

rather of the the two two

From the First Monastery's Library in Upper Egypt to Geneva and Dublin

James M. Robinson

## The Story of the Bodmer Papyri

# James Clarke & Co

and

# The Lutterworth Press

Click on the links above to see our full catalogue for more excellent titles in Hardback, Paperback, PDF and Epub!

The Story of the Bodmer Papyri ISBN: 9780227903506

 $\mathsf{C}$ 

Would you like to join our Mailing List?

Click here!

## The Story of the Bodmer Papyri From the First Monastery's Library in Upper Egypt to Geneva and Dublin

James M. Robinson



James Clarke & Co

## James Clarke & Co

P.O. Box 60 Cambridge CB1 2NT United Kingdom

www.jamesclarke.co publishing@jamesclarke.co

ISBN: 978 o 227 17278 o

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data A record is available from the British Library

First published by James Clarke & Co, 2013

Copyright © James M. Robinson, 2011

Published by arrangement with Cascade Books

All rights reserved. No part of this edition may be reproduced, stored electronically or in any retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without prior written permission from the Publisher (permissions@jamesclarke.co).

## **Contents**

ъ	c	,		
Pre	face	/	V1	1

### Part One

Introduction / 3

- 1 The Bodmer Papyri / 9
- 2 Bodmer Papyri in the Chester Beatty Library / 54

### Part Two

- 3 Mississippi, Cologne, Barcelona / 83
- 4 The Dishnā Papers / 108
- 5 The Pachomian Library / 130

Appendix 1: The Pachomian Monastic Library at the Chester

Beatty Library and the Bibliothèque Bodmer / 151

Appendix 2: List of Papyrus Bodmer Publications / 185

Collectors, Dealers, Scholars, and Institutes / 197

Glossary of Technical Terms / 203

Bibliography / 205

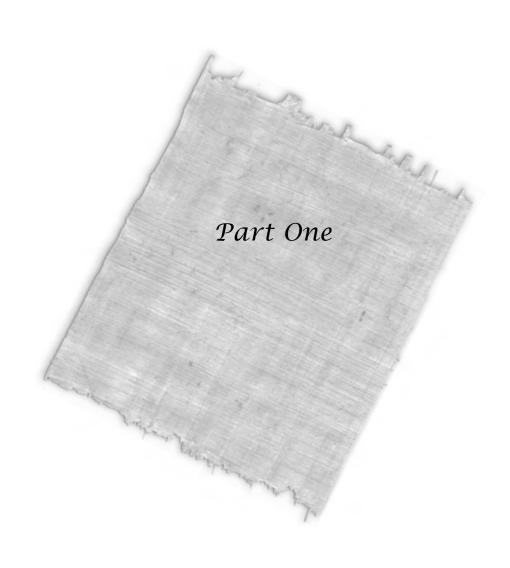
Index of Names / 213

## Preface

This book has to do with a manuscript discovery whose contents were scattered over a series of depositories, but which are primarily known as the Bodmer Papyri. Hence the book begins with those manuscripts that are at the Bibliothèque Bodmer near Geneva. But a large number of manuscripts are at the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin, which is the focus of the second chapter. Indeed, a few manuscripts were widely dispersed, in Mississippi, Cologne, and Barcelona, to which the third chapter is devoted. In Egypt, the manuscripts are known as the Dishnā papers, since that is the large town where they were sold, which the fourth chapter investigates. Finally, a last chapter shows that the manuscripts derive from the library of the Pachomian monastic order.

I also include as an Appendix my last publication in the field, an essay titled "The Pachomian Monastic Library at the Chester Beatty Library and the Bibliothèque Bodmer," which in more abbreviated form traces the manuscripts more in chronological sequence, from the Pachomian Monastery Library to the Dishnā Papers, then to the libraries of Sir Chester Beatty in Dublin and Martin Bodmer near Geneva. It then presents an Inventory of the texts found in the discovery.

I am deeply indebted to K. C. Hanson, editor in chief at Cascade Books, for editing and publishing The Story of the Bodmer Papyri, which I composed two decades ago but did not prepare for publication at the time. To facilitate following the course of the narrative, he has added the four sections at the end, where the bibliography also makes it possible to reduce the length of the footnotes throughout.



## Introduction

## THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE BODMER

During the 1950s and 60s there came to scholarly attention manuscripts of an importance for determining the original wording of the New Testament equaled only by the Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri of the 1930s. For Bodmer Papyrus II (abbreviated P<sup>66</sup>, the Gospel of John) and Bodmer Papyrus XIV–XV (P<sup>75</sup>, the Gospels of Luke and John) have now emerged alongside of the Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri P<sup>45</sup> (the Gospels and Acts), P<sup>46</sup> (the Pauline Epistles), and P<sup>47</sup> (the book of Revelation) as priceless witnesses to the third-century Greek text, much as Codex Sinaiticus (N) and Codex Vaticanus (B) had provided nineteenth-century scholarship equally unexpected access back to the fourth-century text. These most recently emerging manuscripts are part of the fabulous Bibliothèque Bodmer created by the Swiss bibliophile Martin Bodmer at Cologny near Geneva.

Martin Bodmer (1899–1971) came from a distinguished Zurich family that had, at the dawn of the German Enlightenment, as its most distinguished ancestor Johann Jakob Bodmer, one of the rediscoverers of the Middle Ages. Before he was twenty-five Martin Bodmer himself had endowed a foundation to fund an annual literary prize named after the Zurich author Gottfried Keller. Bodmer came to focus his own energies toward creating a library of "world literature," "what has shown itself to be decisive for the growth and refinement of the human spirit and thereby conquered the world." "Ultimately world literature means what is valid across national and temporal limits in the writing of the various

#### 4 THE STORY OF THE BODMER PAPYRI

peoples." The Bodmer collection came to have five foci: Homer and antiquity; the Bible; Dante and the Middle Ages; Shakespeare; and Goethe.

At the opening of the Second World War, Bodmer offered his services to the International Committee of the Red Cross, for which purpose he moved in 1940 to its headquarters in Geneva. He helped that organization distribute a million and a half books to internees and prisoners of war. After the war he traveled for the Red Cross to troubled areas around the world. About a month before his death, he created a private foundation for the maintenance of his library and the publication of its more important manuscripts, controlled by a self-perpetuating board currently made up of: a member of the Bodmer family, a representative of the Department of Education of the Canton of Geneva, two professors from the University of Geneva, and a lawyer. The library is located near the center of the village of Cologny, a suburb of Geneva. It consists of two older buildings connected by a newer underground vault and exhibit hall.<sup>2</sup> It is open to the public on Thursdays and for scholars by appointment.

Already in 1947, Bodmer published a book titled *A Library of World Literature*<sup>3</sup> in which he presented a rationale for the acquisition policy and the arrangement of his library. Although his own focus was more on German literature than on papyrology, and though at the time his library contained "only" 70,000 volumes,<sup>4</sup> the list of manuscripts<sup>5</sup> already included seventeen papyri from 1000 BCE to the eighth century CE. And yet none of these are what have come to be known as the "Bodmer Papyri." Rather, this term refers somewhat imprecisely to a series of publications—beginning in 1954, continuing in rapid succession until 1969, and resumed in 1984—titled *Bodmer Papyrus I*, et cetera. Although no details had been given prior to 1984 about the provenience or acquisition of these Bodmer papyri in the narrower sense, most were assumed to have come from a shared provenience. Hence the term by extension has come to refer to a manuscript discovery made presumably not too much earlier than the commencement of their publication in

- 1. Bodmer, Eine Bibliothek der Weltliteratur, 8-9.
- 2. Described by Albert Bettex in a brochure published in April 1971 by the Swiss fraternity Pro Helvetia.
  - 3. Bodmer, Bibliothek der Weltliteratur.
  - 4. Ibid., 33.
  - 5. Ibid., 139-41

1954. In this way the term "Bodmer Papyri" comes to have a modified delimitation, excluding the earlier acquisitions of papyri and even one item in the series *Papyrus Bodmer* but not to be attributed to that discovery, and including in addition whatever papyri, though not published in that series, may be attributed to the same provenience. In this way the term "Bodmer Papyri" as used here has come to have both a narrower and a broader meaning.

To get some impression of what the Bodmer Papyri must have meant to Bodmer at the time when he was busy acquiring and publishing them, one may cite his second major book published at just that time:

But by far the most dangerous enemy of ancient literary works was the fragility and flimsiness of the material! The fact that the papyrus roll maintained itself relatively well in Egypt, its land of origin, is the exception to the rule and an incredible stroke of luck, since otherwise we would possess for all practical purposes nothing! But the texts that mattered were the most endangered. So we must accept it as our fate that the primary sources of humanity, that which make life worth living and humans humane, survive only in tatters. These are doubly remarkable in view of the fact that it is upon them that the best of our being builds.<sup>6</sup>

Specifically with regard to the Gospels: "Everywhere the same text comes to meet us, and yet nowhere more upsetting than in the sparse papyrus rags that reach back near to the days 'when still, unknown and very small, our Lord walked on earth.' The same text, and yet again and again basically different!" These are the words of a bibliophile who only the year before had acquired, and then the same year published, the oldest extant copy of the Gospel of John (P. Bodmer II = P<sup>66</sup> of the early third century). Indeed, earlier the very same year, on the return trip from a Red Cross mission in Indonesia, he had stopped off in Cairo long enough to acquire a previously lost play by Menander (P. Bodmer IV, *The Misanthrope*) as well as the oldest extant copy of the Gospel of Luke, along with another copy of the Gospel of John (P. Bodmer XIV–XV = P<sup>75</sup>, from the middle of the third century). For *this* is the priceless treasure that echoes in the minds of biblical scholarship at the very idea of "Bodmer Papyri"! Indeed this and much more.

<sup>6.</sup> Bodmer, Variationen, 67.

<sup>7.</sup> Ibid., 65.

It is not necessarily the case that once a book has entered the Bibliothèque Bodmer one can assume it is still there. When Pope Paul VI visited Geneva in 1969, Bodmer gave him a copy of the two letters of his most famous predecessor, P. Bodmer VIII (the [pseudonymous] First and Second Epistles of Peter from the New Testament). They are now in the Vatican Library. Indeed much more recently, on January 22, 2007, the Vatican Library was given P. Bodmer XIV-XV =  $P^{75}$ . Bodmer was also generous in providing fragments from codices from the same discovery that had been acquired by other libraries to those libraries, such as an exchange of such fragments with Barcelona and the gift of fragments belonging to the Savery Codex (then the Crosby Codex of the University of Mississippi). But the major loss to the holdings of the Bibliothèque Bodmer took place in order to produce the capital needed to endow the foundation that now administers the Bibliothèque Bodmer. For the German rare book dealer of New York, H. P. Kraus, who had been buying from and selling to Bodmer for years, was invited to come and choose several million dollars' worth of books:

I sold great books to Bodmer and bought equally great ones from him. My association with him began inauspiciously. As a young dealer in Vienna in 1935 I received a postal card from Bodmer ordering several books from one of my catalogues . . . One of the more exotic sales I made to Bodmer was a papyrus Book of the Dead of late dynastic Egypt (715-525 B.C.) . . . In 1960 I bought this fine example from Dr. Otto Fischer of Detroit, who passed away shortly thereafter . . . Later I came into possession of a large, valuable collection of Greek and Coptic papyri assembled by a well-known collector. Along with it came a remarkable object, a silver dedicatory plate or plaque from the foundation of the Serapeum . . . Though he chose not to install the plaque in the cornerstone of his new library building, Bodmer recognized that such an item belonged in his collection . . . I saw him usually once a year . . . The greatness of books sold to Bodmer over the years can be equalled only by the greatness of books bought from him. The volumes I succeeded in purchasing from Bodmer were, to put it mildly, of fabulous beauty and importance . . . An offer of sixty million dollars was made in a letter from me to Bodmer [for the whole Bibliothèque Bodmer], received in time for his 70th birthday celebration. At the party that evening in Rome he took out the letter with a flourish and read it aloud to the members of his family. Flattered and impressed, he nevertheless answered no

... He had decided to leave his library as a public foundation. A man of grand design, he had doubtless had this in mind for years. Two to three million dollars would have to be raised, he explained, to establish an endowment. I had been repeatedly trying to buy from Bodmer over the years and he had repeatedly declined, except in the few instances mentioned earlier. So, selling a number of his books to me was, he felt, not only an act of business but of friendship, giving me the long-denied chance to make a selection from his shelves . . . On June 20 [1970] I returned to Geneva and began going through the library . . . My purchases from Bodmer are certainly among the most notable transactions ever to take place in the book trade. They far outclassed the famous Holford purchase, both in the sums of money involved (\$500,000 for the Holford books, several millions for the Bodmer deal), and in the intrinsic importance of the materials. The Bodmer purchases covered a great range in time—from the Adler papyri of the 2nd century B.C., to the Moliere Oeuvres of 1682 . . . The vast range of the collection is a reflection of Dr. Bodmer's all-encompassing interests; the books he sold me came from every corner of his library . . . But the crowning glory of the Bodmer purchase was the group of manuscripts.8

This report by Kraus suggests that the transaction took place just before Bodmer's death (on March 22, 1971). But Dr. Braun, currently the director of the Bibliothèque Bodmer, reports that it was just after Bodmer's death that the family had Kraus come. This is also suggested in the published catalogue of Latin manuscripts, which lists twenty that were "sold after the death of Martin Bodmer," though an introductory statement reports that they "have been sold, before the existence of the Foundation, by the good offices of the book dealer H. P. Kraus of New York." This suggests the transaction was actually consummated between the death of Bodmer and the assumption of authority by the Foundation, at a time when presumably the heirs of Bodmer were in control. In the preface to Kraus's book, he reported that "during a period of several years in the early 1970s I bought many great treasures from the library of the late Dr. Martin Bodmer of Geneva." The property of the late Dr. Martin Bodmer of Geneva.

<sup>8.</sup> Kraus, Rare Book Saga, 273, 275-76, 278, 281-83, 286.

<sup>9.</sup> Pellegrin, *Manuscrits Latins*, 457–62, where one finds the list titled "Latin manuscripts from the collection sold after the death of Martin Bodmer."

<sup>10.</sup> Ibid., xv.

#### 8 THE STORY OF THE BODMER PAPYRI

It is unknown if any "Bodmer Papyri" were involved in this massive transaction, since there is no published catalogue of papyri comparable to that of the Latin manuscripts. Nor are there any allusions identifiable as "Bodmer Papyri" in Kraus's report. But his informed comments about the actuality of Bodmer's dealings in the rare book market may serve to correct any naive assumption one might have, to the effect that he bought whatever manuscript discoveries came his way and, once acquired, retained all he had purchased.

If the manuscripts here listed that are not in the Bibliothèque Bodmer are to be associated with those that are, in that they may be of the same provenience, conversely some of the Bodmer Papyri may not be of this same provenience, and hence should perhaps be excluded from consideration here, where the focus is on a single manuscript discovery. Although the present volume seeks to provide whatever clarity can be achieved in each instance, by the very nature of the case absolute certainty is hardly attainable and degrees of probability are all that can be reasonably achieved.

### 1

## The Bodmer Papyri

## THEIR QUANTITY

It is quite certain that this find of some thirty codices (in the region of Nag Hamadi, like the Gnostic papyri) cannot remain the act of a single individual.

—Louis Doutreleau in a letter to Victor Martin on July 26, 1956

Riyād counted out to the priest of Dishnā, "al-Qummuṣ" Manqaryūs, one by one thirty-three books . . .

—From an interview with Riyāḍ Jirjis Fām in Heliopolis on January 15, 1980

When one tries to correlate the concept of the Bodmer Papyri with a concrete, physical reality, one realizes how abstract our thinking often is. This is true is several regards.

A number of the Bodmer Papyri are in fact not in the Bibliothèque Bodmer in Cologny near Geneva, but scattered rather widely around the world. The present investigation seeks to include all that were involved in the discovery, irrespective of their present repository.

The designation of them as "papyri" is quite misleading. Among papyrologists it has become common, if confusing, usage to refer to ancient manuscripts studied by "papyrologists," whatever the writing surface may be, as "papyri." Thus they no doubt came to be called "papyri"

10

quite casually without further reflection. But it would be inaccurate to assume that the Bodmer Papyri are all written on papyrus. Many are, but many are written on parchment. They could hardly be referred to as codices, as in the case of the Nag Hammadi Codices, in view of the fact that P. Bodmer I, XXVIII, XXXIX, XLVIII, and XLIX consist of what is left of rolls; and the Pachomian archives include rolls. Furthermore, the Bibliothèque Bodmer uses the term *codex* for the numeration system in its catalogue of Latin manuscripts, where the concept of codicology is at home.<sup>1</sup>

The numeration of the monograph series *Papyrus Bodmer* I, et cetera, is misleading to the extent that one might be tempted to take the highest number in the series as a relevant quantity of something (XLVI among those published, L among those assigned a number). For the numeration is neither the number of ancient books, nor of texts written in such books, nor of modern books publishing the ancient material. The numeration of the series thus has unintentionally served to obscure the fact that there is no clear picture as to the size of the collection.

The first objective in what follows is hence to make a survey of the available information: to seek to establish just how many ancient books are involved, where they are, the material they are written on, the language, and the nature of their contents. This will be relevant as an indication of the size, contents, and variety of a collection buried in late antiquity, which is valuable information in its own right. It will also be relevant in seeking to correlate the Bodmer Papyri with reports emanating from Egypt as to the quantity and kinds of books involved in the discovery referred to there as the Dishnā Papers.

The number of ancient books that emanated from the same discovery is very difficult even to approximate on the basis of what has been published thus far. Appendix 2, a bibliography of Bodmer Papyri, will indicate what Bodmer Papyri have been published as well as what is not yet published but known to exist. The bibliography will make it possible to limit footnote references to these editions to the title and page references.

One may conjecture that the numeration of the monograph series *Papyrus Bodmer*<sup>2</sup> was originally intended to reflect both the number

- 1. Thus the Bodmer "Codices" are cataloged by Pellegrin in her *Manuscrits Latins*.
- 2. Initially the *Papyrus Bodmer* series was presented as a subseries within a larger series of publications of the Bibliothèque Bodmer listed at the end of each of the first

of ancient books and the number of volumes published in the modern *editiones principes*. This policy did apply when a codex contained only a single text: P. Bodmer II (though two supplementary volumes were required before this codex was more or less adequately published), VI, XVI, XVIII, XXI (the part at the Bibliothèque Bodmer), XXIII, and XXIV. But it was not carried through consistently in other instances.

Already in the first publication, a certain vacillation can be noted. For here a roll containing documentary texts on the front had been secondarily cut into two rolls containing on the back the *Iliad*, books 5 and 6. The two books of the *Iliad* were published with a comment in the introduction to the effect that, since they are distinct entities, "from a bibliological point of view," they would be designated P. Bodmer I and P. Bodmer II.<sup>3</sup> But yet they were actually published in a single volume that was designated Papyrus Bodmer I. Perhaps this outcome resulted from the recognition that all that was left of the roll that had contained book 6 of the Iliad was a relatively few fragments, which did not call for a separate volume for their publication. The decision to publish both rolls in a single volume may thus have led to the decision to give them a single number, perhaps with the rationalization that the documentary texts on the front had been a single roll or that the *Iliad* is a single work. The documentary texts will, however, only be published in a concluding volume of miscellanea as Papyrus Bodmer L. Then, somewhat more simply, a codex containing only the Gospel of John was published as Papyrus Bodmer II.

A Coptic codex was ready next, as *Papyrus Bodmer* III. But, no doubt in view of the esoteric language, it was published in the Coptic subseries of the CSCO of Louvain, a series with the policy of publishing the transcription and the translation in separate volumes. The Bibliothèque Bodmer then adapted this policy to its own format: for its own distribution, it brought the two volumes together into a single

volumes (except at the end of the more recently published *Supplement* to *Papyrus Bodmer* II: *Evangile de Jean chap.* 14–21). For *Papyrus Bodmer* I and *Papyrus Bodmer* II were listed on a half-title page as *Bibliotheca Bodmeriana* III and IV respectively. But beginning with *Papyrus Bodmer* III, this broader series title, *Bibliotheca Bodmeriana*, was omitted, presumably because this codex, like *Papyrus Bodmer* VI, was published in the CSCO series of Louvain. Then beginning with *Papyrus Bodmer* IV, the listing of the broader Bodmer series at the end of the volumes was resumed but without numeration. This eliminated the double numeration, while still integrating the *Papyrus Bodmer* series into the whole listing of publications of the Bibliothèque Bodmer.

<sup>3.</sup> Papyrus Bodmer I, 9.

12

folder that was comparable in appearance to the covers of the volumes that had been published by the Bibliothèque Bodmer itself.

The next codex contained three plays by Menander. But the play that stood in first place in the codex (*The Girl from Samos*, P. Bodmer XXV) and the play that stood in third place (The Shield, P. Bodmer XXVI) were very fragmentary. Since rumors indicated that missing parts of them might ultimately be acquired,4 the second, relatively complete, play was published first, in a volume to itself, as Papyrus Bodmer IV. Thereupon the policy seems to have been adopted, at least for Greek texts, of publishing each and every text from a codex in a volume to itself, or if too small, at least with a distinct number. For this is the policy followed in the cases of the two other Greek codices containing more than one text: One codex was published in five volumes as Papyrus Bodmer V, Papyrus Bodmer VII-IX, Papyrus Bodmer X-XII, Papyrus Bodmer XIII, and Papyrus Bodmer XX (or, to follow the order in which the texts occur in the codex, as P. Bodmer V, X, XI, VII, XIII, XII, XX, IX and VIII); the other was published as Papyrus Bodmer XIV and XV (in two volumes).5 After the publication of P. Bodmer VI in 1960, Coptic codices were no longer included in the CSCO series of Louvain.<sup>6</sup> The practice became to publish a whole Coptic codex, even though containing more than one text, in a single volume under a single number: P. Bodmer XVII, XIX, and XXII. As a result, the monograph series Papyrus Bodmer I-XXVI, which is the amount published prior to the hiatus marked by Bodmer's death in 1971, presents the editiones principes of sixteen ancient books containing thirty-nine ancient texts (or, if one remove from the calculation P. Bodmer XVII that is clearly from another provenience, fifteen ancient books containing thirty-one ancient texts). Thus, the numeration of the series itself is misleading on both accounts: It is considerably

- 4. *Papyrus Bodmer* XXV, 5 (and almost identically *Papyrus Bodmer* XXVI, 5): "These regrettable lacunae, and the hope that existed of seeing them filled, had motivated Mr. Martin Bodmer to delay for a long time the publication of the fragments that had come to his Library."
- 5. There is a vacillation in the case of P. Bodmer XIV (Luke)—P. Bodner XV (John), the two texts of P<sup>75</sup>. Luke is published in one volume as *Papyrus Bodmer* XIV and John in a separate volume as *Papyrus Bodmer* XV, according to the title pages. Yet the cover of each volume is inscribed *Papyrus Bodmer* XIV–XV: *Evangile de Luc et Jean*, the one being distinguished from the other as *Tome I*, *XIV*: *Luc chap*. 3–24, and *Tome II*, *XV*: *Jean chap*. 1–15.
- 6. The suspension of that publication arrangement was reported in a letter of January 31, 1961, from R. Draguet, the editor of CSCO, to Jean Doresse.

higher than the number of ancient books published therein, but somewhat lower than the number of texts they contain.<sup>7</sup>

Bodmer Papyri of brief extent have also been published in articles. This has taken place only after the death of Martin Bodmer, and hence reflected a new policy of the Library when administered as a Foundation. Indeed, there was a lapse of six years between the last publication in book form (P. Bodmer XXVI in 1969) and the first in journal format (P. Bodmer XXVII in 1975), when the publication of three papyrus sheets from a Greek codex<sup>8</sup> was begun in a Swiss journal *Museum Helveticum*. The article of 1975 contains Thucydides 6.1,1–2,6 (P. Bodmer XXVII).

- 7. The numeration of the series also does not conform to the number of modern volumes in the series. As in the case of P. Bodmer III, the Coptic P. Bodmer VI was published in two volumes in the CSCO series. In two cases, a single volume of the series *Papyrus Bodmer* contains more than one brief text but not a whole codex, though now each text is given a separate number (VII–IX; X–XII). This breaks down in the converse way from that of P. Bodmer III and VI the correlation between the numeration of the series and the number of modern volumes, in that one modern volume carries more than one number in the series. The correlation between the numeration and the number of modern volumes is also not retained in the case of P. Bodmer II, where an initial publication was followed by a *Supplément* and then a *Nouvelle Édition augmentée et corrigée* of the *Supplément*, with the result that three publications relate to one number.
  - 8. Turner, *Typology*, 81, provided fuller information:

Parts of two or possibly three gatherings survive. Gathering 1 and the beginning of gathering 2 contain *Susanna* in Greek. It is followed by some other apocryphal work and then the beginning of Daniel, perhaps extending into gathering 3. After a blank page, Thucydides VI, 1–3 was copied, breaking off where the gathering ends. It is impossible to say whether the whole of Thucydides VI would have been copied in a series of subsequent gatherings.

Already in 1963, Willis, "Papyrus Fragment of Cicero," 325, referred to a codex "containing a part of Thucydides." In the *editio princeps* of this text in 1975, the contents of the four leaves are listed: Antonio Carlini, "Il papiro di Tucidide della Bibliotheca Bodmeriana (P. Bodmer XXVII)," 33:

In the Bibliotheca Bodmeriana of Cologny-Geneva there is conserved a fascicle [quire] composed of three bifolios [sheets] of papyrus without numeration, coming from an imprecise locality of Upper Egypt . . . The first two pages (pp. 1a, 1b) contain the biblical text "Susanna" (1:53 TOY $\Sigma$  AlTIOY $\Sigma$ -end) in the version of Theodotion; pp. 2a, 2b, 3a, 3b contain, still in the version of Theodotion, "Daniel" 1:1–20 KAI TOY $\Sigma$ . These two biblical texts were copied at a careful scriptorium attributable according to G. Cavallo and M. Manfredi to the Third Century A.D., according to E. G. Turner to the Fourth Century A.D. On p. 4a is found, in a heavy and irregular script difficult to date, moral exhortations. P. 4b is blank. The final four pages, pp. 5a, 5b, 6a, 6b, contain in a chancellery hand the beginning of book 6 of the History of Thucydides (6.1,1–2,6 OI E $\Lambda\Lambda$ HNE $\Sigma$ ).

#### 14 THE STORY OF THE BODMER PAPYRI

Then in 1981 Susanna 1:53–64 (in the translation of Theodotion) and Daniel 1:1–20 (also Theodotion) were published together as P. Bodmer XLV and XLVI. An "apocryphal work" (E. G. Turner), "moral exhortations" (Antonio Carlini) from these three sheets, is to be published as P. Bodmer XLVII. Also, six fragments from a papyrus roll of a satyr-play were published as P. Bodmer XXVIII in the same journal. Though not in the monograph series, these joined publications do continue the numeration of the monograph series. Thus the original numeration system came to apply no longer to the monograph series but rather to refer only to the publication of papyri that (mostly) belonged (at the time of publication) to the Bibliothèque Bodmer.

"With Papyrus Bodmer XXIX," published in 1984, the first text of the so-called Codex Visionum, "the publication of Bodmer Papyri in book form resumes." The rest of the Codex Visionum, P. Bodmer XXX–XXXVIII, is to be published. 10

The presumably minor residue of still further materials at the Bibliothèque Bodmer from the same discovery, about which more precise information apparently must await their publication, includes the following:

- P. Bodmer XXXIX, a small parchment roll containing Pachomius's Letter 11b in the Sahidic dialect of Coptic;<sup>11</sup>
- P. Bodmer XL, leaves from a parchment codex containing the Song of Songs in the Sahidic dialect of Coptic, assigned to Roldophe Kasser for publication;<sup>12</sup>
  - 9. Papyrus Bodmer XXIX 5.
- 10. See already Reverdin, "Les Genevois et Menandre," as presented on the Frenchlanguage Swiss radio on March 15, 1975, 1: "Vision of Dorothea, an unknown poem in epic verse by Quintus of Smyrna, for which three professors of the University of Geneva are currently preparing the edition." E. G. Turner, in a letter of October 13, 1980, has clarified:

Smyrna is a guess, and in my view a bad one. The author simply calls himself Quintos. And he is obviously a member of the imperial bodyguard, and also a Christian. I have seen the original. My impression of date is c. iv or v; size I don't have, but I don't think it is the same size as any of the other Bodmer codices—that is, it is an independent book.

The volume that appeared in 1984 is titled *Papyrus Bodmer XXIX: Vision de Dorotheos*.

- 11. Veilleux, *Pachomian Koinonia*, 3:77–78. The Coptic text is to appear in a volume by Tito Orlandi, et al., *Pachomiana Coptica*.
  - 12. Listed already by Till, "Coptic Biblical Texts," 240. According to information

- P. Bodmer XLI, seven partially published papyrus leaves in the Sub-Achmimic dialect of Coptic containing the Ephesus episode from the Acts of Paul, assigned to Rodolphe Kasser for publication;<sup>13</sup>
- P. Bodmer XLII, Second Corinthians in Coptic, whose dialect and writing material has not been divulged, assigned to Rodolphe Kasser for publication;
- P. Bodmer XLIII, an unidentified apocryphon in Coptic, whose dialect and writing material has not been divulged, assigned to Rodolphe Kasser for publication;
- P. Bodmer XLIV, papyrus fragments of Daniel in the Bohairic dialect of Coptic;
- P. Bodmer XLVII, Greek "moral exhortations" an "apocryphal work" from the three papyrus sheets mentioned above; and
- P. Bodmer XLVIII, fragments of the *Iliad* and P. Bodmer XLIX, the *Odyssey* from papyrus rolls not belonging to P. Bodmer I.
- P. Bodmer L will contain the documentary texts from the recto of P. Bodmer I and miscellaneous addenda to the previous volumes, such as unpublished facsimiles.

### THEIR PROVENIENCE

One knows what little credence one can give to the reports of antiquities dealers when they cannot be confirmed by any archeological investigation.

-Rodolphe Kasser<sup>14</sup>

Shortly before his death, however, the antiquities dealer who had sold them lifted the secret. He revealed that these papyri came

obtained by Hans Quecke in the Bibliothèque Bodmer and transmitted by Tito Orlandi in a letter of June 9, 1976, the leaf containing 6:9b—7:9 was not included by Till since it was acquired later than the rest. The date on which Rodolphe Kasser prepared the inventory that he provided to Till for this purpose is not known. In various regards this inventory is less complete than that found in Kasser, *Compléments au Dictionnaire Copte de Crum*, xv. But the additional material may be due to further study rather than to further acquisitions.

<sup>13.</sup> Kasser, "Acta Pauli 1959," 45–57. See also Kasser, "Anfang des Aufenhaltes," 268–70. Note also the English translation, "Beginning of the Stay in Ephesus," 387–90.

<sup>14.</sup> Kasser, Papyrus Bodmer VI, viii, n. 1.