with the relative pronoun in the position of "ὅτι ἀληθής ἐστιν αὐτοῦ ἡ μαρτυρία") and "εἰ ταῦτα οἴδατε", in *John* 13:17 (with "ταῦτα" in the same position relative to the verb as in John 21:24). The two passages are connected through an intertext—"οὐκ ἔστιν δοῦλος μείζων τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ", in *John* 15:20.

In *John* 18:21, the phrase "εἰδεῖν (pl.) +acc. (pl. n.)" belongs to Jesus' answer to the highpriest's inquiry "περὶ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ τῆς διδαχῆς αὐτοῦ". After

telling the highpriest how and where he (Jesus) spoke and taught, Jesus ends with the words

"καὶ ἐν κρυπτῷ ἐλάλησεν οὐδέν".[701] This allusion to *Isaiah* is followed by an order and its

reason (30 syllables). Then the third person narrative resumes with a genitive absolute.

6x5	A	l	r	B	l	r
ἐπερώτησον		ε↓	ν		ε	ν
τοὺς ἀκηκοότ		τ	τ		τ	τ
ας τί ἐλάλη		α	η		α	σ↓
σα αὐτοῖς ἴδε		σ	ε		α	ε
οὗτοι οἴδασι		ο	ι		ο	ι
ν ἃ εἶπον ἐγώ		ν	ω		ν	ω

"Ἔτασον" (A l), does have Scriptural referent in *Psalm* 138(139):28 with relevance

for the allusion to *Isaiah*; the same holds true for "σείω" (B r).[702]

The words "τί ἐλάλησα αὐτοῖς" contain an allusion to *John* 12:48 (τί ἐλάλησα)

and an allusion to *John* 15:22 (ἐλάλησα αὐτοῖς). The presence of acrostics (I σκιά, II

παύσῃ[703]) reinforces these two potential word-divisions.

I 4x4		II 6x3	r
επερωτησ	σ↓	ελαλη	η
ον τους ακηκ	κ	σα αυτοις	σ
οοτας τι	ι	ιδε ου	υ
ελαλησα	α	τοι οἴδα	α
		σιν ἃ εἶπ	π↑
		ον ἐγω	ω

"Τί ἐλάλησα" associates Jesus' answer with *John* 12:48, a passage in which λέγειν

and λαλεῖν are both preceded by the interrogative pronoun "τί;".

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[701] Jn 18:19. This allusion to Is 45:19 places the words with "acc. (n. pl.) +ειδειν (pl.)" in a discussion on γλυπτά, γλύμμα, ῥυθμίζειν, τεχνάζεσθαι, etc. In John 18:21-23, "ἐλάλησα" is repeated two more times—first in Jesus' description of those who heard him, then in his exchange with one of the assistants who slaps him stresses assessing how Jesus spoke (κακῶς or καλῶς).

[702] See Agg 2:21.

[703] See Jer 28:63.

ὁ ἀθετῶν ἐμὲ καὶ μὴ λαμβάνων τὰ ῥήματά μου ἔχει τὸν κρίνοντα αὐτόν· ὁ λόγος ὃν ἐλάλησα ἐκεῖνος κρινεῖ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ. ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐξ ἐμαυτοῦ οὐκ ἐλάλησα, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ πέμψας με πατὴρ αὐτός μοι ἐντολὴν ἔδωκεν τί εἴπω καὶ τί λαλήσω. καὶ οἶδα ὅτι ἡ ἐντολὴ αὐτοῦ ζωὴ αἰώνιός ἐστιν. ἃ οὖν λαλῶ, καθὼς εἴρηκέν μοι ὁ πατήρ, οὕτως λαλῶ.

"᾽Εντολή" suggests a link to the "ἐντολὴ καινή" (and its counterpart in *Deuteronomy*).

"καὶ ἐμνήσθη τοῦ πατριάρχου ᾽Αβραάμ ..."

The fourth book of *Maccabees* harbors models for the phrases "ἡ ἱστορία τοῦ ᾽Αδάμ" (13.1) and "τοῦ γράψαι τὴν ἱστορίαν ταύτην" (25.1).

The term ἱστορία, followed by a genitive singular (in 13.1 "τοῦ ᾽Αδάμ"), occurs in a sentence in chapter three of the fourth book of *Maccabees*—"ἤδη δὲ καὶ ὁ καιρὸς ἡμᾶς καλεῖ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπόδειξιν τῆς ἱστορίας τοῦ σώφρονος λογισμοῦ."[704] The sentence is preceded by an argument that "οὐ ... ἐκριζωτὴς τῶν παθῶν ὁ λογισμός ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ ἀνταγωνιστής", "reckoned over more clearly" through the story of king David's thirst.[705] The genitive σώφρονος in the phrase "τοῦ σώφρονος λογισμοῦ" limiting "ἱστορία" in 4 *Maccabees* 3:19 is either an attribute in agreement with the genitive "λογισμοῦ"[706] or a genitive limiting "λογισμός". In *PJ*, indirect allusions[707] to Eleazar's choice[708] in 1.1 and

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[704] 4 Mcc 3:19.

[705] See 4 Mcc 3:6ff. ἔστιν γοῦν τοῦτο διὰ τῆς Δαυιδ τοῦ βασιλέως δίψῃ σαφέστερον ἐπιλογίσασθαι ... The story is implied, in *PJ*, through a reference to Mary's drawing of water in 11.1 (γημίσαι ὕδωρ).

[706] I.e., in the nominative, ὁ σώφρων λογισμός—by analogy with to "ὁ εὐσεβὴς λογισμός" (4 Mcc 1:1, 6:31, 7:16, 13:1, 15:23, 16:1, 18:1) and "ὁ παγγέωργος λογισμός" (4 Mcc 1:29; notice 4 Mcc 2:21) or "ὁ σώφρων νοῦς" (see 4 Mcc 2:16, 18, 3:17 ὁ σώφρων νοῦς; for an instance of the genitive, see 1 Mcc 1:35 ὑπὸ τοῦ σώφρονος νοός).

[707] Through Heb 11:17 ἀναδεξάμενος and Heb 10:23 ἀκλινῆ (with Hb 2:4 in Heb 10:38).

[708] See 4 Mcc 6:7 ὁ ... τὸν μετ᾽ εὐκλείας θάνατον ... ἀναδεξάμενος.

his λογισμός in 1.1 (ὀρθός and ἀκλινής)[709] and 1.3 (εὐσεβής)[710] emphasize the latter interpretation of the syntax, which aligns (by analogy) "ὁ σώφρονος λογισμός" to "ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ελεαζαρου λογισμός".[711]   Eleazar is also suggested through indirect allusions to ὑποδείγματα in 25.1, since the latter highlight the references to "ὑπόδειγμα" in the first account on Eleazar, in the second book of *Maccabees*.

The fourth book of *Maccabees* is also among the three sources[712] of the reference to "γράψαι τὴν ἱστορίαν ταύτην" in 25.1. The phrase with the infinitive in 25.1 points to two consecutive sentences in a speech addressed to the mother of seven in 4 *Maccabees*, both with an infinitive of a composite of the verb γράφειν. One of these is the aorist infinitive "ζωγραφῆσαι", identical with "γράψαι" in 25.1 in tense but not in letters; similar to the infinitive in 25.1, ζωγραφῆσαι has as direct object "τὴν ἱστορίαν".   The other is "ἀναγράψαι" (identical in letters); similar to γράψαι in 25.1, the direct object (a participial phrase) includes a demonstrative pronoun—"ταῦτα τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους εἰς μνείαν λεγόμενα".[713]

> εἰ δὲ ἐξὸν ἡμῖν ἦν ὥσπερ ἐπί τινος ζωγραφῆσαι τὴν τῆς εὐσεβείας σου ἱστορίαν
> οὐκ ἂν ἔφριττον οἱ θεωροῦντες ὁρῶντες μητέρα ἑπτὰ τέκνων δι ᾿ εὐσέβειαν
> ποικίλας βασάνους μέχρι θανάτου ὑπομένασαν;
> καὶ γὰρ ἄξιον ἦν καὶ ἐπ᾿ αὐτου τοῦ ἐπιταφίου ἀναγράψαι καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ
> ἔθνους εἰς μνείαν λεγόμενα ἐνταῦθα

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[709] See 4 Mcc 7:1, 12.

[710] Through the phrase "ὁ πατριάρχης ᾿Αβραάμ"; see 4 Mcc 7:19, 16:25 (linked through emphasis on εὐσέβεια and ὑπομένειν).

[711] 4 Mcc 7:1.

[712] 4 Mcc 17:7 ζωγραφῆσαι τὴν ... ἱστορίαν, Sir prol. 12 συγγράψαι τι, and 2 Cor 9:1 περὶ +gen. ... τὸ γράφειν.

[713] In both sentences, the verb γράφειν is preceded by a prepositional phrase with ἐπὶ +gen. (respectively ἐπί τινος and ἐπ᾿ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐπιταφίου); this parallelism suggests that "τινος" corresponds to "αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐπιταφίου". With "ἐνταῦθα", the paragraph has $2^2 \times 3^3$ syllables.

The two sentences in the fourth book of *Maccabees* singled out in 25.1 through the phrase "γράψαι τὴν ἱστορίαν" are linked through the composites of "γράφειν" to passages in the second book of *Maccabees* with the same verbs,[714] and through "ἂν ἔφριττον" to what is said in 2 *Maccabees* 6:12-17 for παράκλησις and ὑπόμνησις.

Both passages feature allusions to theoretical statements. Independent from the syntax of "σώφρονος", the noun "λογισμός" associates the phrase "ἡ ἱστορία τοῦ σώφρονος λογισμοῦ" with a definition of "λογισμός" at the beginning of book four of *Maccabees*.[715] This definition includes one of several classical definitions of φιλοσοφία, according to which φιλοσοφία is "γνῶσις θείων καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων". The ἱστορία is placed in the context of φιλοσοφία. Before speaking of "ζωγραφεῖν", the authors of the word explain the purpose of their work as ψυχαγωγία (an allusion to Plato's *Phaedrus*)—emphasizing πειθοῦς, but also writing and reading, as well as a threefold speaking of a λόγος (negation, confirmation, metaphor).

The allusions to references to ἱστορίαι in *4 Maccabees* (in 13.1 and 25.1) are connected to each other through a brief summary (36 syllables) of the birth of Isaac in 1.3.

> καὶ ἐμνήσθη τοῦ πατριάρχου Αβρααμ ὅτι ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ αὐτοῦ ἡμέρα ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς τὸν υἱὸν ᾽Ισαάκ

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[714] On ζωγραφεῖν, in addition to 4 Mcc 17:7, see 2 Mcc 2:29; on ἀναγράψαι, see 4 Mcc 17:8, 2 Mcc 4:9.

[715] See 4 Mcc 1:15-19 λογισμὸς μὲν δὴ τοίνυν ἐστὶν νοῦς μετὰ ὀρθοῦ λόγου προτιμῶν τὸν σοφίας βίον σοφία δὴ τοίνυν ἐστὶν γνῶσις θείων καὶ ἀνρωπίνων πραγμάτων᾽ καὶ τῶν τούτων αἰτιῶν. αὕτη δὴ τοίνυν ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ νόμου παιδεία, δι᾽ ἧς τὰ θεῖα σεμνῶς καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα συμφερόντως μανθάνομεν. τῆς δὲ σοφίας ἰδέαι καθεστήκισιν φρόνησις καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἀνδρεία καὶ σωφροσύνη. κυριωτάτη δέ πάντων ἡ φρόνησις, ἐξ ἧς δὴ τῶν παθῶν ὁ λογισμὸς ἐπικρατεῖ.

For, in addition to pointing to the paraphase, in the letter to the *Hebrews*, of the story of Melchizedek's blessing in chapter 14 of the book of *Genesis*[716] and Abraham's giving of a "tenth of everything", the title "πατριάρχης" for Abraham associates the first part of the sentence with commentaries on two descriptions of Eleazar in the fourth book of *Maccabees*.[717]

In 4 *Maccabees* 7, Abraham "ὁ πατριάρχης" is adduced as example in the answer to a hypothetical objection[718] to the argument that

> εἰ δὴ τοίνυν γέρων ἀνὴρ [i.e., Ελεαζαρος] τῶν μέχρι θανάτου βασάνων περιεφρόνει
> δι᾽ εὐσέβειαν ὁμολογουμένως ἡγεμών ἐστιν τῶν παθῶν ὁ εὐσεβὴς λογισμός ...

Countering the assertion that this action is based on a flawed reasoning, the authors defend the conclusion by declaring how and for whom only it is possible to overcome the πάθη of the flesh:

> ἀλλ᾽ ὅσοι τῆς εὐσεβείας προνοοῦσιν ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας οὗτοι μόνοι δύνανται κρατεῖν
> τῶν τῆς σαρκὸς παθῶν πιστεύοντες ὅτι θεῷ οὐκ ἀποθνήσκουσιν ὥσπερ οὐδὲ οἱ
> πατριάρχαι ἡμῶν Αβρααμ καὶ Ισαακ καὶ Ιακωβ ἀλλὰ ζῶσιν τῷ θεῷ.
> οὐδὲν οὖν ἐναντιοῦται τὸ φαίνεσθαί τινας παθοκρατεῖσθαι διὰ τὸν ἀσθενῆ
> λογισμόν. ἐπεὶ τίς πρὸς ὅλον τὸν τῆς φιλοσοφίας κανόνα φιλοσοφῶν καὶ
> πεπιστευκὼς θεῷ καὶ εἰδὼς ὅτι διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν πάντα πόνον ὑπομένειν μακάριόν
> ἐστιν, οὐκ ἂν περικρατήσειεν τῶν παθῶν διὰ τὴν θεοσέβειαν; μόνος γὰρ ὁ σοφὸς
> καὶ ἀνδρεῖός ἐστιν τῶν παθῶν κύριος.

In *4 Maccabees* 16, the reference to the πατριάρχης follow as a conclusion after a fictive speech **of** the mother's persuasive words for her sons. The mother of seven, gazing at Eleazar, points her children to different examples—including the Sacrifice of Isaac and the

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[716] See Heb 7:4; Gn 14:20.
[717] 4 Mcc 7:19 and 16:25 respectively.
[718] See 4 Mcc 7:19.

Three Youths in the Fiery Furnace—to persuade them to endure in the ἀγών for the ancestral law.[719]

> ἀναμνήσθητε ὅτι διὰ τὸν θεὸν τοῦ κόσμου μετελάβετε καὶ τοῦ βίου ἀπελαύσατε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὀφείλετε πάντα πόνον ὑπομένειν διὰ τὸν θεόν, δι' ὃν ... καὶ Ανανιας καὶ Αζαριας καὶ Μισαηλ εἰς κάμινον πυρὸς ἀπεσφενδονήθησαν καὶ ὑπέμειναν διὰ τὸν θεόν

The "λόγοι" attributed to the mother then receive the following comment by the author:

> διὰ τούτων τῶν λόγων ἡ ἑπταμήτωρ ἕνα ἕκαστον τῶν υἱῶν παρακαλοῦσα ἀποθανεῖν ἔπεισεν μᾶλλον ἢ παραβῆναι τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ταῦτα εἰδότες ὅτι διὰ τὸν θεὸν ἀπονήσκοντες ζῶσιν τῷ θεῷ ὥσπερ Αβρααμ καὶ Ισαακ καὶ Ιακωβ καὶ πάντες οἱ πατριάρχαι.

"Διὰ τὸν θεὸν" takes the place of "διὰ τὴν ἀρετήν".

"καὶ ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς ..."

The other models of the phrases "τοῦ γράψαι τὴν ἱστορίαν ταύτην" (in addition to 4 Mcc) are suggested by two parallels to the phrase in the text—the allusion to the letter to the *Romans* in 25.1 (ὁ γράψας τὴν ἱστορίαν ταύτην), and the substantivized infinitive τοῦ γράψαι (see Dem. *De cor.* 57 τοῦ γράψαι ... τὴν κρίσιν εἶναι νομίζω). Similar to the two passages from the fourth book of *Maccabees*, these parallels are connected to each other through an intertext incorporated into the first part of the narrative through a phrasal allusion (καὶ ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς) in 1.4, at the beginning of the account on Ἰωακείμ's making of his vow.

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[719] 4 Mcc 16:18-20.

The words of the vow are preceded by a third person narrative with verbal allusions to the speech "*On the Crown*" (Περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου) by the Athenian orator and politician Demosthenes, Isaac's pitching of his tent at the well of the oath after the God of Abraham appears to him (linked to Anna's lament through the "ἄρουρα" planted there by Abraham),[720] and the version of the Temptation in the Gospel according to *Matthew* (linked to "ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις τῶν δώδεκα φυλῶν" through "οἱ λίθοι οὗτοι" and to "προσέφερε" through "πειραζόμενος" (implied)).[721]

> καὶ ἐλυπήθη Ἰωακεὶμ σφόδρα καὶ οὐκ ἐφάνη[722] τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ[723] ἀλλ᾽ ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν[724] ἔρημον[725] κἀκεῖ[726] ἔπηξε τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ[727] καὶ ἐνήστευσεν ἡμέρας[728] τεσσαράκοντα καὶ νύκτας τεσσαράκοντα λέγων ἐν ἑαυτῷ
> οὐ καταβήσομαι[729] οὔτε ἐπὶ[730] βρωτὸν οὔτε ἐπὶ ποτὸν[731] ἕως οὗ ἐπισκέψεταί με κύριος ὁ θεός μου καὶ ἔσται μου ἡ εὐχὴ[732] βρῶμα καὶ πόμα[733]

Similar to the words of the narrative frame, the words spoken by Ἰωακείμ are composed of allusions to a variety of sources.[734]

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[720] See Gn 26:25.

[721] In a few manuscripts (A and Pos; "mixed" in Z and Geo), this allusion is stressed through the position of the nouns "ἡμέρας" and "νύκτας" (preceding the numerals).

[722] A οὐκ ἐνεφάνησεν; L οὐκ ἐνεφανίσθη.

[723] F^b adds Ἄννῃ.

[724] In F^a τόν.

[725] In F^b ὀρεινήν.

[726] A καί. In C, Fa καὶ ἔπηξεν τὴν σκηνήν αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖ. P omits the entire sentence.

[727] Omitted in Pos.

[728] In P ἡμέρες (sic) τεσσαράκοντα (see Lk 4:2). A, Pos read τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας καὶ τεσσαράκοντα νύκτας (an allusion to the duration of the Flood; see Gn 7:12, 17).

[729] A reads καταβήσωμαι. F^b adds ἔνθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκόν μου, G ἐν οἴκῳ μου.

[730] In C and F^a οὔτ᾽ ἐπὶ (twice).

[731] In I βρωτῶν and ποτόν; F^a βρῶμα and ποτόν; D βρώματος and πώματος; L, P βρῶσιν and πόσιν.

[732] In A ἡ εὐχή μου; B, C, P μοι ἡ εὐχή, F^a μοι ἡ εὐχή μου.

[733] D, E, F, Fa, I read πῶμα; A reads βρῶσις καὶ πόσις (see Jn 6:55).

[734] E.g., the phrase "οὐ καταβήσομαι" suggests an allusion to Gn 37:35 (Jacob's unconsolable grief—one of the sources incorporated in *Matthew*'s version of the voice heard in Ramah; see Mt 2:18, Jer 38:15, Gn 37:35), the juxtaposition of "βρωτός" and "ποτός" echos words in a sentence in 1 Esd 5:53 on the provisions given to the Sidonians and Tyrians for bringing cedar logs from Lebanon for the rebuilding of the temple (βρωτὰ καὶ ποτά); the pairing of βρῶμα and πόμα points to 1 Cor 10:3.

Demosthenes

In *De corona*, Demosthenes uses the phrase "διδόναι ἑαυτὸν εἰς" four times. In two instances—one nearer the beginning of the speech, the other nearer to the end—διδόναι takes the form of a participle.[735] The finite form of the verb in 1.4, the phrase "ἐφάνη +dat.", and the conjunction "ἀλλά" indicate that the authors of *PJ*, in alluding to the speech, draw on the other two—*De corona* 179 (ἐφάνη +dat.) and 219 (ἀλλ᾽).

In conjunction with the phrase "ἀλλ᾽ ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς +acc.", the sentence "οὐκ ἐφάνη τῆ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ" associates the transition from Ἰωακείμ's search to his fast in the desert (in 1.4) with a brief section in *De corona* that begins and ends with two imperatives. Demosthenes, concluding a recitation of the speech he gave on the occasion of Philip's capture of Elateia, asks to bring him the ψήφισμα that "came to be then", proving that "[ἀλλ᾽] ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς διὰ πάντων ἄχρι τῆς τελευτῆς διεξῆλθον, καὶ ἔδωκ᾽ ἐμαυτὸν ὑμῖν ἁπλῶς εἰς τοὺς περιεστηκότας τῆι πόλει κινδύνους."[736] Unlike the sentence in 1.4 (which has either no, or the same dative as "ἐφάνη"), the sentence in *De Corona* has two datives (ἡμῖν and τῆι πόλει), both of which can be the direct object of "διδόναι".

The verb "ἐφάνη" (as in 1.4 followed by a dative) occurs in a section addressed by Demosthenes to Aischines before ordering "λέγε τὸ ψήφισμά μοι". Speaking to Aischines, Demosthenes associates his opponent with tragic roles played by him on the stage.[737]

καὶ μοι φέρε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ τότε γενόμενον.

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[735] Dem. *De cor.* 88 "ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὰ πράγματ᾽ ἀφειδῶς διδούς" and 274-5 "εἰς τὰ πᾶσι δοκοῦντα συμφέρειν ἑαυτὸν δούς".
[736] Dem. *De cor.* 179.
[737] Dem. *De cor.* 179-80.

καίτοι τίνα βούλει σέ, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ τίν᾽ ἐμαυτὸν ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν εἶναι θῶ;
βούλει ἐμαυτὸν μέν, ὃν ἂν σὺ λοιδορούμενος καὶ διασύρων καλέσαις, Βάτταλον,
σὲ δὲ μηδ᾽ ἥρω τὸν τυχόντα, ἀλλὰ τούτων τινὰ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς,
Κρεσφόντην ἢ Κρέοντα ἢ ὃν ἐν Κολλυτῶι ποτ᾽ Οἰνόμαον κακῶς ἐπέτριψας; τότε
τοίνυν κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν ὁ Παιανιεὺς ἐγὼ Βάτταλος Οἰνομάου τοῦ
Κοθωκίδου σοῦ πλείονος ἄξιος ὢν ἐφάνη τῆι πατρίδι. σὺ μέν γ᾽ οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ
χρήσιμος ἦσθα· ἐγὼ δὲ πάνθ᾽ ὅσα προσῆκε τὸν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην ἔπραττον.
λέγε τὸ ψήφισμά μοι.

The phrase "ἐγὼ ... ἐφάνη" associates this comparison with an earlier part of Demosthenes' speech. The passage in *De corona* with the phrase "καὶ ἔδωκ᾽ ἐμαυτὸν ὑμῖν ἁπλῶς εἰς" is preceded by Demosthenes' recitation of the speech he gave on that day stepping on the βῆμα[738] when the herald asked many times who would want to speak (so that the polis be saved). Demosthenes stresses that, on that day, the person who was needed (described abstractly by him at first)[739] "ἐφάνη ... οὗτος ... ἐγώ".[740] This cross-reference associates the paragraph of *De Corona* highlighted in 1.4 with two reasons, given by Demosthenes to his audiences, why they should pay attention to the νοῦς of what they are about to hear.[741] By declaring in this argument that "καὶ λέγων καὶ γράφων ἐξηταζόμην τὰ δεονθ᾽",[742] Demosthenes connects what he says there to two earlier sections of *De corona* with the same combination of participles—"λέγων καὶ γράφων" in *De corona* 86[743] and "λέγων καὶ γράφων καὶ πράττων" in *De corona* 88. Through this, he prepares the

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[738] See Dem. *De cor*. 171 ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμ᾽ ἐβαδίζετε.

[739] See Dem. *De cor*. 171-72.

[740] Dem. *De cor*. 173.

[741] See *Dem. De* cor. 173 ἐφάνην τοίνυν οὗτος ἐν ἐκείνηι τῆι ἡμέραι ἐγὼ καὶ παρελθὼν εἶπον εἰς ὑμᾶς, ἅ μου δυοῖν ἕνεκ᾽ ἀκούσατε προσέχοντες τὸν νοῦν, ἑνὸς μέν, ἵν᾽ εἰδῆθ᾽ ὅτι μόνος τῶν λεγόντων καὶ πολιτευομένων ἐγὼ τὴν τῆς εὐνοίας τάξιν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς οὐκ ἔλιπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγων καὶ γράφων ἐξηταζόμην τὰ δεονθ᾽ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς φοβεροῖς, ἑτέρου δέ, ὅτι μικρὸν ἀναλώσαντες χρόνον πολλῶι πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς πάσης πολιτείας ἔσεσθ᾽ ἐμπειρότεροι.

[742] Dem. *De cor*. 173.

[743] See Dem. *De cor*. 85-86 φαίνομαι τοίνυν ἐγὼ χάριτος τετυχηκὼς τότε καὶ οὐ μέμψεως οὐδὲ τιμωρίας. οὐκοῦν μέχρι μὲν τῶν χρόνων ἐκείνων ἐν οἷς ταῦτ᾽ ἐπράχθη, πάντ᾽ ἀνωμολόγημαι τὰ ἄριστα πράττειν τῆι πόλει, τῶι νικᾶν, ὅτ᾽ ἐβυολεύεσθε, λέγων καὶ γράφων, τῶι καταπραχθῆναι τὰ γραφέντα καὶ στεφάνους ἐξ αὐτῶν τῆι πόλει καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ πᾶσιν γενέσθαι, τῶι θυσίας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ προσόδους ὡς ἀγαθῶν τούτων ὄντων ὑμᾶς πεποιῆσθαι.

sentences with the phrase "καὶ ἔδωκ᾽ ἐμαυτὸν ὑμῖν ... εἰς +acc." in *De corona* 179[744] and

"σοῦ πλείονος ἄξιος ὢν ἐφάνη τῆι πατρίδι"[745] and "ἐγὼ δὲ ... τὸν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην

ἔπραττον" in 180.

In *De corona* 219, the second source of the allusion in 1.4, the conjunction ἀλλά is

part of an anapher ("ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως" and "ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν ...") used by Demosthenes for paralleling

two sentences. Similar to the sentence in 1.4, the conjunction ἀλλά (with elision) is preceded

by a dative (fem. sg.)—τῆι πόλει in Demosthenes corresponds to τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ in *PJ*

(1.4).

> καίτοι πολλοὶ παρ᾽ ὑμῖν ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, γεγόνασι ῥήτορες ἔνδοξοι καὶ μεγάλοι
> πρὸ ἐμοῦ, Καλλίστρατος ἐκεῖνος, Ἀριστοφῶν, Κέφαλος, Θρασύβουλος, ἕτεροι
> μυρίοι· ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως οὐδεὶς πώποτε τούτων διὰ παντὸς ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς οὐδὲν τῆι
> πόλει, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν γράφων οὐκ ἂν ἐπρεσβευσεν, ὁ δὲ πρεσβεύων οὐκ ἂν ἔγραψεν.
> ὑπέλειπε γὰρ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος ἑαυτῶι ἅμα μὲν ῥαιστώνην, ἅμα δ᾽ εἴ τι γένοιτ᾽
> ἀναφοράν.

Demosthenes draws here on the earlier two passages with the same phrase. The

juxtaposition of γράφειν and πρεσβεύειν associates this passage with the phrase "ἔδωκεν

ἑαυτὸν εἰς" with the sentence with "ἔδωκ᾽ ἐμαυτὸν ... εἰς" in *De corona* 179, and with

efanh axio~ and τὸν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην ἔπραττον. The reference to being ῥήτωρ associates

this (through 94) with the passage in 88 with "λέγων καὶ γράφων καὶ πράττων". Paired

with σύμβουλος there, ῥήτωρ is explained with reference to things done from reason and

deliberation (212).

Together, these sentences associate the passage in 179-180 centering on "ἔδωκ᾽

ἐμαυτὸν ... εἰς" with the κρινόμενον of determining whether or not he is ἄξιος τοῦ

στεφάνου. The aorist infinitive "γράψαι" is represented four times in *De Corona*. Two of these infinitives are substantivized; one is in the dative (with Solon as writer);[746] the other is in the genitive (as in 25.1). The genitive "τοῦ γράψαι" introduces a paraphrase of Ctesiphon's motion, made by Demosthenes in defining what he considers the jurors are to judge.[747]

> τοῦ μὲν οὖν γράψαι πράττοντα καὶ λέγοντα τὰ βέλτιστά με[748] τῶι δήμωι διατελεῖν καὶ πρόθυμον εἶναι ποιεῖν ὅ τι ἂν δύνωμαι ἀγαθόν, καὶ ἐπαινεῖν ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐν τοῖς πεπολιτευμένοις τὴν κρίσιν εἶναι νομίζω

The paraphrase is preceded by a recitation of the γραφή and Demosthenes' announcement that he will address the topics in the order of the γεγράμμενα, without leaving out anything voluntarily;[749] it is followed by a brief description of the content of the writing and what needs to be established.

In *PJ*, the allusion to passages in *De corona* with links to γράψαι and with references to being ῥήτωρ and σύμβουλος associates "τὴν ἱστορίαν ταύτην" in 25.1, as direct object of γράψαι, with Demosthenes' paraphrase of Ctesiphon's γραφή. This aligns "τὴν ἱστορίαν ταύτην" with Demosthenes' paraphrases of the γραφή and, additionally, provides an analogy for "περὶ τούτων ὁ γράψας ταῦτα" in John 21:24 through "περὶ ἐμοῦ γέγραφε ... ταῦτα", thus alluding to Demosthenes' instructions on what to judge and what to determine (truth and fittingness or falsehood; being ἄξιος τοῦ στεφάνου).

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[746] See Dem. *De cor*. 6 and 2.
[747] Dem. *De. cor*. 57.
[748] Cf. Dem. *De cor*. 59 τὸ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν τὰ ἄριστα με.
[749] A comment on what Aeschines did; see Dem. *De cor*. 28 (similar to 57 with an instance of the infinitive γράψαι).

ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτων ἐξεταζομένων εὑρεθήσεται εἴτ᾽ ἀληθῆ περὶ ἐμοῦ γέγραφε
Κτησιφῶν ταῦτα καὶ προσήκοντα εἴτε καὶ ψευδῆ τὸ δὲ μὴ προσγράψαντα ἐπειδὰν
τὰς εὐθύνας δῷ στεφανοῦν, καὶ ἀνειρεῖν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τὸν στέφανον κελεῦσαι,
κοινωνεῖν μὲ ἡγοῦμαι καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς πεπολιτευμένοις, εἴτ᾽ ἄξιός εἰμι τοῦ
στεφάνου καὶ τῆς ἀναρρήσεως τῆς ἐν τούτοῖ εἴτε καὶ μή ἔτι μέντοι καὶ τοὺς
νόμους δεικτέον εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ, καθ᾽ οὓς ταῦτα γράφειν ἐξῆν τούτῳ.

Demosthenes' speech connects (as intertext) the narrative in 1.4 to two writings of the Old and the New Testaments featuring in later parts of the narrative—the prologue of the Wisdom of *Sirach* (in 25.1) and the Second Letter to the *Corinthians* (in 13.1, 14.2, and 25.1). Both texts include a sentence with the phrase "διδόναι ἑαυτὸν εἰς". In addition to the allusion to *De Corona*, the two works have references to "ἀνάγνωσις" in common[750] and are linked to the sentence with the substantivized infinitive "τοῦ γράψαι" in 25.1.

The Prologue of Sirach

Allusions to the three of the four sentences with the phrase "διδόναι ἑαυτὸν εἰς +acc." in Demosthenes' *De Corona* are incorporated into the first half of the first sentence of the prologue of the Wisdom of *Sirach*.

The prologue's first sentence is a long,[751] syntactically complex period. Nevertheless, the main clause is simple— the finite verb is "προήχθη" (a compact allusion portraying

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[750] 2 Cor 3:14, Sir prol. 10, 17.
[751] In A, the sentence has 225 (15^2) syllables; in the numerical center—framed by 111 syllables on either side—are the three syllables of the words "πάππος μου".

Joshua as Mardochai,[752] the bee of Proverbs 6:8ᵃ-8ᶜ,[753] and one who is "σοφὸς ἐν

λόγοις"[754]); the verb's grammatical subject is "ὁ πάππος μου Ἰησοῦς".

Arranged in fifteen lines of fifteen syllables, the verical sides of the text block

displays short acrostics.

Sirach prol. (A) 1-14 (15x15 syllables)

1   **π↓**   Πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἡμῖν διὰ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν π

      ρ   ροφητῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κατ' αὐτοὺς ἠκολουθηκ

      ο   ότων[755] δεδομένων[756] ὑπὲρ ὧν δέον ἐστὶν ἐπαιν   **ν↓**

          εῖν τὸν Ισραηλ παιδείας καὶ σοφίας καὶ ὡς οὐ   **υ**

5   μόνον αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἀναγινώσκοντας δέον ἐστὶν   **ν**

          ἐπιστήμονας[757] γένεσθαι ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐκτὸς δύν

          ασθαι τοὺς φιλομαθοῦντας χρησίμους εἶναι καὶ λέγ

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[752] See Est 2:21; the passage is associated with the story of the census of David through the verb "καταχωρίσαι" in Est 2:23 (see 1 Chr 27:24).

[753] See Pr 6:8ᵃ-8ᶜ ἢ πορεύθητι πρὸς τὴν μέλισσαν / καὶ μάθε ὡς ἐργάτις ἐστὶν / τὴν τε ἐργασίαν ὡς σεμνὴν ποιεῖται, / ἧς τοὺς πόνους βασιλεῖς καὶ ἰδιῶται πρὸς ὑγίειαν προσφέρονται, / ποθεινὴ δέ ἐστιν πᾶσιν καὶ ἐπίδοξος· / καίπερ οὖσα τῇ ῥώμῃ ἀσθενής, / τὴν σοφίαν τιμήσασα προήχθη. In *Sirach*, the bee and her fruit are mentioned in Sir 11:3 μικρὰ ἐν πετεινοῖς μέλισσα, / καὶ ἀρχὴ γλυκασμάτων ὁ καρπὸς αὐτῆς. The comparison between Joshua and a bee (implied through "προήχθη") suggests that τι τῶν ... ἀνηκόντων—the direct object of συγγράψαι in Sir prol. —corresponds to the πόνοι of the bee (offered "πρὸς ὑγίειαν") and to her καρπός; Joshua is led forward "τὴν σοφίαν τιμήσας".

[754] Sir 20:27.

[755] The substantivized participle τῶν ἠκολουθηκότων associates the beginning of the sentence with Judith's response to Holofernes' order to spread out for her from his dainty dishes and to give her from his wine to drink (Jdt 12:1; notice Jdt 7:25, Nm 14:16)—Judith rejects the offer with the words "Οὐ φάγομαι ἐξ αὐτῶν, ἵνα μὴ γένηται σκάνδαλον, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἠκολουθηκότων μοι χορηγηθήσεται" (Jdt 12:2; on Judith's provisions, see Jdt 10:5; 12:9, 19; 13:10). Holofernes' answer features the verb διδόναι (with "ὅμοια αὐτοῖς" as direct object).

[756] See Hesychius 7.437-50, in *FHG* 4, ed. K. Müller (Paris: Didot, 1841-70), fr. 7 [l. 415]. Ζήνωνα τὸν Κιττιέα ἐθαύμαζεν Ἀντίγονος ὁ βασιλεύς· ἐρωτηθεὶς δὲ διὰ τί θαυμάζει αὐτὸν, <<ὅτι, ἔφη, πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων δεδομένων αὐτῷ ὑπ' ἐμου οὐδέποτε ἐχαυνώθη οὐδὲ ταπεινὸς ὤφθη.>> οὗτος πρὸς τὸν καλὸν εἰπόντα, ὅτι οὐ δοκεῖ [αὐτῷ] ἐρασθήσεσθαι ὁ σοφὸς, <<οὐδὲν ἀθλιώτερον, ἔφη, ὑμῶν ἔσται τῶν καλῶν, εἰ μὴ ἡμεῖς ἐρασθησόμεθα.>> τούτου λέγοντος, ὡς οὐ λυπηθήσεται ὁ σοφὸς, διάπειραν βουληθεὶς λαβεῖν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀντίγονος, ἐποίησεν αὐτῷ πλαστῶς ἀγγελῆναι, ὡς εἴη τὰ χωρία αὐτοῦ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἀφῃρημένα, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ καὶ οἱ παῖδες· τοῦ δὲ σκυθρωπάσαντος, <<Ὁρᾷς, ἔφη, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ πλοῦτος ἀδιάφορον.>> The allusion to the χρεία attributed to Antigonos suggests that "ἡμῖν" corresponds to "αὐτῷ" (i.e., σοφῷ). In conjunction with the references to Israel and wisdom (Sir prol. 3) and to becoming "ἐπιστήμονες" (Sir prol. 4), this suggests an allusion to Dt 4:6 ἰδοὺ λαὸς σοφὸς καὶ ἐπιστήμων τὸ ἔθνος τὸ μέγα τοῦτο.

[757] The juxtaposition of ἀναγινώσκειν and ἐπίστασθαι in Sir prol. 4 suggests an allusion to Is 29:11-12

S   ο↓   οντας καὶ γράφοντας⁷⁵⁸ ὁ πάππος μου Ἰησοῦς ἐπὶ

        π   πλεῖον <u>ἑαυτὸν δοὺς εἴς</u> τε <u>τὴν</u> νόμου καὶ τῶν προφη   η↓

10   τ   τῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πατρίων βιβλίων <u>ἀνάγνωσιν</u>⁷⁵⁹ κ   κ

        α   αὶ ἐν τούτοις ἱκανὴν ἕξιν περιποιησάμε   ε

V   νος προήχθη καὶ αὐτὸς συγγράψαι τι τῶν εἰς παιδεί   ι

G   αν καὶ σοφίαν ἀνηκόντων ὅπως οἱ φιλομα

           θεῖς καὶ τούτων ἔνηχοι γενόμενοι πολλῷ μᾶλλον

15   ἐπιπροσθῶσιν διὰ τῆς ἐννόμου βιώσεως

The grammatical subject of the main clause is limited by two participial phrases,

"ἑαυτὸν ἑαυτὸν δοὺς εἴς ... τὴν ... ἀνάγνωσιν", and "ἐν τούτοις ἱκανὴν ἕξιν περιποιησάμενος".

The participial phrase with "δοὺς" is built from elements of several (interconnected) sentences in Demosthenes' speech *De corona*. Juxtaposed to the two participles "λέγοντας καὶ γράφοντας", the phrase "ἑαυτὸν διδόναι εἰς +acc." in Sir. prol. 7-8 corresponds to a phrase in *De cor.* 86-88. Ἐπαινεῖν and χρησίμους εἶναι [+dat.] with γράφων leads to *De corona* 179-80. The tense of the participle—δούς instead of διδούς—corresponds to the tense of the verb in *De corona* 274-5.

The second participial phrase associates ὁ περιποιησαμενος with Sphairos (or Kleanthes)⁷⁶⁰ and addresses the topic of δοξάζειν (of a σοφός) and of μίμησις.

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⁷⁵⁸ In its position relative to the two participles "λέγοντας καὶ γράφοντας", the phrase ἑαυτὸν διδόναι εἰς +acc. corresponds to Dem. *De Cor.* 86-8.

⁷⁵⁹ With Demosthenes as one of the sources of the sentence, the selection of "ἡ ἀνάγνωσις" as accusative of "εἰς" additionally associates the sentence with Demosthenes' speech *In Timocraten* 72.1.

⁷⁶⁰ See Diog. Laert. 7.177 τούτου, καθάπερ προειρήκαμεν, ἤκουσε μετὰ Ζήνωνα καὶ Σφαῖρος ὁ Βοσπορίανός, ὃς προκοπὴν ἱκανὴν περιποιησάμενος λόγων εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀπήει πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Φιλοπάτορα. λόγου δέ ποτε γενομένου περὶ τοῦ δοξάσειν τὸν σοφὸν καὶ τοῦ Σφαίρου εἰπόντος ὡς οὐ δοξάσει, βουλόμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐλέγξαι αὐτόν, κηρίνας ῥόας ἐκέλευσε παρατεθῆναι· τοῦ δὲ Σφαίρου ἀπατηθέντος ἀνεβόησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ψευδεῖ συγκατατεθεῖσθαι αὐτὸν φαντασίᾳ. πρὸς ὃν ὁ Σφαῖρος εὐστόχως ἀπεκρίναντο, εἰπὼν οὕτως συγκατατεθεῖσθαι, οὐχ ὅτι ῥόαι

The allusion to *Sirach* in 1.4 (with *De Corona* as intertext) associates the end of the first part of the narrative with the second sentence with "γράφειν τὴν ἱστορίαν ταύτην" in 25.1.

A verbal allusion to the Wisdom of *Sirach* in the last paragraph of the letter to the *Romans* (στηρίξαι)[761] links the sentence with the phrase "ὁ γράψας τὴν ἱστορίαν ταύτην" to the second sentence in 25.1 with a reference to ἱστορία—"γράψαι τὴν ἱστορίαν ταύτην". "Τὸν δόντα μοι ... σοφίαν", the phrase preceding the substantivized infinitive, is a double allusion to a paragraph in a prayer at the end of *Sirach* (τῷ διδόντι μοι σοφίαν δώσω δόξαν) and to the last sentence of a λόγος in *Sirach* 43 (καὶ τοῖς εὐσεβέσιν ἔδωκεν σοφίαν).[762] The aorist infinitive "γράψαι" in 25.1 has three main parallels in the writings of the Old and the New Testaments—"ζωγραφῆσαι τὴν ... ἱστορίαν" in the fourth book of *Maccabees*,[763] "τὸ γράφειν" in the second letter to the *Corinthians*,[764] and "συγγράψαι τι" in the prologue of *Sirach*[765]—the allusions to *Sirach* single out "συγγράψαι" and associate the sentence in 25.1 with the first sentence of the prologue of *Sirach*. The allusions to Demosthenes in the latter (καὶ ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς ... τὴν ἀνάγωσιν) link 25.1 (τοῦ γράψαι τὴν ἱστορίαν ταύτην) to 1.4 (καὶ ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς).

εἰσίν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι εὔλογος ἐστι ῥόας αὐτὰς εἶναι· διαφέρειν δὲ τὴν καταληπτικὴν φαντασίαν τοῦ εὐλόγου. πρὸς δὲ Μνησίστρατον κατηγοροῦντα αὐτοῦ ὅτι Πτολεμαῖον οὔ φησι βασιλέα εἶναι, "τοιοῦτον δ᾽ ὄντα τὸν Πτολεμαῖον καὶ βασιλέα εἶναι".

[761] Rm 16:25; see Sir 42:17.
[762] Sir 43:33.
[763] See 4 Mcc 17:7.
[764] See 2 Cor 9:1.
[765] See Sir prol. 12.

The sentence with συγγράψαι in the prologue of *Sirach* is also implied as one of the sources of the substantivized infinitive "τοῦ γράψαι" in 25.1 through the allusion to the paragraph in *Romans* 16 with the allusion to *Esther*, connecting "ὁ γράψας τὴν ἱστορίαν ταύτην" (1.1) and "ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις" (1.1) through *Esther* 8:12ᵍ (σκοπεῖν ... ἐκ τῶν παλαιοτέρων ἱστοριῶν). We have seen that allusions to the prophecy on Ariel in *Isaiah* 29 are incorporated into the paragraph with "σκοπεῖν" in *Romans* 16 and into the sentence with "συγγράψαι" in the prologue of *Sirach*. The implied reference to a "στιγμή" strengthens the link between "τοῦ γράψαι τὴν ἱστορίαν ταύτην" in 25.1 (based on συγγράψαι and ἔδωκεν ἑαυτον εἰς) and the allusion to the Temptation in 1.4 by singling out the account in *Luke* (ἐν στιγμῇ χρόνου).[766] In addition, "στιγμή" (present in 25.1 through allusions to *Isaiah* 29 in the prologue of *Sirach* (τοῦ γράψαι) and in *Romans* 16 (ὁ γράψας)) associates the sentence with the phrase τοῦ γράψαι τὴν ἱστορίαν ταύτην in 25.1 with the account on the ἱστορία τοῦ Ἀδάμ in 13.1, since the latter features an allusion to the sign of the διαστολή (in Ex 8) in Joseph's question, "τί δὲ εὔξομαι περὶ τῆς κόρης ταύτης;"

2 Corinthians

In the second letter to the *Corinthians*, the allusion to Demosthenes' speech *De corona* is incorporated into an argument made by the apostle Paul, in chapter eight of the letter, for having abundance in the "χάρις ... τῆς διακονίας τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους". Paul

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[766] See Lk 4:5.

exhorts the Corinthians first with the earnestness of others,[767] presenting to them the example

of the churches of Macedonia.

> γνωρίζομεν δὲ ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν δεδομένην ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Μακεδονίας, ὅτι ἐν πολλῇ δοκιμῇ θλίψεως ἡ περισσεία τῆς χαρᾶς αὐτῶν καὶ ἡ κατά βάθους πτωχεία αὐτῶν ἐπερίσσευσεν εἰς τὸ πλοῦτος τῆς ἁπλότητος αὐτῶν ὅτι κατὰ δύναμιν, μαρτυρῶ, καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν, αὐθαίρετοι μετὰ πολλῆς παρακλήσεως δεόμενοι ἡμῶν τὴν χάριν καὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν τῆς διακονίας τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους, καὶ οὐ καθὼς ἠλπίσαμεν ἀλλὰ ἑαυτοὺς ἔδωκαν πρῶτον τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ ἡμῖν διὰ θελήματος θεοῦ εἰς τὸ παρακαλέσαι ἡμᾶς Τίτον, ἵνα καθὼς προενήρξατο οὕτως καὶ ἐπιτελέσῃ εἰς ὑμᾶς καὶ τὴν χάριν ταύτην.

With a personal pronoun in the plural as direct object and limited by a prepositional

phrase with διὰ +gen., "ἀλλὰ ἑαυτοὺς ἔδωκαν ... εἰς" suggests an allusion to *De corona*

179.

This paragraph is linked, through the phrase "τῆς διακονίας τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους

...", to a sentence with the only infinitive of γράφειν in the writings of the Old and of the

New Testaments substantivized with a definite article (τὸ γράφειν).[768]

> περὶ μὲν γὰρ τῆς διακονίας τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους περισσόν μοί ἐστιν τὸ γράφειν[769] ὑμῖν ...

This syntactical characteristic associates the sentence in *2 Corinthians* 9 with the

second sentence in 25.1 with the phrase γράφειν τὴν ἱστορίαν ταύτην.

In the second letter to the *Corinthians* we also find a link to the ἱστορία τοῦ Ἀδάμ

in 13.1. The refererence to the "παρθένος" (in περὶ τῆς κόρης ταύτης) and the wording

and function of the summary of the "ἱστορία τοῦ Ἀδάμ" associate the text in *PJ* 13.1 with

Paul's account on his "ἀφροσύνη", in 2 *Corinthians* 11:2-3:

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[767] See 2 Cor 8:8.
[768] 2 Cor 9:1.
[769] The tense of the infinitive "γράφειν" (present) associates "τὸ 'γράφειν ὑμῖν" with two other sentences in the *Second Letter to the Corinthians* in which the verb is in the present tense—2 Cor 1:13 and 13:10 .

ζηλῶ γὰρ ὑμᾶς θεοῦ ζήλῳ, ἡρμοσάμην γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἑνὶ ἀνδρὶ παρθένον ἁγνὴν παραστῆσαι τῷ Χριστῷ· φοβοῦμαι δὲ μή πως, ὡς ὁ ὄφις ἐξηπάτησεν Εὕαν ἐν τῇ πανουργίᾳ αὐτοῦ, οὕτως φθαρῇ τὰ νοήματα ὑμῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἁπλότητος τῆς εἰς τὸν Χριστόν.

Endings

The last sentence of *P. Bodmer 5* does not seem to be an integral, let alone exegetically necessary part of the text. The only *visible* link between the sentence and the text block is a verbal and morphological one—the substantivized participle "τῷ γράψαντι" in the second to last line mirrors "ὁ γράψας" in the *second* line of the page. The second participle—"τω αναγινωσκοντι" (in the last line with letters on the page)—does not have a similar counterpart in the text block; but it, too, is paired with its nominative—"ὁ ἀναγινώσκων"—and through it attached to the preceding text.

P. Bodmer 5 is the only extant version of *PJ* with an *explicit* reference to ἀναγινώσκειν, in a sentence that additionally stands out—and is visually set apart—through its position beneath the last word of the text (αμην) and the last word of the title, at the bottom of the page. In most other versions, the text concludes with ἀμήν, preceded by the last sentence. The first part of this sentence is a main clause with some variability in the wording of its beginning (usually ἔσται ἡ χάρις (or χαρά) μετὰ +gen.) and a uniform ending—the participial phrase "τῶν φοβουμένων τὸν κυρίον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν".[770] This part of the sentence corresponds to the "longer" ending of the text block of *P. Bodmer*

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[770] Probably an allusion to Sir 26:3 γυνὴ ἀγαθὴ μερὶς ἀγαθή, / ἐν μερίδι φοβουμένων κύριον δοθήσεται.

5—"καὶ εσται η χαρις μετα παντων των φοβουμενων τον KN". The second part, attached to the direct object of "τῶν φοβουμένων" through a relative pronoun, is in a larger number of manuscripts either "ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν" or "ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν".

The relative clause with "ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος" has two parallels in the writings of the Old and the New Testaments—one in chapter four of the First Letter of *Peter*,[771] the other in chapter one of the *Apocalypse* of John.[772] The version with "ἡ δοξα" has more models—it is found one time in the Old Testament[773] and three times in the New.[774] Thus shown to be formulaic and interchangeable, the two relative clauses seem to be of even less exegetical significance than the last sentence of *P. Bodmer 5*. But this first impression is as deceptive as it is in the case of the last sentence in the papyrus.

"ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος"

The allusion to the *Apocalypse* has the same function as the references to ἀποκάλυψις and τῷ ἀναγινώσκοντι in *P. Bodmer 5*.

The participle "ὁ ἀναγινώσκων"[775] is implied by the noun "ἀποκάλυψις" in the section with the four nouns "γενεσις μαριας αποκαλυψις ιακωβ" of the beginning (α´)

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[771] See 1 Pt 4:11.
[772] See Rv 1:6.
[773] 4 Mcc 18:24.
[774] Gal 1:5, 2 Tm 4:18, and Heb 13:21.
[775] Paired with "τω αναγινωσκοντι", by analogy with "ο γραψας" (25.1) and "τω γραψαντι" (25.2).

and the title (μθ) of *P. Bodmer 5*.[776]   Read as title, the noun suggests an allusion to the

Apocalypse of John.   In the *Apocalypse*, "ἀποκάλυψις" is the first word of the title of the

book (᾿Αποκάλυψις ᾿Ιωάννου τοῦ θεολόγου) and the first word of the text (ἀποκάλυψις

᾿Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ).[777]   The dative "τω αναγινωσκοντι" in the last line of the last page of the

papyrus hints that "αποκαλυψις ιακωβ" in 25.2 refers to the beginning of the work (thus

paralleling "ιακωβ" to "᾿Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ"), as the preface of the *Apocalypse* ends with a

sentence with a reference to "ὁ ἀναγινώσκων".

> μακάριος ὁ ἀναγινώσκων καὶ οἱ ἀκούοντες τοὺς λόγους τῆς προφητείας καὶ
> τηροῦντες τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ γεγραμμένα, ὁ γὰρ καιρὸς ἐγγύς

In the *Apocalypse*, the sentence with "ὁ ἀναγινώσκων" is preceded by an

allusion[778]to the end of the vision of the μυστήριον of the seven stars and the seven lamps.[779]

In *Apocalypse* 1:2, the phrase connecting the two paragraphs—"γινέσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα"—is

the direct object of "ἐμαρτύρησεν" at the end of a relative clause limiting the name "

᾿Ιωάννης":

> ὃς ἐμαρτύρησεν τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν ᾿Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὅσα εἶδεν
> καὶ ἅτινά εἰσι καὶ ἅτινα χρὴ γενέσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα

The three clauses with pronouns echo the words addressed to John in *Apocalypse*
1:20.

> Γράψον οὖν ἃ εἶδες καὶ ἃ εἰσὶν καὶ ἃ μέλλει γινέσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα. τὸ μυστήριον
> τῶν ἑπτὰ ἀστέρων ὧν εἶδες ἐπὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς μου καὶ τὰς ἑπτὰ λυχνίας τὰς χρυσᾶς

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[776] The position behind "ιακωβ" (the last of the four words of the title *and* the beginning) aligns the last sentence on page μθ with the words "εν ταις ιστοριαις των ιβ´ φυλων Ιωακειμ ην" on page α´, which are in the same position relative to the four nouns as "ειρηνη τω γραψαντι και τω αναγινωσκοντι" on page μθ (and of the same number of syllables).

[777] In *P. Bodmer 5*, the name "ιακωβ" takes the place of either "᾿Ιωάννου" or "᾿Ιησοῦ".

[778] In M^A.

[779] Apoc 1:19.

This connection between μαρτυρεῖν[780] and γράφειν[781]—which rests on an allusion to *Daniel* 2 (See Dn 2:29, 45 ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα)—is a first link to the second ending of the Gospel according to *John*,[782] represented in almost all versions of *PJ* through the phrase "ὁ γράψας" in 25.1. This link is strengthened through other sources incorporated in the *Apocalypse* into the sentence on "ὁ ἀναγινώσκων".

In *Apocalypse* 1:2-3, the direct object of ἐμαρτύρησεν (or of ὁ ἀναγινώσκων) underlines that, similar to "τω αναγινωσκοντι" in *P. Bodmer 5* 25.2, the participle in the *Apocalypse* does not have a clearly defined direct object. To be sure, "ὁ ἀναγινώσκων" *seems* to have the same direct objects as "οἱ ἀκούοντες ... καὶ τηροῦντες"—"τοὺς λόγους τῆς προφητείας" and "τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ γεγραμμένα"—and the pronoun "ἐν αὐτῇ" *seems* to refer to "τῆς προφητείας", the nearest noun in the same number and gender. But whether this is actually the case (rather than merely an assumption) needs to be demonstrated first, by searching for analogies in the writings of the Old and the New Testaments in which the verb "ἀναγινώσκειν" and the direct objects fit the syntactical patterns present in the sentence.

Added to the text in *P. Bodmer 5* through the combination of the noun (title) "αποκαλυψις" and the participle "τω αναγινσκωντι" and in a number of manuscripts through the relative clause "ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων

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[780] Apoc 1:2.
[781] Apoc 1:13.
[782] A quotation of Zec 12:10 associates Apoc 1:7 with Jn 19:37.

ἀμήν", the sentence with "ὁ ἀναγινώσκων" in the prologue of the *Apocalypse* is a complex

combination of allusions to interrelated texts on writing, reading, and interpretations.[783]

The substantivized participle "ὁ ἀναγινώσκων" in *Apocalypse* 1:3 is an allusion to

an answer by the Lord in the book of *Habakkuk*.[784] In *Habakkuk*, the reference to "ὁ

ἀναγινώσκων" is preceded by a clause with the imperative "γράψον", similar to the parallel

between γράψον and ὁ ἀναγινώσκων in *Apocalypse* 1:19 and 1:1-2. The allusion, in

Apocalypse 1:3, to the word addressed to the prophet Habakkuk aligns "ἃ εἶδες καὶ ἃ εἰσὶν

καὶ ἃ μέλλει γινέσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα" (Apoc 1:3) with "ὅρασιν" (Hb 2:2) as direct objects

of γράψον.

> ἐπὶ τῆς φυλακῆς μου στήσομαι καὶ ἐπιβήσομαι ἐπὶ πέτραν καὶ ἀποσκοπεύσω τοῦ
> ἰδεῖν τί λαλήσει ἐν ἐμοὶ καὶ τί ἀποκριθῶ ἐμοὶ τὸν ἔλεγχόν μου.
> καὶ ἀπεκρίθη πρός με κύριος καὶ εἶπεν
>   γράψον ὅρασιν καὶ σαφῶς ἐπὶ πυξίον, ὅπως διώκῃ ὁ ἀναγινώσκων αὐτά. διότι ἔτι
>   ὅρασις εἰς καιρὸν καὶ ἀνατελεῖ εἰς πέρας καὶ οὐκ εἰς κενόν· ἐὰν ὑστερήσῃ,
>   ὑπόμεινον αὐτόν, ὅτι ἐρχόμενος ἥξει καὶ οὐ μὴ χρονίσῃ. ἐὰν ὑποστείληται, οὐκ
>   εὐδοκεῖ ἡ ψυχή μου ἐν αὐτῷ· ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεώς μου ζήσεται.

The prediction on "ὁ δίκαιος" answers a question raised by the prophet in the

"λῆμμα" seen by him—"ἵνα τί ἐπιβλέπεις ἐπὶ καταφρονοῦντας; παρασιωπήσῃ ἐν τῷ

καταπίνειν ἀσέβη τὸν δίκαιον;"[785]

The sentence on the just one is an intertext linking the paragraph with "ὁ

ἀναγινώσκων" in *Apocalypse* 1:3 to the letters to the *Romans* and the *Hebrews*—"ὁ δὲ

δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεώς μου ζήσεται" is quoted in *Romans* 1:17[786] and in *Hebrews* 10:38.

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[783] The sentence in the *Apocalypse* has these cross-connections independent from the text to which is it attached. It can thus be used by an author to point readers to these sources (and the argument), and by readers to inform themselves about the author's theory-related reference texts.
[784] Hb 2:2-4.
[785] Hb 1:4.
[786] See Rm 10:5, 1 Esdr 19:29.

Both letters are incorporated into the text of *PJ* through allusions, in 1.1, 1.3, and 24.4 to the

letter to the *Hebrews*, and in 13.1 and 24.4 to the letter to the *Romans*. The topic of "ζῆν" is

additionally addressed in 1.3 through allusions to the fourth book of *Maccabees*, in 1.4,[787]

and in 24.4 through an allusion to Luke 23:47 in the description of Symeon the Elder in *Luke*

2:25, resting on the phrase ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος δίκαιος.

The paragraph in the book of *Habakkuk* on "ὁ ἀναγινώσκων" is interpreted in the

Gospel according to *Matthew* and the Gospel according to *Mark*[788] through Jesus' answer to

the question of the disciples about the σημεῖον τῆς σῆς παρουσίας καὶ τῆς συντελείας

τοῦ αἰῶνος,[789] caused by his prediction of the destruction (καταλύειν) of the buildings of

the sanctuary. In both *Matthew* and *Mark*, the substantivized participle is the grammatical

subject of the imperative "νοείτω", in a sentence with a reference to "τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς

ἐρημώσεως".[790]

> ὅταν οὖν ἴδητε τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Δανιὴλ τοῦ προφήτου
> ἑστός ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ, ὁ ἀναγινώσκων νοείτω, τότε οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ φευγέτωσαν εἰς
> τὰ ὄρη ...

The references to "τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως" in *Matthew* and in *Mark* are

preceded by the promise that "ὁ δὲ ὑπομείνας εἰς τέλος σωθήσεται";[791] it is followed by

the prediction of a "θλῖψις μεγάλη οἵα οὐ γέγονεν ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς κόσμου ἕως τοῦ νῦν οὐδ᾽

οὐ μὴ γένηται". The sentences surrounding the participle in *Matthew* and *Mark* place the

phrase "βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρεμώσεως" in chapter 12 of *Daniel*. The "βδέλυγμα τῆς

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[787] Through allusions to the quotations of Dt 8:3 in Mt 4:4 and Lk 4:4.
[788] See Mt 24:15, Mk 13:14.
[789] Mt 24:3; see Mk 13:4.
[790] Mt 24:15-16; see Mk 13:14.
[791] Mt 24:13, Mk 13:13; see Dn 12:1 θ΄ καὶ ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκένῳ σωθήσεται ὁ λαός σου πᾶς ὁ εὑρεθεὶς γεγραμμένος ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ (see Ex 32:33, Rv 20:15), Dn θ΄ 12:12.

ἐρημώσεως" (LXX) (in Theodotion without the definite article) is mentioned at the end of the chapter, preceded by a question by Daniel, who did not understand[792] an exchange of question and answer witnessed by him, and by a prediction.[793] The chapter ends with an exhortation to rest, directed to Daniel,[794] and an explanation

> ἔτι γὰρ ἡμέραι εἰς ἀναπλήρωσιν συντελείας, καὶ ἀναστήσῃ εἰς τὸν κλῆρόν σου εἰς συντέλειαν ἡμερῶν.

The references to a great tribulation (θλῖψις) and to being saved (σωθήσεται) are at the beginning of chapter 12, followed by a prediction concerning those who are understanding, which in turn is followed by instructions for Daniel.[795] (While "θλῖψις μεγάλη" points to the description of a θλῖψις at the beginning of the chapter in both versions, "σωθήσεται" occurs only in Theodotion's translation.)

> ... καὶ ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ σωθήσεται ὁ λαός σου, πᾶς ὁ εὑρεθεὶς γεγραμμένος ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ. καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν καθευδόντων ἐν γῆς χώματι ἐξεγερθήσονται, οὗτοι εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον καὶ οὗτοι εἰς ὀνειδισμὸν καὶ εἰς αἰσχύνην αἰώνιον. καὶ οἱ συνιέντες ἐκλάμψουσιν ὡς ἡ λαμπρότης τοῦ στερεώματος καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν δικαίων τῶν πολλῶν ὡς οἱ ἀστέρες εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας καὶ ἔτι.[796] καὶ σύ, Δανιηλ, ἔμφραξον τοὺς λόγους καὶ σφράγισον τὸ βιβλίον ἕως καιροῦ συντελείας, ἕως διδαχθῶσιν πολλοὶ καὶ πληθυνθῇ ἡ γνῶσις.

The finite verb "συνῆκα"[797] and the phrase "βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως" connect *Daniel 12* to chapter nine of the book of *Daniel*, which begins with a reference to a number "ἐν ταῖς βύβλοις" and the number of seventy years in Jeremiah, and ends with Gabriel's

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[792] Dn 12:8 οὐ διενοήθην παρ᾽ αὐτὸν τὸν καιρὸν, θ´ 12:8 οὐ συνῆκα.
[793] Dn 12:10 "καὶ οὐ μὴ διανοηθῶσι πάντες οἱ ἁμαρτωλοί, καὶ οἱ διανοούμενοι προσέξουσιν"; θ´ 12:10 "οὐ συνήσουσιν πάντες ἄνομοι, καὶ οἱ νοήμονες συνήσουσιν".
[794] Dn θ´ 12:13.
[795] Dn θ´ 12:1-4.
[796] The reference to the stars is a possible source for the references to the seven stars in Apoc 1:16, 20.
[797] See Dn 12:11.

prediction on the βδέλυγμα.[798] In Theodotion, the verb "συνῆκα" is part of a sentence on

Jeremiah's prophecy on the seventy years of the desolation of Jerusalem.

> ἐν ἔτει ἑνὶ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ἐγὼ Δανιηλ συνῆκα ἐν ταῖς βύβλοις τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἐτῶν ὃς ἐγενήθη λόγος κυρίου πρὸς Ιερεμιὰν τὸν προφήτην εἰς συμπλήρωσιν ἐρημώσεως Ιερουσαλημ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη. καὶ ἔδωκα τὸ πρόσωπόν μου πρὸς κύριον τὸν θεὸν τοῦ ἐκζητῆσαι προσευχὴν καὶ δεήσεις ἐν νηστείαις καὶ σάκκῳ καὶ σποδῷ ...

In conjunction with the references to the seventy years and to the prophet Jeremiah,

the prepositional phrase "εἰς συμπλήρωσιν ..." in *Daniel* 9:2 associate this part of *Daniel* 9

with a reference, in the ending of the second book of *Chronicles*,[799] to the fulfillment of a

prophecy by the prophet Jeremiah.

> καὶ ἀπῴκισεν τοὺς καταλοίπους εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, καὶ ἦσαν αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς υἱοις αὐτοῦ εἰς δούλους ἕως βασιλείας Μήδων τοῦ πληρωθῆναι λόγον κυρίου διὰ στόματος Ιερεμιου ἕως τοῦ προσδέξασθαι τὴν γῆν τὰ σάββατα αὐτῆς σαββατίσαι· πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ἐημώσεως αὐτῆς ἐσαββάτισεν εἰς συμπλήρωσιν ἐτῶν ἑβδομήκοντα.

In the first book of *Esdras*,[800] the first chapter ends with an allusion to this passage.

The brief paragraph features two prepositional phrases with "εἰς"—"εἰς ἀναπλήωρσιν τοῦ

ῥήματος τοῦ κυρίου ἐν στόματι Ιερεμιου" and "εἰς συμπλήρωσιν ἐτῶν

ἑβδομήκοντα". This juxtapositon of ἀναπλήρωσις and συμπλήρωσις associates the

reference in the second book of *Chronicles* to the prophecy in *Jeremiah* with chapters 9 and

12 of *Daniel*.

In addition to these instances of the nominative singular "ὁ ἀναγινώσκων", a

participle of ἀναγινώσκειν occurs three more times in the writings of the Old and the New

Testaments in the same voice, gender, and number as in *Habakkuk* but in a different

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[798] In the Septuagint, the verb is διενοήθην (see Dn 9:2, 12:8).
[799] 2 Chr 36:21.
[800] 1 Esdr 1:55.

grammatical case (the genitive)—two times in the book of *Jeremiah*,[801] in a narrative linked

to a report in the second book of *Chronicles* on the reading of a βιβλίον found in the house

of the Lord in the reign of Josiah,[802] and one time in *Acts,* in the story of Philip and the

Ethiopian eunuch.[803] The narrative in *Jeremiah* with the two participles leads to a part of the

account on Josiah in the fourth book of *Kings* with the combination of references to λόγοι

and γεγράμμενα found in the introduction of the *Apocalypse.*

Chapter 43 of the book of *Jeremiah* begins with an order, directed to Jeremiah, to

take for himself a "χαρτίον βιβλίου" and write on it λόγοι that the Lord spoke to him

(specified by topic and chronologically). The remainder of the chapter is devoted to

descriptions of the writing of the λόγοι by Baruch from the mouth of Jeremiah and the

reading, before the people and before the king, of the written text. The report on the reading

of the χαρτίον in the presence of the king provides detailed information about the situational

setting and even about the layout of the text:[804]

> καὶ εἰσῆλθον πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα εἰς τὴν αὐλήν, καὶ τὸ χαρτίον ἔδωκαν φυλάσσειν ἐν
> οἴκῳ Ελισαμα, καὶ ἀνήγγειλαν τῷ βασιλεῖ πάντας τοὺς λόγους.
> καὶ ἀπέστειλεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν Ιουδιν λαβεῖν τὸ χαρτίον, καὶ ἔλαβεν αὐτὸ ἐξ οἴκου
> Ελισαμα· καὶ ἀνέγνω Ιουδιν εἰς τὰ ὦτα τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ εἰς τὰ ὦτα πάντων τῶν
> ἀρχόντων τῶν ἑστηκότων περὶ τὸν βασιλέα.
> καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκάθητο ἐν οἴκῳ χειμερινῷ καὶ ἐσχάρα πυρὸς κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ.
> καὶ ἐγενήθη ἀναγινώσκοντος Ιουδιν τρεῖς σελίδας καὶ τέσσαρας, ἀπέτεμνεν αὐτὰς
> τῷ ξυρῷ τοῦ γραμματέως καὶ ἔρριπτεν εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐσχάρας ἕως ἐξέλιπεν
> πᾶς ὁ χάρτης.

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[801] The two references to "ἀναγινώσκοντος" in the *Jeremiah* are both (causally) linked—through the direct objects of ἀναγινώσκειν—to an order to Jeremiah in the eight year of the reign of king Ιωακιμ of Judah (Jer 43:2), καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ τῷ τετάρτῳ Ιωακιμ υἱοῦ Ιωσια βασιλέως Ιουδα ἐγενήθη λόγος κυρίου πρός με λέγων Λαβὲ σεαυτῷ χαρτίον βιβλίου καὶ γράψον ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πάντας τοὺς λόγους, οὓς ἐχρημάτισα πρὸς σὲ ἐπὶ Ιερουσαλημ καὶ ἐπὶ Ιουδαν καὶ ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἀφ᾽ ἧς ἡμέρας λαλήσαντός μου πρός σε, ἀφ᾽ ἡμερῶν Ιωσια βασιλέως Ιουδα καὶ ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης. The reference to the reign of king Josiah of Judah prepares an allusion, in Jer 43:24, to 4 Kgs 22:19, 11.

[802] Connected to 1 Esdr 1 through a report on the observance of the feast of Passover; see 2 Chr 35:1-19.

[803] See Acts 8:26-39 at 30.

[804] The words written on the χαρτίον are revealed in Jer 43:29.

The account on the χαρτίον in Jeremiah lacks any reference to "ἐν αὐτῇ" or of "γεγράμμενα". But the text does feature several allusions to etymogies and paradigms of γράφειν. Ξυρόν[805] is a link to ξύειν and to the etymology of γράψαι; χειμερινός points to στοιχεῖα (cold and hot, wet and dry); the noun χάρτης is linked to χαράσσω[806] and to χῶ (and thus to χώρα).[807]

The text in *Jeremiah* is explicitly connected to an account in the second book of *Chronicles* on two readings of books that took place in the eighteenth year of the reign of king Josiah of Judah—through the reference to the "days of Josiah" and through a comparison between the reactions of the two kings, implied by a description of what Ιωακιμ and his παῖδες did *not* do:

> καὶ οὐκ ἐζήτησαν καὶ οὐ διέρρηξαν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ οἱ ἀκούοντες πάντας τοὺς λόγους τούτους

The two phrases οὐκ ἐζήτησαν and οὐ διέρρηξαν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν contrast the event to the reading of a book before king Josiah, recounted in the second book of *Chronicles*.[808] In *2 Chronicles*, "ἀναγινώσκειν" is a finite verb.

> καὶ ἀπήγγειλεν Σαφαν ὁ γραμματεὺς τῷ βασιλεῖ λέγων
> βιβλίον ἔδωκέν μοι Χελκιας ὁ ἱερεύς·
> καὶ ἀνέγνω αὐτὸ Σαφαν ἐναντίον τοῦ βασιλέως. καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς ἤκουσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς λόγους τοῦ νόμου, καὶ διέρρηξεν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ

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[805] E.g., see *Orionis Thebani etymologicon*, ed. F. G. Sturz (Leipzig: Weigel, 1820, repr. 1973), 112.3 <Ξυρόν>. παρὰ τὸ ξύω, ξυρόν.

[806] E.g., see *EG* (ζείδωρος - ὦμαι) 563.1-2, 3-7 <χάρτης> παρὰ τὸ χαράσσω ἢ παρὰ τὸ κείρω τὸ κόπτω. <χάρτης> παρὰ τὸ χῶ τὸ χωρῶ, ὁ μέλλων χήσω, τὸ διαχεόμενον. παράγωγον ποιεῖ τὸ χαίρω, οὐκ εἰρόμενον ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ σημαινομένου, τὸ χωρεῖν· παρὰ δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ χαίρω χάρτης, χωρητικὸν ὢν τῶν ἐγγραφομένων.

[807] The nouns "χάρτης" and "χώρα" are etymologically linked. E.g., see *EM* 807.25-27 <χάρτης>: παρὰ τὸ χῶ, τὸ χωρῶ, (ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὸ χάζω,) γίνεται παράγωγον χαίρω, (οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς χαρᾶς,) χάρτης, ὁ χωρητικὸς τῶν ἐγγραφομένων· ἢ παρὰ τὸ χόρτος. For an example of this analogy in an interpretation of Is 8:1, see Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion* 1.374-76.

[808] See 2 Chr 34:21, 26 ζητεῖν τὸν κυρίον; 34:19, 27 διαρρηγνύειν τὰ ἱμάτια.

The genitive "τοῦ νόμου" associates τοὺς λόγους—in the makarismos in the *Apocalypse* the direct object of ἀκούειν[809]—with two references to a "βιβλίον νόμου" in the account on the finding and handing over of a book by Hilkiah, the great priest.[810]

The combination of "λόγους" and "τὰ γεγράμμενα" in the makarismos in the *Apocalypse* corresponds to two sentences in the account on Josiah's sending of men to a prophetess for "ζητεῖν τὸν κυρίον" because of the words read to him. The king speaks of the "λόγοι τοῦ βιβλίου τοῦ εὐρεθέντος" and of giving heed to the words of the Lord "τοῦ ποιῆσαι κατὰ παντα τὰ γεράμμενα ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τούτῳ".[811] In her answer, the prophetess refers to "τοὺς πάντας λόγους τοὺς γεγραμμένους ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τῷ ἀνεγνωσμένῳ ἐναντιον τοῦ βασιλέως Ιουδα"[812] (not specifying which king), followed by two references to λόγοι heard by Josiah (the king who searches for the Lord).

The second reference to reading is part of the making of the covenant, with 2 Chr 34:30 with "λόγους" as direct object of ἀναγινώσκειν. This time the grammatical subject of ἀνέγνω is "ὁ βασιλεύς"

> καὶ ἀνέγνω ἐν ὠσὶν αὐτῶν τοὺς πάντας λόγους βιβλίου τῆς διαθήκης τοῦ εὐρεθέντος ἐν οἴκῳ κυρίου.

Unlike the accusative of "ἐν" in the *Apocalypse* (ἐν αὐτῇ), the accusative in *Chronicles* is a neuter singular (τὸ βιβλίον). "Ἐν αὐτῇ" suggests "βίβλος". the sentence to the other account on Josiah—in the first chapter of the first book of *Esdras*.

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[809] See Apoc 1:3.
[810] 2 Chr 34:14-15 καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐκφέρειν αὐτοὺς τὸ ἀργύριον τὸ εἰσοδιασθὲν εἰς οἰκον κυρίου εὐρεν Χελικιας ὁ ἱερεὺς βιβλίον νόμου κυρίου διὰ χειρὸς Μωυσῆ. καὶ ἀπεκρίθη Χελκιας καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς Σαφαν τὸν γραμματέα Βιβλίον νόμου εὐρον ἐν οἴκῳ κυρίου· καὶ ἔδωκεν Χελκιας τὸ βιβλίον τῷ Σαφαν.
[811] 2 Chr 34:21.
[812] 2 Chr 34:24.

"ᾧ ἡ δόξα"

Brief though it is, and despite its seemingly formulaic character, placed in the last part of *PJ* and at one of its "ends" the relative clause "ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν" does have the same function as the sentence in *PJ*.

Without drawing on any other material, an analysis of the relative clause begins with assessing whether the text at hand is complete in the number of letters and syllables and "fixed" in the order of the μέρη λέξεως. The written text has 32 letters (i.e., 2×2^3), the spoken text has 15 syllables. Divided into lines with the same number of syllables, this results in two text blocks—3x5 or 5x3.

3x5 Syllables	A	l	r	B	l	r	C	l	r
ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς	9	ω↓	σ	8	ω	ι↓	10	ω	τ↓
τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν	13	τ	ν	14	σ	ω	11	ο	ω
αἰώνων ἀμήν	10	α	ν	10	α↑	ν	11	ν↑	ν

Displaying the text in the shape of a "tile" (πλινθηδόν, 5x3)[813] or of a column (κιονηδόν)[814] yields additional acrostics.

		l	r		l	l	r		l
ᾧ ἡ δόξ	5	ω	ξ↓	4	ω	ω	ο↓		
α εἰς τοὺ	7	α	υ	9	ξ	ξ	σ	7	α↓
ς αἰῶνας	7	σ	σ	6	α↑	α	σ	7	σ
τῶν αἰων	7	τ	ω	6		τ↑	ω	6	ω
ων αμήν	6	ω	ν	7		ν	ν		

"Ξύσω", the future tense of "ξύειν", associates the relative clause with grammatical explanations of the etymologies of γράφειν.

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[813] See *Grammatici Graeci* 1.3.
[814] See *Grammatici Graeci* 1.3.

15 is a triangular number.[815] The text can, for this reason, be written in lines of reducing "syllabic" width (σπειρηδόν[816]).

5+4+3+2+1		A	l	l	r	r		B	r	r		C	l	r	r
ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς	9		ω	ω	σ	σ		8	ι	ι↓			ω↓		ι↓
τοὺς αἰῶνα	9		τ	τ	**α↓**	α			σ	**σ**			τ		**τ**
ς τῶν αἰών	8		σ	σ	**ν**	**ν**			**ω↓**	**ω**			ω	**ω**	**ω**
ων ἁ	3		**ω↓**	**α↓**	**α↑**	**α**			**μ**	μ			ν↑	**α**	
μ	1		**μ**	**μ**		**μ↑**		1	**η**			2	**η→**	**ν↑**	
ἡ	1		**η**	η	**η↓**			1	**ν**						
ν	1		**ν**	**ν↑**	**ν**										

"Ὤμην" occurs on both sides, depending on the "width" of the tip/base; the meaning of the letters "νωτω" (C) differs with the direction of reading—"νωτῷ" (νωτος) or "ὤτων" (αατον); "ἴτω" (C) is represented once in the Old Testament, in the story of the Golden Calf (Ex 32:26); almost as rare (in the OT and NT) is "ἴσῳ" (B) (part of the prescription on the composition—σύνθεσις—of the incense).

With decreasing numbers of syllables per line, the appearance of the text is that of a "stable" triangle resting on its base (Δ).

1+2+3+4+5

ᾧ			
ἡ δόξ		η	**ξ↓**
α εἰς τοὺ		α	**υ**
ς αἰῶνας τῶ		σ	**ω**
ν αἰώνων ἀμήν		ν	**ν**

In its different shapes, the text demonstrate the derivation of gramma from grammh—geometrical shapes—and explanations of the term στοιχεῖα through στοῖχος and τάξις ("τάξω"), linked to στίχες and displaying text στιχηδόν. The acrostics "ξύσω" and "ξύων"

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[815] I.e., it is the sum of the first five numbers: 1+2+3+4+5.
[816] See *Grammatici Graeci* 1.3.

are explained etymologically as base of ξύλον, and linked to ξύω. This points to the etymological explanations of the term "γράμμα" from "ξύσμα", and the grammatical explanation of γράψαι as ξῦσαι (with examples from the ancients and from Homer). We have encountered the relevant texts illustrating this (in Chapter 3); they stress shaving off marks of aging, writing on plane surfaces, etc.

These acrostics are independent from the text in which the relative clause is included. Therefore, the addition of the clause at the end of *PJ* does not have to imply that the text is as carefully crafted as this clause. The next step for the exegete is, therefore, searching for sources of the phrase (in the Old and New Testaments), and finding allusions to them in the text to which the clause is attached.

Summary

Independent from the actual version of *PJ*, the different references to ἱστορία and a method of glossing texts with "layered" allusions provide different ways through the text that lead to common themes and sources (e.g., ξηραίνειν, στιγμή/διαστολή, ζῆν τῷ θεῷ/ζήσεται).[817] "Nested" allusions (to *Esther* and *1* and *2 Esdras*) connect the reference to the ἱστορίαι of the twelve tribes in 1.1 to "ὁ γράψας τὴν ἱστορίαν ταύτην", a "layered" allusion to the letter to the *Romans* and to the Gospel according to *John*. This link between the beginning and the end of the narrative points to two related themes—apostasy, manifest

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[817] E.g., the summary of the deception of Eve in 13.1 is linked to the allusions to Romans and to 2 Corinthians in 25.1; the reference to the vow "περὶ τῆ κόρης ταύτης" connects a direct and an indirect allusion to *Joshua* in chapter 1 to two indirect allusions in chapter 24.

in idolatry, resulting from intermarriage (the Baal of Phegor and Midian)—and preservation from corruption (the three young men); the latter is emphasized through allusion to ζῆν τῷ θεῷ (etc.) in other parts of the narrative, and through allusions to texts with references to physiological concepts (the four elements, drying or melting, etc.).

Combined with this, we have seen allusions (to *Maccabees*) contained in the references to ἱστορία in 13.1 and 25.1 that provide a theoretical context by pointing to definitions of φιλοσοφία and to discussions on the relation between the spoken and the written word (Plato); a second pair of allusions led us to works addressing ἀνάγνωσις (and harboring allusions to theoretical works and concepts) (*Sirach* and *2 Corinthians*).

Examples illustrating (and pointing to) teachings of γραμματική are also incorporated into the texts of all versions through the endings. Despite their seemingly formulaic and general appearance, these endings provide concise references to passages in the Old and the New Testaments illustrating reading and writing.

Together the thematic help and the guides to teachings enable the reader to examine and come to a better understanding of the text and its subject matter.

Conclusion

In the course of our discussion of *PJ*, elements of the work have shown themselves to be significant which have received comparatively little attention in modern scholarship—the introductions and endings of the individual manuscripts, and the relationship between the individual references to "ἰστορία" in the narrative.

When we examined the titles of two manuscripts we found that they are very carefully constructed and (numerically) integrated into the text. Acrostics and bisected columns with "shared lines" make it possible to detect changes in word order and interpolations; acrostics point to grammatical concepts or to other instances of the same words in the text, or comment on statements in the text of which they are elements.

A closer look at the references to ἰστορία revealed evidence suggesting that this making the text "unshakeable" aims at assuring that the text is a "synoptic" combination of text and (clarifying) commentary. Morphological and syntactical characteristics of the individual words and phrases bound together in a sentence or embedded in brief narratives, dialogues, or speeches have a *heuristic function*—they point to glosses in the text (such as paraphrases, repetitions, comparisons, or material for analogies**)** and to external sources

through which a reader can expand, complete, and clarify concise passages. As part of a sentence, each element of such a concisely written allusion has a place in an argumentative order. The texts (and their counterparts) are additionally glossed through the narrative context and through repeated allusions to the same source at other points in the narrative. While such an interweaving of narrative and commentary helps clarify what is said, it also makes it necessary to transmit the written text without alterations—even when misspellings seem to require correction—since features of the text that may at first seem redundant or incorrect (including omissions or orthographic or syntactic errors) help to make things clear and allow the reader to deduce the narrative's argument with its proposition.

In *P. Bodmer 5*, abbreviations (numbers are represented through numerals instead of their names), orthographic ambiguities, and corrections (e.g., emendations or cancellations) are used for synoptically displaying several texts on the same page and for pointing to different readings of the same written text. Theoretical discussions (on στοιχεῖα etc.) and technical vocabulary (προφορικὸς λόγος) highlight otherwise seemingly insignificant phrases (Anna's lament). Visually distinctive corrections (Ζαχχαριας) help identify cross-references for comparisons and point to examples clarifying the usage of individual terms. Consideration of diction points to different readings of the story of the death of Zechariah.

While cross-references based on graphic features and corrections pointing to alternative readings provide guidance for the reader of *P. Bodmer 5*, the inclusion of help is not limited to a specific document. Elements of the text that provide guidance for the reader are preserved in all versions. To "bundle" the allusions to multiple sources, the authors of

the different versions use intertexts and readings of the same text. We have seen that, in spite of the multitude of examples and allusions, the author(s) rely on relatively few sources to give the narrative a structure and create a frame of reference. The four sentences with references to "ἱστορία" constitute pairs—"ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις τῶν δώδεκα φυλῶν τοῦ Ἰσραήλ" (1.1) and "ὁ γράψας τὴν ἱστορίαν ταύτην" (25.1) are linked through a shared focus on γράμματα; double allusions in 1.1 to the books of *Esther* and *1* and *2 Esdras* are taken up in 25.1 through readings of these texts in writings of the New Testament (*John* and *Romans*). *Esther* and *Esdras* are incorporated into the text of 2 *Maccabees*. Determining the referent(s) and subject matters of the reference to "ἱστορία" requires analogy. The other two references—to the "ἱστορία τοῦ Ἀδάμ" and "τοῦ γράψαι τὴν ἱστορίαν ταύτην" are linked through texts connected to each other through allusions to Demosthenes' speech *On the Crown* and through references to ἀνάγνωσις. The narrative context provides glosses and points out cross-references. The texts highlighted in these sources include examples of στοιχεῖα and of technical terminology (e.g., στιγμή, διαστολή, ὁρισμός).

Perhaps the most surprising elements are the seemingly very generic endings of the work. The one alludes to etymologies of grammata and γράψαι (ξύσω) when different types of lines are used to display the text; the other leads to a paragraph at the beginning of the *Apocalypse*. The ending of *P. Bodmer 5* corresponds to the ending in the *Apocalypse*; but at the same time, it aligns the treatise to works with more explicit treatments of reading and writing. Statements that seem to lack clarity—such as the last sentence of the preface of the *Apocalypse*—are written with conciseness and can be linked to specific sources.

Because finding a unifying structure has required determining the method (hermeneutics) appropriate to the text and applying it in the reading of the text, this study of *PJ* has become an exploration of the practical application of γραμματική[818] as well as an inquiry into the mechanisms at work in assuring the tradition of *PJ.*

Clarifying the mode of reading and the structure and main sources for reading the text is only a beginning for a more in-depth study of *PJ* and the cultural background of the work. There has been no opportunity to examine the individual sources in depth (e.g., discussions of ekdosis, or determining the Christian examples illustrating usage), or to examine the examples of reading and writing highlighted and incorporated in the text (Lk 4 and Jer), or to assess allusions to Homer in the text (especially of *P. Bodmer 5*), or to discuss (near) contemporary (Origen) or later sources (Epiphanius) who refer to the work and document and demonstrate how it is read. Origen especially is an interesting case, since he is a grammarian and makes a reference to the "βίβλος Ἰακώβου" in a broader argument on reading and παράδοσις, and in commenting on a passage of the gospel followed by a discussion of the death of John the Baptist. Origen puts much emphasis on statements "περὶ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως τοῦ προφήτου." At the same time, the text of Book Ten of his commentary on the Gospel according to Matthew is also "περὶ τῆς γενέσεως".

For me, a particularly exciting discovery is the cultural (anthropological) implications for the conceptualization of the relationship between the written and the spoken word, and

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[818] E.g., focusing on the structure and on technical and philosophical concepts (the theoretical background), analyzing the text with great attention to details and the subtle differences in wording, determining the boundaries of the different texts "stacked together" and then identifying the sources of the different μέρη λέξεως and their shared referent(s).

between reader and text. Such conceptualizations can be inferred from measures taken by the author to assure the unaltered transmission of the written text and of its meaning, and from metaphors and comparisons in the grammatical manuals.

Previous discussions of the unity of the work have not sufficiently taken into account the guides built into the text of the narrative itself and of the models with summaries, outlines, σκοπός, and titles of the individual editions. This is the outcome of a view of the written text as a static, silent (i.e., unvoiced) entity, whose accuracy can be measured against some "ideal" text. This view is mirrored by a distancing (non-synergetic or non-dialogical) stance towards the written text, on the presupposition that the text is meant to generate only one reading (in written and spoken form).

The display of the text in a plane (ἐπιφάνεια) rather than in a line (γραμμή)—and the split lines in which a word is formed from halves in the same lines of adjacent columns (contrary to the linear, spoken manifestation of the word), as well as the etymological connections between different parts of the narrative, or the notion of a φωνὴ ἐγγράμματος point to a conceptualization of graphic representations and of words (spoken in time) and images very different from our own.

Reading (clarifying) the text takes place through and in a dialogue between author and reader and makes possible a "voicing" and making to "shine forth" of a human being's utterance, to be taken in by another person without distortions. This makes reading essentially a process of translation (finding and bringing forth the λόγος appropriate to each listener's soul), but one requiring the reader's purification (and illumination).

The text can be (and remain) opaque and still present to its readers mirror images of themselves, itself remaining silent, and/or it provides the means for generating (and finding) a "helper" (reader) like itself (and vice versa), and the reader is the instrument through which, and within whom, a φωνή comes to be (i.e., is completed as imprint or writing) or exists (in the reader's movements).

PJ can serve as a teaching tool for applying (and thus practicing and remembering) classical and Late Antique principles of exegesis. But this is only one usage—it is also a diagnostic tool for the reader to learn to see what is not clear and to search for guidance and help.

Reading *PJ* and struggling with understanding what its says has taught me to listen and see more intently, to search for and delay judgment until the completion of an utterance and question preconceptions, to recognize and ask/search for explanation when passages are unclear to me, to wait for the revelation of the harmony and order that are always there but requires that I first hear the entire word and then "turn around" and see anew, from the proper distance and with open eyes, understanding how everything fits together in a harmonious, well-proportioned whole, and is simple, luminous, and unchanging, and at the same time manifold, complex, and dynamic.

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