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Summary

The *Acts of Thomas* is one of the five so-called Major Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles. The work describes the acts performed by Thomas the Apostle in India where he is to evangelize. These acts are often miraculous in nature: people are healed, raised from the dead, and animals are able to speak. This thesis focuses on the transmission of two chapters of this work – the *Hymn of the Bride* (§ 6–7) – in the nine manuscripts located in Rome and the Vatican. Thomas sings this hymn at the wedding feast of the princess of the city Andrapolis on the way to India.

The first chapter discusses the goals of this thesis: to study the transmission of the *Hymn of the Bride* in the nine manuscripts in Rome and the Vatican of which we know that (parts of) the *Acts of Thomas* have survived. It also provides the reader with the Greek text of the most recent critical edition from Bonnet in 1903, together with an English translation. After this initial chapter, there is a chapter describing the state of the art in the research on the *Acts of Thomas* and the *Hymn of the Bride*. The third chapter gives an overview of all nine manuscripts described in three steps: (1) The materiality of the manuscript; (2) the writing in the manuscript; (3) the contents of the manuscript. The fourth chapter compares the text of the Hymn of the Bride as it has been written down in the individual manuscripts with the edition made by Bonnet. Chapter five then provides a coherent overview of all differences and similarities between all ten (the nine manuscripts and Bonnet) versions of the *Hymn of the Bride*. I argue in the sixth and concluding chapter that there are no readings that substantially change or challenge the general interpretation of the *Hymn of the Bride* as it has been studied since Bonnet published his critical edition in 1903. It is clear that there are many differences, but in my opinion no differences are of such importance that they significantly change the interpretation of the *Hymn of the Bride*.

Abbreviations and Sigla

Abbreviations

AAA	<i>Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles</i>
ATh	<i>Acts of Thomas</i>
BA	Biblioteca Angelica
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
BHG	Halkin, François. <i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca</i> , 3rd ed., 3 vols., subsidia Hagiographica 8a (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1957).
Bonnet	Bonnet, M. “Acta Thomae.” Pages 99–288 in <i>Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha</i> , vol. 2.2. Edited by M. Bonnet. Leipzig: Mendelssohn, 1903.
BV	Biblioteca Vallicelliana
ff.	Folios
fol.	Folio
HBr	<i>The Hymn of the Bride</i>
HPrI	<i>The Hymn of the Pearl</i>
l.	Line
LSJ	Henry G. Liddell, Robert Scott, and Stuart Jones, <i>A Greek–English Lexicon</i> (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940).
NASSCAL	North American Society for the Study of Christian Apocryphal Literature
om.	omits
PG	Migne, Jacques Paul. <i>Patrologiae Cursus Completes, Series Graeca</i> (Turnholt: Brepolis, 1963).
q.	quire
s.	<i>saeculum</i>

All abbreviations of book series and journals are taken from the *SBL Handbook of Style 2nd Edition*: Billie Jean Collins et al., *The SBL Handbook of Style, Second Edition* (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2014).

Abbreviations of the Roman and Vatican Manuscripts containing the ATh

F	BA Gr. 108 B 2.2
K	BAV Chig.R.VII.51 (gr. 42)
U	BV B35
V	BAV Vat.gr. 1190
Y	BAV Vat.gr. 797
7	BAV Vat.gr. 866
8	BAV Vat.gr. 1608
9	BAV Vat.gr. 1985
10	BAV Ott.gr. 1
56	BAV Vat.gr. 544

Sigla

À	A dot under a letter indicates that it is partially visible in the manuscript
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- [...] Square brackets are used for where the text has become damaged to the point that it is unreadable and had to be reconstructed
- {...} Accolades are used to indicate redundant letters and words
- <...> Angle brackets are used to correct perceived mistakes in the manuscripts
- ~~Aß~~ Crossed out sections of text in the thesis indicate sections of text that also have been crossed out in the manuscripts by the scribe or a later editor

Chapter 1: *The Hymn of the Bride in the Apocryphal Acts of Thomas*

The *Apocryphal Acts of Thomas* (ATh, BHG 1800–1831) is an early Christian text which was composed either at the end of the second or at the beginning of the third century in Greek. It tells the story of the Apostle Thomas who is sent to India by Jesus to preach the gospel. The text is divided into fourteen parts: thirteen acts and a description of the martyrdom of Thomas. The acts are all descriptions of Thomas’s preaching in India. This preaching is accompanied by wonders: healing ill people, casting out demons, raising the dead, and in two cases animals can speak (§ 39–40; 78–79). Many people – mostly women¹ – accept his message, come to faith, are baptized and receive the eucharist. Thomas accompanies these wonders and conversions with many prayers and doxologies. He also sings two hymns: The *Hymn of the Bride* (HBr, § 6–7) and the *Hymn of the Pearl* (HPrl, § 108–113).

The most recent critical edition of the ATh was made by M. Bonnet in the year 1903.² He incorporated 21 manuscripts in his critical edition.³ In the century after the publication of this edition there have been at least sixty manuscripts identified that contain at least parts of the ATh.⁴ These are of course not incorporated in the edition from Bonnet but might have a bearing on the form and contents of the ATh, and thus possibly also on its interpretation. Making a new critical edition including all Greek witnesses would therefore be worthwhile. At the same time, it would be a tremendous task, and therefore not possible at all in the context of the current Research Master thesis. However, what is possible in this thesis is a case study of a small section of the ATh in a limited number of codices, which is what I set out to do: I focused on the nine codices kept in Rome and the Vatican that contain the HBr to analyze how this hymn has been transmitted in these codices, and whether the differences in the versions influence the language, transmission, and interpretation of the Greek HBr.

1.1. *The HBr in the Roman and Vatican Codices: Questions and Approach*

There are a total of ten codices currently located in Rome and the Vatican that contain at least parts of the ATh. Nine of these ten are of importance for this thesis, as they have transmitted

¹ Jan N. Bremmer, “The Acts of Thomas: Place, Date, Women,” in *The Apocryphal Acts of Thomas*, ed. Jan N. Bremmer (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), 74–90.

² M. Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, vol. 2.2 (Leipzig: Mendelssohn, 1903), 99–288.

³ Cf. Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, xvi: A – Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 881, ff. 313^v–330^r (s. 10); B – Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1468, 91^r–95^r (s. 11); C – Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1454, ff. 99^r–107^r (s. 10); D – Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1176, ff. 66^r–203^r (s. 12, 13); F – Rome, BA, gr. 108 (B 2.2), ff. 32^r–43^r (s. 11, 12); G – Escorial, Real Biblioteca, Y. II. 09 (Andrés 264) (s. 11); H – Escorial, Real Biblioteca, Y. II. 06 (Andrés 314) (s. 12); K – Vatican, BAV, Chig. (Chisianum) R. VII. 051 (gr. 42) (s. 12); L – Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 764 (s. 9); M – Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. graec. 262 (s. 9); O – Oxford, Bodleian Library, Clarke 43 (s. 11); P Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1510, ff. 161^r–230^r (1162); Q – Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1485, ff. 40^r–46^v (s. 10); R – Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1551 (s. 14); S – Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1613 (s. 15); T – Paris, I have Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1540 (s. 11); U – Rome, BV, B 35, ff. 91^v–141^r (s. 11); V – Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 1190, ff. 100^r–112^v (1542); X – Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1173 A (s. 12); Y – Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 797 (s. 11); Z – St. Petersburg, Russian National Library/Rossijskaja Nacional’naja biblioteka (RNB), Ф. № 906 (Gr.) 094 (Granstrom 334) (s. 12).

⁴ For an overview of these manuscripts cf. Israel Muñoz Gallarte, “New Textual Witnesses for the Greek Apocryphal Acts of Thomas,” forthcoming.

the chapters to which the HBr belongs. I have chosen this focus for two reasons: (1) Thanks to two month-long scholarships from the KNIR, the Royal Dutch Rome Institute, I was able to study the Roman and Vatican codices *in situ*; (2) Focusing on a small portion of the ATh in a small number of codices has enabled me to do research in-depth and properly. These two reasons then have enabled me to answer leading questions on language, transmission, and interpretation of the Greek HBr sufficiently. I focus on the Greek version of the Hymn, on the one hand because it preserves the better tradition compared to the Syriac, and on the other because there are nine manuscripts that contain the HBr in the Greek tradition located in Rome and the Vatican instead of one for the Syriac tradition.⁵

This thesis sets out to compare the work of Bonnet with several manuscripts that Bonnet has not used in his edition of the ATh. It discusses the differences in the text of the HBr in the individual codices located in Rome and the Vatican to assess whether these differences have any bearing on the interpretation of the HBr. Questions that have come to fore include: What differences are there between individual manuscripts? What could these differences imply about the message of the Hymn? Is it possible to distill information regarding the *stemma codicum* of the ATh if it turns out that several manuscripts show similar variant readings?

I will answer these questions by taking the following steps: First, I will give an overview of the history of research of both the ATh in general and the HBr specifically (Chapter 2). Then, I will describe and date the manuscripts relevant for this thesis by employing codicology and paleography (Chapter 3). Thereafter, I will focus on how the text of the HBr is transmitted in the individual manuscripts and compare them to the critical edition prepared by Bonnet in 1903 (Chapter 4), to then discuss the differences and similarities to answer leading questions in the language, transmission, and interpretation of the Greek HBr (Chapter 5). I will conclude with a brief summary of my findings (Chapter 6).

Before all this, I present a brief summary of the ATh as a whole, as well as Bonnet's edition of the Greek text of the HBr accompanied with my own English translation.

1.2. *The Acts of Thomas: A Summary*

The first act: Jesus sells Thomas to Abban the merchant who takes him to India. They arrive in the city Andrapolis. Here they are invited to a royal wedding. Thomas sings the *Hymn of the Bride* during the feast and gets invited to pray for the royal couple. He manages to convince the married couple of the benefits of celibacy. This enrages the king, but he is unable to find and punish Thomas because he (Thomas) already left the city (§ 1–16).

The second act: Abban and Thomas arrive in an Indian city. There a king, named Gundaphorus, is looking for a carpenter to build him a palace. Abban recommends Thomas and Gundaphorus agrees. He gives Thomas money to organize the construction and leaves. Thomas takes the funds and gives them to the poor. When Gundaphorus returns he becomes angry until he learns that Thomas built him a palace in heaven instead of one on earth (§ 17–29).

The third act: Thomas goes on his way and finds a deceased young man lying next to the road. A serpent – who introduces itself as an influential and powerful demon – appears and tells Thomas that it killed the young man out of jealousy. Thomas orders the serpent to suck

⁵ BAV Vat.sir. 597 (s. 17), ff. 1^v–8^v.

the venom out of the young man. As it does so, it swells up, bursts open and dies. The young man comes back to life and converts to Christianity (§ 30–38).

The fourth act: Immediately after the third act, a colt of an ass walks up to Thomas and starts to speak, praising Thomas. This colt is family of the ass that served Balaam.⁶ It offers to carry Thomas to the gates of the city Thomas is traveling to. After Thomas gets off the colt at the gates of the city, the colt collapses and dies (§ 39–41).

The fifth act: After entering the city, Thomas comes across a beautiful woman who informs him that she has been possessed by a demon five years prior when it raped her in her sleep. She asks Thomas to drive out the demon. Thomas helps her and casts the demon out. He then blesses her and many of the bystanders, and concludes by offering the eucharist to those willing (§ 42–50).

The sixth act: a young man had his hands withered after he partook of Thomas's eucharist. This is because he killed a young woman who did not want to live a chaste life with him. Thomas says a prayer and lets the young man raise the young woman whom he killed from the dead. When she wakes up, the young woman recounts her vision of hell. Thomas preaches to the multitude who followed him to see the wonder (§ 51–61).

The seventh act: a captain in the service of king Misdaeus comes to Thomas for help; his wife and daughter are possessed by demons. Thomas is willing to help because the captain believes Jesus can save his wife and daughter, and because he converts to Christianity. They go to the house of the captain (§ 62–67).

The eighth act: While on the way to the house of the captain, the horses that are dragging the wagon stop because of heat exhaustion. Thomas sends the captain to fetch wild asses that are grazing nearby. They comply willingly after the captain calls them. They continue to travel to the city where the captain lives. When they arrive, Thomas sends one of the asses forward to the house of the captain to speak to and cast out the demons from the woman and girl. Afterwards, Thomas sends the wild asses back to their pastures (§ 68–81).

The ninth act: Mygdonia, an influential woman – wife of Charisius, relative of the king – comes to faith. This angers Charisius because she does not listen to him anymore. He has king Misdaeus agree to kill Thomas, who gets captured and thrown into jail. The captain, now called Siphor, speaks in favor of Thomas before the king. Thomas sings the *Hymn of the Pearl* in prison (§ 82–118).

The tenth act: Thanks to the power of Jesus, Thomas can escape the prison. He baptizes Mygdonia and has her partake in the eucharist. He then returns to the prison. When Charisius hears about it from Mygdonia, he goes to king Misdaeus who retrieves Thomas from the prison. He sends Thomas to Mygdonia, where he needs to convince her to do what Charisius says. She cannot. Thomas goes to Siphor's house and baptizes him, his wife, and his daughter (§ 119–133).

The eleventh act: Misdaeus sends his wife Tertia to Mygdonia in the hope that she might be able to have Mygdonia listen to Charisius again. Tertia goes to Mygdonia where Mygdonia manages to convince Tertia of the benefits of Christianity. This makes Misdaeus and Charisius even more angry. They plan to throw Thomas in prison again (§ 134–138).

⁶ Numbers 22:22–30

The twelfth act: Prince Vazan looks for Thomas because he wants to learn how to do miracles like him. Thomas explains that it is through the power of Jesus Christ. Vazan comes to faith. Thomas is thrown in prison again. Vazan and Siphor's family visit him to listen to his preaching (§ 139–149).

The thirteenth act: Tertia, Mygdonia, and Marcia – Mygdonia's mother – also visit Thomas in prison. Tertia, Marcia, and Vazan want to be baptized. Thomas escapes prison once more to baptize them (§ 150–158).

The martyrdom of Thomas: Thomas returns to prison and is judged by king Misdaeus. He gives orders to have Thomas killed. Thomas is escorted by four soldiers, Siphor and Vazan join. Thomas speaks a long prayer before getting stabbed to death. King Misdaeus returns to the place where Thomas was killed a long time after his death because one of Misdaeus's children was possessed by a demon. He wanted to take a bone from Thomas to drive the demon out. Since Thomas's bones were taken away, Misdaeus takes dust from the place where Thomas was killed to heal his son. It works and Misdaeus comes to faith (§ 159–171).

1.3. *The Hymn of the Bride according to Bonnet*

The Hymn of the Bride is found in the first act of the ATh. After Jesus sold Thomas to Abbas the Indian merchant, Thomas travels with Abbas to a city called Andrapolis where they arrive just before a royal wedding; a princess is about to marry. They join the festivities to not upset the king of Andrapolis (§ 3–4). One of the cupbearers hits Thomas in the face during the wedding banquet, and this prompts Thomas to sing a song. I have included the first four verses of § 6, with which the HBr gets introduced in the ATh for two reasons: (1) it shows the context in which the HBr is embedded; (2) as we will see in this thesis, there are two manuscripts that have deleted the whole HBr. They made changes to § 6:1–4 to account for this deletion and still have a smooth-flowing text. Incorporating these verses in the current thesis thus makes it easier to analyze the HBr as a whole. The main focus still lies on the HBr proper, so ATh 6:5–7:12.⁷ ATh 6–7 as found in Bonnet's critical edition read as follows:

6:1 Τοῦ δὲ ἀποστόλου εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀφορῶντος εἷς τις τῶν οἰνοχόων ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἐράπισεν αὐτόν. 6:2 ἐπάρας δὲ ὁ ἀπόστολος τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ προσσχὼν τῷ τύψαντι αὐτὸν εἶπεν Ὁ θεὸς μου ἀφήσει σοι εἰς τὸν μέλλοντα αἰῶνα τὴν ἀδικίαν ταύτην, 6:3 εἰς δὲ τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον δεῖξει αὐτοῦ τὰ θαυμάσια, καὶ θεάσομαι ἤδη τὴν χεῖρα ἐκείνην τὴν τύψασάν με ὑπὸ κυνῶν συρομένην. 6:4 Καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἤρξατο ψάλλειν καὶ λέγειν τὴν ᾠδὴν ταύτην

6:5 Ἡ κόρη τοῦ φωτὸς θυγάτηρ,
ἧ ἐνέστηκε καὶ ἔγκειται τὸ ἀπαύγασμα τῶν βασιλέων τὸ γαῦρον,
καὶ ἐπιτερπὲς ταύτης τὸ θέαμα,
φαιδρῶ κάλλει καταυγάζουσα
6:6 ἧς τὰ ἐνδύματα ἔοικεν ἑαρινοῖς ἄνθεσιν,

⁷ I have taken over the verse division as proposed by Heining in his PhD dissertation for ease of reference to specific parts of the HBr. Cf. Stefan Heining, "Taufe statt Ehe. Ein Beitrag zur Erforschung der Thomasakten" (PhD diss., Bayerische Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg, 2020), 103–105.

ἀποφορὰ δὲ εὐωδίας ἐξ αὐτῶν διαδίδοται ·
 6:7 καὶ ἐν τῇ κορυφῇ ἴδρυται ὁ βασιλεύς,
 τρέφων τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἀμβροσίᾳ τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἰδρυμένους ·
 6:8 ἔγκειται δὲ ταύτης τῇ κεφαλῇ ἀλήθεια,
 χαρὰν δὲ τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτῆς ἐμφαίνει ·
 ἧς τὸ στόμα ἀνέωκται καὶ πρεπόντως αὐτῇ ·
 6:9 τριάκοντα καὶ δύο εἰσὶν οἱ ταύτην ὑμνολογοῦντες
 6:10 ἧς ἡ γλῶττα παραπετάσματι ἔοικεν τῆς θύρας
 ὃ ἐκτινάσσεται τοῖς εἰσιοῦσιν
 ἧς ὁ αὐχὴν εἰς τύπον βαθμῶν ἔγκειται
 ὧν ὁ πρῶτος δημιουργὸς ἐδημιούργησεν,
 6:11 αἱ δὲ δύο αὐτῆς χεῖρες σημαίνουσιν καὶ ὑποδεικνύουσιν
 τὸν χορὸν τῶν εὐδαιμόνων αἰώνων κηρύσσοντες,
 οἱ δὲ δάκτυλοι αὐτῆς τὰς πύλας τῆς πόλεως ὑποδεικνύουσιν ·
 6:12 ἧς ὁ παστὸς φωτεινός,
 ἀποφορὰν ἀπὸ βαλσάμου καὶ παντὸς ἀρώματος διαπνέων,
 ἀναδιδούς τε ὄσμην ἠδεῖαν σμύρνης τε καὶ φύλλου,
 ὑπέστρωνται δὲ ἐντὸς μυρσίνας καὶ ἀνθέων παμπόλλων ἠδυνόων,
 αἱ δὲ κλειστάδες ἐν καλάμοις κεκόσμηται.
 7:1 περιεστοιχισμένην δὲ αὐτὴν ἔχουσιν οἱ ταύτης νυμφῖοι,
 ὧν ὁ ἀριθμὸς ἑβδομὸς ἐστίν,
 οὓς αὐτὴ ἐξελέξατο ·
 7:2 αἱ δὲ ταύτης παράνυφοί εἰσιν ἑπτὰ,
 οἱ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῆς χορεύουσιν ·
 7:3 δώδεκα δὲ εἰσὶν τὸν ἀριθμὸν
 οἱ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῆς ὑπηρετοῦντες καὶ αὐτῇ ὑποκείμενοι,
 7:4 τὸν σκοπὸν καὶ τὸ θέαμα εἰς τὸν νυμφῖον ἔχοντες,
 ἵνα διὰ τοῦ θεάματος αὐτοῦ φωτισθῶσιν ·
 7:5 καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα σὺν αὐτῷ ἔσονται
 εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν χαρὰν τὴν αἰώνιον,
 7:6 καὶ ἔσονται ἐν τῷ γάμῳ ἐκείνῳ
 ἐν ᾧ οἱ μεγιστᾶνες συναθροίζονται,
 7:7 καὶ παραμενοῦσιν τῇ εὐωχίᾳ
 ἧς οἱ αἰῶνιοι καταξιοῦνται,
 7:8 καὶ ἐνδύσονται βασιλικά ἐνδύματα
 καὶ ἀμφιάσσονται στολὰς λαμπράς,
 7:9 καὶ ἐν χαρᾷ καὶ ἀγαλλιάσει ἔσονται ἀμφοτέροι,
 καὶ δοξάσουσι τὸν πατέρα τῶν ὄλων ·
 7:10 οὗ τὸ φῶς τὸ γαῦρον ἐδέξαντο,
 καὶ ἐφωτίσθησαν ἐν τῇ θεᾷ τοῦ δεσπότη αὐτῶν,
 οὗ τὴν ἀμβροσίαν βρῶσιν ἐδέξαντο
 μηδὲν ὅλως ἀπουσίαν ἔχουσαν,
 7:11 ἔπιον δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου
 τοῦ μὴ δίψαν αὐτοῖς παρέχοντος καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν ·

7:12 ἐδόξασαν δὲ καὶ ὑμνησαν σὺν τῷ ζῶντι πνεύματι
τὸν πατέρα τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τὴν μητέρα τῆς σοφίας

6:1 While the apostle was looking away to the earth, one of the cupbearers stretched out his hand and struck him. 6:2 And the apostle lifted up his eyes and turning to the one who hit him, said: ‘My God will forgive you this unjust act in the coming time, 6:3 but in this world, he will show his wonders and I already see the hand which struck me dragged by dogs.’ 6:4 And after saying these things, he began to sing and say this song:

6:5 The bride is daughter of the light.

On her is placed and rests the splendid radiance of kings;
and pleasing is her sight,
shining with bright beauty.

6:6 Her garments look like spring flowers,
spreading a sweet smell from them.

6:7 And on the crown of her head the king is seated,
feeding with his own ambrosia those who are seated beneath him.

6:8 On her head rests truth;
she displays joy with her feet.

Her mouth is opened and befittingly for her.

6:9 Thirty-two are those that sing her hymns of praise.

6:10 Her tongue is like a door-curtain,
shaken out for those entering.
Her neck is worked into steps
that the first creator created.

6:11 Her two hands make signs and indicate,
proclaiming the dance of the blessed aeons.
Her fingers indicate the gates of the city.

6:12 Her bridal chamber is bright,
smelling of balsam and every aromatic spice,
giving off a pleasant smell of myrrh and herbs.
The inside is covered with myrtle-branches and numerous sweet-smelling flowers,
the doors are adorned with reeds.

7:1 She is surrounded by her groomsmen,
that are seven in number,
whom she has selected herself

7:2 Her bridesmaids are seven,
who dance in front of her.

7:3 Twelve in number are they who are serving in front of her,
who are her subjects.

7:4 They have their gaze and sight towards the bridegroom,
so that through the sight of him they might light up,

7:5 and that they will be with him forever,
in that everlasting joy.

7:6 And they will be at that wedding,
at which the great men gather together
7:7 and abide at the feast
where the eternal ones are deemed worthy.
7:8 And they will be going in royal garments
and they will put on bright robes,
7:9 and they will be both in joy and exultation,
and they will honor the father of all things,
7:10 whose splendid light they received.
And they have been enlightened by the sight of their lord,
whose ambrosial food they received,
of which there is absolutely no absence,
7:11 and also drank from the wine,
which brings them neither thirst nor desire.
7:12 They honored and praised with the living spirit
the father of truth and the mother of wisdom.

Chapter 2: *History of Research on the ATH and the HBr*

The ATH is one of five early Christian texts that are called the Major *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles* (AAA) by contemporary research. This collection consists of the *Acts of John*, the *Acts of Paul*, the *Acts of Peter*, the *Acts of Andrew*, and the text under scrutiny in this paper, the ATH. The ATH was traditionally read on October the sixth, the day of the Apostle Thomas in the tradition of the Eastern Church.⁸

Many aspects of the ATH still form topics of debate in contemporary research. On the one hand there is much discussion regarding the provenance of the text. In these debates the original language, the place of composition, and the dating of the text are points of debate. On the other hand, there is uncertainty on the interpretation of the text, for example because of disagreement on which traditions might have influenced the ATH. In what follows in this chapter of my thesis, I sketch a brief overview of the history of research on these aspects of the Acts as a whole. Then, I treat the interpretation of the Hymn of the Bride more specifically.

2.1. *The Provenance of the ATH: Language, Place, and Date*

The ATH has survived in many languages: Greek, Syriac, Latin, Armenian, Coptic, Ethiopic, Georgian, Arabic, and Old-Slavonic. Of all these versions, the Greek and Syriac traditions are the best, since the other versions all show later influences and are often heavily abbreviated.⁹ The Syriac recension survives in twelve codices, of which the most important is *British Library, Add. 14645* (936 A. D.) located in London. It is the only complete version of the Syriac ATH, including the well-known and -studied *Hymn of the Pearl* (HPrl).¹⁰ A critical edition of the Syriac text based on this codex was made by Wright in 1871.¹¹

⁸ Albert Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts, vol. I die Überlieferung* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs Verlag, 1937), 25–29.

⁹ Hans-Josef Klauck, *Apokryphe Apostelakten. Eine Einführung* (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2005), 154.

¹⁰ Cf. e.g., Erwin Preuschen, *Zwei Gnostische Hymnen* (Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1904); Alfred Adam, *Die Psalmen des Thomas und das Perlenlied als Zeugnisse vorchristlicher Gnosis*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche 24 (Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1959); A.F.J. Klijn, "The So-Called Hymn of the Pearl," *Vigiliae Christianae* 14.1 (1960): 154–164; Paul-Hubert Poirier, *L'Hymne de la Perle des Actes de Thomas. Introduction, Texte, Traduction, Commentaire* (Homo Religiosus: Louvain-La-Neuve, 1981). Jürgen Tubach, "The Four World Empires in the Hymn of the Pearl," *The Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 56.1 (2004): 145–154; Juan. J. Alarcón Sainz and Pablo A. Torijanen, "Las Versiones Siriaca y Griega del 'Himno de la Perla.' Introducción, traducción y notas," *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia* 3 (2006): 49–81; Robin D. Young, "Notes on Divesting and Vesting in 'The Hymn of the Pearl,'" in *Reading Religions in the Ancient World. Essays Presented to Robert McQueen Grant on his 90th Birthday*, ed. David E. Aune and Robin D. Young, Supplements to Novum Testamentum 125 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 201–214; Dylan M. Burns, "'The Garment Poured its Entire Self over Me': Christian Baptismal Traditions and the Origins of the Hymn of the Pearl," in *Gnosticism, Platonism and the late Ancient World. Essays in Honour of John D. Turner*, Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 82 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 261–274; Israel Muñoz Gallarte, "El 'Himno de la Perla' en el contexto de la literatura cristiano primitiva. Análisis y primeras conclusiones de HT 108–111.62," *Ilu. Revista de Ciencias de la Religión* 22 (2017): 245–265; Israel Muñoz Gallarte, "The Robe in the 'Hymn of the Pearl.' Analysis of the TH 111.75–113.97," in *Spreading Knowledge in a Changing World*, ed. Charles Burnett and Pedro Mantas España (Cordoba: UCOPress, 2019), 119–138.

¹¹ William Wright, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles* (London: William sand Norgate, 1871).

There are two important codices in the Greek tradition; codex *Vallicellianus B35* in Rome, also known as U,¹² and codex *Parisiacus Graecus 1510* kept in Paris, also known as P. They both almost completely preserve the ATh. U is especially important because it preserves the only Greek version of the aforementioned HPrl. Thilo was in 1823 the first to make a critical edition of the Greek AAA that included the ATh.¹³ He used four Parisian manuscripts for this edition. In 1851, Tischendorf made another edition of the AAA, also including the ATh, for which he based himself on five manuscripts.¹⁴ The most recent edition of the ATh is made by Bonnet in 1903.¹⁵ This version, for which he used 21 manuscripts, is the standard edition to date. In the century after its publication, about sixty more manuscripts that contain at least parts of the ATh have been identified.¹⁶ Currently a project at the University of Córdoba aims to provide a new critical edition, incorporating all eighty Greek witnesses that are known to us today.¹⁷

Discussions as to whether the ATh was originally written in Greek or Syriac are still ongoing. While it is clear that the Syriac text has been heavily edited – mainly with as goal to make the text fit better in a more or less ‘orthodox’ view of Christianity¹⁸ – the majority of scholars still argue that the original ATh was first written in Syriac in the third century A. D.¹⁹ Several scholars claim that this original Syriac text was translated into Greek relatively quickly: “After its composition in Syriac, the ATh was soon translated into Greek and subsequently appropriated by various groups, which have left their imprint on the text.”²⁰ However, other scholars argue that the Syriac and Greek texts might have come into existence simultaneously. So for example Klijn: “We suppose that the Acts were written in a bilingual environment in which both the Syriac and Greek versions originated simultaneously.”²¹ A few scholars in the first quarter of the twentieth century have held the opinion that only the Martyrdom of Thomas was originally written in Greek.²²

¹² Heining speaks of the ‘vaticanische *Codex Vallicellanus B 35*’ in his dissertation. However, U is not located in the BAV, but in the BV in Rome as the name suggests. Cf. Heining, “Taufe statt Ehe,” 22.

¹³ Johann Karl Thilo, *Acta S. Thomae Apostoli Ex Codd. Pariss.* (Lipsiae: F. C. G. Vogel, 1823).

¹⁴ Lobegott Friedrich Constantin von Tischendorf, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha: Ex Triginta Antiquis Codicibus Graecis Vel Nunc Primum Eruit Vel Secundum Atque Emendatius Edidit.* Lipsiae: Avenarius et Mendelssohn, 1851.

¹⁵ Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha.*

¹⁶ Klauck, *Apokryphe Apostelakten*, 154.

¹⁷ Cf. for an overview of the project, called *Edition, Translation, and Commentary of the Apocryphal Acts of Thomas*, as well as a list of all the manuscripts that contain the ATh, Muñoz Gallarte, “New Textual Witnesses.”

¹⁸ This also evidently happens with the Hymn of the Bride. I discuss these ‘orthodoxizing tendencies’ in some detail under 2.3. in this thesis.

¹⁹ Cf. e.g., Günther Bornkamm, “Thomasakten,” in *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen II: Apostolisches, Apokalypsen und Verwandtes*, ed. Wilhelm Schneemelcher and Edgar Hennecke (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1964) 297–372, 299; A. F. J. Klijn, *The Acts of Thomas. Introduction, Text, and Commentary*, NovTSupp 58, 2nd rev. ed. (Brill: Leiden 2003), 3; Han J. W. Drijvers, “The Acts of Thomas,” in *New Testament Apocrypha. Volume Two: Writings Relating to the Apostles; Apocalypses and Related Subjects*, ed. Wilhelm Schneemelcher, trans. R. McL. Wilson (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1992), 322–411, 323; Paul-Hubert Poirier and Yves Tissot, “Actes de Thomas,” in *Écrits Apocryphes Chrétiens I*, ed. François Bovon and Pierre Geoltrain (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1997), 1323–1470, 1324; Heining, “Taufe statt Ehe,” 50; Folker Siegert, “Analyses Rhétoriques et stylistiques Portant sur les Actes de Jean et les Actes de Thomas,” *Apocrypha* 8 (1997): 231–250, esp. 244–249.

²⁰ Bremmer, “The Acts of Thomas: Place, Date and Women,” 78.

²¹ Klijn, *The Acts of Thomas*, 3.

²² So Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, xx–xxii and M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1924), 364, who follows Bonnet in his explanation.

Because so many scholars argue for Syriac as original language, it should come as no surprise that eastern Syria is mentioned as ATh's place of origin. In this context, Edessa is often regarded the most plausible specific place of origin because it was an important center for Syriac early Christianity and because of the connection of this city with Thomas, as it is believed that Thomas was buried in Edessa.²³ Nisibis is another Syrian city that has been proposed as place of origin.²⁴

In recent times this consensus has been challenged by Roig Lanzillotta. He presents a detailed discussion and rebuttal of arguments for Syriac preference. He wonders why scholars try to hold on to the thesis of Syriac originality, even when the Syriac text preserves a later, heavily edited version of the text. Klijn, who bases himself on the Syriac version in his commentary of the ATh, demonstrates these problems of the Syriac recension: “[W]e were obliged to refer to the Greek version continuously, especially because it is supposed to represent an earlier tradition of the contents.”²⁵ It is because of statements like this one that Roig Lanzillotta questions the many claims that Syriac is the original language of the ATh:

[I]f the Greek text is clearly superior to the Syriac, if it preserves the general tenor of the primitive text more accurately, if it reflects the different parts of the text in a better way, and if it shows fewer traces of editorial intervention, then on what grounds do scholars actually still claim a Syriac origin of the text?²⁶

Because he challenges the assumption that Syriac is the original language of the ATh, Roig Lanzillotta is also not convinced by the suggestion that Edessa is the place where the ATh was originally composed.²⁷ Instead, he sees a closer connection to the other AAA, all of which were composed in the second-century Mediterranean world, and argues that the emphasis on oriental influences is overstated, since the contents of the ATh can also be explained in the context of this second-century Mediterranean world.²⁸

2.2. *The Interpretation of the ATh: Topics, Motifs, and Genre*

There are multiple topics that have received attention in the secondary literature. I briefly touch upon those elements that I believe are the most important as background information for this thesis.

²³ Cf. e.g., Lourens P. van den Bosch, “India and the Apostolate of St. Thomas,” in *The Apocryphal Acts of Thomas*, ed. Jan N. Bremmer, Studies on Early Christian Apocrypha 6 (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), 125–148, esp. 136–140; Drijvers, “The Acts of Thomas,” 323 argues for East Syria; Klijn remains careful about the place of origin in Klijn, *The Acts of Thomas*, 15: “The place of origin is more difficult to establish. The city of Edessa is possible, but it is no more than a guess.”; Heining, “Taufe statt Ehe,” 50.

²⁴ So carefully done by Susan E. Myers, *Spirit Epicleses in the Acts of Thomas*, WUNT II.281 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 39–44.

²⁵ Klijn, *The Acts of Thomas*, 8.

²⁶ Lautaro Roig Lanzillotta, “A Syriac Original for the *Acts of Thomas*? The Hypothesis of Syriac Priority Revisited,” in *Early Christian and Jewish Narrative. The Role of Religion in Shaping Narrative Forms*, ed. Ilaria Ramelli and Judith Perkins, WUNT 348 (Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2015), 105–134, 105.

²⁷ Roig Lanzillotta, “A Syriac Original for the *Acts of Thomas*?” 106.

²⁸ Roig Lanzillotta, “A Syriac Original for the *Acts of Thomas*?” 125–126.

(1) There is a clear focus on sexual ethics. This is for example the case in the first Act. The newlywed couple, the daughter of the king of Andrapolis and her husband, are told by Jesus to live in chastity. He calls sexual intercourse a “dirty community”: ἀπαλλάγετε τῆς ῥυπαρᾶς κοινωνίας ταύτης (Free yourselves from this dirty community, § 12). The other Acts have a similar focus: “Der damit proklamierte thematische Schwerpunkt der ersten Tat [of chastity and sexual purity] scheint eine Akt Auftakt für den weiteren Verlauf der Akten zu bilden. So gewinnt der Leser den Eindruck, dass im Fortgang die Thematik der sexuellen Enthaltensamkeit weiterentwickelt wird und einige Variationen geboten werden.”²⁹ This sexual abstinence is often linked with Encratite practices in secondary literature.³⁰ Similarly, the Eucharist is celebrated with bread and water instead of bread and wine, which also might be an Encratite influence while it at the same time suggests that the ATh denounces drinking alcohol.³¹ The focus on sexual ethics and especially sexual purity and chastity also function as argument for Syriac provenance because these were important themes for the early Church in Syria.³² At the same time, a focus on sexual ethics and asceticism can also be found in Greek texts.³³

(2) The presence of so-called ‘gnostic’ or Manichaean concepts in the text is also noted quite often, already from early on in the research into the ATh.³⁴ The ATh was popular among the Manichaeans according to Epiphanius (*Pan.* 47.1) and Augustine (*Faust.* 22.79). The seventeenth-century French biblical scholar Simon quoted parts of the ATh from a Parisian manuscript that was not included in Bonnet’s selection and realized that this work was used by

²⁹ Heining, “Taufe statt Ehe,” 7.

³⁰ Cf. E.g., Yves Tissot, “Encratisme et Actes Apocryphes,” in *Les Actes Apocryphes des Apôtres*, ed. François Bovon et al. Publications de la Faculté de théologie de l’Université de Genève 4 (Genève: Labor et Fides, 1981), 109–119; Yves Tissot, “L’Encratisme des Actes de Thomas,” *ANRW* II/25.6 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1988), 4415–4430. For a brief discussion of sexual ethics and encratitic elements, but especially ethics in the ATh in more general terms, cf. Susanne Luther, “Plays on Words and Toying with Narrative Ethics: Reading the *Acts of Thomas* from a Speech-Ethical Perspective,” in *New Trends in the Study of the Apocryphal Acts of Thomas: Revisiting the Scholarly Discourse Twenty Years Later*, ed. Lautaro Roig Lanzillotta and Israel Muñoz Gallarte (Louvain: Peeters, 2021), in press.

³¹ Myers, *Spirit Epicleses*, 2–3, n. 5.

³² Cf. e.g., Naomi Koltun-Fromm, *Hermeneutics of Holiness: Syriac-Christian and Rabbinic Constructs of Holy Community and Sexuality* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010); for a shorter version of her book, cf. an article with the same title: Naomi Koltun-Fromm, “Hermeneutics of Holiness: Syriac-Christian and Rabbinic Constructs of Holy Community and Sexuality,” in *New Approaches to the Study of Biblical Interpretation in Judaism of the Second Temple Period and in Early Christianity*, ed. Gary A. Anderson, Ruth A. Clemens, and Davind Satran, *Studies on the Text of the Desert of Judah* 106 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 185–206; John W. Martens, “The Disability within: Sexual Desire and Disability in Syriac Christianity,” in *Disability in Antiquity*, ed. Christian Laes, *Rewriting Antiquity* (London: Routledge, 2016), 376–387.

³³ This is for example argued by Roig Lanzillotta, “A Syriac Original for the *Acts of Thomas*?” 124–126.

³⁴ Cf. e.g., Karl Macke, “Syrische Lieder gnostischen Ursprungs,” *TQ* 56 (1874): 1–70; W. Bousset, “Manichäisches in den Thomasakten,” *ZNW* 18 (1917–1918): 1–39; Preuschen, *Zwei Gnostische Hymnen*; Günther Bornkamm, *Mythos und Legende in den apokryphen Thomas-Akten. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Gnosis und zur Vorgeschichte des Manichäismus*, *FRLANT* 49 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1933); Paul-Hubert Poirier, “Les Actes de Thomas et le Manichéisme,” *Apocrypha* 9 (1998): 263–290. For an argument contra Manichaean influence, cf. Myers, *Spirit Epicleses*, 54: “The author/redactor of the Acts of Thomas appears to have fashioned a story of the apostle, making use of traditions of the apostle’s itinerant preaching and healing ministry, into a tale of a journey to India on the part of Jesus’ true twin to preach a message of extreme asceticism for the express purpose of combating Mani’s similar message. The real twin of a heavenly power is not Mani but Thomas, whose name, which conveniently offers an opportunity to develop the twin motif, was already associated with missionary activity in the Mesopotamian region. The Acts of Thomas would, then, be a subtle refutation of Manichaeism.”

the Manichaeans.³⁵ Thilo, who edited the first critical edition on the ATh in 1823, noted that there are “theilweise gnostische, theilweise manichäische Elemente” in the text.³⁶ According to LaFargue, the ATh “is known today primarily because of many Gnostic ideas and motifs found in it, more especially in two of its many hymns, the Wedding Hymn found in chapters 6–7, and the so-called Hymn of the Pearl found in chapters 108–13.”³⁷ I will speak about Gnosticism and Manichaeism in the HBr below.

More recently, however, these interpretations have been challenged and non-Gnostic interpretations have been offered, for example in the work of Klijn, Drijvers, and Luttikhuisen.³⁸ Luttikhuisen gives an overview of passages in the ATh that would have been problematic for many gnostic Christians, such as the focus on Jesus’s human body and his ability to feel physical pain (e.g., § 72; 79), as well as the conviction that God made the world and humanity but that they got corrupted by the Devil (§ 32). These two points, so argues Luttikhuisen, would have been problematic for ‘gnostic’ Christians, which can make it more challenging for scholars that interpret the ATh as a ‘gnostic’ text.³⁹

(3) A further aspect of the ATh is that it can roughly be divided into two parts. There is some disagreement on where the text should split exactly, as some argue that the first halve consists out of § 1–81, so Acts 1–8, and the second halve consists out of § 82–170, or Acts 9–13 and the Martyrdom.⁴⁰ On the other hand, there are scholars arguing that the division should be made earlier, as they think that § 1–61, the first six Acts, are separate stories.⁴¹ In this case the continuous story already begins in Act seven. This second section thus would be § 62–170, or Acts 7–13 and the Martyrdom. This difference in division is easily explained. Acts seven and eight are points of contention because they deal already with the story that follows in Acts 9–13, but the actors are not explicitly named yet.⁴² Only in Act nine do we learn that the captain who played a role in Acts seven and eight is called Siphor. The question is thus whether the captain in Acts seven and eight originally also was this Siphor, or that he only gets a name from Act nine onwards because from here a new story has been added to the narrative and this story retroactively gives the unknown captain a name.

³⁵ Richard Simon, *Nouvelles Observations sur le Texte et les Versions du Nouveau Testament* (Paris : Boudot, 1695), 7–9. For an argument that the manuscript used by Simon was not known by Bonnet, cf. Myers, *Spirit Epicleses*, 9–10, n. 35.

³⁶ Thilo, *Acta S. Thomae Apostoli*

³⁷ J. Michael LaFargue, *Language and Gnosis: The Opening Scenes of the Acts of Thomas*, HDR 18 (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985), 1.

³⁸ Klijn, *The Acts of Thomas*; Drijvers, “The Acts of Thomas,” 322–339; Gerard P. Luttikhuisen, “The Hymn of Jude Thomas, the Apostle, in the Country of the Indians (ATH 108–113),” in *The Apocryphal Acts of Thomas*, ed. Jan Bremmer, *Studies on Early Christian Apocrypha* 6 (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), 101–114, 103–109.

³⁹ Luttikhuisen, “The Hymn of Jude Thomas,” 103–109.

⁴⁰ Cf. e.g., Yves Tissot, “Les Actes de Thomas, Exemple de Recueil Composite,” in *Les Actes Apocryphes des Apôtres*, ed. François Bovon et al. Publications de la Faculté de théologie de l’Université de Genève 4 (Genève: Labor et Fides, 1981), 223–232; Heining, “Taufe statt Ehe,” 34–38; Poirier and Tissot, “Actes de Thomas,” 1324–1325.

⁴¹ Cf. e.g., A. F. J. Klijn, “The Acts of Thomas Revisited,” in *The Apocryphal Acts of Thomas*, ed. Jan N. Bremmer, *Studies on Early Christian Apocrypha* 6 (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), 1–10, 7, n. 26; Bornkamm, “Thomasakten,” 299–300.

⁴² In this regard, cf. Klauck, *Apokryphe Apostelakten*, 154, who makes the division between § 1–81 and § 82–170. However, he regards Acts seven and eight (§ 61–81) as transition between the two parts: “Die siebte und achte Tat (§§ 61–81), die eng zusammenhängen, stellen den Übergang her.”

The first part, thus either § 1–62 (Acts 1–6) or § 1–81 (Acts 1–8), consists in brief stories, each one Act long and each with different actors and circumstances. They are loosely connected. Söder, for example, calls these Acts a “Zusammenschweißung mehrerer schon vorhandener Sondererzählungen.”⁴³ The second part of the ATh then begins in the seventh or ninth Act. This part consists in one longer story with recurring actors and a clear narrative. It is a comprehensible story that would also be able to stand on its own. Several authors then argue that § 4–16 which describe the wedding in Andrapolis where Thomas sings the HBr, were also added at a later point. It is said that Thomas was supposed to go to India in order to be brought to king Gundaphorus in § 3, but first he arrives in this city with the rather general name ‘peoplecity,’ ruled by a nameless king. Only after this first Act do Thomas and his owner Abban arrive in India.⁴⁴

(4) The connection between Thomas and India is also a point of discussion.⁴⁵ While it is clear that the text itself wants its readers to believe that Thomas traveled to India, there are questions regarding the knowledge of India in the place and time the ATh are written, either in third-century Syria or the second-century Mediterranean world. This connection was not merely literary, as it turns out. According to local Indian legends, Thomas lived and preached his whole life in India until his death and was buried nearby the city Mylapore in southern India. When the Portuguese discovered this place in the sixteenth century, they first built a church which in the nineteenth century they converted into a cathedral. Problematically, these stories are no older than the sixteenth century and older Indian proof of Thomasine Christianity is yet to be found.⁴⁶ The ATh is no help either, because “[t]he references to India are vague and do not convey the impression that the author is well acquainted with its location and with the situation at the spot.”⁴⁷ The Indian king Gundaphorus who tasks Thomas to build him a palace (§ 17–29), is most likely based on king Gondophernes, one of the more powerful rulers of northwestern India who lived around the first century B. C. and the first century A. D., and there are some other minor elements that could point to India, such as names. However, these names point at northern India and not the south, where the Portuguese found Thomas’s supposed bones. Thus, “facts and fictions were mixed in order to realize the aims the author probably had in mind, namely the foundation of the claim that not only Parthia but also India

⁴³ Rosa Söder, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und die romanhafte Literatur der Antike*, Würzburger Studien zur Altertumswissenschaft 3 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1932), 202.

⁴⁴ Cf. Tissot, “Les Actes de Thomas, Exemple de Recueil Composite,” 223; Heining, “Taufe statt Ehe,” 38–40; Poirier and Tissot, “Actes de Thomas,” 1324, who call this episode an encratitic anecdote that was inserted at a later time: “Ces Actes présupposent une élaboration longue et complexe. On pourrait même les qualifier de composition agglutinante. C’est ainsi qu’une *anecdote encratite* (chapitres 4 à 16) a été insérée dans le récit initial : lors d’une escale de l’apotre à Sandaruk [in Syriac, Andrapolis in Greek], un couple princier renonce à la ‘débauche’ la nuit même de ses noces” (italics are mine).

⁴⁵ Cf. e.g., van den Bosch, “India and the Apostolate of St. Thomas,”; George Nedungatt, “The Apocryphal ‘Acts of Thomas’ and Christian Origins in India,” *Gregorianum* 92.3 (2011): 533–557; George Huxley, “Geography in the *Acts of Thomas*,” *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 24 (1983): 71–80.

⁴⁶ van den Bosch, “India and the Apostolate of St. Thomas,” 125–126.

⁴⁷ van den Bosch, “India and the Apostolate of St. Thomas,” 129.

was the exclusive domain of Thomas' missionary activities."⁴⁸ It thus is highly unlikely that the historical Apostle Thomas indeed went to India.⁴⁹

(5) The ATh is furthermore compared with ancient novels in terms of genre. In 1932, Söder noted similarities between the AAA and ancient novels,⁵⁰ and many later scholars have agreed with this comparison, either for all the AAA or for individual *Acts*.⁵¹ Pervo, for example, calls the AAA "historical novels,"⁵² and compares them with romantic fiction.⁵³ In the case of the ATh, this comparison is especially evident in the second part of the work, where there is a more coherent story with recurring actors. However, instead of romantic love between man and woman, the ATh focusses on abstinence and celibacy.

It has proven to be a challenge to delimit exactly what can be called an ancient novel.⁵⁴ Holzberg has argued that there is a small number of works in antiquity can be called "the ancient novels proper," and that the rest of the works are on the "fringe of the genre."⁵⁵ More recently Müller-Reineke seeks to overcome this distance by looking at the ancient novel in comparison with what he calls literary miscellany. He summarizes the differences of ancient novel and literary miscellany as follows: "Whereas novels are usually works of narrative prose fiction set around and using strands of a plot and a certain number of acting characters, the authors of literary miscellanies have arranged the varied content of their works deliberately in any random order."⁵⁶ However, both novel and miscellany belong to the so-called *antike Bildungsliteratur* and played a similar and important role in "the treatment and circulation of contemporary knowledge as well as in the valuation and transmission of older literature and values that often had nothing to do with the reality of its readers."⁵⁷ The transmission and circulation of knowledge is present in all the major AAA. An example of this circulation is the aforementioned focus on sexual ethics that can be found in all five major AAA.

⁴⁸ van den Bosch, "India and the Apostolate of St. Thomas," 137.

⁴⁹ Cf. here also Klijn, "The Acts of Thomas Revisited," 6–7: "I may suggest that the author deliberately chose a far-away country with imaginary royal courts, well known in the region in which the *Acts* originated."

⁵⁰ Söder, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*.

⁵¹ Cf. e.g., Jan N. Bremmer, "The *Acts of Thomas*: Place, Date and Women"; János Bolyki, "Human Nature and Character as Moving Factors of Plot in the *Acts of Thomas*," in *The Apocryphal Acts of Thomas*, ed. Jan N. Bremmer, Studies on Early Christian Apocrypha 6 (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), 91–100; Jan N. Bremmer, "The Apocryphal Acts: Authors, Place, Time and Readership," in *The Apocryphal Acts of Thomas*, ed. Jan N. Bremmer, Studies on Early Christian Apocrypha 6 (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), 149–170.

⁵² Richard I. Pervo, *Profit with Delight: The Literary Genre of the Acts of the Apostles* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), 122–131.

⁵³ Richard I. Pervo, "The Ancient Novel becomes Christian," in *The Novel in the Ancient World*, ed. Gareth Schmeling (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 685–711.

⁵⁴ Cf. e.g., Rudolf Helm, *Der antike Roman*, Studienhefte Zur Altertumswissenschaft 4 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1956); Tomas Hägg, *The Novel in Antiquity* (London: Blackwell, 1983).

⁵⁵ Niklas Holzberg, "The Genre: Novels Proper and the Fringe" in *The Novel in the Ancient World*, ed. Gareth Schmeling (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 11–28. Cf. also Niklas Holzberg, *The Ancient Novel: An Introduction*. London: Routledge, 1995.

⁵⁶ Hendrik Müller-Reineke, "Facts or Fiction? The Fruitful Relationship between Ancient Novel and Literary Miscellany," in *The Ancient Novel and the Frontiers of Genre*, ed. Marília P. Futre Pinheiro, Gareth Schmeling, and Edmund P. Cueva, Ancient Narrative Supplementum 18 (Eelde: Barkhuis, 2014), 69–81, 72.

⁵⁷ Müller-Reineke, "Facts or Fiction?" 79.

2.3. *The Hymn of the Bride in the Scholarship*

The HBr is found in the first Act and is sung by Thomas during the wedding of the princess of Andrapolis. Several translations of the ATh do not include the HBr. For example, it is omitted in the Arabic versions,⁵⁸ and it is not included in the Latin recension,⁵⁹ nor the Armenian.⁶⁰ Below I briefly introduce three important aspects of the HBr: (1) the discussion on whether the HBr is a unity or a composition; (2) the differences between the Greek and Syriac versions of the HBr; and (3) general interpretative questions and challenges.

(1) There are different opinions on the composition of the HBr. Several scholars have taken different approaches to argue that it is a composite account. All these scholars offer different divisions and different stages of development.

LaFargue argues that the HBr in its current form consists in six parts; three fragments of individual hymns, two endings, and a composition on the bridal chamber. These elements were connected by a later editor, adding some words and sentences where needed to make these individual parts into a coherent whole.⁶¹

Heining presents a detailed study of the HBr, which he calls “das Paradox des Brautliedes” in his dissertation on the first Act of the ATh.⁶² He divides the Hymn in two parts, 6:5–12 and 7:1–12. He argues that these are two different stages of development because the description of the bride in the first part is static and in the second part dynamic. There are also tensions between the two parts. He for example mentions that the word *καί* in 7:1–12 is used ten times as conjunction, whereas this word functions similarly only once in 6:5–12. Heining perceives another problem in the dance of the aeons (6:11) that later appears to be a banquet (7:7). He thus suggests that 7:1–12 were added later.

He furthermore claims there is a third redactional phase: “Schließlich ist wegen der Auffälligkeiten der Verse, die das Brautpersonal thematisieren (6:9; 7:1–3), mit einer *weiteren Redaktion* zu rechnen, die für die Spannungen zwischen 6:9; 7:3 einerseits und 7:1, 2 andererseits verantwortlich ist.”⁶³ This last redactional phase is responsible for most of the numbers (cf. 6:5, 9; 7:1, 2, 3) in the text. These do not always seem to make sense according to Heining. In 6:9 the text speaks of “thirty-two who sing her praise,” while 7:1 and 7:2 speak of seven groomsmen and seven bridesmaids respectively. 7:3 then mentions that there are “twelve in front of her.” It is not clear how these groups of people are related to one another, and Heining suggests that these numbers therefore are added at a later time.⁶⁴

However, there are also several scholars who argue for a unity. Preuschen argues that the HBr consists in two parts, 6:5–12 and 7:1–12, but he does not conclude that the two parts are therefore the result of two different stages in a development:

⁵⁸ M. van Esbroeck, “Les Actes Apocryphes de Thomas en Version Arabe,” *Parole de l’Orient* 14 (1987): 11–77, 12.

⁵⁹ Klaus Zelzer, *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten*, TUGAL 122 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1977).

⁶⁰ Preuschen, *Zwei gnostische Hymnen*, 28.

⁶¹ LaFargue, *Language and Gnosis*, 91–129, esp 120.

⁶² Heining, “Taufe statt Ehe,” 10.

⁶³ Heining, “Taufe statt Ehe,” 117. *Italics original*.

⁶⁴ Heining, “Taufe statt Ehe,” 113–120.

Die erste Hälfte schildert die den Bräutigam erwartende Braut. (...) Die zweite Hälfte des Liedes schildert die Erwartung, mit der das Gefolge der Braut dem Bräutigam entgegenblickt. (...) Die beiden Teile des Liedes gehören demnach enge zusammen. Sie schildern denselben Zustand, die Erwartung des Bräutigams.⁶⁵

A second scholar arguing for a unity is Marcovich. While he does not say it explicitly, his argument makes clear that he is convinced that the text must have been a coherent whole: “I assume that the lost original was written in East-Aramaic or Syriac: the Semitic Doppeldreier of the original – A distichon with three beats in each line – still seems to be detectable in the extant Greek version.”⁶⁶ Because he sees this presumed original Syriac meter in the text, the HBr must have been a carefully crafted whole.

(2) The Greek and Syriac texts of the Hymn differ from one another. There are clear indications that the Syriac HBr has undergone several changes, all to make the text fit better within a more or less ‘catholic’ or ‘orthodox’ context. These catholicizations are as follows: (A) Instead of the bride in 6:5, the Syriac recension speaks of “my church”; (B) the “place of the blessed aeons” in 6:11 is changed to “the place of life”; (C) the “thirty-two who are singing to her” are not mentioned. Instead, the Syriac speaks of the twelve Apostles and the seventy-two envoys (cf. Luke 10:1); (D) The reference to the “seven” in 7:1 and 7:2, as well as the reference to the “twelve” in 7:3 are deleted; (E) The “great ones” in 7:6 and the “eternal ones” in 7:7 in the Syriac are replaced with “the just ones” and “some.”⁶⁷

At least the first change, from bride to Church, is no problem for Drijvers: “When in the Syriac version of the Wedding Hymn the maiden, the daughter of light, is described *expressis verbis* as the Church, that is a correct interpretation, which corresponds to the intentions of the poet, although the Syriac text catholicises throughout.”⁶⁸ Drijvers’ argument, that the maiden or bride is meant to be the Church which is merely made explicit by the Syriac witnesses, is a possibility. The motif of divine marriage is important in both the Old and New Testament, and can be found in Second-Temple period texts, and early Jewish and Christian writings.⁶⁹ Whereas in the Old Testament and Second-Temple Judaism the focus lies on a union between God and Israel, the New Testament makes the connection of the bridegroom Christ and his bride, the Church.⁷⁰ However, other elements in the Greek text that have been changed in the Syriac, such as the one where the Syriac changes the place of blessed aeons (τὸν χορὸν τῶν εὐδαιμόνων αἰώνων) into the place of the blessed life in 6:11 are still problematic for such an

⁶⁵ Preuschen, *Zwei gnostische Hymnen*, 32.

⁶⁶ Miroslav Marcovich, “The Wedding Hymn of *Acta Thomae*,” *Illinois Classical Studies* 6.2 (1981): 367–385, 367.

⁶⁷ Cf. Marcovich, “The Wedding Hymn of *Acta Thomae*,” 367–368.

⁶⁸ Drijvers, “The Acts of Thomas,” 330. Cf. here also Klauck, *Apokryphe Apostelakten*, 163: “Die syrische Version hat statt ‘das Mädchen’ zu Beginn ‘die Kirche.’ Das dürfte zwar eine sekundäre Verdeutlichung sein, die aber den Sinn des ganzen trifft.”

⁶⁹ Cf. e.g., André Villeneuve, *Nuptial Symbolism in Second Temple Writings, the New Testament and Rabbinic Literature. Divine Marriage at Key Moments of Salvation History*, *Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* 92 (Leiden: Brill, 2016); Elizabeth A. Clark, “The Celibate Bridegroom and His Virginal Brides: Metaphor and the Marriage of Jesus in Early Christian Ascetic Exegesis,” *Church History* 77.1 (2008): 1–25.

⁷⁰ André Villeneuve, *Nuptial Symbolism*, 109.

interpretation. Furthermore, the Greek word αἰών is an important word in ‘gnostic’ circles which opens the door for a more ‘gnostic’ interpretation for the HBr.

(3) The interpretation of the HBr has often perceived ‘gnostic’ or Manichaean elements in the text. This is, just as with the ATh as a whole, especially the case in the earlier eighteenth and nineteenth century critical scholarship on the HBr. Thilo suggested that the bride could be identified with Sophia,⁷¹ an important character in many ‘gnostic’ writings. She is also popular in many Nag Hammadi writings that were discovered a century later. Preuschen follows Thilo in many places, and it is clear from the title of his book *Zwei gnostische Hymnen* that he interprets both the HBr and the HPrl as gnostic hymns.⁷² He says regarding the HBr specifically that it “ein profanes syrisches Hochzeitslied sei, das man erst in den jetzigen Akten zu einem griechisch-gnostischen Gesang umgearbeitet habe.”⁷³ Bornekamm sees strong connections with the thoughts of Bardesan: “Enge Berührungen mit der bardesanischen Gnosis zeigten sich in dem Hochzeitslied der Sophia und in den Mutter-Epiklesen.”⁷⁴ According to LaFargue, “[m]any have wanted to identify the woman with the mythical ‘Sophia-Achamot,’ whose fall and redemption is a favorite subject of many gnostic writings.”⁷⁵ He himself is more convinced of a connection with the Shekhina, the presence of God on earth.⁷⁶

Next to the identification of the daughter of the light with Sophia, the motif of the bridal chamber (παστός) in ATh 6:12 is also known from Nag Hammadi texts,⁷⁷ and other elements can be interpreted as ‘gnostic,’ such as the aforementioned use of the word αἰών. At the same time, more or less ‘orthodox’ interpretations are also possible: “Die sieben Brautführer und die zwölf Diener an späterer Stelle lassen sich auf die sieben Planeten und die zwölf Sternkreiszeichen deuten, aber auch auf die sieben Erzengel (vgl. Tob 12,15) und die zwölf Stämme Israels oder die zwölf Apostel.”⁷⁸ Depending on which of these interpretations one chooses, a wholly different text opens itself up for the reader.

⁷¹ Thilo, *Acta S. Apostoli Thomae*.

⁷² Preuschen, *Zwei gnostische Hymnen*.

⁷³ Preuschen, *Zwei gnostische Hymnen*, 7.

⁷⁴ Bornekamm, “Thomasakten,” 307.

⁷⁵ LaFargue, *Language and Gnosis*, 92.

⁷⁶ LaFargue, *Language and Gnosis*, 92–96.

⁷⁷ Cf. for an overview of the motif of the bridal chamber in Nag Hammadi Jaime Moreno Garrido, “La metáfora de la cámara nupcial en los escritos de Nag Hammadi,” *Teología y Vida* 34 (1998): 364–376. Cf. also for a more in-depth look into the bridal chamber motif in the Gospel of Philip (NHC II,3), in which the bridal chamber motif occurs multiple times, Silke Petersen, “Marriages, Unions, and Bridal Chambers in the Gospel of Philip,” in *Re-Making the World: Christianity and Categories. Essays in Honor of Karen L. King*, ed, Taylor G. Petrey et al., WUNT 434 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019), 213–234.

⁷⁸ Klauck, *Apokryphe Apostelakten*, 163.

Chapter 3: *The Manuscripts in Rome and the Vatican*

A total of ten manuscripts that contain the whole or parts of the ATH are located in Rome and the Vatican. Bonnet used one manuscript from the Biblioteca Angelica (BA), one manuscript from the Biblioteca Vallicelliana (BV), and three from the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV) for his critical edition:⁷⁹

- F – BA Gr. 108 B 2.2
- K – BAV Chigian R VII 51
- U – BV B35
- V – BAV Vat.gr. 1190
- Y – BAV Vat.gr. 797

There are another five manuscripts kept in the BAV that contain parts of the ATH.⁸⁰ Because these five belong to the sixty that were discovered after Bonnet made his critical edition, they are not incorporated in his edition:⁸¹

- 7 – BAV Vat.gr. 866
- 8 – BAV Vat.gr. 1608
- 9 – BAV Vat.gr. 1985
- 10 – BAV Ott.gr. 1
- 56 – BAV Vat.gr. 544

One codex from this second list, 7, is not included in this thesis. It does contain the first act of the ATH but not the HBr. That is not because the HBr was removed in this version, but rather because this manuscript belongs to a different tradition than the one to which the HBr belongs. Bonnet distinguishes between two manuscript families in the first two Acts of the ATH (§ 5–29). The first family of texts has transmitted a longer text that includes the HBr. This tradition is represented by manuscripts CD, FTX, PUY, QR, and SV. The tradition to which 7 belongs, a considerably shorter recension, does not include the HBr. Bonnet identifies manuscripts BGH⁸² as witnesses of this second tradition that does not include the Hymn. 7 shows the same characteristics as these manuscripts.⁸³

According to lists of manuscripts that contain the ATH, Vat.gr. 1238 should also contain at least parts of the text. It appears in the list on the website of the NASSCAL as one of the eighty-

⁷⁹ The letters are the names that Bonnet gave to the manuscripts in his critical edition.

⁸⁰ These five are all the witnesses that we are aware of. It is possible that there are more versions of the text in the libraries in Rome and the Vatican, waiting to be discovered.

⁸¹ The numbers refer to the numbers in the list of manuscripts in Muñoz Gallarte, “New Textual Witnesses.”

⁸² Manuscript B contains a curious copy of the ATH because it shows characteristics of both traditions. In some places it follows the long recension, and in others it follows the short recension.

⁸³ Cf. here Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* 108–145. For a brief introduction and explanation of these traditions used by Bonnet, cf. Muñoz Gallarte, “New Textual Witnesses.”

one manuscripts of the ATH.⁸⁴ Likewise, the ATH is included in Vat.gr. 1238 in the list of contents on the Pinakes-website (the folio-numbers are sadly not mentioned),⁸⁵ and also Muñoz Gallarte includes it in his article on the new witnesses of the ATH.⁸⁶ I have been unable to find the ATH in this manuscript, let alone the HBr. Since I have not found the ATH in this codex, I am unable to treat it here.⁸⁷ This means that I discuss the following manuscripts below: F, K, U, V, Y, 9, 10, and 56.

I give an overview of each manuscript by first discussing the physical condition of the codex, then discussing the script, and finally to conclude with a brief comment on the contents of the manuscript. First, however, I introduce two terms that are important for the present chapter.

3.1. *Menologia and Metaphrasis*

I use two specific but important terms when discussing the contents of the manuscripts:

(1) Menologion: A menologion is a codex that contains texts on the lives and martyrdoms of saints. Each of these texts was read on a specific day of the Greek ecclesiastical year during the morning services. In menologia, the texts are ordered by their date: The earliest menologia, referred to as year-menologia by Ehrhard, contained texts for a whole year.⁸⁸ The number of texts that were read in one year increased over time as new saints and feasts were introduced. Thus, a gradual development set in once the texts that should be read did not fit in one codex anymore. As a result, half-year-menologia, later month-menologia, and eventually half-month-menologia were introduced to make sure that the texts that were to be read still fitted in the codices.⁸⁹ The menological codices in this thesis are F, Y, 10, and 56.

The other codices in this thesis – K, U, V, 8 and 9 – are non-menological codices. They contain the lives and martyrdoms of saints like the menological codices but do not follow the ecclesial calendar. The codices of this group, as described by Ehrhard, are characterized by their rather random contents and texts of different genres. They are often bound in a codex one after the other without clear structure. According to Ehrhard, it seems that the most influential element for the type and order of their contents is “das Belieben des betreffenden Schreibers.”⁹⁰

(2) Metaphrasis: The Greek word *μετάφρασις* means paraphrase. It is a specific form of hagiographical writing especially attributed to Symeon Logothetes.⁹¹ He was commissioned to create a new menologion at the end of the 10th century. Instead of copying ancient Lives or

⁸⁴ For the list of the NASSCAL, see Jonathan Henry, “Acts of Thomas,” *e-Clavis: Christian Apocrypha*, <https://www.nasscal.com/e-clavis-christian-apocrypha/acts-of-thomas/> (Accessed 2021–05–14).

⁸⁵ For the (alleged) contents of BAV Vat.gr.1238: <https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/67869/> (Accessed 2021–05–16).

⁸⁶ Muñoz Gallarte, “New Textual Witnesses.” However, in personal correspondence he informed me that neither he himself, nor Ángel Narro, philologist of ancient languages from the University of Valencia, has yet been able to identify the ATH in this codex.

⁸⁷ Because of time restrictions I was unable to study this manuscript during one of my stays in Rome. I thus base myself on the online pictures of this codex for this claim.

⁸⁸ Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand I*, 326–327.

⁸⁹ Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand I*, 438–439.

⁹⁰ Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand III*, 724–725.

⁹¹ There are also cases of *metaphrasis* known before Symeon Logothetes. Cf. e.g., Stephanos Efthymiadis, “John of Sardis and the Metaphrasis of the Passio of St Nikephoros the Martyr (BHG 1334),” *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 28 (1991): 24–33.

creating new ones, Symeon and his team rewrote these ancient Lives according to the taste of his time. This style of hagiography quickly gained popularity and spread throughout the Greek-speaking world.⁹² Several codices in this thesis are metaphrastic or contain one or several metaphrastic texts.

3.2. *F – Biblioteca Angelica Gr. 108 B 2.2*

3.2.1. *The Codex*

Bonnet dates F in the 11th century,⁹³ Ehrhard proposes a dating between the 11th and 12th centuries,⁹⁴ Muccio and Franchi De' Cavalieri – the compilers of the *Index codicum graecorum Bibliothecae Angelicae* – date the codex to the 12th century.⁹⁵

The binding of the codex is made out of two wooden boards covered with red-colored leather. A piece of red-colored paper adorned with two fine golden lines on the outer edges of the paper is glued on top of the leather. The codex can be closed with two clasps made out of leather and brass. A sticker from the Biblioteca Angelica is placed at the bottom of the spine of the codex, indexing it as “mss. Gr. 108.” Next to the wooden plates, the front and back cover both have an extra parchment folio.

An index written in Latin cursive was added to the manuscript at a later date. These folios are a little smaller than the folios of the original manuscript, measuring 33.7 x 24.5 cm. They are numbered per page instead of per folio and come out to eight pages or four folios. The index comprises the first five pages, the other three pages being empty. The first page of the index includes a stamp of the Biblioteca Angelica. The fifth page dates the codex to the 11th century: *Codex Saeculi XI*.

All folios of the manuscript are restored to some degree and have pieces of newer parchment where the original folios have sustained the most damage, especially in the upper outside corners where the folios have been handled the most to browse through the codex. In some places it seems that the restoration has not been done very carefully. The folios have been cut off, presumably also during a restoration. As a result, the original Greek folio-numbering has often partially or completely been cut off. In other cases, the folios are bound in slantedly. A good example of such a folio is folio 75, where on the outside of the folio the text is almost cut off, whereas on the spine-side of the folio the margin between the top of the page and the beginning of the text measures 2.7 cm. Because of this restoration valuable information regarding the scriptorium in which this manuscript was written is now lost.

The first two folios are most damaged; the first folio is missing one-third of its outer column and the second folio lacks the outer column in its entirety. The third folio is stamped with several stamps from the Biblioteca Passione,⁹⁶ two on its *recto* and a faded one on its *verso*.

⁹² Daria D. Resh, “Toward a Byzantine Definition of Metaphrasis,” *GRBS* 55 (2015): 754–787, 754–755. Cf. also Laura Franco, “A Study of the Metaphrastic Process: The Case of the Unpublished *Passio of St James the Persian* (BHG 773), *Passio of St Plato* (BHG 1551–1552), and *Vita of St Hilarion* (BHG 755) by Symeon Metaphrastes” (PhD diss., the University of London [Royal Holloway], 2009), 15–23.

⁹³ Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, xvi.

⁹⁴ Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand*, 298.

⁹⁵ Giorgio Muccio and Pius Franchi de Cavalieri, *Index codicum graecorum Bibliothecae Angelicae* (Firenze-Rome: Tipografia dei Fratelli Bencini, 1896), 150.

⁹⁶ I have not been able to find information on this library.

The last quire, a single bifolium, is also damaged, albeit to a lesser extent. Care has been taken to stitch the folios together so that the reader sees either two flesh- or two hair-side parchments, conforming to Gregory's law.

There are four different numberings discernable: (1) Greek letters in the top-right corner of the folios in ink, often either faded or (partially) cut off. (2) Arabic numbering written in ink, every five folios (e.g., 5, 10, 15, 20 etc.). It also indicates when a folio is missing, e.g., folio 76 is lost, thus the person who added these numbers skips from writing 75 to 77 to make clear that a folio is lacking. These numbers are written at the top of the folio in the intercolumnar space. Its numbering follows the Greek numbering exactly. (3) And (4) are Arabic numberings added later with pencil. They disagree with one another throughout the whole manuscript. One numbering is noted on the top-right of the folios, the other numbering notates either in the top-left corner or in the intercolumnar space, also at the top. I suspect that the numbering in the top-left is later than the top-right because it seems to correct the other at several places; the top-right numbering is crossed out several times whereas the top-left numbering is not.⁹⁷ Possibly the numbering in the top-left was added as a correction of the wrong numbering in the top-right.

In total, three folios seem to be lacking, ff. 76, 88, and 133. In all these cases a later editor added a short note:

Fol. 76: the Greek numbering is illegible on folio 75 but it is numbered by the later hand who wrote in ink as 75. The Greek numbering on the following folio reads οζ (77). The same hand added a brief note on folio 77: 'Manca una pag. – la 76';

Fol. 88: The Greek numbering skips from πζ (87) to πθ (89), thus skipping πη (88). The later hand in ink added a brief note on folio 89: 'Manca la pag. 88.';

Fol. 133: The Greek numbering skips from ρλβ (132) to ρλδ (134), thus skipping ρλγ (133). The later hand in ink added a brief note on fol. 134: 'Manca la pag. 133.'

This same hand suggests that fol. 176 is lacking as well, as again a brief note can be found on the following folio: 'Manca la pag. 176.' In this case there is no clear evidence such as a cut-off folio, however, and the Greek numbering is also of no help because on folio ροζ (177) the Greek numbering is only partially readable, and on the preceding folios it is lacking. Furthermore, one of the later hands in pencil has made a correction to what the earlier hand in ink thought was fol. 175 and changed it into 176. This is a correct emendation, as there are no indications that this folio is indeed wanting. To conclude, when we assume three folios are missing, the total number of folios comes out at 291 folios which is the number of folios the Greek numbering comes to. The total amount of extant folios thus comes to 288 folios. The compiler of the catalogue of Greek manuscripts at the Biblioteca Angelica agrees with this second counting.⁹⁸

The different counting systems explain the two different numberings found in the codex; the Greek numbering, as well as the Arabic numbering in ink both count 291 folios. The editor who has added the Arabic numbering in ink thus must be the same person as the one who made the short notes on the missing folios. The Arabic numerals written with pencil, placed on the

⁹⁷ This is for example the case on folio 9, where the editor who wrote in the top-right writes an 8, whereas the editor writing in the top-left wrote a 9 and – so I suspect – crossed the erroneous 8 out.

⁹⁸ Muccio and Franchi de Cavalieri, *Index codicum graecorum Bibliothecae Angelicae*, 150.

top-right of the page, counts a total of 288 pages. It seems most likely to me that this is the counting the compilers of the catalogue followed, or possibly even added themselves.

3.2.2. *The Writing*

The two columns of text on each page have approx. 32–35 lines of text. There are no signs of perforation or pricking on the page.⁹⁹ The columns have a consistent rectangular shape and the lines do not differ much in length. The ruling type of the codex corresponds with Leroy 20C2.¹⁰⁰ It has six vertical lines: a double line on the outer indentation of the columns, and a single one in the intercolumnar space for both columns. There is a horizontal guiding line for each line of text.

The style of the writing is consistent throughout the codex: *καί* has an “S”-like form and ligatures are likewise consistent. Abbreviations are used for the *nomina sacra*, as well as for *κοσμός*. Sometimes a supralinear stroke is written at the end of a line to indicate a final nun, and sporadically a ✓ sign substitutes *-ας* at the end of a line. The ductus of the script is relatively angular. This more angular writing has its provenance in “den Basilianerklöstern von Unteritalien und Sizilien.” Ehrhard categorizes these codices as Italo-Greek, and also counts F towards this group of manuscripts.¹⁰¹

There are several capitals re-introduced in the minuscule text. Lambda is more often written as majuscule than as minuscule. Kappa, pi, epsilon and eta alternate frequently between minuscule and majuscule forms. The nun and tau are sporadically written as majuscule, and the gamma is written as majuscule almost exclusively in the titles of the different texts in the codex. The alpha is most often written in a minuscule hand, and sometimes resembles a more or less Carolingian uncial with the vertical line extended and slanted to the left. Beta is consistently written as minuscule. The upward arc of the delta leans to the left. When the epsilon is written as a minuscule, it is combined in ligature when possible. Zeta has the form of a rounded three. When the eta is written as minuscule, it shows the characteristics of the Latin lowercase “h”, sometimes with a slightly shorter vertical extension on the left side of the letter. Theta is written in minuscule. Iota is normally written as big as the other letters, but sporadically is written as a longer vertical line. Mu is written as minuscule consistently. Pi alternates between capital and minuscule form. When written as minuscule, the letter is always closed. There are no final forms of the sigma. Upsilon is most often written as a half circle. When combined with a pi in particular – for example to write the word *ὑπό* – the upsilon is stretched out and has a shape resembling that of a bowl. The phi is written relatively large and resembles a violin. Psi is a cross with a longer vertical line, the horizontal line resting on the guiding line. Omega is virtually always closed, very rarely it is also written opened. The writing is typical for an 11th century hand: The re-introduction of capitals for kappa, pi, epsilon, and eta is common for manuscripts dated in this century. I am thus inclined to date this hand in the

⁹⁹ For a description of several forms of perforation, cf. Elisa Ruiz García, *Introducción a la Codicología* (Madrid: Biblioteca del Libro, 2002), 190–202.

¹⁰⁰ R. Leroy and Jacques-Hubert Sautel, *Répertoire des Réglures dans les Manuscrits Grecs sur Parchemin*, Bibliogica 13 (Turnhout: Brepolis, 1995), 124; 395.

¹⁰¹ Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand I*. On the characteristics of the Italo-Greek manuscripts, cf. 285–286. On F as part of this category of manuscripts, cf. 298.

late 11th century like Bonnet and the Latin index. However, an early 12th date as Muccio and Franchi De' Cavalieri argue is also quite possible.¹⁰²

Several faded sections of text are restored by a later hand that traced over the original faded lines. This newer writing is not the typical Italo-Greek hand used throughout the codex. The lines are finer, the ink is blacker, and it seems to be written either by someone who is not as familiar with Greek minuscule, or by someone with a less steady hand (cf. e.g., 33v–34r; 262r for good examples of this). It is clear that a later hand tried to restore the text, perhaps during the restoration of the codex as a whole. These restorations have not helped much, and in some cases the restored sections are barely readable.

3.2.3. *The Contents*

F is a year-menologion in Italo-Greek style and contains texts that were to be read on the days of Saints and feasts throughout the ecclesial year. Italo-Greek menologia distinguish themselves from the Byzantine menologia on the basis of paleography and the contents of the codices. The Italo-Greek codices relatively closely follow the Byzantine order of texts, but there are minute differences between the two traditions. There are a few different lives of European saints found in the Italo-Greek menologia, and more importantly, “[i]n den Exemplaren, deren italogriechische Herkunft gesichert ist, setzen (...) die Lesungen für die Fastensonntage vielfach ein älteres Perikopensystem voraus als das byzantinische.”¹⁰³ The most important criterium in distinguishing Byzantine and Italo-Greek codices remains paleography, however.¹⁰⁴ F contains 57 texts to be read from September until August.¹⁰⁵

3.3. *K – Vat.chig. R.VII.51 (gr. 42)*

3.3.1. *The Codex*

Bonnet dates this codex from the 12th century,¹⁰⁶ and Ehrhard thinks this codex was written in the 11th century.¹⁰⁷ The compiler of the catalogue for the Greek codices from the Chisian manuscripts, Franchi De' Cavalieri, gives it a dating between the 11th and 12th centuries.¹⁰⁸ It belongs to the manuscripts that were acquired from the Biblioteca Chigiana in 1923. Its nearly 4.000 manuscripts and 28.000 other objects were bought by the Italian government in 1918 and gifted to the BAV in order to make the works more accessible for scholars.¹⁰⁹

K has a total of 195 (7–202) folios, measuring approx. 29.5 x 21.8 cm. These folios are divided in 26 quires, numbered B (2) – KÇ (26). The first quire is missing, and the last quire,

¹⁰² Cf. e.g., for a comparable hand in the early 12th century Ruth Barbour, *Greek Literary Hands A. D. 400–1600* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 11, pl. 40 (BAV Vat.gr.2050, 8 August 1105), which shows many of the particularities/peculiarities? that F does.

¹⁰³ Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand I*, 286.

¹⁰⁴ Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand I*, 286.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. also François Bovon and Bertrand Bouvier, “Un Fragment Grec Inédit des Actes de Pierre?” *Apocrypha* 17 (2006): 9–54, esp. 10–13 for their description of the codex and a closer look at its contents.

¹⁰⁶ Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, xvi.

¹⁰⁷ Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand III*, 742.

¹⁰⁸ Pius Franchi De' Cavalieri, *Codices Graeci Chisiani et Borgiani* (Rome: Typi Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1927), 85

¹⁰⁹ Rachel Applegate, “Vatican Library,” in *Encyclopedia of Library History*, ed. Wayne A. Wiegand and Donald G. Davis Jr. (New York: Garland Publishing, 1994) 653–655, 655.

consisting of three parchment folios added to the three paper folios of the back cover to create a ternion, is not counted in this Greek numbering.¹¹⁰ There are four quires of seven leaves and two ternions. The other quires are quaternions. The first six folios are lacking; the counting of the folios thus starts with fol. 7. In the upper margin of the *recto*, faded Greek numerals are visible that likewise start with the number ζ (7).

This codex has been restored, and the folios are cut off. This has led to the loss of important information regarding its scriptorium. The front cover has an additional five paper folios, I–V. The back cover has an additional three paper folios that have been made into a ternion with the last three parchment folios. The front- and back plates are wrapped with a thin layer of green-colored leather. On the spine of the codex the words “Vitae | Sanctor. | Graec.” are written. Next to a sticker from the BAV that indexes this codex as Vat.chig.R.VII.51, there is a sticker from the Biblioteca Casanatense, indicating it as number 137 of the collection “miscellanea della Biblioteca Casanatense.”¹¹¹ The cover has been wrapped in brown paper in order to protect it, as it is quite delicate.

An incomplete index written in Latin is found on fol. IV, with the names and folio numbers of the first eleven texts indicated on it. The other 24 texts are not included in this index. In the lower margin of IV^r there is a stamp from the Biblioteca Chigiana.

There are quite a few folios missing the outer margin: ff. 26, 43, 44, 51, 55, 67, 76, 89, 91, 100, and 119. One folio has its lower margin cut off: fol. 37. The faded Greek and later Arabic numerals are not always in agreement. Where the Arabic numerals go from 40 to 41, the Greek numbers go from μ (40) to μβ (42). This is a mistake from the person who added the Greek numbers, because ff. 40 and 41 are the two folios of one bifolium. It is impossible that there is a folio lacking in between them, or it must have been a single folio in the middle of a quire of nine folios, which is extremely rare. Another time the Greek numbers go from ος (76) to οη (78), skipping οζ (77). Here it might be the case that an original folio is missing because fol. ος is the last folio of a quaternion, and fol. οη is the beginning of a quire with seven leaves. It might therefore be possible that this second quire also was a quaternion, but that its first folio is now lost.¹¹² At the same time, however, the Greek numerals do also skip folio 193 so their trustworthiness should not be overstated.

3.3.2. *The Writing*

Several hands have worked on this codex. While the general ductus and style of the manuscript look very consistent, there are a few texts where for example the omega is written opened instead of closed, or where the beta is written as majuscule instead of minuscule. Furthermore, what is in my opinion a clearer indication that multiple scribes worked on this manuscript, is

¹¹⁰ Thus, we have β (2) – κς (26) = 25 quires + the quire from three leaves to come to 26 quires. Franchi De’ Cavalieri does not count the last quire as a quire but indexes them as three loose folios, cf. Franchi De’ Cavalieri, *Codices Graeci*, 85.

¹¹¹ I am not sure what the history of this manuscript was. I suspect that it was first part of the Biblioteca Casanantense, then was brought to the Biblioteca Chigiana to then be brought to the BAV when the Italian government gifted this collection to the Vatican. However, more research is needed to discover the history of this manuscript. I will not treat this history here; this topic deserves its own separate paper.

¹¹² In order to be sure of this, it would have been best to check whether the Greek text shows lacunae in both instances. Because I only had a few hours to work on this codex, however, I was not able to do so, and since this manuscript is not available online it was not possible to do it at a later time.

the difference in paratextual information such as decorations. The colors used for these decorations can also differ. Sometimes new sections of text are indicated with a bigger minuscule written in the margins, other times there are uncial initials. Most of the time these initials are written with the *encastum* ink used throughout the codex. Sometimes, however, they are written in red ink. The style of the first initial of a new text can also differ and a few times the title of a work is also written in red ink. All these typical stylistic differences point clearly to different scribes with different expertise and different preferences.

The text is disposed in two columns of about 30 lines of writing per column. The writing is done in a *Perlschrift*-hand. The letters are characterized by their rounded ductus, looking like circular pearls on a string.¹¹³ Ligatures are written consistently. The text shows typical *Perlschrift* abbreviations such as the “S” like form as substitute of καί and the supralinear stroke to indicate a final nun at the end of lines. Neither of these are used consistently. Every now and then, when the epsilon and xi or epsilon and zeta are written in ligature, they can form an “ace of spades,” albeit not very pronounced. There are relative few letters that frequently alternate between minuscule and majuscule variants: the eta, kappa, and lambda. The alpha is always written as minuscule. Depending on the scribe, the beta is either written as minuscule or alternates between minuscule and majuscule. The ductus of the gamma, consistently written as minuscule, is comparatively angular. The superior arc of the delta most often points upwards, but in some cases slightly leans to the left. Epsilon is mostly written in minuscule, but sporadically can be written as a majuscule as well. Zeta has its typical rounded three form. Theta is always written as minuscule. Iota most of the time does not transcend the guiding line. Lambda is almost exclusively written as majuscule, it sometimes takes a minuscule form, but then only in ligature. Mu and nu are consistently written as minuscules. Xi resembles a rounded three with an additional semicircle on the bottom of the letter, opened to the left. Pi is almost always written as minuscule. When written as minuscule, it is always written closed. Sigma is always written closed. Tau is always written as minuscule. Upsilon is normally written as the lower half of a semicircle, and sporadically stretched out like a bowl. This does not happen in ligature normally, but rather to fill out the end of a line. Phi has a typical violin shape, with the left side of the lower circle more rounded and the right side more angular. Psi is written like a cross with the horizontal stroke placed just below the upper guiding line. Chi is written like an X, sticking out on the bottom of the line. Omicron is always written as minuscule and always closed.

The characteristics of this script, being *Perlschrift* with relatively few re-introduced majuscules, lead me to agree with Ehrhard who dates this codex from the 11th century. This dating can be confirmed by a comparison with dated manuscripts.¹¹⁴

3.3.3. *The Contents*

¹¹³ This writing was first described by Herbert Hunger in 1954, cf. Herbert Hunger, “Die Perlschrift, eine Stilrichtung der griechischen Buchschrift des 11. Jahrhunderts,” in *Studien zur griechischen Paläographie*, ed. Herbert Hunger, *Biblos-Schriften* 5 (Wien: Brüder Hollinek, 1954), 22–32.

¹¹⁴ Cf., e.g., Kirsopp Lake and Silva Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200*, 10 vols. (Boston: The American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1934–1939), vol. 4, nr. 173, pl. 296, 297 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale gr. 289, 1066 A. D.).

The most important aspect of the contents of this codex in the context of this thesis is that it does not only contain the Martyrdom of Thomas (§ 156–171) as Bonnet claims in his critical edition.¹¹⁵ Instead, it turns out that this codex contains the first two Acts of the ATh in a rather unusual way, as it has combined them with one another, making one story out of it instead of seeing it as two separate acts (BHG 1800, 1802).¹¹⁶ Most important for this thesis is that it includes a version of the HBr as well.

The extant codex contains seventeen texts, and is indexed by Ehrhard as an “ungeordnete Märtyrer- und Heiligenlegendensammlung.” These collections are as the name suggests not ordered according to the ecclesial year, but are general collections of hagiographical literature.¹¹⁷

3.4. *U – Biblioteca Vallicelliana B35*

3.4.1. *The Codex*

U is dated by Bonnet¹¹⁸ as well as by Ehrhard¹¹⁹ from the 11th century.

The manuscript has been restored and is bound in a simple looking white-leather binding. Next to the wooden cover plates themselves, the front and back cover have an extra parchment folio. The signature of the codex, B35, is indicated on the spine. It has a total of 189 + 2 (108a, 166a) extant folios.

Five paper folios, I–V, precede the parchment folios of U. These are written in Latin. The first folio, (I^r), dates the codex in the 11th century. A title is provided on fol. II^r: *Opuscula et Vitae Sanctorum*. A stamp from the *Reale Societa Romana di Storia Patria* is placed on that same folio, indexing the codex as 00104. Ff. I and II are one bifolium. Ff. III–V contain two indexes. The first is found on III^{r-v}, written in a clear cursive hand. The second index is located on V^r. This index is written as if it were for personal use and as a result not much care has gone into the writing. The letters are small, and because the ink is relatively thick at points, some titles are barely readable. The material of the paper of V is also different in comparison to the material of ff. I and II, which are a thick paper with a slight yellow hue, as well as III and IV, which are a thinner paper and also colored slightly yellow as well. These indexes were all added at a later stage.

It is very clear that this manuscript has been restored and that it comprises two different fragments of codices that were bound together to produce the codex in its current form. I refer to them as U.I and U.II. The codex comprises 20 (U.I) + 4 (U.II) quires. U.I takes up ff. 1^v–155^r. The folios are relatively consistent in their dimensions (28–28.5 x 23.5–24 cm) but because they have been cut, important evidence for the identification of the scriptorium in which this codex has been produced is now lost. The original beginning and end of U.I are also lost, as well as multiple quires in the first half of the manuscript. At the beginning of U.I, the first quire as well as the first two folios from the second quaternion are lost. We can be sure of

¹¹⁵ Bonnet, *Acta Apocrypha Apostolorum*, xviii, where he claims that he used K on pages 264–288, corresponding to § 156–171. However, as I point out above, this is impossible because it contains the first two acts,

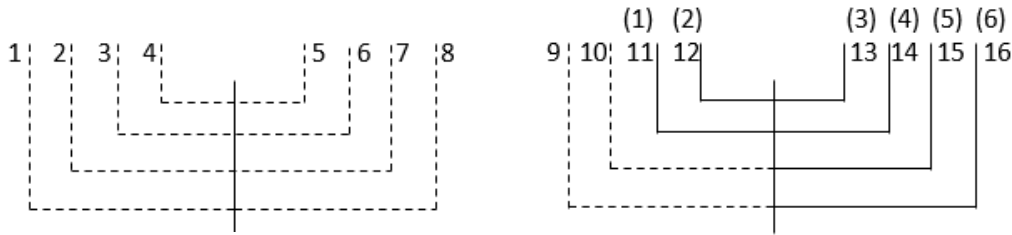
¹¹⁶ So also Franchi De’ Cavalieri, *Codices Graeci*, 85: *acta s. Thomae* = BHG 1800, *stilo tamen satis diversa (...)* et lacunose, primo enim habes 1800, cui (f. 14 col. 1, 13) subnectitur 1802

¹¹⁷ Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand III*, 733; 742.

¹¹⁸ Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, xvi.

¹¹⁹ Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand III*, 730.

this because the original Greek quire numberings still remain. These were placed in the top-right corner on the *recto* on the first folio of a quire, and in the bottom-right lower corner of the *verso* on the last folio of a quire. In the bottom-right corner of fol. 6^v the quire number B is still visible, so we learn that ff. 1–6 from the extant codex are ff. 3–8 of the second quire of the original codex. As is expected, on the top-right corner of fol. 7^r, the quire that follows is numbered Γ. When we assume that the first quire was a quaternion also, the first two original quires thus looked like the following:



After quire Γ, or the second extant quire, eight other quires from U.I are lacking from the first half of the codex (ff. 1–69):

	<i>q. A om.</i>		
q. 1,	ff. 1–6,	incomplete quaternion	B
q. 2,	ff. 7–14,	quaternion	Γ
	<i>q. Δ, E om.</i>		
q. 3,	ff. 15–21,	quaternion	Ç
q. 4,	ff. 22–28,	seven ff.	Z
q. 5,	ff. 29–37	nine ff.	fol. 29, Z; ff. 30–37, H
	<i>q. Θ om.</i>		
q. 6,	ff. 38–45	quaternion	I
q. 7,	ff. 46–53	quaternion	IA
q. 8,	ff. 54–61	quaternion	IB
	<i>q. II, IΔ om.</i>		
q. 9,	ff. 62–69	quaternion	IE
	<i>q. IÇ, IZ, IH om.</i>		

Ff. 70–155, or quires 10–20 in the extant codex and quires IΘ (19) – KΘ (29) in the original codex are all present:

q. 10,	ff. 70–77	quaternion	IΘ
q. 11,	ff. 78–85	quaternion	K
q. 12,	ff. 86–93	quaternion	KA
q. 13,	ff. 94–100	seven ff.	KB
q. 14,	ff. 101–108 ^{a120}	nine ff.	fol. 101 KB; ff. 102–108 ^a KΓ

¹²⁰ Fol. 108a is given this number by a later hand in ink, I suspect that the earlier numbering skipped this folio by accident. Cf. also below, note 122.

q. 15,	ff. 109–116	quaternion	KΔ
q. 16,	ff. 117–124	quaternion	KE
q. 17,	ff. 125–132	quaternion	KÇ
q. 18,	ff. 133–140	quaternion	KZ
q. 19,	ff. 141–148	quaternion	KH
q. 20,	ff. 149–155	seven ff.	KΘ
	<i>q. A(-?) om.</i>		

The last text of U.I, the third homily of John Chrysostom’s *de diabolo tentatore*, is written on the last quire. The quire number KΘ on fol. 155 has been added at a later date with a different hand. Since the text of this homily is cut off and the quire number is added later, it is most logical that this last extant quire from U.I, now seven folios long, originally was a quaternion also. Roig Lanzillotta has estimated that the remaining text of the *de diabolo tentatore* would have taken up another three and a half to four folios,¹²¹ which means that the last extant quire from U.I must have had one folio to complete the quire, and then another two and a half to three folios to complete the *de diabolo tentatore*, possibly part of a now lost thirtieth quire. That implies that there are in total at least nine quires now lost: one at the beginning and eight in the first half, with possibly one (or more) at the end of U.I. That brings us to the following overview of quires:

Original quires U.I:

[1], 2, 3, [4, 5], 6, 7, 8, [9], 10, 11, 12, [13, 14], 15, [16, 17, 18], 19–29 [30-?]

Extant quires U.I:

1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 9 10–20

Most important for this thesis is that the ATh is found on quires 12–19, and those have all survived including the only Greek version of the HPrl.

Ff. 156^r–189^v contain a fragment of a different codex, which I call here U.II. This fragment is a palimpsest. The last few folios in particular show significant damage – they are not only missing parts, but also seem to have water damage. The darker colored patches on the outside corners are indicative of this. The folios of U.II are relatively stable in height, generally measuring between 27.5 and 28.5 cm. The width of the folios can differ more, with the widest folios measuring around 23.5 cm, and the narrowest ones measuring 21 cm on the top and 22.3 cm at the bottom. These narrower folios have been cut off at a slight angle. On several folios the perforation lines are still visible (ff. 175–180).

U.II also contains quire numberings starting with quire Λ, thus continuing where U.I stopped (at KΘ). This quire is a quinion (q. Λ, ff. 156–165). After this quire, there follow a quaternion (q. ΛA, ff. 166–172¹²²) and another quinion (q. ΛB, ff. 173–182). It closes with a set of seven heavily damaged folios, presumably quire ΛΓ (ff. 183–189).

¹²¹ Lautaro Roig Lanzillotta, “Codex Vallicellianus B 35: An Assessment of the only Extant Greek Manuscript of Acta Thomae Including the ‘Hymn of the Pearl,’” forthcoming.

¹²² This is not a set of seven ff.; it includes fol 166a, presumably because the earlier numbering skipped this folio. Cf. also above, note 120.

3.4.2. *The Writing*

There are multiple hands in this codex, several in U.I and at least three in U.II: One in the overwriting and two in the underwriting. I will focus mainly on the hands found in U.I, because this part contains the ATh. It contains an earlier script written in two columns containing 40 lines of writing per page and its ruling conforms to Leroy X2 23C2d.¹²³ This ruling has two columns with six vertical guiding lines, a double line on the outside indentation and a single line in the intercolumnar space for both columns, and is furthermore characterized by one horizontal guiding line for every three lines of text. The scribe of this part has not always taken care to respect the intercolumnar space. Words that would not fit in the line are still included, resulting in a transcending of the vertical guiding lines. In other cases, the scribe begins a word on a new line while there still is space for one or two letters in the line above.

The writing of U.I is done in Italo-Greek style, as is evident by the angular ductus of the letters.¹²⁴ Words are finished in the intercolumnar space, so abbreviations are not frequently used. Sporadically $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\iota$ is written as an “S”-like form. Ligatures are consistent, and a few majuscules have been reintroduced. Kappa and lambda are frequently written as majuscule. Their minuscule forms are sometimes written, and then only when in ligature. Epsilon and eta are sporadically written in majuscule. Alpha and beta are always written in minuscule, and gamma is only written as majuscule in the titles of texts. The arc of the delta consistently leans slightly to the left. Zeta is written as a rounded three. Theta is consistently written as minuscule. Iota can transcend the upper guiding line. Mu is consistently written as minuscule. Nu can occur as majuscule in the titles of texts. The writing of xi alternates between a more rounded and a more angular form. Pi is only written as majuscule in titles. Rho and sigma are always written as minuscules and in ligature where possible. Upsilon normally is written like a half-circle but in ligature, especially when connected to the pi, upsilon is often written more stretched out, its form resembling that of a bowl. The form of phi resembles a violin, with the upper circular shape of the letter leaning to the left, whereas the lower circular shape is rounded on the left and more angular on the right side. This typical writing style of the phi is consistent throughout U.I. Psi is written like a cross with the horizontal stroke resting on the guiding line. Omega is always written in minuscule and is always closed.

The writing is characterized by the frequent use of minuscule over their majuscule counterparts, and capitals that would point at the later 11th century, such as frequent use of the majuscule forms of the epsilon, eta, nu, and pi are almost never written. However, the titles of the different texts in U.I show a significant higher percentage of letters written as majuscules. Thus, it seems likely to me that U.I was written in the early 11th century.¹²⁵

¹²³ Leroy and Sautel, *Répertoire des Réglures*, 331; 395.

¹²⁴ There are several styles of Italo-Greek hands as described by the website of the Vatican Library. U does not fit any one category convincingly, but it does share the more common Italo-Greek characteristics such as this more angular ductus. There are furthermore several instances of a less pronounced “ace of spades,” (cf. e.g., fol. 27^r, col. 1, l. 12; col. 2, l. 3; 16; 38) which lead me to think that U is an Italo-Greek codex. For the description of Italo-Greek hands, cf. the website of the Vatican Library: <https://spotlight.vatlib.it/greek-paleography/feature/6-italo-greek-scripts-tenth-twelfth-centuries> (Accessed 2021-07-20).

¹²⁵ For a comparable and securely dated manuscript, cf. Cf. e.g., Barbour, *Greek Literary Hands*, 14, pl. 50 (Oxford Bodleian Auct. T.2.2., 1067 A. D.). Note especially the similar shape of the phi.

The overwriting on U.II comes from a much later hand than what is found in U.I. It frequently uses majuscule forms of beta, delta, epsilon, eta, kappa, lambda, nu, pi, and tau, and it also distinguishes between final and non-final sigma.

This writing is also more ornate than the writing in U.I. The scribe of U.II has frequently used red ink to write the titles of the works and the first capitals of individual sections of the texts. The vertical stroke of several letters is extended downwards when written on the bottom line. This for example happens with the rho and phi. The lower diagonal stroke of the kappa also can get an ornate “S”-like stroke going down towards the lower margin of the parchment in order to write the word καὶ. Accents are clearly written and the circumflex is often extended horizontally so that it encompasses both the vowel it belongs to as well as the letter on either side of it. Sometimes a letter is stretched out in order to fill out the line. This happens most often with the horizontal strokes of the sigma and minuscule epsilon. Likewise, the scribe frequently uses abbreviations at the end of lines. Still, the margins do not always look square and occasionally letters are sticking out towards the outer margin of the folios. These elements are characteristic of a 13th century hand.

There are two different underwritings in U.II. These underwritings are both bound in upside down, as the writer of the overwriting turned the folios 180 degrees before writing the new texts on the parchment. The first type of underwriting is very small and divided into two neatly outlined columns that contained at least 49 lines of writing. There likely was more but since the folios are cut off an unknown number of lines have likewise been cut off. There are two folios with this underwriting, ff. 156 and 165, the outer bifolio of the first quinion. It is written mostly in a *Perlschrift* minuscule, but a significant number of majuscules has been re-introduced; the gamma, epsilon, eta, theta, kappa, lambda, pi, and tau are frequently written in their majuscule form, with the tau often transcending the original guiding line. These are characteristics of a late 11th or early 12th century hand.

The second type of underwriting is of similar size to that of the overwriting and contained 26 lines of writing in a single column. Ff. 157–164; 166–189 have this underwriting which resembles either *Perlschrift* or *Bouletée* minuscule. A smaller number of majuscules has been re-introduced: eta and kappa are frequently written as majuscule, and epsilon sporadically. These are the characteristics of a late 10th or an 11th century hand.

3.4.3. *The Contents*

U is a pre-metaphrastic non-menological codex. The contents of U.I are not ordered according to the ecclesial calendar. So for example, the *Acts of Andrew* (ff. 77^r–86^v), which would normally be read on November the 30th, is followed by a homily from Basil of Caesarea (ff. 86^v–91^v), which in turn is followed by the ATh (ff. 92^r–141^r), normally read on October the 6th. U.II follows a calendar ordered according to the panegyric tradition, which consists in a collection of eulogies on Christ. U.II is categorized by Ehrhard as a “Jahrespanegyrik,” meaning that it contains eulogies on Christ that should be read throughout the whole year.¹²⁶ Thus, the text that should be read on the eighth of September, the *Oratio de Nativitate a. Andrea Cretensi* (ff. 156^v–162^r, BHG 1082), is followed by the text that was read on the fourteenth of September, the *Oratio a. Sophronio* (ff 162^r–164^r, BHG 444). The *Oratio de Praesentatione a.*

¹²⁶ Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand III*, 210–211.

Germano Cpolitano (ff. 164^f–167^v, BHG 1104) follows immediately after, a text that was read on November 21st.

U.II does not seem to have randomly been added to U.I. The last text from U.I is the third homily of John Chrysostomos's *de diabolo tentatore*. The last line of U.I, l. 40 on the *verso* of fol. 155 reads της γέγονεν; καὶ ἵνα (PG 49, 270 l. 4). The *recto* of the first folio from U.II is the ending of the same homily and begins with the words ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ εἰμι κατεκεῖνον (PG 49, 273/4 l. 17). Since the quire number ΚΘ on fol. 155^f was added later and the following quire – the first quire of U.II – is numbered Λ, the impression this codex gives is that it wants to show a continuity between the two parts.

U is an important codex for the study into the ATh, as it is the only Greek copy in which the ATh survives in full, including the HPrl. Next to U, this Hymn only survives in one Syriac copy, *British Library, Add. 14645* (936 A. D.).

3.5. V – BAV Vat.gr.1190

3.5.1. The Codex

According to Bonnet, V is from the 15th century.¹²⁷ This is not right, as we learn from fol. 819^v. Here is described that this codex has been paid for by the Latin Bishop Georgios Abramaios, and that several scribes have been working on it. One of these scribes, Ἰωάννης ἱερεὺς ὁ Κοδομηνός, is mentioned by name.¹²⁸ This same folio also tells us that it was finished in the year 1542, thus in the 16th century and not in the 15th as Bonnet thought.¹²⁹

V is split up into three volumes, called Vat.gr.1190.1–3.¹³⁰ The three volumes have the same dimensions of 30.5 x 20.5 cm and contain an impressive 1387 folios divided in 172 quires in total: Vat.gr.1190.1 contains ff. 1–247; Vat.gr.1190.2 contains ff. 248–819; and Vat.gr.1190.3 contains ff. 820–1387. It is the only codex in this thesis that uses paper instead of parchment as writing material. Because volumes two and three contain about twice as many folios as volume one, they are also about twice as thick.

All three volumes are bound in binding made from cardboard wrapped in a thin layer of crème-colored leather. Their shelf marks are indicated on the spines of the volume twice, once in golden letters, and once with a sticker. The front- and back covers of all three volumes have an additional paper folio. The first volume also includes a brief Latin introduction to the codex (ff. I–II) as well as a long Greek index (ff. 1–15).

There are both Greek and Arabic numerals on the folios. The Greek numerals are fifteen folios behind the Arabic numerals. This is easily explained, as the hand who used Arabic numerals also counted the fifteen folios of the index as folios of the manuscript, whereas the person adding the Greek numerals did not. The quires of the manuscript are also numbered with Greek numerals. Quire numbers are written on the bottom-right of the *recto* of the first folio of a quire, as well as on the bottom left of the *verso* of the last folio of a quire. The restored

¹²⁷ Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, xvi–xvii. He mentions two other datings as well: *Vaticanum graecum 1190 saeculo XV ego adsignaueram, Augustus Mau saeculo XIV aut XV, saeculo XVI tribuunt Bollandiani*.

¹²⁸ Marie Vogel, Viktor E. Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, Beiheft zum Zentralblatt für Bibliothekwesen 33 (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1909), 174.

¹²⁹ Cf. here also Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand III*, 870 n. 1.

¹³⁰ There was no catalogue available for this manuscript in the BAV; the catalogue for mss. 1485–1683 follows directly after the catalogue for mss. 867–932, a catalogue for mss. 933–1484 thus is wanting.

quires do not always follow these original quire numbers, as they are sometimes one folio off. These differences come mainly from quires that after the restoration are made into quires of seven folios, for example. In total, the codex consists out of 172 quires.

The leaves of the codex have been cut off during restoration. In several instances the margins around the single column of text are inconsistent, and comments on the text that are placed on the outer margin of the folio are frequently cut off as well. There are also no signs of pricking or guiding lines which makes finding the scriptorium of V more challenging. The differences in paper quality, thickness, and color furthermore show not only that many scribes worked on the text, but that they also used different materials to write on, and different pencils as well, because the thickness of the strokes fluctuates greatly throughout the codex.

3.5.2. *The Writing*

There is one hand from which we know who wrote it, as the writer himself, Ἰωάννης ἱερεὺς ὁ Κοδομηνός left us a note. Other hands are also clearly visible. The index, as well as the first quire after the index are written in different and distinctive hands, and throughout the codex the writing style as well as the type of ink used differ from scribe to scribe. The biggest contrast is that between volumes one and two on the one hand and volume three on the other. The general ductus of the first two volumes is quite angular, the strokes are thin, and the letters are relatively small. The general ductus of the third volume stands in sharp contrast to the first two. It is very round, with thick strokes and bigger letters. The scribes in this volume seem to continue to write in a style that is more traditional and based on the popular earlier *Perlschrift*. There are still many individual preferences and styles discernable in this more general division, but still, it is striking to see such a difference between the first two and the third volume and the relative consistency in style within each volume.

The focus of the writing in this section is the writing as it occurs on ff. 100^r–113^v, because it is on these folios that the ATh can be found. The writing is disposed on the page in one wide and neat column. Each page contains 34 lines of writing. The ductus is quite angular, and because there are quite a few letters that transcend the lines they are written in, filling in the intralinear spaces, individual pages can look quite “busy.” Ligatures are written, but they are not always present. There are a lot of ligatures characteristic of a later hand such as the many different writings of the rho in combination with a vowel, or ligatures that are written to combine two re-introduced majuscules. There are many of these re-introduced majuscules in the text. Lambda is exclusively written as majuscule. Beta, gamma, epsilon, eta, theta, kappa, and pi are frequently written as majuscule. Less frequently, alpha takes on an uncial form akin to the Carolingian uncial. The gamma, while majuscule, does not transcend the upper- or lower margin of the line it is written in as for example the tau does frequently. Delta is rather consistently written as a minuscule, with its superior arc pointing straight upward. The Zeta is written like the number two with the lower horizontal stroke diagonally pointing downward. Iota is, like the gamma, not transcending the margins and sometimes written in ligature, especially with the rho, mu, and pi. The nu is sometimes written either as an uncial or majuscule, but most frequently still appears as a minuscule. Xi has the form of a three with an additional hook on the bottom of the letter, diagonally pointing downwards. Sporadically, the pi can be written as a closed minuscule. Sigma alternates between a closed variant and one opened at the right, resembling a “c” shape, and at times it seems to distinguish between normal

and final sigma. The horizontal stroke of the majuscule tau is only written to the left, like a mirrored majuscule gamma. Upsilon is consistently written as the lower half of a circle. Phi looks similar to the phi as it is written in current Greek, written as a large circle with a vertical stroke through the middle of it, sometimes only sticking out on the lower side of the circle, other times protruding out of both the upper- and lower side of the circle. Psi is written like a cross with the horizontal stroke shaped like a shallow bowl, dipping slightly in the middle where it meets the vertical line. Omega is virtually always written opened. I would be tempted to date this script as a 15th century hand as Bonnet does. Thanks to the dedication on fol. 819^v however, we know that this hand is better dated in the 16th century, in or slightly before the year 1542.

A brief focus on two other different scripts shows the diversity of hands in the codex. The index shows a rounder ductus and uses much red ink next to the more standard *encastum* ink that has turned to brown. The first letters of texts, as well as the name of the months and ornamental divisions are all written with red ink. The letters themselves are also relatively large, resulting in about 32 lines of writing in a single column. This hand is closely related to the group of hands in volume 3 who write in “traditional” hands that continued to write in earlier styles such as *Perlschrift*.¹³¹

The hand that wrote the first quire shows many of the particularities that can also be found in the other hands throughout the first two volumes of V. There are many majuscules re-introduced, lines are less rounded, there are relatively few ligatures written, and the shapes of the letters clearly show that they are later developments of earlier styles. However, there are clear differences with the scribe of the ATh as well. For example, the epsilon is written very large and elongated and the horizontal stroke of the tau orients both to the left and the right, instead of only the left as is customary throughout the codex. The lines are slightly finer and the ink is not the *encastum* ink used by the majority of scribes as the ink from the first quire has stayed black.

What is most interesting about the hand that wrote the first text is that it is not only distinct from other hands hand by the writing alone. The ornamentation is also a clear clue that we have to do with another scribe. The first folio after the index shows a beautiful decorative depiction, taking up the upper half of the page. Made with red, yellow, green, and blue ink, this symmetrical piece shows lines like vine-branches and includes depictions of animals such as lion heads, tortoises, and what presumably are dolphins. The first letter of the text is a decorated initial, also modeled after a vine, written in blue, and it is fit in a red-colored rectangular shaped box. While there are ornamental elements in the rest of the codex as well, different to this first piece. They only use either yellow or red in their depictions of the first initial of a new work, or sometimes combine red and blue in the ornamental dividing lines between two texts on the same page. Furthermore, sometimes the subject of the depiction can differ. This can be an anthropomorphic initial or a symmetrical ornament shaped in diamond-form, for example. The first scribe is the only one that has used green coloration.

¹³¹ Cf. On a brief description of the “Traditional” hands in the 15th and 16th centuries: <https://spotlight.vatlib.it/greek-paleography/feature/11-fifteenth-and-sixteenth-century-hands> (Accessed 2021-07-20).

3.5.3. *The Contents*

Like U, V is a non-menological codex. It has the most extensive collection of texts in this category; its 1387 folios amount to over 215 texts. 133 of these are hagiographical in nature, and “mehr als ein Drittel” are categorized as metaphrastic by Ehrhard.¹³² He has identified three instances where texts do follow each other according to the ecclesial calendar. However, as he himself shows, these collections are either missing a significant number of texts or are interrupted by other hagiographical writings not included in menologia,¹³³ so I am not sure whether these texts were placed in chronological order by accident or with the intent to follow the ecclesial calendar. However, if the texts in these three instances were intended to follow the calendar, it is striking that there are some texts missing – so e.g., the collection of texts from 15 September until 24 December, where there are only two texts from October included – and that these collections get interrupted by other non-menological texts.

It is interesting in this regard that the index has been ordered not according to the succession of texts, but rather according to when the text should be read according to the ecclesial calendar. The index thus begins with September. Still, this does not mean that it is a menologion, as there are only four texts for the month of April in the collection, and there are more than a hundred works that were not part of the ecclesial reading cycle included in this codex.

3.6. *Y – BAV Vat.gr.797*

3.6.1. *The Codex*

Bonnet dates Y from the 11th century.¹³⁴ Devreesse, the compiler of the catalogue in the Vatican, dates it from the 10th century,¹³⁵ and Ehrhard does as well.¹³⁶ The Pinakes-website gives different dates for the different texts in this codex, alternating between the 10th and 11th centuries. They argue for the following division of datings: Ff. 1–15 s. 10; ff. 15–139 s. 11; ff. 140–170 s. 10; ff. 170–346 s. 11; ff. 346–357 s. 10; ff. 357–380 s. 11.¹³⁷

The codex contains 380 folios that are divided into 51 quires. Of these, 39 are quaternions, six are ternions, four are quires of seven folios, and two quires are bifolia. The folios measure approx. 36 x 26 cm, and several folios have cut off margins.¹³⁸ The first and last folio have been stamped with a stamp from the BAV.

The binding of Y, made out of wooden plates wrapped in red-colored leather, has been wrapped in thick, grey paper to protect it, as it is quite old and delicate. The shelf number of this codex is found on a sticker that has been placed on the grey paper, as well as on the red-leather binding of the codex itself. Both the front and the back cover include one paper folio. When the codex is closed, zodiac-like signs are visible on the edges of the parchment.

¹³² Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand III*, 871.

¹³³ Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand III*, 871.

¹³⁴ Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, xvi.

¹³⁵ Robert Devreesse, *Codices Vaticani Graeci, Tomus III. Codices 604–866* (The Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1950), 323.

¹³⁶ Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand I*, 383, n. 1 notes: “M. E. sprechen die paläographischen Kriterien überwiegend für das späte 10. [century].”

¹³⁷ Cf. <https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/67428/> (Accessed 2021–06–21).

¹³⁸ The folios mentioned by Devreesse, ff. 16, 42–46, 97, 98, 155, 177, 186, 250, 266, 267, 306, 307, and 379 are correct. Cf. Devreesse, *Codices Vaticani Graeci, Tomus III*, 325.

Y includes Greek quire numbers that are written in ink and Arabic numerals that count the folios in pencil. Both countings were added at a later stage. Arabic numerals were not yet introduced in Europe at the time this codex was written, and the Greek quire numbers are written with different ink than the typical *encastum* ink with which the text of the codex is written. There are no signs of pricking, and the guiding lines are barely visible. Since this manuscript is restored, valuable information regarding the scriptorium in which this manuscript has been produced is now lost.

3.6.2. *The Writing*

Several hands have worked on this codex. The general rounded ductus is very similar for all hands, but ligatures are not consistent throughout the codex. There are also differences in the percentages of letters that are written as majuscules, as well as different choices which letters are written as majuscules. In general, these majuscules are re-introduced in otherwise fairly consistent minuscule hands. The title of only one text is written with red ink (fol. 292^r, the *Miracles of Saint Demetrius*), otherwise everything in the codex is written in the typical black *encastum* ink that now has faded to brown.

Since the ATh is found on ff. 140–170, I focus on the description of the hand on these folios in my paleographical description. The writing is disposed in two columns of text, containing 26 or 27 lines of writing. The ruling of the pages corresponds to Leroy 20E2: it has six vertical lines. Both columns have a double guiding line on the outer indentation and a single line in the intercolumnar space. The horizontal guiding lines are not extended in the intercolumnar space and are only found in the columnar spaces.¹³⁹ The outer margin, about eight cm, and the lower margin, about seven cm, are spacious. This hand writes in a rather consistent style. There are no abbreviations used apart from the *nomina sacra* and the “S” like form that substitutes καί. Especially the nu is often written as majuscule. Other letters that alternate between minuscule and majuscule are the epsilon, eta, kappa, and lambda. Alpha and beta are always written in minuscule. Gamma is always written in minuscule and has a typical elongated “v” form that sticks out at the bottom of the line. Delta is written as minuscule with the superior arc slightly leaning to the left. Epsilon is written as minuscule when in ligature. Zeta has the typical rounded three form. Theta is written as minuscule. Iota can transcend the guiding line at times but mostly stays just under it. Xi can take two forms and is shaped either like a rounded three with an additional semicircle opened to the left, or like an angular three with an extra diagonal stroke on the bottom of the letter, orienting to the right. When written as minuscule, pi is always closed. It can also be written as a majuscule, albeit sporadically. The sigma is either closed or opened to the right to create a “c” shape. Upsilon is normally written as the underside of a semicircle but in ligature often gets stretched out, resembling a bowl. Phi is written quite large and has the typical shape of a violin. Psi is written as a cross with the horizontal stroke resting on the guiding line. Omega is always written closed.

Y has the tendency to write the circumflex above instead of next to the breathing mark. This development of writing the circumflex above instead of next to the breathing mark becomes

¹³⁹ Leroy and Sautel, *Répertoire des Réglures*, 139; 399.

evident in the second part of the 10th century.¹⁴⁰ Together with the relative few re-introduced capitals and rounded shape of the letters, a dating in the second half of the 10th century is reasonable. This dating is confirmed by comparing the writing to dated manuscripts.¹⁴¹

Furthermore, because of the elegant, skillful and consistent hands, as well as the large margins in this manuscript, I suspect that this manuscript was produced for a wealthy customer.

3.6.3. *The Contents*

Ehrhard categorizes Y as a menologion for three months, or in other words, a “Vierteljahresmenologion.”¹⁴² It contains texts to be read on September, October, and November. The ending of Y is missing: the latest recorded text is the *Martyrdom of James the Persian* (ff. 374^r–380^v, BHG 772), of which the text abruptly stops at the end of the codex. This text was normally read on November the 29th. It might therefore be argued that it could also be a menologion for four months. Ehrhard argues contra this statement as the codex already has 380 folios in its current state. An addition of December texts would mean an addition of an approximate 120 folios and codices of such length, about 500 folios, are rare.¹⁴³

The contents of the codex show that the datings as proposed by Pinakes, alternating between the 10th and 11th century, make no sense. For example, they argue that ff. 170–346(^{r?}) are written in the 11th century, and that 346(^{v?})–357 are written in the 10th. This would mean that the beginning of the text on fol. 346v, a text from Timothy the archbishop of Alexandria *On the Wonders of Saint Menas* (BHG 1256–1259) would have been written on the *verso* of the folio before anything was written on the *recto*, which would be really unusual. Furthermore, when the preceding text, the *Martyrdoms of Acepsumas, Joseph, and Aeithalas* (BHG 17), then would have been written a century later, they must have written it in such a way that they knew exactly how long the story would become in order to finish the story on 346^r. Any longer was not possible, otherwise it would interfere with the story starting on 346^v.

Another problem with the datings from the Pinakes-website is that the beginning of the text of the *Wonders* is written on the last folio of the quire that the *Martyrdoms* are also written on. So not only would this mean that they began writing the older text on a *verso*, which is already strange, but also on the *verso* of the last folio in a quire that would remain empty until it was filled with a different text in the following century. This is of course highly unlikely. It is therefore better to assume that the different writing styles do not reflect different time periods and that the codex should be understood as a unity and not a composition as the Pinakes-website seems to suggest.

3.7. 8 – *Vat.gr. 1608*

3.7.1. *The Codex*

¹⁴⁰ Barbour, *Greek Literary Hands*, xxviii.

¹⁴¹ For a comparable hand, cf. Barbour, *Greek Literary Hands*, 6, pl. 20 (Oxford, Bodleian MS. Auct. E. 2.12, 12 August 953). This hand shows the thin and very round lines so characteristic of Y. Similarly, the delta, zeta, and xi are very similar and there is a low number of majuscules re-introduced.

¹⁴² Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand I*, 383.

¹⁴³ Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand I*, 385.

Giannelli, who made the catalogue in which 8 is also incorporated, dates this codex from the 11th century.¹⁴⁴ Cataldi Palau dates 8 from the first quarter of the 11th century, and argues that this codex is one of four that should be attributed to Calabrian-Nilian copyists from Campania that once belonged to Grottaferrata.¹⁴⁵ Ehrhard proposes a date between the 12th and 13th centuries.¹⁴⁶

It has 208 + 2 (75a, 170a) folios, measuring approx. 26 x 20.5cm. It contains a total of 27 quires. There is one quire of seven folios, one quire of nine folios, two ternions, and one quire consisting out of three folios. All other quires are quaternions. There are clear signs of pricking left on the individual folios, but since the codex has been restored, the pricking marks only help minimally with establishing the scriptorium in which the codex has been produced.

In its current form, the codex has a binding made out of two wooden plates that are wrapped in brown leather. In the leather there are several decorative elements. Following the edges of the front and back covers, a decorative band with repeating patterns is pressed in the leather. On the middle of the front cover, a depiction like a papal seal is depicted, including a miter and two keys, signaling either the keys to heaven given to Peter or the papal claims to earthly and heavenly matters. This ornamental piece has a yellow gold-like color. On the middle of the back cover, another decorative display, possibly also a seal, is placed. It depicts a dog standing on its hind legs. It is placed in an oval-shaped decorated rim, also in yellow gold-like color. The codex once included two clasps to close it, but these are not extant anymore. All that remains are the holes for the screws that secured the clasps to the wooden plates of the binding. The spine of the codex has two stickers, both indexing it as “Vat.gr. 1608” and it includes three smaller decorative ornamentations in gold. Both front and back cover include one additional paper folio.

A small (20.6 x 13.5 cm) Greek index on paper, written in a much later hand, has been added to the codex. This has been done after a large portion of the texts at the beginning of the codex had already gone missing. The first text of the extant codex is the ATh, which has lost its beginning. It starts in the middle of § 2, where the text describes that Jesus sells Thomas to Abban the trader. The first words on fol. 1^r are καὶ συνεφώνησεν μετ’ αὐτοῦ τριῶν λιτρῶν ἀσήμου, καὶ ἔγραψεν ὠνήν λέγων (ATH § 2, Bonnet 101.11–102.1). Since the texts of this codex are numbered, we learn that the ATh originally was the ninth text in the collection, and a significant number of quires at the beginning of the manuscript thus now is lost. The same happens at the end, where text number 35 has lost its end. An unspecified number of texts and quires thus seems to be lacking there as well.

The manuscript does have some quire numbers, but these do not always seem to make sense. For example: the quaternion A consists of ff. 153–160. Then there follows a quaternion without quire number, and the following quire, ff. 169–170a, has quire number B. This quire was originally a ternion, but only consists out of two complete folios (169 and 170) and a

¹⁴⁴ Cyrus Giannelli, *Codices Vaticani Graeci. Codices 1485–1683* (The Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana 1950), 266.

¹⁴⁵ Annaclara Cataldi Palau, “Manoscritti greci originari dell’ Italia meridionale nel fondo ‘Additional’ della ‘British Library’ a Londra,” in *Studies in Greek Manuscripts*, ed. Annaclara Cataldi Palau, Testi, Studi, Strumenty 24 (Spolète: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull’ Alto Medioevo, 2008), 345–410, 360. The four manuscripts are Paris.gr. 1173, Vat.gr. 1595, 1608, and 1673.

¹⁴⁶ Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand I*, 457, n. 1.

significantly smaller piece of parchment (12.2 x 9.5 cm), not even the size of a quarter of the other folios and only containing one column with 15 lines of writing instead of the 31 lines on the rest of this quire. It is all that remains from the third folio of this ternion, and the cut-off remains of the other three folios are also still visible. Directly after this curious quire and the quire without quire number, we then find quire ΛΑ, a ternion consisting out of ff. 171–176.¹⁴⁷

Since we know that the first eight texts are missing, and the third extant quire (ff. 17–24) is indicated as quire number ΙΓ, it could mean that these eight texts were written on the first ten quires that are now missing. However, since the quire numbers later on in the manuscript do not make much sense, I am not sure how trustworthy this quire number on fol. 17^v is.

3.7.2. *The Writing*

It is evident that the writing of this codex has been done with several hands. There are clear differences in general ductus. While the codex is Italo-Greek, some hands are more rounded and akin to a *Perlschrift* hand, while most are showing the more angular Italo-Greek writing style, and the thickness of strokes also differs from scribe to scribe. There are furthermore differences in how the titles of the individual works are introduced. All texts start with a decorated initial, but sometimes this initial is an anthropomorphized initial, and in other cases it is a slightly decorated initial. Yellow and red are used throughout the codex to color these initials. The titles are also differently written; sometimes in full capitals, other times in semi-uncial hands. Another clear sign of different hands is the number of lines, which can be as many as 45 on fol. 190, and as few as 27 on the folio directly following, folio 191.

For my paleographical description, I focus on the first hand, the one that wrote the ATh (ff. 1–12). The ductus of the letters is quite round, and the strokes are relatively thick. The writing is ordered into two columns, both containing 33 lines of writing. There are standard ligatures and only a few abbreviations. The “S” like form replacing *καί* is used frequently, and every now and then there is a downward pointing ichthus fish-like shape written as a substitute to *-ου*. I have not found other abbreviations.

The letters that alternate between minuscule and majuscule variants are the delta, epsilon, eta, kappa, lambda, and pi. Rarely nun is also written as majuscule. Alpha and beta are minuscules, gamma is a rather angular minuscule, when delta is written as minuscule the superior arc points upwards, and sometimes slightly to the right. Epsilon is often written in ligature when it is minuscule. Zeta is written as a stretched out and quite angular three. Theta is sometimes written as minuscule, and sometimes in ligature can be more cursive. Iota is virtually always just under the guiding line. Lambda is only written as minuscule if it is part of ligature. Mu is always a minuscule. Xi resembles an angular three with an additional hook on the bottom, diagonally pointing to the right. When pi is written as minuscule, it is always closed. Sigma is normally written closed but sometimes also is written opened to the right as a “c” shape. Tau is always a minuscule. Upsilon is sometimes stretched out when it is combined with the pi in ligature. Phi resembles a violin, but is not as big as one might expect. The lower

¹⁴⁷ Because 8 was one of the two codices of which I only became aware that contained relevant information regarding the ATh very late in this research, I did not have time to dive deeper in this curious discrepancy; I only had one day to study both 8 and K.

circle has the shape of an oval, stretched out horizontally. Psi is a cross with the horizontal stroke resting on the guiding line. Omega is always written in minuscule and is always closed.

The characteristics of this hand, especially visible in the many and distinct majuscules that have been re-introduced into the text, make it likely that this text is written in the late 11th or early 12th century. This is confirmed by datings with similar manuscripts.¹⁴⁸

3.7.3. *The Contents*

This codex is indexed by Ehrhard as belonging to the post-metaphrastic codices that are characterized by a mix of pre-metaphrastic and metaphrastic texts without clear order:¹⁴⁹ he speaks of “Die gemischten Sammlungen” in this regard.¹⁵⁰

The contents of this codex have been numbered. From this numbering we learn that the first eight texts are lost. The ninth original text is the ATh, which lacks its beginning and is heavily abbreviated. Next to the first Act (BHG 1800), it also contains an abbreviated version of the second and third Acts of the ATh on ff. 1–7 (BHG 1802 and 1808). It furthermore contains a version of the Martyrdom of Thomas, which is treated as a separate text (BHG 1824, 1827). The last extant text, number 35 on the Martyrdom of Sain Parasceue in Sicily (ff. 206^v–207^v, BHG 1420i), is also incomplete as it is missinits ending.

3.8. 9 – *Vat.gr.1985*

3.8.1. *The Codex*

This codex is dated in the 11th century by Ehrhard, who categorizes it as an Italo-Greek codex.¹⁵¹ During my visit to the Vatican, there was no catalogue present for this manuscript. 9 is a relatively small codex, measuring only 21,5 x 17 cm. It also is quite a short codex, containing 158 folios, that measure 20,3 x 16 cm.

The codex has been restored. It has been bound in a red-leather binding with golden accents. The front- and back plates are adorned with a golden ornamental line around the edges. The shelf mark of this codex, 1985, is placed on the spine in golden letters. There also is a sticker from the BAV that indexes this codex as “Vat.gr.1985.” The front cover has an extra paper folio; the back cover does not. There is no index. The folios have been cut and only in some cases the original pricking marks are partially visible. This makes determining its scriptorium practically impossible.

The 21 quires of this codex are bound rather irregularly. There are in total six quaternia, two quinternia, two triternia, one bifolion, three quires consisting out of nine folios, and seven quires that contain seven folios. Originally, the quires were numbered. On ff. one, nine, and seventeen the quire symbol – a final sigma with an extended downward curl – is still visible in the top-right of the verso. There either is no quire number on the bottom of the last folio of a quire or these have also been cut off, since I have not been able to find any indication that there

¹⁴⁸ Cf., e.g., Lake and Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts*, vol. 8, pl. 548, 549, and 550 (Vat.gr. 2008, 1102 A. D.).

¹⁴⁹ Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand III*, 789, 792.

¹⁵⁰ Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand III*, 792.

¹⁵¹ Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand III*, 895 n. 1; cf. here also John Bernard Burke and Cynthia Stallman-Pacitti, *The Life of Saint Pankratios of Taormina: Greek Text, English Translation and Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 24, who argue that 9 is “probably South Italian.” They likewise date this codex in the 11th century.

were such quire numbers. The quire number on fol. 1 has been completely cut off and it is barely visible on ff. nine and seventeen. On fol. nine, only the lower half of a circle is visible. This means that it can either be a minuscule delta, theta, or omicron. This must have been a delta because on fol. seventeen the lower part of an uncial epsilon is still visible. This then means that the first extant folio must have contained a gamma, indicating it as the third original quire, and we can thus know that the first two quires of this manuscript are now wanting.

The current binding of the quires does not follow this original quire numbering, because that counts the first three extant quires would be quaternions: ff. 1–8; 9–16; 17–24. However, in its current state, the second quire is instead seven folios long. The current quires look as follows: ff. 1–8; 9–15; 16–23. The ending of this codex is also missing.

3.8.2. *The Writing*

The writing in this codex is done with three hands. The first text in this codex, the *Life of Saint Pankratios of Taormina* (BHG 1410), was started by one scribe but finished by another, presumably because the first scribe passed away before completing copying the document.¹⁵² The first scribe wrote ff. 1–67^v. It is very clear to see where the second scribe begins writing. On fol. 67^v the writing style completely changes. Then, from fol. 77, where the ATh begins, a third hand can be seen. I briefly describe the writing of the first two hands before turning to the hand that wrote the ATh, because this last hand is the most important for the current thesis. All three hands wrote the text in one single column, and the margins of the text are rather consistent as well. The upper margin is 1,5–2 cm, the lower margin fluctuates between 3 and 4,5 cm, the outer margin sits in between 2 and 2,5 cm, and the inner margin in some cases is almost non-existent and can be 0,5–1 cm wide.

The first hand, found on ff. 1–67^v, has written 30–32 lines per page. It is characterized by its fairly pure minuscule writing style. The only letter that is written rather consistently as majuscule is the kappa. Every now and then, the writer also writes the lambda as majuscule. The ductus is rather angular and the borders of the column are respected. Only the slightly bigger letters indicating a new section or ‘paragraph’ of text are written outside the column in the margins. The ductus is relatively angular. A 11th century dating as proposed by Ehrhard, as well as by Burke and Stallman-Pacitti, is justified.

The second hand then suddenly begins writing on the eighth line of fol. 67^v. It is quite different from the first hand: the lines are thinner, there are many majuscules re-introduced (beta, delta, epsilon, kappa, lambda, nun, tau), and this hand also uses far fewer ligatures. It writes 28 lines per page. The ductus is more angular than the first, and the sizes of the letters are rather inconsistent. While this hand is radically different, I still think a dating in the 11th century is justified. After the first scribe passed away it would be most logical that within a short amount of time the text would be finished and that it would not lie on a shelf for several decades before completion.

¹⁵² Burke and Stallman-Pacitti, *The Life of Saint Pankratios of Taormina*, 23.

The angular ductus of both of these hands, especially that of the second, make it likely that the provenance of the text should be sought somewhere in South Italy, as this more angular ductus is a clear indication for Italo-Greek manuscripts.¹⁵³

The third writing, hand on ff. 77–158, is characterized by its rounder ductus in *Perlschrift* style. Ligatures are not always written. The καὶ alternates between an abbreviated “S”-like form and the non-abbreviated version. Other typical abbreviations, such as the ones found at the end of a line, are not used and I have only found one instance of the abbreviated form of ἀπόστολος. There are a minimal number of majuscules re-introduced, with only kappa, lambda, and nun alternating between their minuscule and majuscule variants. Alpha and beta are written as minuscules. Gamma is always written as minuscule and has a rounded bottom like an elongated epsilon. The arc of the delta leans slightly to the left. Epsilon is written as minuscule and written in ligature when possible. Zeta either has a “3” form, or it is written like a “Z” with the lower horizontal stroke diagonally pointing downwards. Eta, theta, and iota are always written as minuscule. Xi is written like a “3” with an additional semicircle opened to the left. Pi is always written as closed minuscule. Rho, sigma, tau, and epsilon are written as minuscule. Phi is written relatively small and leans slightly to the left. Psi is written as a cross with the vertical and horizontal strokes of similar length. The horizontal stroke rests on the guiding line when there is indeed a guiding line on the page. The omicron is consistently written closed. These are characteristics of an 11th century hand, as is also confirmed by comparisons with dated manuscripts.¹⁵⁴ The rounded *Perlschrift*-ductus of this hand is typical for a Byzantine hand, which makes it unlikely that the codex as we have it now was originally intended to be this way, with the mix of Italo-Greek and *Perlschrift* hands.

3.8.3. *The Contents*

This rather small non-menological codex is categorized by Ehrhard as a possible *Spezialsammlung*. More specifically, he suspects that 9 might have contained a collection of texts dedicated to feasts for the Apostles. He indexes only two manuscripts of which he is sure that they contained such a collection, Cod.Paris.Gr. 881 (s. 10) and Cod.Paris.Gr. 1219 (s. 11).¹⁵⁵ He is unsure whether 9 belongs to this category because the number of texts on ff. 77^r–158^v in the codex is too small; it only contains parts of the ATh¹⁵⁶ and parts of the *Acts of John* (BHG 916–918). Ff. 1^r–76^v contain the *Life of Saint Pankratios of Taormina* (BHG 1410) and are thus not part of this possible *Spezialsammlung*. However, in my opinion nothing can be said about 9 because there is simply not enough material to index this codex in any of Ehrhard’s categories.

¹⁵³ That this part is in Italo-Greek style is furthermore likely because it contains the *Life of Saint Pankratios of Taormina* (BHG 1410), which is a typical Italo-Greek hagiographical work. Cf. Mario Re, “Italo-Greek Hagiography,” in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography*, ed. Stephanos Efthymiadis (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), 228–258.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. e.g., Barbour, *Greek Literary Hands*, 12, pl. 42 (Venice, Marciana Ms.gr. 94, 1062/3 A. D.). Notice the similar shape of the delta, slightly arced to the left, in combination with the relatively low number of majuscules re-introduced in the text.

¹⁵⁵ Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand III*, 894–895.

¹⁵⁶ Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand III*, 895 n. 1 claims that the complete ATh has survived in this codex. That is sadly not the case; only § 1–30, 140–170 are found in 9. Cf. Muñoz Gallarte, “New Textual Witnesses.”

3.9. 10 – BAV Ott.gr.1

3.9.1. *The Codex*

The compilers of the catalogue date 10 to the 11th or 12th century,¹⁵⁷ Ehrhard dates it to the 11th century,¹⁵⁸ and Mossay dates the manuscript to the 11th century also.¹⁵⁹ 10 is part of the so-called Ottobonian codices, once belonging to Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni's personal collection before ultimately ending up in the BAV.

The general condition of the codex is poor. It needs to be restored, as several of the parchment folios have come loose. A hand-written note from 26 September 2005 that came with the codex already recommends that it should be restored at the first opportunity, but that has not happened yet. Luckily, the personnel from the BAV allowed me to continue doing research on this codex after I reported on the issue.

10 has been wrapped in red-colored paper to protect the binding. This binding is not original. It exists out of two wooden plates wrapped in leather, with both the front- and back-cover having an additional paper folio. Its folios measure 27,5 x 21,3 cm, and the current form of the codex is not its original. After the Greek index (ff. 1–2), which is a palimpsest, fragments of four codices have been stitched together to create one codex. Here, I refer to them as 10.I (ff. 3–313); 10.II (ff. 314–359); 10.III (ff. 360–370); and 10.IV (ff. 371–373).¹⁶⁰ 10.III and 10.IV are palimpsests. There are two folio-numberings found on the codex, one on the top right of the *recto* and another on the bottom in the intercolumnar space of the *recto*. The numbering on the bottom in the intercolumnar space is erroneous as it skips four thinner folios. The numbering on the top right of the *verso*, on the other hand, is correct and comes out to 373 folios.

The damaged state of the codex with several loose folios made it challenging to count the quires correctly at times – it can be confusing to determine exactly to which quire the loose folios belong. 10.I is consistently divided into quaternions, except for one quire that comprises nine folios, ff. 145–153. This is because fol. 145 was added to this quire at a later stage. It is a curious little folio, measuring 21,5 x 11,5 cm. Material has been added to the edges in order to make it as big as the other folios. It cuts off the text written on fol. 144, that continues on fol. 146. It contains a brief text from Amphilochius.¹⁶¹ The quires before this folio all contain quire numbers. From this quire onwards (ff. 145–153), the quires are either not numbered or the numbers are no longer visible.

10.II consists out of six quires. The first five are quaternions, the sixth is a quaternion from which the last two folios lack. The parchment is dark and very thick.

¹⁵⁷ E. Feron, F. Battaglini, *Codices Manuscripti Graeci Ottoboniani Bibliothecae Vaticanae* (Rome: Ex Typographico Vaticano, 1843), 3.

¹⁵⁸ Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand I*, 293.

¹⁵⁹ Justin Mossay, *Repertorium Nazianzenum orationes; textus Graecus*, vol. 5, Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums 12 (Ferdinand Schöningh: Paderborn, 1996), 156.

¹⁶⁰ Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand I*, 293–294, n. 7 argues that the underwriting of the palimpsest 10.IV (ff. 371–373) is the same as the underwriting found in the index (ff. 1–2).

¹⁶¹ Cf. also Feron, Battaglini, *Codices Manuscripti*, 4: Folio 144v. *abruptitur sermo ad verba ἐξολοθρευθήσεται ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ· σὺ δὲ τὴν ... Desunt aliquot folia veteriss scriptiois, et additur a recentiori manu folium 143 [sic; they wrongly write that fol. 143 got added later, but they refer to fol. 145], partim scriptum, in quo est: ἀμφιλοχου ἐπισκ. Ἰκονίου λόγος εἰς τὴν Ὑπαπαντὴν τοῦ Κυρίου. Supplementum hoc connectitur sequentibus in folio 146 verbis κυριεῦσει θαυμαστῆ· τοὶ γὰρ οὖν. Hinc exorditur, quod reliquum erat sermonis in veteri scriptura.*

10.III contains one quaternion, and a quire made out of three folios of 10.III with the first folio of 10.IV glued to it. Its parchment is thinner. The original width of its folios is also considerably narrower in comparison with the rest of the codex, measuring only 17,5 cm. Newer strokes of parchment have been added to the outside of these folios to make them the same width as the rest of the folios in the codex, 21,3 cm.

The last few folios of 10, 10.IV, are dark and thick, comparable to those of 10.II. The first folio has been glued together with several folios from 10.III to make a quire, and the last two folios (372–373) are a bifolio.

3.9.2. *The Writing*

There are a lot of hands in this codex; the hands of 10.I and 10.II; the over- and underwriting of 10.III; the over- and underwriting of 10.IV; and the over- and underwriting of the index on ff. 1–2. 10.I and 10.II contain two columns of writing, 10.III and 10.IV have one column. Because I did not have the time to study all writings extensively, I focus here only on the hand from 10.I because this hand is found in the bulk of the codex and it contains the ATh and the HBr.

The writing of 10.I is done in a typical Italo-Greek hand, as is evident from the rather angular ductus of the script. The text is disposed on the page in two columns with its ruling conforming to Leroy X 00D2.¹⁶² This type of ruling shows includes four vertical guiding lines, one on both sides of both columns. It is furthermore characterized by its horizontal guiding lines: for every two lines of writing, there is one horizontal guiding line. The intercolumnar space is respected, resulting in a relatively “clean” page with two neat columns of writing. In some cases, there are common abbreviations used, such as a supralinear stroke to substitute final nun at the end of a line and a downward pointing “ichthus-fish” for -ov. καὶ is almost always written as an “S”-like form. Few majuscules have been re-introduced in the writing. Sporadically epsilon, eta, and kappa are written in their majuscule form. The first letter of a new section of text, written in the intercolumnar space, can also take the form of a more uncial variant of the letter in question. In all other cases, the letters seem to be consistently written in their minuscule forms. The alpha, beta, gamma, and delta are written in minuscule. Zeta is written in its characteristic rounded “3” form, but instead of transcending the upper guiding line as is customary, in 10.I the zeta arcs downwards. The theta has a standard minuscule form. The upper part of the iota can sometimes transcend the guiding line. Lambda is almost exclusively written as a minuscule. Mu and nu are both written in minuscule. Xi is written as a three, like the zeta, but is more angular and has an additional hook-like extension at the bottom of the letter. Pi is always written as minuscule and is always closed. Rho, sigma, and tau are written in standard minuscule. Upsilon is often stretched out like a bowl when written in ligature, otherwise it is shaped like a half circle. Phi has a typical violin form and is relatively large. Psi is written as a cross with the horizontal stroke resting on the guiding line. Omega is always written as minuscule and is always closed.

There are some colors used as decorations. Especially the first letter of each new text is adorned with red, green, and sometimes purple coloring. It seems that the first letter of the text beginning on fol. 86^v has been forgotten, as it is the only one that is not filled in. I agree with

¹⁶² Leroy and Sautel, *Répertoire des Réglures*, 324; 397.

Ehrhard and Mossay that this manuscript comes from the 11th century. I think the date offered by Feron and Battaglini in the 11th or 12th century is too late. In that case, more re-introduced majuscules would be expected. An 11th century date is also perfectly possible when comparing the writing of 10 to dated manuscripts.¹⁶³

3.9.3. *The Contents*

10.I, ff. 1–313, are an almost complete Italo-Greek year-menologion. Only the text for the eighth of September as well as two texts to be read before the first Saturday of fasting are missing.¹⁶⁴ The remaining folios of 10.II (ff. 314–359), 10.III (ff. 360–370), and 10.IV (ff. 371–373) are filled with other texts. The few texts that remain on 10.II show that its original was a non-menological codex. For example, the first story on 10.II is the *In Vitam beati Abrahamii et neptis eius Mariae* (ff. 314^r–321^v, BHG 5–6), which should be read on the 29th of October. The following text is the *Passio* of Bonifatius from Tarsus (ff. 321^v–324^v, BHG 279–280), which was normally read on December the 19th. 10.II gets cut off abruptly in the middle of a sermon from John Chrysostom; the last words of 10.II on fol. 359^v are ἀποστόλων ἀφείλατο καὶ. 10.III contains a text from John Damascene, *De His qui in Fide Dormierunt* (ff. 360^r–370^v); 10.IV contains the *Oratio de Preesentatione a. germane Cpolitano* (ff. 371^r–373^r, BHG 1104).¹⁶⁵

3.10. 56 – BAV Vat.gr.544

3.10.1. *The Codex*

56 is a palimpsest. The overwriting was completed in August 1143 by the monk Ἀντόνιος Δοσιθέου (cf. fol. 257).¹⁶⁶ Devreesse dates the underwriting to the 11th century.¹⁶⁷ Ehrhard places the underwriting somewhere at the end of the 10th or the beginning of the 11th century.¹⁶⁸ In its current form it has 257 + 2 ff: 1–257; 159^a; 162^a. The folios measure 30,5 x 23 cm on average.

This codex has not been restored recently and is bound between two wooden plates covered in leather. It is quite thick at the spine, measuring 11,5 cm including the binding and 9,5 cm without. This is mainly thanks to the thick individual folios that characterize 56. The binding is wrapped in paper in order to protect it when someone wants to study the codex. On the top of the spine, a sticker indexes this codex as “Vat.gr.544.” Next to a wooden plate, the cover includes a single paper bifolium that is glued to the inside of the binding. 56 does not include an index.

¹⁶³ For a comparable dated manuscript, cf. e.g., Lake and Lake, *Dated Greek Miniscule Manuscripts*, vol. II, nr. 48, pl. 86 (Venice, Biblioteca Marciana 427, 1069 A. D.).

¹⁶⁴ Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand I*, 293–298.

¹⁶⁵ The underwriting contained two sermons according to Feron and Battaglini: *Haec folia membranacea* [10.III and 10.IV, ff. 360–373] *sunt in palimpsesto; in quo erasi apparent tituli sermonum Amphiloehii in Basilium et Chrysostomi de Circumcisione.*

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Vogel and Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber*, 34 n. 10: “Palimpsest; er [56] trägt auf fol. 257, am Ende, die Subscriptio: ἐγράφη ἢ παροῦσα δέλτος παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν τοῦ ὁσιωτάτου κυρίου Δοσιθέου διὰ χειρὸς τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀντωνίου μοναχοῦ. Μηνὶ ἀυγουστῶ ἰνδ. ζ' ἡμέρα δ' ἐν ἔτει ζ' χ' v̄ ā.”

¹⁶⁷ Robert Devreesse, *Codices Vaticani Graeci, Tomus II. Codices 330–603* (The Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1937), 409–414, 409.

¹⁶⁸ Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand I*, 249, n. 1, “sie [the underwriting] scheint mir aus dem Ende des 10. oder Anfang des 11. Jahrhunderts zu stammen.”

Some folios have been restored, but most have not. The most damage is sustained in the lower outside corners of the folios and there is a surprising amount of oval- and circular shaped holes in the codex (so on ff. 2; 26; 39; 53; 76; 94; 95; 100; 119; 139; 140; 194; 198). There is also a hole in the middle of the bifolium 90/95; both fol. 90 and 95 thus have a semi-circular shaped hole on the inner margin.

After the original text was scraped off, the original quire- and folio orders were severely shuffled. The codex contains in its current form 33 quires; 32 quaternions, and one quire of three folios (ff. 255–257). The reshuffled folios of the underwriting do contain the original quire numbers. Devreesse gives an overview of how the original manuscript looked and argues that two quires from the underwriting were lost in the process of overwriting, ΙΓ (13) and ΛΒ (32), and that (parts of) 39 quires of the original codex were used to create the codex in the form it is now in.¹⁶⁹

3.10.2. *The Writing*

There are two types of writing, the overwriting and the underwriting. Both over- and underwriting have two columns of writing per page. The underwriting has 34 lines of writing per column, the overwriting 30, which means that the upper and lower margins of the page are slightly bigger for the overwriting. These margins unsurprisingly are very inconsistent for the underwriting, and can be anywhere between 4 and 6 cm. The upper margin fluctuates between 0,8 and 2 cm. This small margin tells us that the manuscript has been cut off. The search for a scriptorium thus has become challenging as important information regarding original dimensions and the original ruling are now lost. The margins are more stable for the overwriting, with the lower margin fluctuating between 5,8 and 6,5 cm, and the upper margin between 2,3 and 3 cm. The inner- (2,5–3 cm), and outer margins (3,5–4,5 cm), as well as the intercolumnar space (2,5 cm) are relatively regular and similar for both writings. I first briefly treat the style and date of the overwriting to then focus more extensively on the underwriting, the writing that contains parts of the ATh.

The overwriting can be precisely dated thanks to the note of the monk Ἀντώνιος Δοσιθέου, in which he indicates that he finished copying Chrysostomos's homilies on the fifth of August in the year 6651 A. M.¹⁷⁰ (Μηνὶ ἀγούστῳ ἰνδ. ζ' ἡμέρα δ' ἐν ἔτει ς̄ χ̄ ν̄ ᾱ, fol. 257), or 1153 A. D. He wrote in an elegant and relatively pure minuscule *Perlschrift*-style. There are only a few re-introduced majuscules; the eta, kappa, lambda, and nu occur frequently as majuscule. Other majuscules, such as mu, do occur every now and then but are rare. He seems to distinguish between normal and final sigma at times. The ductus is round and it has the typical *Perlschrift* look. Antonios did not use abbreviations often. He wrote the *nomina sacra* abbreviated, but did not use typical abbreviations such as a supralinear stroke at the end of a line as substitute for a final nu. The title of each homily is written with red ink, just as the first letter of every new sub-section of text. These first letters protrude on the left side of the column, are written as majuscule and are between two and three times as big as the normal letters and are slightly decorated. Antonios wrote the title of these sub-sections in the lower margin of the

¹⁶⁹ Devreesse, *Codices Vaticani Graeci Tomus II*, 414.

¹⁷⁰ Antonios follows the chronology of the Septuagint, which places the creation of the world in the year 5508 B. C. The Jewish calendar and Rabbinic calculations base themselves on the Masoretic Text, according to which the creation of the world was calculated to be the year 3761 B. C.

page, also with red ink. Only at the beginning of the codex there is a small rectangular decoration in the left column (fol. 1^r). There are no decorative lines between the individual homilies.

Describing the underwriting is a little more challenging since it has been scraped off. However, the slightly red-colored underwriting is quite visible in comparison to other palimpsests, especially on the lighter flesh sides of the parchment. Furthermore, the whole manuscript has been photographed using infra-red light, facilitating the study of the underwriting tremendously.¹⁷¹ It is quite unusual for the under- and overwriting to have the same orientation, as normally the underwriting would be flipped upside down (as is the case with U.II for example).

When studying the underwriting, one element in the text immediately pops up, the iotacizing tendency.¹⁷² It uses abbreviations quite frequently. It writes “απ” with an omicron and supralinear stroke written above the pi as abbreviation for the word ἀπόστολος, a supralinear stroke above the last letter of a line to indicate final nun, and a checkmark-like figure to indicate an upsilon at the end of a line. There are majuscules that have been reintroduced in the otherwise minuscule hand: especially epsilon, eta, kappa, and lambda are written as majuscule, with lambda almost exclusively written as majuscule. Less frequently the gamma, delta, and nu can be found in their majuscule forms. Sporadically beta is written as majuscule as well. I suspect that several hands worked on this codex, as there are significant differences on individual pages regarding the percentage of majuscules and which letters are written as majuscules. The alpha and beta are consistently written as minuscules. Zeta has a typical rounded three shape. The theta can change in the way it is written. The normal writing is the standard oval minuscule form, stretched out vertically with a horizontal stroke through the middle. However, I have also noted some instances where it is written in uncial form. Xi is written quite angular, especially since the general ductus is more rounded. Most times the sigma is written closed. Sometimes, however, it is opened towards the right, making it into a “c” form. Upsilon is frequently written stretched-out like a bowl when incorporated in ligature; when not in ligature it is written as a semi-circle. The phi, while still written in the typical “violin” style is oriented heavily to the left and relatively small. The horizontal stroke of the cross-shaped psi is either written on the guiding line or just below it. Omega is written closed most of the time but also occurs opened every now and then. The opened omega can take two forms: it either is a double upsilon or it can take a “wavier” form where the middle of the letter is more rounded than the “double upsilon” opened omega. These differences in how letters are written leads to “messy”-looking pages.

Of course, since we are dealing with a palimpsest, the *terminus ad quem* of the underwriting technically could lie at the beginning of the 12th century since we know the precise dating of the overwriting. However, it is highly unlikely that a text would be scrubbed off only a few years after it has been written down. Furthermore, comparison with dated texts shows many

¹⁷¹ Cf. for the photographs of the complete manuscript: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.544 (Accessed 2021-06-02).

¹⁷² Cf. here Devreesse, *Codices Vaticani Graeci Tomus II*, 414, who has also noted this tendency: *Liber accurate quidem exaratus, sed iotacismis scatens*.

similarities with texts dated in the late 10th and early 11th century.¹⁷³ Such a date for the underwriting thus is appropriate.

3.10.3. *The Contents*

Being a palimpsest, this codex has two different kinds of contents, that of the newer overwriting and that of the older underwriting. The overwriting contains homilies 45–88 of John Chrysostomos's *Homilies on the Gospel of John* (PG 59). The underwriting has been severely reshuffled after the codex was rebound. So for example, the ATh is found on ff. 45, 138, 111, 84, 106, 143, 44, 114, 95, 124, 125, 90, and 119, in that order. Similarly, the *Acts of Philip* can be found on ff. 202^v, 137, 176, 181, 144, 203, 170, 189, 186, 183, and 204.¹⁷⁴ Despite this challenging order of the texts, Eberhard has managed to show that the codex originally contained a half-year-menologion, containing hagiographical writings from September the 1st until January the 15th. Because it shows such close similarities to other half-year-menologia that contain texts from September until February (e.g., Cod.Paris.Gr. 1454, s. 10; Cod.Coisl. 105, s. 10), he argues that it is likely that the underwriting of codex 56 originally also included texts to be read until the end of February.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷³ Cf. e.g., in Kirsopp Lake and Silva Lake, *Dated Greek Miniscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200*, 10 vols. (Boston: The American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1934–1939), vol. 10, nr. 377, pl. 711 (Grottaferrata D.g. 12, 970 A. D.). This manuscript shows many of the particularities of 56, such as the high percentage of majuscules reintroduced in the text, the omega that is either written closed or opened, and it shares the rather clumsy ductus.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. <https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/67175/> (Accessed 2021–05–30).

¹⁷⁵ Eberhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand 234–251*, esp 249–251: “Da, wie sich hieraus [the list of texts in 56] ergibt, die Anlage des Palimpsestes für die Monate September bis zum 15. Januar ganz dieselbe ist wie die von P [Cod.Paris.Gr. 1454] und den übrigen Exemplaren, so kann es nicht zweifelhaft sein, daß es ursprünglich auch denselben Umfang hatte, also bis Ende Februar ging. Die ihm eigenen Feste und Texte halten sich durchaus im Rahmen des Sondergutes der anderen Hss” (251).

Chapter 4: A Comparison of the Hymn in the Manuscripts and Bonnet

Now that the physical appearance of the codices and the writing they contain have been discussed, it is time to focus on the contents of the writing. That is the aim of this chapter; I discuss all differences between Bonnet and the witnesses found in the individual manuscripts as I have described above. I discuss the following categories of differences:

- (1) Different spellings of the same word
- (2) Omissions
- (3) Additions
- (4) Different word orders
- (5) Alternative readings
- (6) Scribal errors

4.1. Some preliminary methodological remarks

Before venturing into the text of the HBr in the individual manuscripts, there are a few methodological points that need to be addressed.

First, I use Bonnet as base line for my analysis for the sake of clarity and consistency. I compare each individual witness with the account made by Bonnet. So when I speak of omissions, I refer to passages that do occur in Bonnet but not in the manuscript in question. Likewise, when I speak of additions, I refer to passages that are in the manuscript and not in Bonnet. I treat the other categories likewise. This does not mean that I prefer Bonnet in any way; it is an analysis *starting with* and not *based on* Bonnet.

Second, the categories as I discussed above are not very strictly delineated, as certain omissions can also be counted as scribal errors, or in some cases alternative readings can also contain additions. In displaying the differences in the categories discussed above, I have thus taken liberty to sometimes discuss an addition under the header ‘alternative readings’ if a few words have been added as part of a different reading for example. I discuss scribal errors under the header ‘scribal errors,’ only when I am sure that there is sufficient proof that it is not a deliberate change but a genuine inaccuracy of the scribe. When in other instances I suspect a scribal error might be the reason for an omission or alternative reading etc., I discuss it in this other category.

Third, in the main body of the text, I refer to the chapter and verse numbers of the Hymn as in the Greek text and my English translation above. In the tables, I refer to Bonnet by giving the page- and line numbers. When referring to manuscripts, I refer to the folio, the column, and the line number in that order. When the number for the column is lacking, it means that that manuscript only has one column. So if I were to refer to ATh 7:1 in Bonnet and F, it would look like this:

Bonnet, 110.3–5	F – 34r, 1.1–5
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Fourth, on the displaying of Greek text, I retain abbreviations such as the supralinear stroke substituting final nun, such as γαῦρ̄ο for γαῦρον in F 33v, 1.34. I do not write them out fully

because that is not what the manuscript does. This is also the case for the *nomina sacra*. Some manuscripts do not always write a final *v* when it is not necessary. So for example in ATh 6:11:

Bonnet 109.11–12	F – 33v, 2.21–23
αἱ δὲ δύο αὐτῆς χεῖρες σημαίνουσιν καὶ ὑποδεικνύουσιν	αἱ δὲ δύο αὐτῆς χεῖρες · σημαίνουσι καὶ ὑποδεικνύουσι
Her two hands make signs and indicate	Her two hands make signs and indicate

These stylistic choices are not counted as differences, nor as different spellings in my discussion below. Furthermore, none of the manuscripts write the *iota subscriptum*, as was customary at that time. I have followed them in doing so.

Fifth, in this chapter of the thesis I focus on giving an overview of how Bonnet and the manuscripts compare to one another. In the following chapter I focus on the implications of the differences found for the text and the interpretation of the HBr.

4.2. F – *Biblioteca Angelica Gr. 108 B 2.2*

4.2.1. Different Spellings

F has relatively few different spellings. Interestingly enough, these different spellings are almost all found in ATh 6:12. I do not know why that might be the case:

Verse	Bonnet	F
6:12	ἡδεῖαν	ιδίαν
	φύλλου	φύλου
	παμπόλλων	παμπόλων
	ὑπέστρωνται	ὑπέστρωται
7:9	δοξάσουσι	δοξάζουσι

4.2.2. Omissions

There are three omissions in the text of F. Two omissions are minor, and the third one is a scribal error that I treat below. The first small omission is found in ATh 6:10, where the definitive article *ὁ* is omitted:

Bonnet 109.11	F – 33v, 2.19–20
ὃν ὁ πρῶτος δημιουργὸς ἐδημιούργησεν	ὃν πρῶτος δημιουργὸς ἐδημιούργησεν
that <i>the</i> first creator created.	that (the) first creator created.

A few verses later, in ATh 7:3, F does not write the particle *δὲ*:

Bonnet 110.6	F – 34r, 1.7–8
δώδεκα δὲ εἰσὶν τὸν ἀριθμὸν	δώδεκα εἰσὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν
(And) twelve is the number	Twelve is the number

In both cases Bonnet seems to display the more plausible text because it is easier to explain that these words were skipped or simply forgotten during the copying process; it is rather unlikely that they were purposefully added at a later stage.

4.2.3. Additions

I was able to discern one addition. It occurs towards the end of the Hymn in 7:11:

Bonnet 110.18–19	F – 34r 1.26–28
ἔπιον δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ μὴ δίψαν αὐτοῖς παρέχοντος καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν	ἔπιον δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ μὴ δίψαν αὐτοῖς παρέχοντος καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν <i>σαρκός</i>
and also drank from the wine, which brings them thirst nor desire.	and also drank from the wine, which brings them thirst nor desire <i>of the flesh</i> .

This addition of only one word, *σαρκός*, ‘of the flesh,’ can be of influence for the interpretation of the Hymn. I discuss this in more detail in the next chapter.

4.2.4. Different word orders

I did not observe any different word orders in F.

4.2.5. Alternative readings

Bonnet and F are identical in the first four verses of § 6, but this changes as soon as the Hymn of the Bride begins in 6:5:

Bonnet – 109.1–3	F – 33v, 1.32–2.3
Ἡ κόρη τοῦ φωτὸς θυγάτηρ, ἣ ἐνέστηκε	ἡ κόρη τοῦ φωτὸς · ἡ θυγάτηρ ἡ αἰνετή ·
καὶ ἔγκειται τὸ ἀπαύγασμα τῶν βασιλέων τὸ γαῦρον, καὶ ἐπιτερπὲς ταύτης τὸ θέαμα, φαιδρῶ κάλλει καταυγάζουσα	καὶ ἔγκειται τὸ ἀπαύγασμα τῶν βασιλέων · τὸ γαῦρῶ καὶ ἐπιτερπὲς ταύτης · τὸ θέαμα φαιδρῶ κάλλει καταυγάζουσα
The bride is daughter of the light. <i>On her is placed</i> and rests the splendid radiance of kings	The bride of <i>the</i> light, <i>the praiseworthy</i> daughter. (And) on her rests the splendid radiance of kings

The first five words of Bonnet are a nominal sentence, with the following two words added to the following sentence. The first seven words in F on the other hand are best understood as a separate unity. Furthermore, F writes ἡ θυγάτηρ, *the* daughter, while Bonnet writes θυγάτηρ without an article. Lastly, instead of ἐνέστηκε as in Bonnet, F reads αἰνετή.

The next alternative reading is found in 6:11:

Bonnet 109.13–14	F – 33v, 2.25–27
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οἱ δὲ δάκτυλοι αὐτῆς τὰς πύλας τῆς πόλεως ὑποδεικνύουσιν	οἱ δὲ δάκτυλοι αὐτῆς · τὰς πύλας τῆς πόλεως ὑποδείκνυσιν
Her fingers indicate the gates of the city	Her fingers indicate the gates of the city

Whereas Bonnet here reads ὑποδεικνύουσιν, a third person plural present form of the verb ὑποδείκνυμι, F seems to read the third person singular present form ὑποδείκνυσιν. This is unusual, since it is clear that the subject of this sentence – οἱ δάκτυλοι – is written in plural, also in F. While it is a different reading, it seems logical to me that this form might be better interpreted as a plural form as well, but one that got confused with a third person plural verb of verbs belonging to the group ending on -ω instead of -μι. If it would be from the (hypothetical!) verb ὑποδείκνω then this ending would be considered a regular third person plural.

Another difference is found in 7:2:

Bonnet 110.5–6	F – 34r, 5–6
αἱ δὲ ταύτης παράνυμφοί εἰσιν ἑπτὰ	οἱ δὲ ταύτης παράνυμφοί εἰσὶν ἑπτὰ
Her <i>bridesmaids</i> are seven	Her <i>best men</i> are seven

The word παράνυμφος can be both feminine and masculine. Differentiation between the feminine and masculine forms is only possible by writing either a feminine or masculine article. In this case, Bonnet here suggests that the word παράνυμφοί is a feminine form since he connects the plural nominative with the feminine plural nominative article αἱ, whereas F suggests that the word is masculine by connecting it with the masculine plural nominative article οἱ. I discuss this difference in more detail in chapter 5.

The last alternative reading can be found in 7:8:

Bonnet 110.13–14	F – 34r, 1.19–21
καὶ ἐνδύσονται βασιλικά ἐνδύματα καὶ ἀμφιάσονται στολὰς λαμπράς	καὶ ἐνδύσονται βασιλικά ἐνδύματα · καὶ ἀμφιάσονται στολὰς λευκάς
And going in royal garments and putting on <i>bright</i> robes	And going in royal garments and putting on <i>white</i> robes

This difference in the description of the color of the robes has no real bearing on the interpretation of the Hymn because the meanings of the two different words are closely related; Both λαμπρός and λευκός can be translated with words such as ‘light’ and ‘bright’ in English.¹⁷⁶

4.2.6. Scribal errors

¹⁷⁶ LSJ, s.v. λαμπρός, ἅ, ὄν I.1. *bright, radiant*; I.2. of white cloths and the like, *bright*. S.v. λευκός, ἦ, ὄν, I.1. *light, bright, clear*; II.1 of colour, *white*.

The scribe of F made three errors in copying the Hymn. The first error is found in ATh 6:11. Because this mistake was influenced by the way the words were cut off at the end of the lines, I here reproduce how F looks in the manuscript.

Bonnet 109.11–13	F – 33v, 2.21–24
αἱ δὲ δύο αὐτῆς χεῖρες σημαίνουσιν καὶ ὑποδεικνύουσιν τὸν χορὸν τῶν εὐδαιμόνων αἰώνων κηρύσσοντες	αἱ δὲ δύο αὐτῆς χεῖ- ρες · σημαίνουσι καὶ ὑποδεικνύ- ουσι · τὸν χορὸν τῶν εὐδαιμό- μόνων αἰώνων κηρύσσοντες
Her two hands make signs and indicate, proclaiming the dance of the blessed aeons	Her two hands make signs and indicate, proclaiming the dance of the blessed aeons

The scribe of F wrote εὐδαιμόμόνων in lines 23–24, whereas Bonnet reads εὐδαιμόνων. As can be seen in the table above, in F the word is cut off after the syllable μό in line 23 because the word does not fit on this line. Instead of continuing on the following line with -νων, the scribe wrote μόνων, thus erroneously repeating the last syllable from the line above to come to the non-existent word εὐδαιμόμόνων.

The text of F in 7:1 has one word that lacks a few letters:

Bonnet 110.3–4	F – 34r, 1.1–3
περιστοιχισμένην δὲ αὐτὴν ἔχουσιν οἱ ταύτης νυμφῖοι	π ^ε στοιχισμένην δὲ αὐτὴν ἔχουσιν οἱ ταύ- της νυμφῖοι
Her groomsmen are surrounding her	Her groomsmen are surrounding her

In this instance the scribe of F first wrote *πεστοιχισμένην*, and then wrote a superscripted epsilon above the pi. Curiously, this is an uncial epsilon, and not a minuscule one as in the rest of the manuscript is customary, so this epsilon could be written by either the original scribe or a later editor who tried to correct a mistake. However, they did not realize that the letters -ρι- were also missing between the two epsilons in order to create the expected word π^ε<ρι>εστοιχισμένην. I have corrected this mistake in Appendix 1.1.

The third scribal error is found in ATh 7:10, where thirteen words are lacking in F. This is the result of a parablepsis which resulted in a haplography due to a homoteleuton:

Bonnet – 110.15–17	F – 34r, 1.24–26
οὗ τὸ φῶς τὸ γαῦρον ἐδέξαντο, καὶ ἐφωτίσθησαν ἐν τῇ θεᾷ τοῦ δεσπότης αὐτῶν, οὗ τὴν ἀμβροσίαν βρῶσιν ἐδέξαντο μηδὲν ὄλως ἀπουσίαν ἔχουσιν	οὗ τὸ φῶς τὸ γαῦρον ἐδέξαντο μηδὲν ὄλως ἀπουσίαν ἔχουσιν
Whose splendid light they received, and they have been enlightened by the sight of their	Whose splendid light they received,

lord, whose ambrosial food they received, of which there is absolutely no absence.	of which there is absolutely no absence.
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I regard this as a haplography and not as a purposeful deletion for two reasons:

(1) The scribe of F most likely made the mistake by not realizing that the verbal form ἐδέξαντο was used here twice in close succession. It is not hard to imagine the copyist, after copying οὗ τὸ φῶς τὸ γαῦρον ἐδέξαντο, continued with what he thought to be the following section, μηδὲν ὄλως ἀπουσίαν ἔχουσιν, without realizing that there are thirteen words in between that were skipped because they end on the same word.

(2) I fail to see why only this small sentence would be purposefully left out as it does not lead to any far-reaching consequences in the interpretation of the HBr when these words are left out. Furthermore, I fail to see any meaningful theological problems in this text which could compel a scribe to skip the section. Light metaphors, as the one here, have always been part of Christianity from its beginning, so that would not be a reason to dismiss it here.¹⁷⁷ Likewise, the other words would also have not led to problems; why would the word ἀμβροσία be omitted here, but retained in 6:7? Thus, we are seeing here a scribal error and not a purposeful deletion.

4.3. K – Vat.chig.R.VII.51 (gr. 42)

This codex differs relatively often from Bonnet, especially in the writing of individual words.

4.3.1. Different spellings

Many words in K are spelled differently. Most of the different spellings can be attributed to the iotacizing tendency of K. Iotacisms in the Greek language saw major vowel shifts such as the sound of vowels like the eta gradually become closer to /i/, the sound of the iota. Due to this iotacism and their similar sound, iota and eta could be confused with one another. K at the same time shows an avoidance of diphthongs and thus often replaces the diphthong -ει- with the monophthong -η-, and to a lesser extent changes -αι- into -ε-. What is especially remarkable in this list, is that the word εἶσιν in 7:2 is written as ἦσῆν, whereas it is written as ἦσιν in 7:3, a mere eight words later. The full list of differently written words comes out to 56 (!) words:

Verse	Bonnet	K
6:1	τις	της
	ἐκτείνας	ἐκτήνας
	χεῖρα	χηρα
	ἐράπισεν	ἐράπησεν
6:2	προσσχῶν	προσχόν
	ἀφήσει	ἀφίση
6:3	δείξει	δίξι
	θεάσομαι	θεάσωμε

¹⁷⁷ So, for example, this can already be seen in the prologue of the Gospel according to John where Jesus himself is likened to the light that has come to shine in the darkness. Cf. Jn 1:4-5, 9.

6:4	ψάλλειν	ψάλην
6:5	γαῦρον	γαῦρων
	φαιδρῶ	φεδρῶ
6:6	ἦς	εἷς
	ἐαρινοῖς	ἀερινοῖς
	διαδίδοται	διαδίδωται
6:7	ἴδρυται	ἦδρυται
	τρέφων	τρέφον
	τῆ	τι
6:8	κεφαλῆ	κεφαλει
	ἀλήθεια	ἀλίθεια
	ποσὶν	ποσὴν
	ἦς	εἷς
	ἀνέφκται	ἀνέοκτε
	πρεπόντως	πρεπόντος
6:9	ὕμνολογοῦντες	οἴμνολογοῦντες
6:10	ἦς	εἷς
	γλῶττα	γλόττα
	ἐκτινάσσεται	ἐκτηνάσεται
	εἰσιοῦσιν	εἰσιοῦσιν
	ἦς	εἷς
	δημιουργὸς	διμηουργὸς
	ἐδημιούργησεν	ἐδειμηούργησεν
6:11	δύο	δύω
	σημαίνουσιν	σημένουσιν
	πύλας	ποίλας
	ὑποδεικνύουσιν	ὑποδικνοίουσιν
6:12	ἦς	εἷς
	φωτεινός	φωτινός
	ὄσμῆν	ὠσμῆν
	ἠδεῖαν	ιδεῖαν
	φύλλου	φύλου
	ὑπέστρωνται	ὑπέστροτο
	παμπόλλων	πανπόλλων
	κλειστάδες	σκλιστάδες
7:1	περιστοιχισμένην	περιστυχησμένην
	νυμφίοι	νυμφύοι
7:2	εἰσιν	ἦσῆν
7:3	εἰσιν	ἦσιν
	ὑποκείμενοι	ὑποκίμενοι
7:6	ἔσσονται	ἔσσονται
	μεγιστᾶνες	μεγιστᾶναις

7:7	ἦς	εἷς
7:8	ἐνδύσονται	ἐνδύσονται
7:9	ἀγαλλιάσει	ἀγαλλιάσι
	ἀμφοτέροι	ἀμφοτέροι
7:10	μηδέν	μειδέν
7:11	ἐπιθυμίαν	ἐπιθυμην
7:12	ἀληθείας	ἀλιθείας

4.3.2. Omissions

There is only one omission in K. This omission is found in 6:11:

Bonnet 109.11–13	K – 9v, 2.20–23
αἱ δὲ δύο αὐτῆς χεῖρες σημαίνουσιν καὶ ὑποδεικνύουσιν τὸν χορὸν τῶν εὐδαιμόνων αἰώνων κηρύσσοντες,	αἱ δὲ δύο αὐτῆς χεῖρες σημένουσιν τῶν χωρῶν τῶν εὐδαιμόνων αἰώνων κηρύσσοντες
Her two hands make signs <i>and indicate</i> , proclaiming the dance of the blessed aeons	Her two hands make signs, proclaiming of the dances of the blessed aeons

I do not believe that this omission is done deliberately because it does not significantly change the interpretation of the HBr.

4.3.3. Additions

The text of the HBr in K has six additions in comparison to Bonnet. The first three are found in the introductory speech of Thomas in 6:1–4, and are added to give a bit more body to the story. The first addition is in 6:2:

Bonnet 108.9	K – 9v, 1.8–9
Ὁ θεός μου ἀφήσει σοι	ὁ θεὸς μου καὶ ὁ κϛ̅ ιϛ̅ χϛ̅ ἀφίση σοι
My God will forgive you	My God <i>and the Lord Jesus Christ</i> will forgive you

This addition is strange not on a theological level, but rather on a grammatical level. With the addition of the Lord Jesus Christ, the verbal form should have been a plural. That is not the case. Clear is that the verbal form ἀφίση is an iotacized version of ἀφήσει, with the characteristic confusion of -η- with -ι-, and the ending -ει- changed into -η-. We thus still have to do with a third person singular verb, while one would expect a plural form; this sentence has God *and* Jesus as subject. That the verbal form thus is a singular instead of an expected plural shows that the words καὶ ὁ κϛ̅ ιϛ̅ χϛ̅ were added later by a scribe who forgot to change the verb accordingly.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁸ There might be a very slight change that the scribe intended this addition as a hendyasis, but that seems highly unlikely. The addition of the definitive article ὁ before κϛ̅ ιϛ̅ χϛ̅, shows that it should not be “My God and Lord Jesus Christ,” but instead something more along the lines of “My God, as well as the Lord Jesus Christ,” so God and Jesus are here meant as two separate entities.

A second short addition is found in 6:3:

Bonnet 108.11	K – 9v, 1.11–13
εἰς δὲ τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον δείξει αὐτοῦ τὰ θαυμάσια	εἰς δὲ τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον δίδει αὐτοῦ τὰ θαυμάσια καὶ τὰ σημεῖα
in this world, he will show his wonders	in this world, he will show his wonders <i>and signs</i>

This addition is similar to the one above in that the scribe feels that it is necessary to add a few words, but it does not significantly change the interpretation of the text. It might have been added because of its use in the New Testament, especially in the fourth Gospel.¹⁷⁹

The following verse, 6:4, also contains an addition of three words:

Bonnet 108.12–13	K – 9v, 1.17–20
Καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἤρξατο ψάλλειν καὶ λέγειν τὴν ᾠδὴν ταύτην	καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν τῇ ἑβραϊκῇ διαλεκτῷ ἤρξατο ψάλλειν καὶ λέγει τὴν ᾠδὴν ταύτην
And after saying these things, he began to sing and say this song	And after saying these things <i>in a Hebrew dialect</i> , he began to sing and say this song

This addition is intriguing and I am not sure why this is added here. It could be because later on we learn that Thomas has sung the HBr in Hebrew (§ 8) and that this short clarification prepares the readers for it. The repetition of the first syllable in the word *διαλεκτῷ* is most likely a scribal mistake.

After these additions in the introduction of the HBr, there are another three small additions in K, all consisting of only one word. The first addition in 6:7 is confusing:

Bonnet 109.5–6	K – 9v, 2.2–5
τρέφω τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἀμβροσίᾳ τοὺς ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἰδρυμένους	τρέφω τι ἑαυτοῦ ἀμβροσίᾳ ὁ τοὺς ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἰδρυμένους
feeding with his own ambrosia those who are seated beneath him.	<i>he is (?)</i> feeding with his own ambrosia those who are seated beneath him.

The definitive article *ὁ* that is added here feels out of place and redundant. I am not sure what its exact function is in this sentence and it could very well be a scribal error.

The second addition, in 6:9, is insignificant:

Bonnet 109.8–9	K – 9v, 2.10–13
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¹⁷⁹ Cf. for example Jean Zumstein, “‘Zeichen’ (Sämeion). Philosophischer Inhalt und Gebrauch des Begriffs im Johannesevangelium,” in *The Prologue of the Gospel of John: Its Literary, Theological, and Philosophical Contexts. Papers read at the Colloquium Iohanneum 2013*, ed. Alan R. Culpepper, Udo Schnelle, and Jan G. van der Watt, WUNT 359 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 285–302.

τριάντα καὶ δύο εἰσὶν οἱ ταύτην ὕμνολογοῦντες	τριάντα γὰρ καὶ δύο εἰσὶν οἱ ταύτην οἴμνολογοῦντες
Thirty-two are those that sing her hymns of praise.	<i>because</i> thirty-two are those that sing her hymns of praise.

It seems that this word is added to give a reason as to why her mouth is opened as we learn in 6:8; it is *because* (γάρ) of the 32.

The last addition can have some bearing on the interpretation of the HBr. It is found at the end of § 7, in verse 11:

Bonnet 110.18–19	K – 10r, 2.15–18
ἔπιον δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ μὴ δίψαν αὐτοῖς παρέχοντος καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν	ἔπιον δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ μὴ δίψαν αὐτοῖς παρέχοντος καὶ ἐπιθυμὴν σαρκὸς
and also drank from the wine, which brings them neither thirst nor desire.	and also drank from the wine, which brings them neither thirst nor desire <i>of the flesh</i> .

The inclusion of this word might have some bearing to the interpretation of the HBr. Therefore, I discuss it in chapter 5 in more detail.

4.3.4. Different word orders

One time there is a different word order in K, in 6:4:

Bonnet 108.12	K – 9v, 1.17
Καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα	καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν
And after saying these things	And after saying these things

It has no influence on the interpretation of the HBr or its introduction.

4.3.5. Alternative readings

There is quite a large number of alternative readings in K, eight in total. The beginning of the HBr, 6:5, is different:

Bonnet 109.1–2	K – 9v, 1.21–24
Ἡ κόρη τοῦ φωτὸς θυγάτηρ, ἣ ἐνέστηκε καὶ ἔγκεται τὸ ἀπαύγασμα τῶν βασιλέων	ἡ κόρη τοῦ φωτὸς · ἡ θυγάτηρ ἣ ἐνέστη καὶ ἔγκηται τὸ ἀπαύγασμα τῶν βασιλέων
The bride <i>is</i> daughter of the light. On her is placed and rests the splendid radiance of kings	The bride <i>of the light</i> , the daughter on whom is placed and rests the splendid radiance of kings.

What happens here is similar to what I have already discussed in the context of F. There is the addition of an article before θυγάτηρ, and also here the scribe writes an aorist form instead of a perfect form from the verb ἐνίστημι.

The next difference is quite minor (6:10):

Bonnet 109.10–11	K – 9v, 2.16–18
ἥς ὁ ἀυχὴν εἰς τύπον βαθμῶν ἔγκειται	εἷς ὁ ἀυχὴν εἰς τύπον βαθμοῦ ἔγκειται
Her neck is worked into <i>steps</i>	Her neck is worked into <i>a step</i>

Instead of Bonnet’s plural βαθμῶν, K writes the singular βαθμοῦ. I do not think that this difference is significant.

The fourth difference is found in 6:11:

Bonnet 109.11–13	K – 9v, 2.20–23
αἱ δὲ δύο αὐτῆς χεῖρες σημαίνουσιν καὶ ὑποδεικνύουσιν τὸν χορὸν τῶν εὐδαιμόνων αἰώνων κηρύσσοντες,	αἱ δὲ δύο αὐτῆς χεῖρες σημένουσιν τῶν χορῶν τῶν εὐδαιμόνων αἰώνων κηρύσσοντες
Her two hands make signs and indicate, proclaiming <i>the dance</i> of the blessed aeons.	Her two hands make signs, proclaiming <i>of the dances</i> of the blessed aeons.

In Bonnet the word to indicate the dancing is an accusative singular τὸν χορὸν, whereas in K it is the genitive plural τῶν χορῶν. Again, we might have to do here with a scribal error in that the scribe wrote omegas instead of omicrons. This does seem unlikely, however, because of the circumflexes above the omegas, so characteristic of the genitive plural.

In the last verse of § 6 (v. 12) the following alternative reading is found:

Bonnet 110.2–3	K – 10r, 1.5–7
ὑπέστρωνται δὲ ἐντὸς μυρσίνας καὶ ἀνθέων παμπόλλων ἡδυπνῶν, αἱ δὲ κλειστάδες ἐν καλάμοις κεκόσμηται.	ὑπέστροτο δὲ ἐντὸς μυρσίνας καὶ ἀνθέων πανπόλλων ἡδυπνῶν, αἱ δὲ σκλιστάδες ἐν καλάμοις καὶ κόσμηται
The inside is covered with myrtle-branches and many sweet-smelling flowers, <i>the doors are adorned with reeds</i>	The inside is covered with myrtle-branches and many sweet-smelling flowers, <i>the doors with reeds, and they are adorned</i>

Here there are technically two differences that both could also be interpreted as scribal errors. First, K writes σκλιστάδες which is an erroneous way to write the word κλειστάδες as in Bonnet. The iota instead of -ει- is easily explained as iotacism, but the sigma at the beginning of the word seems to be an error from the scribe. Second, whereas Bonnet writes a third person middle perfect form of the verb κοσμέω, κεκόσμηται, K writes third person middle present form of this same verb and writes καὶ instead of the perfect prefix κε-. I suspect this to be a scribal error, especially since the vowels -ε- and -αι- in K are interchangeable as can be seen by looking at the many different spellings in 4.3.1. If this has happened, then the -ε- from the perfect form could easily be confused with -αι- from the word καί. This word, καί, is to be understood as a separate word and not as an iotacized perfect prefix because of the grave accent

written on the iota, which is always written on the last syllable of a word, indicating that after this syllable a new word begins. In this case the following word is the present form κόσμηνται.

Then, in § 7 there are multiple alternative readings also. So for example in 7:2:

Bonnet 110.5–6	K – 10r, 1.12–15
αἱ δὲ ταύτης παράνυμφοί εἰσιν ἑπτὰ, οἱ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῆς χορεύουσιν	οἱ δὲ ταύτης παράνυμφοί οἱ ἦσῃν ἑπτὰ οἱ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῆς χορεύουσιν
Her <i>bridesmaids</i> are seven, who dance in front of her.	Her <i>best men</i> are seven, who dance in front of her.

This difference, between feminine and masculine παράνυμφοί is a problem I have already discussed in the case of F. I will interpret this difference below in chapter 5.

In 7:4 there is another difference:

Bonnet 110.8	K – 10r, 1.19–21
τὸν σκοπὸν καὶ τὸ θέαμα εἰς τὸν νυμφίον ἔχοντες,	τὸν σκοπὸν καὶ τὸ θέαμα εἰς τὸν νυμφίον ἐξέχοντες
They <i>have their gaze</i> and sight towards the bridegroom	They <i>project/attach their gaze</i> and sight towards the bridegroom

In this instance, the difference is quite minor. Instead of a masculine plural nominative participle of the verb ἔχω, K reads this same participle from the verb ἐξέχω. This verb can be translated in two different ways according to the LSJ, either with “*stand out or project from,*” or “*To be attached to, depend on, cling to.*”¹⁸⁰ However it might be interpreted, it is clear that they are looking towards (εἰς) the bridegroom, in both Bonnet and K.

The second to last alternative reading is found in 7:8:

Bonnet 110.13–14	K – 10r, 2.3–5
καὶ ἀμφιάσονται στολὰς λαμπράς	καὶ ἀμφιάσθισονται στολὰς λαμπράς
and <i>they will put on</i> bright robes	and <i>they will be clothed with</i> bright robes

Again, this difference is minor; whereas Bonnet writes a third person future middle form from the verb ἀμφιάζω, K writes a passive -θη- verb with the -η- changed into -ι-. The difference thus is whether they put on clothes themselves reflexively, or whether they are dressed by someone else.

Then, we finally arrive at the last alternative reading found in K, in 7:10:

Bonnet 110.15–16	K – 10r, 2.8–10
οὗ τὸ φῶς τὸ γαῶρον ἐδέξαντο	οὗ τὸ φῶς τὸ γλυκῶν ἐδέξαντο
whose <i>splendid</i> light they received	whose <i>sweet</i> light they received

¹⁸⁰ LSJ, s.v. ἐξέχω I.1; II. Italics original.

This last difference also has no real bearing on the interpretation of the HBr. K does not have any problems with the word γαῦρον as it writes it in 6:5 (as γαῦρων). I think Bonnet’s γαῦρον is more probable because it makes more sense to speak of light as splendid instead of sweet.

4.3.6. *Scribal errors*

There is one instance in which I am sure that the scribe made an error. This error can be found in 7:1. I have retained the original lines in K:

Bonnet 110.3–4	K – 10r, 1.7–10
περιστοιχισμένην δὲ αὐτὴν ἔχουσιν οἱ ταύτης νυμφῖοι	περιστυ- χησμένην δὲ αὐτὴν ἔ- ἔχουσιν οἱ ταύτης νυμφύ- οι,
She is surrounded by her groomsmen	She is surrounded by her groomsmen

What happened here is that the scribe of K wrote the epsilon of the word ἔχουσιν twice. This is clearly a mistake caused by how the writing is disposed on the page because the scribe did not realize that he already wrote the epsilon in line 8 and therefore wrote it a second time at the beginning of line 9, thus creating the non-existent word ἔἔχουσιν.

4.4. *U – Biblioteca Vallicelliana B35*

4.4.1. *Different spellings*

All differences in spelling in U are found in the first half of the Hymn. Except for the first different spelling in 6:2, these are all the result of iotazation and vowel shifts:

	Bonnet	U
6:2	προσχῶν	προσχῶν
6:3	δείξει	δείξη
	ἦδη	ἦδει
6:7	ἴδρυται	ἦδρυται
	ἴδρυμένους	ἦδρυμένους
6:10	ἐκτινάσσεται	ἐκτεινάσσεται
6:12	φωτεινός	φωτινός

4.4.2. *Omissions*

There is one omission in U. This omission is found in 6:10 and has no bearing on the interpretation of the Hymn:

Bonnet 109.11	U – 93v, 1.20–21

ὄν ὁ πρῶτος δημιουργὸς ἐδημιούργησεν	ὄν πρῶτος δημιουργὸς ἐδημιούργησεν
that <i>the</i> first creator created.	that (the) first creator created.

Here the definitive article ὁ is left out. It is logical that Bonnet contains the older reading because it is easier to explain that the word dropped out and not that it was added at a later stage.

4.4.3. Additions

There are two additions in U compared to Bonnet. Both additions are additions of one word. The first addition is the repetition of the preposition ἐν in 7:9:

Bonnet 110.14	U – 93v, 2.26–28
καὶ ἐν χαρῇ καὶ ἀγαλλιάσει ἔσονται ἀμφότεροι	καὶ ἐν χαρὰ καὶ ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει ἔσονται ἀμφότεροι
and they will be both in joy and exultation	and they will be both in joy and <i>in</i> exultation

This addition does not have any influence on the interpretation of the HBr.

The second addition is found in 7:11 and can have a more profound influence on how the hymn is read:

Bonnet 110.18–19	U – 93v, 2.36–40
ἐπιον δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ μὴ δίψαν αὐτοῖς παρέχοντος καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν	ἐπιον δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ μὴ δίψαν αὐτοῖς παρέχοντος καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν <i>σαρκὸς</i>
and also drank from the wine, which brings them thirst nor desire	and also drank from the wine, which brings them thirst nor desire <i>of the flesh</i> .

U adds the word σαρκὸς here, just as F and K. I will speak about this addition in more detail in the following chapter.

4.4.4. Different word orders

There are no different word orders in U.

4.4.5. Alternative readings

U has a few readings that differ from Bonnet. In the first verse of the Hymn, 6:5, U contains an aorist form of the verb ἐνίστημι, whereas Bonnet reads a perfect:

Bonnet 109.1–2	U – 93r, 2.33–35
ἡ κόρη τοῦ φωτὸς θυγάτηρ ἧ ἐνέστηκε καὶ ἔγκειται τὸ ἀπαύγασμα τῶν βασιλέων τὸ γαῦρον	ἡ κόρη τοῦ φωτὸς ἡ θυγάτηρ ἡ ἐνέστη καὶ ἔγκειται τὸ ἀπαύγασμα τῶν βασιλέων · τὸ γαῦρον

The bride is daughter of the light. On her is placed and rests the splendid radiance of kings	The bride is the daughter of the light. On her is placed and rests the splendid radiance of kings
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There is an interesting change further on in the Hymn in 6:10. Bonnet writes a genitive plural possessive pronoun. U reads a possessive pronoun also, but an accusative singular one:

Bonnet 109.11	U – 93v, 1.20–21
ὧν ὁ πρῶτος δημιουργὸς ἐδημιούργησεν	ὄν πρῶτος δημιουργος ἐδημιούργησεν
Which the first creator created	Which the first creator created

This change could of course also be a different spelling.

Then, there is a difference in the verbal form found in 6:11, where Bonnet reads a plural from the verb ὑποδείκνυμι, whereas U seems to suggest a singular form:

Bonnet 109.13–14	U – 93v, 1.26–28
οἱ δὲ δάκτυλοι αὐτῆς τὰς πύλας τῆς πόλεως ὑποδεικνύουσιν	οἱ δὲ δάκτυλοι αὐτῆς · τὰς πύλας τῆς πόλεως ὑποδείκνυσιν
Her fingers indicate the gates of the city.	Her fingers indicate the gates of the city.

If the verbal form in U really is a singular form, it makes no sense since the subject of the sentence, οἱ δάκτυλοι, is in plural, also in U. However, in 4.2.5 I showed that the exact same variant reading in F might be the result of a clumsy scribe and I suspect that in U the same has happened.

Another slight change can be found in 6:12:

Bonnet 110.2	U – 93v, 1.40–41
καὶ ἀνθέων παμπόλλων ἡδυπνόων	καὶ ἀνθέων πολλῶν ἡδυπνόων
And of <i>numerous</i> sweet-smelling flowers	And of <i>many</i> sweet-smelling flowers

This different reading, with U not including the three letters παμ- has no far-reaching consequences. In both cases the word is best translated with English words such as ‘many’ or ‘much.’

The next difference is more interesting in my opinion. It is found in 7:2:

Bonnet 110.5–6	U – 93v, 2.3–5
αἱ δὲ ταύτης παράνομοι εἰσιν ἑπτὰ	οἱ δὲ ταύτης παράνομοι εἰσὶν ἑπτὰ
Her <i>bridesmaids</i> are seven	Her <i>best men</i> are seven

Whereas Bonnet reads a feminine plural, U reads a masculine plural. This difference will be discussed in more detail in chapter 5.

A further alternative reading is attested in 7:3. Here the change is similar to the one in 6:10, but here it is U that contains the genitive plural and Bonnet the accusative singular, instead of the other way around in 6:10:

Bonnet 110.6–7	U – 93v, 2.3–5
δώδεκα δὲ εἰσὶν τὸν ἀριθμὸν οἱ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῆς ὑπηρετοῦντες	δώδεκα δὲ εἰσὶν τῶν ἀριθμῶν οἱ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῆς ὑπηρετοῦντες
Twelve <i>in number</i> are they who are her servants in front of her	Twelve is <i>of the numbers</i> (the one) that are her servants in front of her

The sentence in U does not seem to make much sense, whereas the one in Bonnet does sound logical.

A last difference is found in 7:4:

Bonnet 110.8	U – 93v, 2.10–12
τὸν σκοπὸν καὶ τὸ θέαμα εἰς τὸν νυμφίον ἔχοντες	τὸν σκοπὸν καὶ τὸ θέλημα εἰς τὸν νυμφίον ἔχοντες
They have their gaze and <i>sight</i> towards the bridegroom	They have their gaze and <i>goal</i> towards the bridegroom

Instead of the word θέαμα, U reads θέλημα. While this is an interesting difference, I am compelled to follow Bonnet here. It happens more often that a single concept or action is described with two synonymous words, so ἦ ἐνέστηκε καὶ ἔγκειται in 6:5; σημαίνουσιν καὶ ὑποδεικνύουσιν in 6:11; σμύρνης τε καὶ φύλλου in 6:12; and καὶ ἐν χαρᾷ καὶ ἀγαλλιάσει in 7:9. It thus seems more logical that this also happens here in 7:4 and that Bonnet contains the better reading.

4.4.6. Scribal errors

I have not found scribal errors in U.

4.5. V – *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat.gr.1190*

Together with 8, this manuscript has the biggest omission by far; it skips the complete Hymn of the Bride. It has changed the introductory lines of 6:3 and 4 in order to accommodate for this deletion.

4.5.1. Different spellings

Because the whole Hymn is skipped, there are only a few different spellings, found in 6:2 and 6:3:

	Bonnet		V
6:2	προσσχῶν		προσχῶν

6:3	δείξει		δείξη
	κυνῶν		κύνος

4.5.2. Omissions

Next to the omission of the complete Hymn, which I treat under section 5.4.5 *Alternative readings*, there are three minor omissions. The first two are found in 6:1:

Bonnet 108.6–7	V – 101r, 9
εἷς τις τῶν οἰνοχόων ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἐράπισεν αὐτόν.	εἷς τῶν οἰνοχόων ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα ἐράπισεν αὐτόν
<i>a certain</i> one of the cupbearers stretched out <i>his</i> hand and struck him	one of the cupbearers stretched out the hand and struck him

V here skips τις. This does not change much; in both cases it is clear that the cupbearer is meant to be some kind of side character. Bonnet does so a bit more explicit by including the τις. The second omission in V is similar to this first, as again Bonnet is more explicit because the cupbearer strikes Thomas with *his* hand: τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ. V skips the personal pronoun αὐτοῦ, which means that he stretched out *the* hand to strike Thomas: ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα. In both cases it is clear that the cupbearer is hitting Thomas and thus not much is changed in the narrative.

A third similar omission is written in 6:3:

Bonnet 108.11	V – 101r, 12
καὶ θεάσομαι ἤδη τὴν χεῖρα ἐκείνην τὴν τύπασάν με ὑπὸ κυνῶν συρομένην.	καὶ θεάσομαι νυν τὴν χεῖραν τὴν τύπασάν μοι ὑπὸ κύνος συρομένην
and I already see <i>that</i> hand which struck me dragged by a dog	and I now see <i>the</i> hand which struck me dragged by a dog

Here V does not write the demonstrative pronoun ἐκείνην, again being a bit less explicit as Bonnet's text is. At the same time, it also here does not matter all too much and the general goal of both passages is the same.

4.5.3. Additions

I have found one addition in the text of V that is also found in Bonnet, in 6:1:

Bonnet 108.6–7	V – 101r, 8–9
Τοῦ δὲ ἀποστόλου εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀφορῶντος εἷς τις τῶν οἰνοχόων ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἐράπισεν αὐτόν.	Τοῦ δὲ ἀποστόλου εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀφορῶντος καὶ μὴ ἀνανεύοντος εἷς τῶν οἰνοχόων ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα ἐράπισεν αὐτόν
While the apostle was looking away to the earth, a certain one of the cupbearers stretched out his hand and struck him	While the apostle was looking away to the earth <i>and did not look up</i> , a certain one from

	the cupbearers stretched out his hand and struck him
--	--

Here V is more explicit than Bonnet for once, because it includes that Thomas did not look up while he was looking at the earth: καὶ μὴ ἀνανεύοντος. This is probably done so to clarify why Thomas was hit in the head; he looked down. However, that was already clear from the preceding words. This phrase thus seems to be redundant.

4.5.4. Different word orders

In 6:3 there are two words that are swapped. This has no bearing on the interpretation of the HBr at all:

Bonnet 108.10	V – 101r, 11
εἰς δὲ τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον	εἰς δὲ τὸν τοῦτον κόσμον
But in this world	But in this world

4.5.5. Alternative readings

Before focusing on the biggest alternative reading, the changes made to accommodate the deletion of the HBr, there are two minor alternative readings that I first look at. The first one is found in 6:2:

Bonnet 108.10	V – 101r, 10–11
Ὁ θεός μου ἀφήσει σοι	ὁ θεὸς σου ἀφήσει σοι
My God will forgive you	Your God will forgive you

Here it is not Thomas’s God, but instead the deity of the cupbearer himself who will forgive him for hitting Thomas. This is a strange change, because what follows is that this same God will “show his wonders in this world” (6:3). With this, V suggests that this deity of the cupbearer – and not the God of Thomas – might have some power in this world which seems unlikely to me. The reading in Bonnet, *my* God, is more logical.

The second alternative reading is a minor one, where V basically writes a synonym in 6:3:

Bonnet 108.11	V – 101r, 12
καὶ θεάσομαι ἤδη τὴν χεῖρα ἐκείνην τὴν τύψασάν με ὑπὸ κυνῶν συρομένην.	καὶ θεάσομαι νῦν τὴν χεῖραν τὴν τύψασάν μοι ὑπὸ κύνος συρομένην
and I <i>already</i> see that hand which struck <i>me</i> dragged by a dog	and I <i>now</i> see the hand which struck <i>me</i> dragged by a dog

Bonnet reads ἤδη, ‘already,’ whereas V reads νυν, ‘now.’ In both cases the point of the text is clear: Thomas is convinced that what he is prophesizing will really happen.

The last alternative reading is very significant, as V completely skips the HBr. To illustrate how V has accomplished this, I quote verses 6:4 and 8:1 as they appear in Bonnet and V:

Bonnet 108.12-13; 111.1-2	V – 101r, 12-15
Καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἤρξατο ψάλλειν καὶ λέγειν τὴν ᾠδὴν ταύτην · [The Hymn of the Bride] Καὶ ὅτε ὕμνησεν καὶ ἐτέλεσεν τὴν ᾠδὴν ταύτην, πάντες οἱ ἐκεῖ παρόντες εἰς αὐτὸν ἀπέβλεπον	καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα μόνη ἡ αὐλήτρια συνηκεντὸ λεχθεν · ἑβραῖος γὰρ ἦν · εἶτα ὁ ἀπόστολος ἤρξατο ψάλλειν ἑβραϊστὴ καὶ ὅτε ὕμνησε καὶ ἐτέλεσε τὴν ᾠδὴν ταύτην πάντες οἱ ἐκεῖ παρον εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπέβλεπον
And after saying these things, he began to sing and say this song: [Hymn of the Bride] And when he sang and finished this song, all people that were there looked at him	And speaking these things, only the flute-player understood which was spoken, because she was Hebrew. And then the apostle began to sing in Hebrew. And when he sang and finished this song, all people that were there looked at him

Because this difference is of course highly significant for this thesis, I treat this deletion in-depth in the following chapter.

4.5.6. *Scribal errors*

There are no scribal errors in V.

4.6. *Y – BAV Vat.gr.797*

This codex has a few different spellings and a relatively big number of alternative readings. Other than that, it is quite similar to Bonnet’s edition.

4.6.1. *Different spellings*

There is a reasonable number of different spellings. Most of these differences are because of the iotacizing tendency of the scribe. The rest are confusions of long and short vowels, and there are a few words where Bonnet writes a double sigma, whereas Y writes a single sigma. Curiously, all variant spellings are found in the first half of the HBr, in 6:1–12.

Verse	Bonnet	Y
6:1	ἐράπισεν	ἐράπησεν
6:2	προσσχὼν	προσχὼν
6:3	δείξει	δείξη

6:6	ἐαρινοῖς	ἀερινοῖς
	διαδίδοται	διαδίδωται
6:7	ἴδρυται	ἥδρυται
6:8	πρεπόντως	πρεπόντος
6:10	παραπετάσματι	περαπετάσματι
	ἐκτινάσσεται	ἐκτεινάσεται
	ἔγκειται	ἔνκειται
6:11	χεῖρες	χεῖραις
	χωρὸν	χωρὸν
	αἰώνων	αἶνον
6:12	ἠδεῖαν	ἠδῖαν
	ὑπέστρωνται	ὑπέστρωται

4.6.2. Omissions

There is only one insignificant omission in 7:3:

Bonnet 110.6–7	Y – 143r, 2.18–19
δώδεκα δὲ εἰσὶν τὸν ἀριθμὸν	δώδεκα εἰσὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν
Twelve is the number	Twelve is the number

This deletion of the particle δέ is insignificant, because in Bonnet it only functions as a connector between this sentence and the preceding one, while it is also clear in Y that this connection exists. Nothing substantially changes if it is not written.

4.6.3. Additions

I have found four additions; all are one word long. The first one is in 6:8:

Bonnet 109.6–7	Y – 143r, 2.25–27
ἔγκειται δὲ ταύτης τῆ κεφαλῆ ἀλήθεια	ἔνκειται δὲ ταύτης τῆ κεφαλῆ ἡ ἀλήθεια
On her head rests truth	On her head rests <i>the</i> truth

Here Y specifies that it is not any truth, but *the* truth by adding an article to the word ἀλήθεια. This holds no significance in the context of the HBr as a whole.

The second addition is written in 7:8:

Bonnet 110.13	Y – 143v, 1.9–11
καὶ ἐνδύσονται βασιλικά ἐνδύματα	καὶ ἐνδύσονται δικαιοσύνην καὶ βασιλικά ἐνδύματα
And they will be going in royal garments	And they will be going in <i>righteous and</i> royal garments

Again, this addition is not really leading to any interpretative difficulties, it merely specificizes the clothing of the servants of the bride a bit more; they will not only go in royal, but in righteous and royal garments.

The third addition is found in 7:9:

Bonnet 110.14	Y – 143v, 1.13–16
καὶ ἐν χαρῇ καὶ ἀγαλλιάσει ἔσονται ἀμφοτέρω	καὶ ἐν χαρᾷ καὶ ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει ἔσονται ἀμφοτέρω
and they will be both in joy and exultation	and they will be both in joy and <i>in</i> exultation

The last addition is an addition we have seen before, in verse 7:11:

Bonnet 110.18–19	Y – 143v, 1.26–2.3
ἔπιον δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ μὴ δίψαν αὐτοῖς παρέχοντος καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν	ἔπιον δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ μὴ δίψαν αὐτοῖς παρέχοντος καὶ ἐπιθυμὴν σαρκὸς
and also drank from the wine, which brings them neither thirst nor desire.	and also drank from the wine, which brings them neither thirst nor desire <i>of the flesh</i> .

This addition to refer to desires of the flesh specifically will be discussed in chapter 5.

4.6.4. Different word orders

There are no different word orders in Y

4.6.5. Alternative readings

I count seven alternative readings in Y's rendering of § 6–7. First, 6:5:

Bonnet, 109.1	Y – 142v, 2.8–10
Ἡ κόρη τοῦ φωτὸς θυγάτηρ, ἣ ἐνέστηκε καὶ ἔγκεται	ἡ κόρη τοῦ φωτὸς ἡ θυγάτηρ ἣ ἐνέστη καὶ ἔνκειται
The bride is daughter of the light, on her is placed and rests	The bride is <i>the</i> daughter of the light, on her is placed and rests

Here, we see that Y writes *the* daughter (*ἡ* θυγάτηρ), including a definitive article. Furthermore, it writes an aorist form of the verb ἐνίστημι instead of the perfect used by Bonnet. This will be discussed in more detail in chapter 5.

Second, 6:8:

Bonnet 109.7	Y – 142v, 27–143r, 1.2
χαρὰν δὲ τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτῆς ἐμφαίνει	χαρὰν δὲ τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτῶν ἐμφαίνει
she displays joy with <i>her</i> feet	she displays joy with <i>their</i> feet

The reading in Y is strange, because one would expect that the bride, subject in this sentence, displays joy with *her* feet (τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτῆς), as Bonnet renders it. Y, however, reads that she displays joy with *their* feet (τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτῶν), without specifying who the *they* are. It could be the feet of herself and those of the king seated on her head, but that does not sound wholly convincing. It might therefore also be a simple scribal error.

Third, 6:10:

Bonnet 109.11	Y – 143v, 1.13–15
ὧν ὁ πρῶτος δημιουργὸς ἐδημιούργησεν	ὄν πρῶτος δημιουργὸς ἐδημιούργησεν
Which the first creator created	Which the first creator created

Here, Bonnet writes a genitive plural possessive pronoun, whereas Y reads an accusative singular possessive pronoun.

Fourth, 6:11:

Bonnet 109.12–13	Y – 143r, 1.15–17
αἱ δὲ δύο αὐτῆς χεῖρες σημαίνουσιν καὶ ὑποδεικνύουσιν	αἱ δὲ δύο αὐτῆς χεῖραις σημαίνουσι καὶ ὑποχωροῦσιν
Her two hands make signs and <i>indicate</i>	Her two hands make signs and <i>withdraw</i>

The second verb that Y uses to describe the movements of the hands of the bride is a bit strange, because the verb ὑποχωρέω can be rendered in English as ‘*go back, retire, withdraw,*’ but also ‘*making way*’ or ‘*go on steadily.*’¹⁸¹ All these translations are in my opinion not really satisfying in this context.

Fifth, 6:11 again:

Bonnet 109.13–14	Y – 143r, 1.20–23
οἱ δὲ δάκτυλοι αὐτῆς τὰς πύλας τῆς πόλεως ὑποδεικνύουσιν	οἱ δὲ δάκτυλοι αὐτῆς τὰς πύλας τῆς πόλεως ὑποδείκνυσι
Her fingers <i>indicate</i> the gates of the city	Her fingers <i>indicate</i> the gates of the city

As we have seen before, here the scribe might have confused the verb ὑποδείκνυμι with verbs ending on -ω, as it makes most sense that this verb is a plural. However, since it is a -μι verb the form ὑποδείκνυσι technically is a singular, but that is unlikely because of the plural subject of the sentence.

Sixth, 7:2:

Bonnet 110.5–6	Y – 143r, 2.14–16
αἱ δὲ ταύτης παράνυμφοί εἰσιν ἑπτὰ	οἱ δὲ ταύτης παράνυμφοί εἰσιν ἑπτὰ
Her <i>bridesmaids</i> are seven	Her <i>best men</i> are seven

¹⁸¹ LSJ, s.v. ὑποχωρέω, I.1, 3; III. Italics original

This is another variant that I have treated in other instances already. I speak about this difference below, in chapter 5, more extensively.

Seventh, 7:3:

Bonnet 110.6–8	Y – 143r, 2.18–22
δώδεκα δὲ εἰσὶν τὸν ἀριθμὸν οἱ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῆς ὑπηρετοῦντες καὶ αὐτῇ ὑποκείμενοι	δώδεκα εἰσὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν οἱ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῆς ὑπηρετοῦντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑποκείμενοι
Twelve is the number of her servants in front of her, <i>who are her</i> subjects	Twelve is the number of her servants in front of her, <i>and they are</i> subjects

The reading in Bonnet makes the connection between the servants and the bride clearer than Y, as the latter only states that the servants are subjects, without specifying to whom they are subjects. By using the personal pronoun αὐτῆ, Bonnet’s text makes clear that the servants are subjects to the bride. Y also uses a personal pronoun, αὐτοὶ, but this one points at the servants themselves because it is in masculine nominative plural and matches the nominative plural participle.

4.6.6. Scribal errors

I did not find any clear instances of scribal errors.

4.7. 8 – BAV Vat.gr. 1608

This manuscript is closest to V, as both V and 8 have deleted the entire HBr. It is furthermore characterized by its heavy abbreviated version of the first three Acts of the ATh (ff. 1–7). I discuss this abbreviating tendency in more detail in chapter 5, because I believe it is the reason 8 omitted the HBr.

4.7.1. Different spellings

Because there are not many verses in both Bonnet and 8, the number of different spellings is low:

Verse	Bonnet	8
6:1	ἐκτείνας	ἐκτίνας
	ἐράπισεν	ἐράπησεν
6:3	δείξει	δείξη
	θεάσομαι	θεάσωμαι
	με	μαι

4.7.2. Omissions

There are two omissions. The first one is minor, the second one I discuss under 4.7.5. Alternative readings, as it is the deletion of the HBr, which got replaced with a few sentences in order to accommodate this deletion.

First, however, the difference in 6:3:

Bonnet 108.11–12	8 – 1v, 2.5–7
καὶ θεάσομαι ἤδη τὴν χεῖρα ἐκείνην τὴν τύψασάν με	καὶ θεάσωμαι τὴν χεῖραν τὴν τύψασάν μαι
And I will <i>already</i> see <i>this</i> hand which struck me	And I will see the hand that struck me

Two words are not written by 8 that do occur in Bonnet: ἤδη and ἐκείνην. I suspect these words have been left out because they are not strictly needed to understand the story.

4.7.3. Additions

There are no additions. This is logical, since 8 shows a clear tendency to heavily abbreviate the text of the ATh.

4.7.4. Different word orders

I have not found any different word orders in 8.

4.7.5. Alternative readings

There are only two alternative readings, of which the second is important because it is the text added by the scribe of 8 to accommodate for the deletion of the HBr.

The first alternative reading in 6:2 is less impactful:

Bonnet 108.7–8	8 – 1v, 1.31–33
ἐπάρας δὲ ὁ ἀπόστολος τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ προσσχὼν τῷ τύψαντι αὐτὸν εἶπεν	ἐπάρας δὲ ὁ ἀπόστολος τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῦς αὐτοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶπεν
And the apostle lifted up his eyes and turning to the one who hit him, he said	And lifting up his eyes <i>towards</i> him, the apostle said

8 makes clever use of the αὐτὸν, which in Bonnet refers to Thomas himself, whereas 8 employs it to describe the cupbearer. Because 8 abbreviates heavily, it is no surprise that this part also gets shortened, because also without the words καὶ προσσχὼν τῷ τύψαντι we know that Thomas looks at the cupbearer who struck him.

For the deletion of the HBr, I quote 6:3–4 in Bonnet, and 6:3 including alternative reading in 8:

Bonnet 108.11–13	8 – 1v, 2.5–15
καὶ θεάσομαι ἤδη τὴν χεῖρα ἐκείνην τὴν τύψασάν με ὑπὸ κυνῶν συρομένην. Καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἤρξατο ψάλλειν καὶ λέγειν τὴν ὁδὴν ταύτην	καὶ θεάσωμαι τὴν χεῖραν τὴν τύψασάν μαι ὑπὸ κυνῶν συρομένην ἢ δὲ αὐλήτρια πάντα ἤκουσεν μόνη
	[here manuscript 8 continues with § 8]

[The HBr]	
‘and I already see this hand which struck me dragged by a dog.’ And after saying these things, he began to sing and say this song	‘and I already see the hand which struck me dragged by a dog.’ And only the flute player heard everything,

After this alternative reading in 8, it skips the first half of § 8 and continues with the story found on Bonnet 111.8 and follows § 8 to the end. I discuss this deletion in more detail in chapter 5.

4.7.6. Scribal errors

There are no clear scribal errors in 8.

4.8. 9 – BAV Vat.gr.1985

4.8.1. Different spellings

Most of the different spellings are due to inconsistent iotacisms:

Verse	Bonnet	9
6:1	ἐράπισεν	ἐράπησεν
6:2	προσσχών	πρόσχων
	τῶ	το
6:3	θεάσομαι	θεάσωμαι
	ἤδη	ἤδει
	κυνῶν	κυνός
6:5	κάλλει	κάλλη
6:6	ἐρινοῖς	ἐρινοῖς
6:7	ἰδρυμένους	ἠδρυμένους
6:8	ἔγκειται	ἔγκηται
	ἀνέοκται	ἀνέοκται
6:9	ὕμνολογοῦντες	ὀμολογοῦντες
6:10	γλῶττα	γλῶσσα
	εἰσιοῦσιν	ἴσησιν
	ἦς	εἶς
6:10	ἐδημιούργησεν	ἐδημιούργισεν
6:11	σημαίνουσιν	σημένουσιν
6:12	ἦς	εἶς
	φωτεινός	φωτινῶς
	ὀσμῆν	ὠσμῆν
7:1	περιστοιχισμένην	περιεστιχισμένην
	μεγιστᾶνες	μεγισταίνες
7:7	παραμενοῦσιν	παραμένωσιν
7:8	βασιλικὰ	βασιλικὰ

	ἀμφιάσονται	ἀμφιάζονται
7:9	δοξάσουσι	δοξάσωσιν
7:12	ζῶντι	ζῶντη

4.8.2. Omissions

I found four instances where Bonnet included words in his edition that are not written in 9.

So in 6:6:

Bonnet 109.4	9 – 79v, 4–5
ἀποφορὰ δὲ εὐωδίας ἐξ αὐτῶν διαδίδεται	ἀποφορὰ δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀναδίδεται
spreading a <i>sweet</i> smell from them	distributing a smell from them

Here 9 does not write the word εὐωδίας, ‘sweet’ or ‘sweet smell’. Not much changes here, however, because thanks to the word ἀποφορὰ it is still clear that her garments smell like spring flowers.

Then also in 7:4:

Bonnet 110.8–9	9 – 80v, 6–7
ἵνα διὰ τοῦ θεάματος αὐτοῦ φωτισθῶσιν	ἵνα διὰ τοῦ θεάματος φωτισθῶσιν
so that through the sight <i>of him</i> they might light up	so that through the sight they might light up

Here it seems 9 made a mistake of some kind by leaving any referent out. It only mentions that the twelve servants light up through ‘the sight,’ but it remains unclear what they exactly see. Because διὰ τοῦ θεάματος does include a definitive article, a reference of the sight of [the thing they see] is expected. In Bonnet, this is the sight of *him* (αὐτοῦ), the bridegroom.

The following difference in 7:7 is only minor:

Bonnet 110.12	9 – 80r, 10–11
ἧς οἱ αἰώνιοι καταξιοῦνται	ἧς αἰώνιοι καταξιοῦνται
where <i>the</i> eternal ones are deemed worthy	where eternal ones are deemed worthy

Here Bonnet includes a definitive article whereas 9 does not.

The last omission is found in 7:10 and also has no real bearing on the HBr as a whole:

Bonnet 110.16	9 – 80v, 15
καὶ ἐφωτίσθησαν ἐν τῇ θεᾷ τοῦ δεσπότου αὐτῶν	ἐφωτίσθησαν ἐν τῇ θεᾷ τοῦ δεσπότου αὐτῶν
<i>and</i> they have been enlightened by the sight of their lord	they have been enlightened by the sight of their lord

Whereas Bonnet begins this sentence with καί, 9 does not.

4.8.3. Additions

There is one small addition and a more interesting one in 9, that can be found in 6:8:

Bonnet 109.6–7	9 – 79v, 7–8
ἔγκειται δὲ ταύτης τῇ κεφαλῇ ἀλήθεια	ἔγκηται δὲ ταύτης τῇ κεφαλῇ ἡ ἀλήθεια
on her head rests truth	on her head rests <i>the</i> truth

9 writes *the* truth, whereas Bonnet lacks the definitive article.

The second addition, in 7:11, is already known from other manuscripts:

Bonnet 110.18–19	9 – 80v, 18–19
ἔπιον δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ μὴ δίψαν αὐτοῖς παρέχοντος καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν	ἔπιον δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ μὴ παρέχοντος αὐτοῖς δίψαν καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν σαρκὸς
And also drank from the wine, which brings them neither thirst nor desire.	And also drank from the wine, which brings them neither thirst nor desire <i>of the flesh</i> .

As I have said before, this addition will be discussed below.

4.8.4. Different word orders

There are four instances where 9 and Bonnet differ in their word order. They are all not particularly noteworthy as they do not influence the interpretation of the HBr. I display them here without further comment.

First, 6:1:

Bonnet 108.6–7	9 – 79r, 18–19
εἷς τις τῶν οἰνοχόων ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἐράπισεν αὐτόν	εἷς τις τῶν οἰνοχόων ἐκτείνας αὐτοῦ τὴν χεῖρα ἐράπησεν αὐτόν
a certain one of the cupbearers <i>stretched out his hand</i> and struck him	a certain one of the cupbearers <i>stretched out his hand</i> and struck him

Second, 6:3:

Bonnet 108.10	9 – 79r, 22–23
εἰς δὲ τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον	εἰς δὲ τοῦτον τὸν κόσμον
but in <i>this world</i>	but in <i>this world</i>

Third, 7:8:

Bonnet 110.13–14	9 – 80v, 12
καὶ ἀμφιάσσονται στολὰς λαμπράς	καὶ ἀμφιάζονται λαμπράς στολὰς

and they will put on <i>bright robes</i>	and they will put on <i>bright robes</i>
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Fourth, 7:11:

Bonnet 110.18–19	9 – 80v, 18–19
ἔπιον δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ μὴ δίψαν αὐτοῖς παρέχοντος καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν	ἔπιον δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ μὴ παρέχοντος αὐτοῖς δίψαν καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν σαρκὸς
And also drank from the wine, <i>which brings them neither thirst nor desire.</i>	And also drank from the wine, <i>which brings them neither thirst nor desire of the flesh.</i>

4.8.5. Alternative readings

9 has the most alternative readings out of all manuscripts with a total of twelve. The first of these can be found in 6:2:

Bonnet 108.9–10	9 – 79r, 21–22
Ὁ θεός μου ἀφήσει σοι εἰς τὸν μέλλοντα αἰῶνα τὴν ἀδικίαν ταύτην	ὁ θεὸς μου ἀφήσιν εἰς τὸν μέλλοντα αἰῶνα τὴν ἀδικίαν ταύτην
My God <i>will forgive</i> you this unjust act in the coming time	My God <i>forgives</i> this unjust act in the coming time

This alternative reading is minor; Bonnet reads a future form of the verb ἀφήμι, while 9 reads a present.

The second one is found in 6:5:

Bonnet 109.1–2	9 – 79v, 1–2
ἣ ἐνέστηκε καὶ ἔγκηται τὸ ἀπαύγασμα τῶν βασιλέων τὸ γαῦρον	ἐν ἣ ἔστη καὶ ἔγκηται τὸ ἀπαύγασμα τῶν βασιλέων γαυρῶν
on her is placed and rests the splendid radiance of kings	in whom stands and rests the splendid radiance of kings

Bonnet notates a perfect from the verb ἐνίστημι, while 9 reads an aorist from the verb ἵστημι. Furthermore, 9 writes ἐν ἣ, to make clear that the splendid radiance of kings is *in* her, instead of *on* as in Bonnet.

The third alternative reading in 6:5 is also quite minor:

Bonnet 109.3	9 – 79v, 3
φαιδρῶ κάλλει καταυγάζουσα	φαιδρῶ κάλλη καταύαζεται
<i>shining</i> with bright beauty	<i>she/it shines</i> with bright beauty

Instead of a participle in Bonnet, 9 reads a middle indicative of the same verb καταυγάζω. In 9, the verbal form can refer either to the bride herself or her image.

The following alternative reading is in 6:6–7:

Bonnet 109.4–5	9 – 79v, 4–6
ἀποφορὰ δὲ εὐωδίας ἐξ αὐτῶν διαδίδοται καὶ ἐν τῇ κορυφῇ ἱδρυται ὁ βασιλεύς,	ἀποφορὰ δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀναδίδωται · ἐν τῇ αὐτῆς κορυφῇ ἱδρυται ὁ βασιλεύς
<i>spreading</i> a sweet smell from them, and on the crown of her head the king is seated	<i>distributing</i> a smell from them. On the crown of <i>her</i> head head the king is seated

Here 9 does not mention that the smell is sweet, εὐωδίας, and the two versions use a slightly different verb to describe the dispersal of the smell; Bonnet uses a form from the verb δίδωμι, whereas 9 uses the same form from the verb ἀναδίδωμι. It also is more explicit in the following sentence, making clear that it is the head of *her*, αὐτῆς, i.e., the bride, that the king is seated on.

Another alternative reading in § 6 can be found in 6:10:

Bonnet 109.9–10	9 – 79v, 10–12
ἧς ἡ γλῶττα παραπετάσματι ἔοικεν τῆς θύρας ὃ ἐκτινάσσεται τοῖς εἰσιούσιν	ἧς ἡ γλῶσσα παραπετάσματι ἔοικεν τῆς θύρας ὃ ἐκτινάσῃ ἴσησιν ὃ ἱεροφαντῆς
Her tongue is like a door-curtain, <i>which is shaken out</i> for those entering.	Her tongue is like a door-curtain, <i>which the hierophant shakes out</i> for those entering

In 9 the verbal form ἐκτινάσῃ is an iotacized third person singular form so that it matches the subject of the verb also written in singular: ὃ ἱεροφαντῆς, which can mean either ‘initiating priest,’ ‘mystical expounder,’ or it can refer to the Jewish High Priest.¹⁸² Bonnet relates his variant of this verbal form, ἐκτινάσσεται, to the door curtain and does not mention the ἱεροφαντῆς. I discuss this difference in some more detail in chapter 5.

The following difference is found in 6:11:

Bonnet 109.11–13	9 – 79v, 13–16
αἱ δὲ δύο αὐτῆς χεῖρες σημαίνουσιν καὶ ὑποδεικνύουσιν τὸν χορὸν τῶν εὐδαιμόνων αἰώνων κηρύσσοντες	αἱ δύο αὐτῆς χεῖρες σημένουσιν καὶ ὑποδεικνύουσιν τὸν χρόνον τὸν εὐδαιμόνων κηρύσσοντες
Her two hands make signs and indicate, proclaiming <i>the dance of the blessed aeons</i> .	Her two hands make signs and indicate, proclaiming <i>the times of the blessed</i> .

Instead of the *dance* of the blessed aeons, 9 refers to the *time* of the blessed (ones). The alternative readings χορὸν and χρόνον are easily explained; the words use the same letters in a slightly different array. Furthermore, 9 leaves out the reference to the aeons. As I have shown in chapter 2, this term was popular with so-called gnostics. However, that the word is lacking

¹⁸² LSJ, s.v. ἱεροφάντης.

here does not have anything to do with this connection because 9 does write the word on 80v, lines 7, 8, and 10.

There are quite a few smaller changes and omissions in 6:12:

Bonnet 109.14–110.3	9 – 79v, 19–23
ἀποφορὰν ἀπὸ βαλσάμου καὶ παντὸς ἀρώματος διαπνέων, ἀναδιδούς τε ὀσμὴν ἡδεῖαν σμύρνης τε καὶ φύλλου ὑπέστρωνται δὲ ἐντὸς μυρσίναι καὶ ἀνθέων παμπολλῶν ἡδυπνῶν, αἱ δὲ κλειστάδες ἐν καλάμοις κεκόσμηται.	ἀποφορὰν ἀπὸ βαλσάμου καὶ παντὸς ἀρώματος ὠσμὴν ἰδοίαν σμύρνης καὶ φύλλου ὑπέστρωτω ἐντὸς μυρσίνης καὶ ἀνθέων παμπολλῶν ἡδυπνῶν αἱ δὲ κλειστάδες ἐν καλάμῳ κεκόσμηται
smelling of balsam and every aromatic spice, giving off a pleasant smell of myrrh and herbs. The inside is covered with myrtle-branches and many sweet-smelling flowers, the doors are adorned with reeds.	smelling of balsam and every aromatic spice, (and the) pleasant smell of myrrh and herbs. The inside was covered with myrtle-branches and many sweet-smelling flowers, the doors are adorned with reed.

9 does not include διαπνέων and ἀναδιδούς τε. It might have skipped διαπνέων because the smell is also described with ἀποφορὰν, but I am not sure of this. Further on, 9 writes ὑπέστρωτω which seems to be a plusquam perfect of the verb ὑποστόρνυμι with an omega instead of an omicron as the last letter, while Bonnet reads a ‘normal’ perfect. Lastly, according to Bonnet, the doors are covered in reeds: ἐν καλάμοις, while 9 uses the singular reed: ἐν καλάμῳ.

The following difference is found in 7:1:

Bonnet 110.4–5	9 – 79v, 24–80r, 1
ᾧ ὁ ἀριθμὸς ἑβδομὸς ἐστίν	ᾧ ὁ ἀριθμὸς ἀναριθμητὸς ἐστίν
whose number is seven	whose number is countless

Here the groomsmen, the νυμφίοι, are described. In Bonnet they are seven, just like the bridesmaids in 7:2. 9 describes their number as countless or ἀναριθμητὸς.

Another difference is in 7:2:

Bonnet 110.5–6	9 – 80r, 1–2
αἱ δὲ ταύτης παράνυμοί εἰσιν ἑπτὰ,	οἱ δὲ ταύτης παράνυμοί ὑπάρχουσιν ἑπτὰ
Her bridesmaids are seven	Her seven best men are subordinate

As with many other versions of the text before, here 9 interprets the παράνυμοί as masculine and not feminine. I am unsure on the translation of ὑπάρχουσιν because in English it can be translated in many different ways, so for example “take the initiative,” or “to be the beginning, to be already in existence.” Other possibilities are “to be subordinate,” but at the same time

also “to rule,” in the same sense as the verb ἄρχω.¹⁸³ In this case, I have chosen a translation in the sense of “to be subordinate,” because the bride, as daughter of the light, is the powerful being in this hymn, and it seems thus most logical to me that the παράθυμοι are secondary to her.

Then, there is an alternative reading in 7:3:

Bonnet 110.6–8	9 – 80r, 3–5
δώδεκα δὲ εἰσὶν τὸν ἀριθμὸν οἱ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῆς ὑπηρετοῦντες καὶ αὐτῇ ὑποκείμενοι	δώδεκα ἐστὶν τῶν ἀριθμὸν οἱ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῆς ὑπηρετοῦντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑποκείμενοι
Twelve is the number of her servants in front of her, and <i>who are her</i> subjects	Twelve is the number of her servants in front of her, and <i>who are</i> subjects

While this is an alternative reading, I think the writing in 9 is best explained as a different writing of the same word, with τῶν instead of τὸν. A genitive plural does not make much sense here since the word ἀριθμὸν is written as accusative singular, and instead of the expected circumflex above a genitive plural article, there is a grave as is customary for an accusative singular article.

The last alternative reading in 9 is in 7:12:

Bonnet 110.19–20	9 – 80v, 19–20
ἐδόξασαν δὲ καὶ ὕμνησαν σὺν τῷ ζῶντι πνεύματι τὸν πατέρα τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τὴν μητέρα τῆς σοφίας	καὶ ἐδόξασαν καὶ ὕμνησαν τῷ ζῶντι πνὶ τὸν πρᾶ τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τὴν μῖρα τῆς σοφίας
they honored and praised with the living spirit the father of truth and the mother of wisdom.	and they honored and praised with the living spirit the father of truth and the mother of wisdom.

The differences between the two accounts are not that noteworthy. 9 adds καὶ before ἐδόξασαν, whereas Bonnet does not. At the same time, Bonnet reads σὺν τῷ ζῶντι, whereas 9 does not write the particle and relies on the dative case to convey the same meaning.

4.8.6. Scribal errors

There is one clear instance of a scribal error. This error, found in 6:11, is because of a homoteleuton which resulted in a dittography, most likely motivated by a parablepsis:

Bonnet 109.11–14	9 – 79v, 13–19
αἱ δὲ δύο αὐτῆς χεῖρες σημαίνουσιν καὶ ὑποδεικνύουσιν τὸν χορὸν τῶν εὐδαιμόνων αἰώνων κηρύσσοντες, οἱ δὲ δάκτυλοι αὐτῆς τὰς πύλας τῆς πόλεως ὑποδεικνύουσιν .	αἱ δύο αὐτῆς χεῖρες σημένουσιν καὶ ὑποδεικνύουσιν τὸν χρόνον τὸν εὐδαιμόνων κηρύσσοντες οἱ δὲ δάκτυλοι αὐτῆς τὰς πύλας τῆς πόλεως ὑποδεικνύουσιν τὸν χρόνον τὸν εὐδαιμόνων κηρύσσοντες οἱ δὲ δάκτυλοι

¹⁸³ LSI, s.v. ὑπάρχω

	αὐτῆς τὰς πύλας τῆς πόλεως ὑποδεικνύουσιν
Her two hands make signs and <i>indicate</i> , proclaiming the dance of the blessed aeons. Her fingers <i>indicate</i> the gates of the city	Her two hands make signs and <i>indicate</i> , proclaiming the time of the blessed aeons. Her fingers <i>indicate</i> the gates of the city, the time of the blessed aeons. Her fingers indicate the gates of the city

The scribe of 9 erroneously copied the section of text already written on lines 14–16 a second time on lines 16–18. After realizing, this section has been crossed out. This mistake was made because of the close succession of the word ὑποδεικνύουσιν which makes it imaginable that after a parablepsis the scribe started writing where he thought he left off, while in reality he copied the text between the two occurrences of the word ὑποδεικνύουσιν a second time.

4.9. 10 – BAV Ott.gr.1

4.9.1. Different spellings

Almost all different spellings are found in § 6:

Verse	Bonnet	10
6:2	προσχῶν	πρὸσχῶν
6:3	δείξει	δείξη
6:6	εὐωδίας	εὐοδίας
6:8	πρεπόντως	Πρεπόντος
	ἐκτινάσσεται	ἐκτεινάσσεται
6:11	σημαίνουσιν	σημένουσιν
6:12	φωτεινός	φωτινός
	ἠδεῖαν	ἠδύϊαν
7:1	περιεστοιχισμένην	περιεστυχισμένην

4.9.2. Omissions

10 has two omissions. The first one is the lack of a definitive article in 6:10:

Bonnet 109.11	10 – 20r, 2.21–22
ᾧν ὁ πρῶτος δημιουργὸς ἐδημιούργησεν	ὄν πρῶτος δημιουργὸς ἐδημιούργησεν
Which the first creator created	Which the first creator created

The omission of this article also occurs in several other manuscripts, where I already argued that Bonnet contains the more probable reading.

The second omission can be found in 7:6–7. Here 10 leaves out two words:

Bonnet 110.10–12	10 – 20r, 2.16–19
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καὶ ἔσονται ἐν τῷ γάμῳ ἐκείνῳ ἐν ᾧ οἱ μεγιστᾶνες συναθροίζονται, καὶ παραμενοῦσιν τῇ εὐοχίᾳ ἧς οἱ αἰώνιοι καταξιοῦνται	καὶ ἔσονται ἐν τῷ γάμῳ ἐκείνῳ ἐν ᾧ οἱ μεγιστᾶνες συναθροίζονται τῇ εὐοχίᾳ · ἧς οἱ αἰώνιοι καταξιοῦνται
And they will be at that wedding, at which the great men gather together <i>and abide</i> at the feast where the eternal ones are deemed worthy	And they will be at that wedding, at which the great men gather together at the feast where the eternal ones are deemed worthy

What 10 here leaves out is that the great men are gathering together (καὶ παραμενοῦσιν) at the feast. I am not sure whether this omission is intentional or not, but I fail to see what the scribe of 10 would have gained by deleting these two words.

4.9.3. Additions

In 6:5, 10 includes a definitive article that is not found in Bonnet:

Bonnet 109.1–2	10 – 20r, 1.33–2.1
Ἡ κόρη τοῦ φωτὸς θυγάτηρ	ἡ κόρη ἡ τοῦ φωτὸς θυγάτηρ
The bride is daughter of the light	The bride is <i>the</i> daughter of the light

There is a further addition in 7:11:

Bonnet 110.18–19	10 – 20v, 1.31–2.1
ἐπιον δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ μὴ δίψαν αὐτοῖς παρέχοντος καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν	ἐπιον δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ μὴ δίψαν αὐτοῖς παρέχοντος καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν <i>σαρκὸς</i>
and also drank from the wine, which brings them thirst nor desire	and also drank from the wine, which brings them thirst nor desire <i>of the flesh.</i>

I speak about it in more detail in chapter 5, especially since there are multiple manuscripts with this addition.

4.9.4. Different word orders

There are no different word orders in 10.

4.9.5. Alternative readings

There are quite a few readings that differ from Bonnet's edition: there are eight in total. The first variant reading can be observed in 6:4, just before Thomas starts singing the Hymn:

Bonnet 108.12–13	10 – 20r, 1.32–33
Καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἤρξατο ψάλλειν καὶ λέγειν τὴν ᾠδὴν ταύτην	καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἤσεν καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν ᾠδὴν ταύτην

And after saying these things, <i>he began to sing and say</i> this song	And after saying these things <i>he uttered</i> this song
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Here, 10 uses an aorist form of the verb ἤμι to indicate that Thomas starts to speak, instead of the aorist form of ἄρχω with the two following infinitives ψάλλειν and λέγειν in Bonnet. 10 furthermore reiterates that it is Thomas who speaks the Hymn by using the pronoun αὐτός.

The second alternative reading is in 6:5:

Bonnet 109.1–2	10 – 20r, 1.33–2.3
Ἡ κόρη τοῦ φωτὸς θυγάτηρ, ἣ ἐνέστηκε καὶ ἔγκειται τὸ ἀπαύγασμα τῶν βασιλέων τὸ γαῦρον	ἡ κόρη ἡ τοῦ φωτὸς θυγάτηρ · ἣ ἔνεστι καὶ ἔγκειται τὸ ἀπαύγασμα τῶν βασιλέων τὸ γαῦρον
The bride is daughter of the light. On her is placed and rests the splendid radiance of kings	The bride is the daughter of the light. On her is and rests the splendid radiance of kings

Whereas Bonnet writes a perfect form of the verb ἐνήμι, 10 seems to write a third person present form of the verb ἔνειμι. These verbs are quite similar to one another, so it might be that at one point in the transmission of the HBr scribes confused these verbs with one another, resulting in the difference we see here. However, another possibility is that 10 writes an iotacized aorist of the verb ἐνήμι, with the ending on iota instead of eta as might be expected.

We have encountered the following variant reading in 6:10 already in other manuscripts:

Bonnet 109.11	10 – 20r, 2.21–22
ὧν ὁ πρῶτος δημιουργὸς ἐδημιούργησεν	ὧν πρῶτος δημιουργὸς ἐδημιούργησεν
Which the first creator created	Which the first creator created

It is the variant reading where instead of a genitive plural in Bonnet, an accusative singular is written in 10.

The next variant reading is found in 6:11, and is another one we already seen in other manuscripts:

Bonnet 109.13–14	10 – 20r, 2.26–28
οἱ δὲ δάκτυλοι αὐτῆς τὰς πύλας τῆς πόλεως ὑποδεικνύουσιν	οἱ δὲ δάκτυλοι αὐτῆς · τὰς πύλας τῆς πόλεως ὑποδείκνυσιν
Her fingers indicate the gates of the city.	Her fingers indicate the gates of the city

As I have already argued, this variant is best understood as a plural and not a singular, even when it might seem a singular at first sight.

The fifth variant reading is in 6:12:

Bonnet, 110.1–2	10 – 20r, 2.33–34
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ὑπέστρωνται δὲ ἐντὸς μυρσίναι	ὑπέστρωτε δὲ ἐντὸς μυρσίναι
giving off a pleasant smell of myrrh	giving off a pleasant smell of myrrh

I am not quite sure what verbal form ὑπέστρωτε in 10 is, but it comes from the same verb as ὑπέστρωνται in Bonnet. I suspect that the ending -ε is a variant of the standard -αι. Likewise, the omicron instead of omega could simply be a preference of the scribe. However, it is still lacking the ν if it were to be the same verbal form as in Bonnet.

The following alternative reading is actually two alternative readings. They are both in 7:2:

Bonnet 110.5–6	10 – 20v, 1.5–6
αἱ δὲ ταύτης παράνυμφοί εἰσιν ἑπτὰ οἱ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῆς χορεύουσιν	οἱ δὲ ταύτης παράνυμφοί εἰσιν ἑπτὰ οἱ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῖς χορεύουσιν
Her bridesmaids are seven, who dance in front of <i>her</i> .	Her best men are seven, who dance in front <i>for them</i>

The first difference we have seen before, it is the masculine παράνυμφοί instead of the feminine as proposed by Bonnet. The second one, αὐτοῖς instead of αὐτῆς in 10, is quite confusing. While in Bonnet it is clear that the παράνυμφοί dance in front of *her*, αὐτῆς, it is less clear to whom the *them*, αὐτοῖς, in 10 refer to. It might be possible that the αὐτοῖς is meant to be reflexive, and that the *best men themselves* are dancing in front of the bride. If this were the case, however, the reflexive pronoun should have been written in the nominative plural αὐτοί to match the nominative plural παράνυμφοί which it does not. Furthermore, the genitive case in Bonnet makes more sense also than the dative in 10; ἔμπροσθεν used as preposition, as it is used here, goes with the genitive.

Another difference is found in 7:4:

Bonnet 110.8–9	10 – 20v, 1.12–13
ἵνα διὰ τοῦ θεάματος αὐτοῦ φωτισθῶσιν	ἵνα δι' αὐτοῦ θεάματος αὐτοῦ φωτισθῶσιν
so that through <i>the</i> sight of him they might light up	so that through <i>his</i> sight of him they might light up

The difference here is small, and again 10 seems to be off because it reads δι' αὐτοῦ θεάματος αὐτοῦ, 'through his sight of him,' which feels a bit superfluous or confusing, because this sentence now could be interpreted that the servants of the bride, the 'they' in this verse, light up because the bridegroom sees himself. Bonnet's reading of τοῦ, a genitive definitive article, makes more sense.

The last alternative reading is in 7:5:

Bonnet 110.10	10 – 20v 1.15–16
εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν χαρὰν τὴν αἰώνιον	εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν χώραν τὴν αἰώνιον
in that everlasting <i>joy</i>	in that everlasting <i>place</i>

This last variant reading, *χώραν*, place, instead of *χαρὰν*, joy, possibly is a scribal error, because this change of just one letter can be done quite easily. Nevertheless, it does not change much in the interpretation of the HBr.

4.9.6. *Scribal errors*

There are two clear instances of a scribal error in 10. The first one is written in 6:1:

Bonnet 108.6–7	10 – 20r, 1.20–22
εἷς τις τῶν οἰνοχόων ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἐράπισεν αὐτόν	εἷς τίς τῶν οἰνοχόων ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἐρ{ρ}άπισεν αὐτόν
one of the cupbearers stretched out his hand and struck him	one of the cupbearers stretched out his hand and struck him

The scribe of 10 here wrote the word *ἐράπισεν* with a double rho, recognized the mistake, and then removed the second rho after writing the word which now leads to a small gap between the first two letters and the rest of the word. It thus looks like this: *ἐρ{ρ}άπισεν*.

In ATh 7:10, the scribe of 10 wrongly copied a section of text twice:

Bonnet 110.15–17	10 – 20v 1.26–32
οὗ τὸ φῶς τὸ γαῦρον ἐδέξαντο, καὶ ἐφωτίσθησαν ἐν τῇ θεᾷ τοῦ δεσπότη αὐτῶν, οὗ τὴν ἀμβροσίαν βρῶσιν ἐδέξαντο μηδὲν ὄλως ἀπουσίαν ἔχουσιν,	οὗ τὸ φῶς τὸ γαῦρον ἐδέξαντο καὶ ἐφωτίσθησαν ἐν τῇ θεᾷ τοῦ δεσπότη αὐτῶν · οὗ τὴν ἀμβροσίαν βρῶσιν ἐδέξαντο · καὶ ἐφωτίσθησαν ἐν τῇ θεᾷ τοῦ δεσπότη αὐτῶν μηδὲν ὄλως ἀπουσίαν ἔχουσιν
whose splendid light they received, and they have been enlightened by the sight of their lord, whose ambrosial food they received, of which there is absolutely no absence	whose splendid light they received, and they have been enlightened by the sight of their lord, whose ambrosial food they received, and they have been enlightened by the sight of their lord, of which there is absolutely no absence,

This is a clear case of dittography due to a parablepsis. Because the word *ἐδέξαντο* is used twice in close succession, the scribe thought he continued copying where he left off after the second occurrence of the word *ἐδέξαντο* in line 29, while in actuality, he did not realize he repeated writing the words after the *ἐδέξαντο* in line 26. When he realized, he crossed the erroneous words out and continued with the text after the *ἐδέξαντο* in line 29.

4.10. 56 – BAV Vat.gr.544

4.10.1. *Different spellings*

Many words in 56 are spelled differently in comparison to what Bonnet suggests. This is mainly due to the many iotacisms:

	Bonnet	56
6:1	τις	της
	ἐράπισεν	ἐρραπισεν
6:2	προσχών	προσχών
	ἀδικίαν	ἀδικῆαν
6:3	δείξει	δείξη
	θεάσομαι	θεάσσωμαι
	ἤδη	ἴδει
	κυνῶν	κυνὸς
	συρομένην	συρωμ[ένην?]
6:4	ψάλλειν	ψάλλην
	λέγειν	λειγην
	τὴν	τὶν
6:5	φωτὸς	φωτὶς
6:6	ἦς	εἶς
	ἄνθεσιν	ἄνθεσιν
	διαδίδοται	διαδίδωται
6:7	ἴδρυται	ἦδρυται
	ἰδρυμένους	ἦδυμωμίνους
6:8	ἔγκειται	ἐγκειτε
	ποσὶν	πωσιν
	ἐμφαίνει	ἐμφενη
	πρεπόντως	πρεπόντος
6:9	δύο	δύω
	εἰσὶν	εἰσὴν
6:10	ἐκτινάσσεται	ἐκτηνάσσεται
	εἰσιοῦσιν	ἦουσιν
	βαθμῶν	βαθμὸν
	δημιουργὸς	διμιούργος
	ἐδημιούργησεν	ἐδιμιούργησεν
6:11	δύο	δύω
	σημαίνουσιν	σημένουουσιην
	ὑποδεικνύουσιν	ὑποδεικνοιουσην
6:12	φωτεινός	φωτηνός
	ὄσμῆν	ὠσμῆν
	ἠδεῖαν	ἰδίαν
	ὑπέστρωνται	ὑπέστρωται
7:1	περιεστοιχισμένην	περιεστιχησμενην
7:2	εἰσιν	ἦσιαν

7:3	ὑπηρετοῦντες	ὑπηρεστούντες
7:4	ἵνα	ἦνα
	φωτισθῶσιν	φωτηθωσιν
7:6	ἔσονται	εσοντε
	συναθροίζονται	συναθροίζονται
7:9	ἀμφοτέροι	ἀμφῶτεροι
	δοξάσουσι	δῶξασουσι
7:10	μηδέν	μιδέν
7:12	ἐδόξασαν	ἐδώξασαν

While it here sometimes looks as if the scribe of 56 tries to avoid using diphthongs, there are instances where Bonnet reads a monophthong whereas 56 then writes a diphthong. So for example, 56 writes δείξη instead of δείξει in 6:3, but at the same time renders ἦδη as ἴδει in the same verse.

With the plethora of differences and clear instances of iotacism, I would carefully suggest here that it might be the case that the scribe did not copy from a manuscript directly, but that someone read the story out loud which was then written down by the scribe of 56.

4.10.2. Omissions

There are a total of three omissions in 56, the latter to being more serious than the first two, that I treat first. So in 6:2:

Bonnet 108.6	56 – 111r, 1.13–14
ἐπάρας δὲ ὁ ἀπόστολος τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ προσσχῶν	ἐπάρας δὲ ὁ ἀπόστολος καὶ προσχῶν
And the apostle lifted up <i>his eyes</i> and turning	And the apostle lifted up and turning

Bonnet tells that Thomas lifted up his eyes, whereas 56 leaves this out. It seems to suggest that Thomas lifted *himself* up by omitting the reference to Thomas's eyes.

The second omission is in 6:10:

Bonnet 109.11	56 – 111r, 2.20–21
ὧν ὁ πρῶτος δημιουργὸς ἐδημιούργησεν	ὧν πρῶτος διμιούργος ἐδιμιούργησεν
that the first creator created	that the first creator created

56 did not write a definitive article here, whereas Bonnet did. As a result, the sentence in 56 can be translated both as ‘the first creator’ and ‘a first creator.’ This has no bearing on the interpretation of the HBr.

The last omission in 7:6–7 skips two words:

Bonnet 110.11–12	56 – 111v, 1.25–28
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ἐν ᾧ οἱ μεγιστᾶνες συναθροίζονται, καὶ παραμενοῦσιν τῇ εὐωχίᾳ ἧς οἱ αἰώνιοι καταξιοῦνται,	εν ᾧ οἱ μεγιστανες συναθροίζονται τῇ εὐωχίᾳ ἧς αἰώνιοι κατιξιοῦνται
at which the great men gather together <i>and abide</i> at the feast where the eternal ones are deemed worthy.	at which the great men gather together at the feast where the eternal ones are deemed worthy.

I am not sure why 56 does not write the words καὶ παραμενοῦσιν as I am not sure why one would skip them for theological reasons. Of course, 56 could simply have copied this section from another text that also did not include it, but it might also very well be a simple mistake.

4.10.3. Additions

There are only two additions, both of which we have already seen in several other manuscripts. The first is the repetition of the definitive article in 6:5:

Bonnet 109.1	56 – 111r, 1.26–27
Ἡ κόρη τοῦ φωτὸς θυγάτηρ	ἡ κόρη ἡ τοῦ φωτὸς θυγάτηρ
The bride is daughter of the light	the bride is <i>the</i> daughter of the light

The second is the addition of the word σαρκὸς in 7:11:

Bonnet 110.18–19	56 – 111r, 2.8–11
ἔπιον δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ μὴ δίψαν αὐτοῖς παρέχοντος καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν	ἔπιον δὲ καὶ ἀπο τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ μὴ δίψαν αὐτοῖς παρέχοντος · καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν σαρκὸς
And also drank from the wine, which brings them neither thirst nor desire	And also drank from the wine, which brings them neither thirst nor desire <i>of the flesh</i>

As I have indicated multiple times already by now, I discuss this addition below in chapter 5.

4.10.4. Different word orders

I have observed no different word orders in 56.

4.10.5. Alternative readings

I have identified seven readings in 56 that differ from Bonnet's edition. First in 6:3:

Bonnet	56 – 111r, 1.18–19
εἰς δὲ τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον	εἰ δὲ τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον
but <i>in</i> this world	but <i>when</i> this world

This seems to be an error from 56, because with the conditional εἰ the rest of the sentence would not make sense: 'but when this world, he will show his wonders.' Bonnet's reading thus is more plausible.

The second alternative reading is found in 6:3 also:

Bonnet 108.12	56 – 111r, 23–24
ὑπὸ κυνῶν συρομένην	προ κυνὸς συρωμ<ένην>
dragged <i>by dogs</i> ,	drag[ged] <i>before a dog</i>

56 reads *προ* where Bonnet reads *ὑπὸ*. Bonnet's reading seems more plausible, because the idea of a hand being dragged before, or in front of, a dog, is a bit strange. That the hand of the cupbearer is dragged *by dogs*, makes more sense. Furthermore, Bonnet reads the plural *κυνῶν*, while 56 reads the singular *κυνὸς*. Here I think 56 is more probable, especially since we learn in § 8 that only one dog picks up the hand of the cupbearer after he gets killed by a lion (καὶ εἷς μελας κύων τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτοῦ χεῖρα τῷ στόματι κρατῶν, 'and *one black dog* seized his right hand with his mouth').

The third is in 6:5:

Bonnet 109.1	56 – 111r, 1.28
ἧ ἐνέστηκε καὶ ἔγκειται	ἧ ἔνεστι καὶ ἔγκειται
On her <i>is placed</i> and rests	On her <i>is</i> and rests

Here 56 has a form from the verb *ἔνειμι*, whereas Bonnet reads one from *ἐνίημι*.

The fourth is in 6:5 also:

Bonnet 109.3	56 – 111r, 1.33–34
φαιδρῶ κάλλει καταναγάζουσα	φαιδρὰν κάλλει καταναγάζουσα
shining <i>with bright beauty</i>	shining <i>bright, beautiful</i>

In this instance Bonnet's reading makes more sense, as the combination of the words *φαιδρῶ* and *κάλλει*, are both neuter dative singulars. In 56, the female singular accusative form *φαιδρὰν* seems to not belong to anything else in the sentence.

The fifth is in 6:7:

Bonnet 109.5–6	56 – 111r, 2.5–7
τρέφων τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἀμβροσίᾳ τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἰδρυμένους	τρέφων τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἀμβρωσίᾳ τοὺς ὑπ αὐτὸν ἠδυμωμένους
feeding with his own ambrosia those who are seated beneath him	feeding with his own ambrosia those who are seated beneath him

Here the difference is minor, *ἐπ'*, an abbreviated version of *ἐπι*, is written in Bonnet, and 56 writes *ὑπ*, from *ὑπὸ*. In both cases this can mean something like 'under,' and while there is a minor difference, it does not have any bearing on the interpretation of the HBr.

The following one is in actuality two differences. They are in 6:11:

Bonnet 109.12–13	56 – 111r, 2.24–26
τὸν χορὸν τῶν εὐδαιμόνων αἰώνων κηρύσσοντες οἱ δὲ δάκτυλοι αὐτῆς τὰς πύλας τῆς πόλεως ὑποδεικνύουσιν	τῶν χορῶν τῶν εὐδαιμονων αἰώνων κηρύσσοντες οἱ δὲ δάκτυλοι αὐτῆς τὰς πύλας τῆς πόλεως ὑποδείκνυσην
proclaiming <i>the dance</i> of the blessed aeons. Her fingers <i>indicate</i> the gates of the city.	proclaiming <i>of the dances</i> of the blessed aeons. Her fingers <i>indicate</i> the gates of the city.

Both of these variants are also found in other manuscripts in this thesis. The first one is the difference in number and case of Bonnet's τὸν χορὸν, accusative singular, for which 56 reads τῶν χορῶν, a genitive plural. The verbal form ὑποδείκνυσην in 56 is best understood as plural, just as in Bonnet, as I have argued already.

The second to last alternative reading in 56 is in 6:12:

Bonnet 110.2	56 – 111v, 1. 3–4
καὶ ἀνθέων παμπόλλων ἡδυπνόων	καὶ ἀνθέων πόλλων ἡδυπνόων
and <i>numerous</i> sweet-smelling flowers	and <i>many</i> sweet-smelling flowers

As I have discussed in the context of U as well, the difference between the words παμπόλλων and πόλλων is negligible in the context of the HBr as a whole.

Then, the last alternative reading can be found in 7:2:

Bonnet 110.5–6	56 – 111v, 1.12–13
αἱ δὲ ταύτης παράνομοι εἰσιν ἑπτὰ	οἱ δὲ ταύτης παράνομοι ἦσαν ἑπτὰ
her <i>bridesmaids</i> are seven	her <i>best men</i> are seven

This alternative reading relating the question regarding the παράνομοι are male or female, will be discussed below in chapter 5.

4.10.6. Scribal errors

There are three scribal errors in 56. The first is in 6:2:

Bonnet 108.9	56 111r, 1.15–16
Ὁ θεός μου ἀφήσει σοι	ὁ θεός μου ἀφή<σει> σοι
My God will forgive you	My god will forgive you

This example seems best explained if it is regarded as a scribal error. The scribe of 56 most likely confused the future ending -σει of the verb with the personal pronoun σοι and ended up only writing the latter.

The second mistake is found in 6:3:

Bonnet 108.12	56 – 111r, 23–24
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ὑπὸ κυνῶν συρομένην καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα	προ κυνὸς συρωμ<ένην> καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα
dragged by dogs, and after saying these things	drag[ged] by a dog And after saying these things

The scribe of 56 seems to have forgotten to finish the word συρομένην, as it only writes συρωμ at the end of the line at 111r, 23, and then continues with καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα on the following line (111r, 24), not completing this word he started to write on line 23.

The third scribal error is in 7:2–3:

Bonnet 110.5–8	56 – 111v, 1.12–16
αἱ δὲ ταύτης παράνυμφοί εἰσιν ἑπτὰ, οἱ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῆς χορεύουσιν δώδεκα δὲ εἰσιν τὸν ἀριθμὸν οἱ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῆς ὑπηρετοῦντες καὶ αὐτῇ ὑποκείμενοι	οἱ δὲ ταύτης παρανυμφοι ἦσαν ἑπτὰ οἱ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῆς ὑπηρεστουντες καὶ αυτοι ὑποκείμενοι
Her bridesmaids are seven, <i>who dance in front of her. Twelve is the number of her servants in front of her, who are her subjects.</i>	Her bridesmaids are seven, who are her servants and <i>they are</i> subjects

This omission is the result of a parablepsis leading to a haplography. The words οἱ ἔμπροσθεν appear twice in close succession in this section of the HBr. The scribe of 56 most likely did not realize this and continued copying the words that follow after the second occurrence of οἱ ἔμπροσθεν after writing it the first time, thus skipping nine words.

Chapter 5: *The HBr as Written in Rome and the Vatican*

Now that both the codices and their versions of the HBr have been analyzed properly, it is time to return to the goals set out in the first chapter of this thesis. In this chapter, it is my goal to interpret the analyzed data. I will do so by focusing on the three aspects I already indicated in the first chapter: I first focus on the language and interpretation of the HBr, as these two aspects of the text are closely related – if the language in a certain verse is different, the interpretation is also likely to be distinct. Then, I discuss the transmission of the HBr in the Roman and Vatican manuscripts, with extra attention to V and 8, the two manuscripts that skip the HBr.

5.1. *Language and Interpretation*

When we then compare the eight texts that do contain the HBr – Bonnet, F, K, U, Y, 9, 10, 56 – there are many differences. The majority of these differences are irrelevant for the interpretation of the HBr, since the greatest number of differences are variant spellings of words, most notably caused by iotacisms and the avoidance of diphthongs. Likewise, omissions, additions, and alternative readings in large part consist of minor adjustments, since most of them only add, delete, or substitute a small word like *καί*, *δέ*, or *γάρ*, or because they use a slightly different verbal form. The manuscripts for example read an aorist form where Bonnet has written a perfect form. Thus, while the language of the HBr in the manuscripts in Rome and the Vatican can fluctuate, the interpretation remains relatively unchanged. Apart from the fact that both V and 8 skip the HBr, the biggest differences between Bonnet and individual recensions are clear scribal errors such as dittographies and haplographies.

This does not mean that there is nothing noteworthy about the individual texts of the HBr, as I will show in this part of the chapter. I will now give a comprehensive overview of all ten versions compared to each other and discuss all differences that I deem significant. Insignificant differences such as different spellings, the addition or deletion of *καί*, *δέ*, *γάρ*, an article, or a slightly different verbal form will not be treated unless it turns out they might be of importance for the interpretation of the HBr. In order to do this in a structured manner, I describe these differences in four different categories. First, I focus on those verses that are relatively stable where only one manuscript offers a different reading. Second, I discuss the verses that are relatively unstable that show many differences. Third, I speak of the cases where Bonnet is the only one offering a different reading. Fourth, I mention any miscellaneous differences that do not fit in any of the categories above.

5.1.1. *Stable Verses*

There are no verses of the HBr that are exactly the same in all the witnesses I studied. There are, however, five verses (6:6; 6:9; 7:1; 7:5; 7:12) that show only one variation in one of the manuscripts.¹⁸⁴ Other than that, they are virtually similar for all witnesses, apart from some different spellings.

So in verse 6:6, where 9 is the only manuscript that omits the word *εὐωδίας*:

¹⁸⁴ In a few verses it is Bonnet who suggests a reading that is not found in any of the Roman and Vatican manuscripts. These are treated in more detail below.

Bonnet, F, K, U, Y, 10, 56	9
ἦς τὰ ἐνδύματα ἔοικεν ἑαρινοῖς ἄνθεσιν ἀποφορὰ δὲ εὐωδίας ἐξ αὐτῶν διαδίδοται	ἦς τὰ ἐνδύματα ἔοικεν ἑαρινοῖς ἄνθεσιν ἀποφορὰ δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν διαδίδοται
Her garments look like spring flowers, spreading a <i>sweet</i> smell from them.	Her garments look like spring flowers, spreading a smell from them.

The other Roman and Vatican manuscripts do include the word, as well as all manuscripts used by Bonnet.

K is the only manuscript that has an alternative version of 6:9, as it is the only witness that adds the word γάρ:

Bonnet, F, U, Y, 9, 10, 56	K
τριάντα καὶ δύο εἰσὶν οἱ ταύτην ὑμνολογοῦντες	τριάντα γὰρ καὶ δύο εἰσὶν οἱ ταύτην ὑμνολογοῦντες
thirty-two are those that sing her hymns of praise	<i>because</i> thirty-two are those that sing her hymns of praise

While Bonnet does use K in his edition, he does not mention this addition because according to him, K only contains the martyrdom of Thomas. This is not the case, as I already indicated in chapters three and four of this thesis. Other manuscripts used by Bonnet also do not contain this addition.

Verse 7:1 shows three divergent readings. Two of these are clear and minor scribal errors (F – πε<ρι>εστοιχισμένην; K – {ἔ}ἔχουσιν), and are thus not counted as true differences. Only the alternative reading in 9 is a ‘true’ alternative reading: instead of seven (ἑβδομός) groomsmen, 9 writes that the bride is surrounded by countless (ἀναριθμητός) groomsmen. Otherwise, the language of this verse is stable:

Bonnet, (F, K,) U, Y, 10, 56	9
περιστοιχισμένην δὲ αὐτὴν ἔχουσιν οἱ ταύτης νυμφῖοι, ὧν ὁ ἀριθμὸς ἑβδομός ἐστιν, οὓς αὐτὴ ἐξελέξατο	περιστοιχισμένην δὲ αὐτὴν ἔχουσιν οἱ ταύτης νυμφῖοι, ὧν ὁ ἀριθμὸς ἀναριθμητός ἐστιν, οὓς αὐτὴ ἐξελέξατο
She is surrounded by her groomsmen that are <i>seven</i> in number, whom she has selected herself	She is surrounded by her groomsmen that are <i>countless</i> in numbers, whom she has selected herself

Again, this reading is only attested in this individual manuscript, and there are no individual manuscripts used by Bonnet that have this alternative reading either.

Another reading only found in one manuscript is found in 7:5, where 10 writes χώραν instead of χαρὰν:

Bonnet, F, K, U, Y, 9, 56	10
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καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα σὺν αὐτῷ ἔσονται εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν <i>χαρὰν</i> τὴν αἰώνιον,	καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα σὺν αὐτῷ ἔσονται εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν <i>χώραν</i> τὴν αἰώνιον
and that they will be with him forever, in that everlasting <i>joy</i>	and that they will be with him forever, in that everlasting <i>place</i>

As I already argued in chapter 4, I am not sure whether this difference is a scribal error or a purposeful change. Because I do not think that it changes the HBr, and the difference between the two words lies in a single letter, I am inclined to see it as a scribal error as I am unsure why it would be a purposeful change. The fact that it is the only manuscript containing this alternative reading – Bonnet does not mention any other manuscripts with this reading either – strengthens my suspicion.

Lastly, 9 is the only manuscript that has an additional *καὶ* at the beginning of 7:12:

Bonnet, F, K, U, Y, 10, 56	9
ἐδόξασαν δὲ καὶ ὑμνησαν σὺν τῷ ζῶντι πνεύματι τὸν πατέρα τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τὴν μητέρα τῆς σοφίας	<i>καὶ</i> ἐδόξασαν δὲ καὶ ὑμνησαν σὺν τῷ ζῶντι πνεύματι τὸν πατέρα τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τὴν μητέρα τῆς σοφίας
They honored and praised with the living spirit the father of truth and the mother of wisdom.	<i>And</i> they honored and praised with the living spirit the father of truth and the mother of wisdom

This addition is also not mentioned by Bonnet in his critical edition.

5.1.2. *Unstable verses*

Now that the relatively stable verses have been given some attention, I now turn to the four verses that are rather unstable in the sense that there are many different readings in the individual manuscripts, 6:3, 6:5, and 6:10–12. However, the overarching argument I will make here is that while these verses show a significant number of variations, they are not all too impactful for the interpretation of the HBr.

First, there is 6:3. Bonnet suggests the following reading:

εἰς δὲ τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον δείξει αὐτοῦ τὰ θαυμάσια, καὶ θεάσομαι ἤδη τὴν χεῖρα ἐκείνην τὴν τύπασάν με ὑπὸ κυνῶν συρομένην.

but in this world, he will show his wonders and I already see the hand which struck me dragged by dogs.

F, U, Y, and 10 are identical to Bonnet, but K, V, 9, and 56 show differences:

εἰς (56: *εἰ*) δὲ τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον (V: *τὸν τοῦτον κόσμον*; 9: *τούτον τὸν κόσμον*) δείξει αὐτοῦ τὰ θαυμάσια (K: add. *καὶ τὰ σιμία*), καὶ θεάσομαι ἤδη (V: *νυν*; 8: om. *ἤδη*) τὴν χεῖρα ἐκείνην (V, 8: om. *ἐκείνην*) τὴν τύπασάν με (V: *μοι*) ὑπὸ κυνῶν (V: *ὑπὸ κύνος*; 56: *προ κυνός*) συρομένην.

Of these many differences, the one in K is especially interesting as it adds *καὶ τὰ σιμῖα*, as I already discussed in chapter four. Otherwise, differences such as a singular dog in V and 56 or plural dogs in the other witnesses have no significant influence.

Second, the block of verses 6:10–12 also show many possible readings. Bonnet’s version is as follows:

6:10 ἥς ἡ γλῶττα παραπετάσματι ἔοικεν τῆς θύρας ὃ ἐκτινάσσεται τοῖς εἰσιοῦσιν ἥς ὁ αὐχὴν εἰς τύπον βαθμῶν ἔγκειται ὧν ὁ πρῶτος δημιουργὸς ἐδημιούργησεν, 6:11 αἱ δὲ δύο αὐτῆς χεῖρες σημαίνουσιν καὶ ὑποδεικνύουσιν τὸν χορὸν τῶν εὐδαιμόνων αἰώνων κηρύσσοντες, οἱ δὲ δάκτυλοι αὐτῆς τὰς πύλας τῆς πόλεως ὑποδεικνύουσιν · 6:12 ἥς ὁ παστὸς φωτεινός, ἀποφορὰν ἀπὸ βαλσάμου καὶ παντὸς ἀρώματος διαπνέων, ἀναδιδούς τε ὀσμὴν ἠδεῖαν σμύρνης τε καὶ φύλλου, ὑπέστρωνται δὲ ἐντὸς μυρσίναι καὶ ἀνθέων παμπόλλων ἠδυνῶν, αἱ δὲ κλειστάδες ἐν καλάμοις κεκόσμηται.

6:10 Her tongue is like a door-curtain, shaken out for those entering. Her neck is worked into steps that the first creator created. 6:11 Her two hands make signs and indicate, proclaiming the dance of the blessed aeons. Her fingers indicate the gates of the city. 6:12 Her bridal chamber is bright, smelling of balsam and every aromatic spice, giving off a pleasant smell of myrrh and herbs. The inside is covered with myrtle-branches and numerous sweet-smelling flowers

All witnesses assessed in this thesis differ from this version in varying degrees:

6:10 ἥς ἡ γλῶττα παραπετάσματι ἔοικεν τῆς θύρας ὃ ἐκτινάσσεται (9: ἐκτινάση) τοῖς (9: om. τοῖς) εἰσιοῦσιν (9: add. ὁ ἱεροφαντής) ἥς ὁ αὐχὴν εἰς τύπον βαθμῶν (K: βαθμοῦ) ἔγκειται ὧν (U, Y, 10: ὄν) ὁ πρῶτος (F, U, Y, 10, 56: om. ὁ) δημιουργὸς ἐδημιούργησεν, 6:11 αἱ δὲ δύο αὐτῆς χεῖρες σημαίνουσιν καὶ ὑποδεικνύουσιν (K: om. καὶ ὑποδεικνύουσιν; Y: om. καὶ ὑποδεικνύουσιν, add. καὶ ὑποχωροῦσιν) τὸν χορὸν (K: τῶν χωρῶν; 9: τὸν χρόνον; 56: τῶν χορῶν) τῶν (9: τὸν) εὐδαιμόνων αἰώνων κηρύσσοντες, οἱ δὲ δάκτυλοι αὐτῆς τὰς πύλας τῆς πόλεως ὑποδεικνύουσιν (F, U, Y, 10, 56: ὑποδείκνυσιν) 6:12 ἥς ὁ παστὸς φωτεινός, ἀποφορὰν ἀπὸ βαλσάμου καὶ παντὸς ἀρώματος διαπνέων, ἀναδιδούς τε ὀσμὴν ἠδεῖαν σμύρνης τε καὶ φύλλου, ὑπέστρωνται (10: ὑπέστρωτε) δὲ ἐντὸς μυρσίναι καὶ ἀνθέων παμπόλλων (U, 56: πολλῶν) ἠδυνῶν, αἱ δὲ κλειστάδες (K: σκλιστάδες) ἐν καλάμοις κεκόσμηται (K: καὶ κόσμηται).

Several differences are interesting. In 6:10, 9 adds the words *ὁ ἱεροφαντής*, the hierophant. This word could also be used to describe the Jewish High Priest.¹⁸⁵ If 9 indeed wanted imply this intention, it would open the possibility to interpret the bride as the temple in Jerusalem. Her tongue, the door curtain that the High Priest shakes for those entering, could then be interpreted as the curtain hanging in between the Holy and Holy of Holies. A problem with this

¹⁸⁵ LSJ, s.v. ἱεροφαντής.

interpretation is that this curtain was torn after Jesus’s death (cf. Mt 27:51; Mk 15:38; Lk 23:45).

Further on in this same verse there are three variants of the same phrase: Bonnet, K, and 9 read ὧν ὁ πρῶτος δημιουργός. F and 56 omit the article and write ὧν πρῶτος δημιουργός. U, Y, and 10 also omit the article, and write an accusative singular possessive pronoun instead of a genitive plural. This is a bit puzzling, as the antecedent of this pronoun is not clear when it is written as an accusative singular. The genitive plural, on the other hand, points back at the plural *stairs* (*βαθμῶν*). The fact that K retains the genitive plural possessive pronoun but writes the singular *stair* (*βαθμοῦ*), confuses me.

Then in 6:11, instead of ὑποδεικνύουσιν, Y reads ὑποχωροῦσιν. As I have already stated in chapter four, I do not quite get this change because the possible translations of this verb are all not really fitting here. It is not that Y has problems with the verb ὑποδείκνυμι because it does write it later on in the verse. Bonnet does not mention this alternative reading in his critical edition. I am therefore also unsure whether there are any other manuscripts containing this alternative reading.

In this same verse there is some discussion on the blessed aeons. Bonnet, F, U, Y, and 10 write τὸν χορὸν τῶν εὐδαιμόνων αἰώνων, ‘the dance of the blessed aeons.’ K and 56 read a genitive plural (K; τῶν χορῶν; 56: τῶν χορῶν) ‘of the dances.’ 9 speaks of the *time* (τὸν χρόνον) of the blessed aeons. I do not think that there is any clear intent with these variant readings and I think that they are all best explained as scribal errors, as they all contain roughly the same letters, the nun, omicron and/or omega, rho, and chi. Because these words look so similar, mistakes that still make some sense are easily made. Analyzing all known witnesses might help shed light on the more primitive reading in this regard. However, I tend to follow the majority reading of τὸν χορὸν, exactly because it is the majority reading.

The last difference in 6:11 is that F, U, Y, 10, and 56 write ὑποδείκνυσιν instead of ὑποδεικνύουσιν. As I have already indicated, I regard both verbal forms as plural.

While the number of differences in 6:12 is also quite high, they are of less importance for the interpretation of the HBr as a whole.

5.1.3. Bonnet as the variant reading

There are two verses in which the reading provided by Bonnet turns out to be the only variant when his edition is compared with all manuscripts in Rome and the Vatican. These are both found in § 7. First, 7:2:

Bonnet	F, K, U, Y, 9, 10, 56
αἱ δὲ ταύτης παράνυμοί εἰσιν ἑπτὰ	οἱ δὲ ταύτης παράνυμοί εἰσιν ἑπτὰ
her <i>bridesmaids</i> are seven	her <i>best men</i> are seven

According to Bonnet, this variant reading is found in seven manuscripts (FX.PUY.QR¹⁸⁶). He does not include K in this list because he erroneously thought that K only contains Thomas’s martyrdom. This means that the six other manuscripts used by Bonnet in this section of the ATh (A, C, D, S, T, Z) all contain the reading αἱ δὲ ταύτης παράνυμοί, (except for V, as it

¹⁸⁶ Cf. n. 3 above for the libraries, shelf marks, and century of these manuscripts.

skipped the HBr) and that the reading *οἱ δὲ ταύτης παράνομοι* now has eleven known witnesses (F, K, P, Q, R, U, X, Y, 9, 10, 56). I tend to follow Bonnet here in reading a feminine plural article because 7:1 describes her seven groomsmen: *οἱ ταύτης νυμφιοὶ ὧν ὁ ἀριθμὸς ἑβδομὸς ἐστίν*. It seems more logical to me that after the description of the male best men the description follows of the female bridesmaids, that are also seven. However, because the witnesses studied so far show a preference for *οἱ*, a description of seven best men remains a serious contender. A new edition of the HBr including all known witnesses will hopefully be able to shed more light on which reading is more probable.

The second instance where Bonnet contains the only differing reading is found at the end of the HBr in 7:11:

Bonnet	F, K, U, Y, 9, 10, 56
ἔπιον δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ μὴ δίψαν αὐτοῖς παρέχοντος καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν	ἔπιον δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ μὴ δίψαν αὐτοῖς παρέχοντος καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν <i>σαρκὸς</i>
and also drank from the wine, which brings them neither thirst nor desire.	and also drank from the wine, which brings them neither thirst nor desire <i>of the flesh</i> .

The manuscripts that contain this alternative reading among the manuscripts used by Bonnet are D, FX, PUY, and QR. These are the manuscripts that also have the alternative reading in 7:2 as I just discussed, this time together with manuscript D. Thus, together with the three manuscripts not studied by Bonnet, there are in total twelve manuscripts that contain this alternative reading (D, F, K, P, Q, R, U, X, Y, 9, 10, 56), whereas the five other manuscripts used by Bonnet in this section (A, C, S, T, Z) do not. Again, I feel that Bonnet's reading is more probable here because of the *lectio difficilior*. It is easier to accept that the word *σαρκὸς* has been added at a later stage in order to specify which kind of desire the text is referring to: that *of the flesh*. Since the manuscripts are divided on this topic as well, however, this might also be a focal point for a new edition of the HBr.

5.1.4. Miscellaneous differences

There are few differences that I want to touch on briefly. Especially K and 9 show differences that are interesting. K adds several words in 6:2:¹⁸⁷

Bonnet 108.9	K – 9v, 1.8–9
Ὁ θεός μου ἀφήσει σοι	ὁ θεὸς μου καὶ ὁ κ̄ς̄ ἰς̄ χ̄ς̄ ἀφίση σοι
My God will forgive you	My God <i>and the Lord Jesus Christ</i> will forgive you

It is the only manuscript so far that contains this addition. In chapter 4 I have already argued that I do not think that this addition is meant as a hendyasis. It thus seems to me that the one who added this brief phrase just wanted to include Christ in the equation.

¹⁸⁷ There is also an addition in 6:3. I already discussed this addition, *καὶ τὰ σιμῖα*, above. I will therefore not do that here.

9 is in general the manuscript that differs the most from Bonnet’s edition, with different readings in nineteen of the 24 verses of § 6–7, not counting the different spellings of words. Next to the different verbal form ἐν ἧ ἔσση HBr in 6:5 as discussed above, there is the addition of an article found only in 9 and Y:

Bonnet, F, K, U, 10, 56	Y, 9
ἔγκειται δὲ ταύτης τῆ κεφαλῆ ἀλήθεια	ἔγκηται δὲ ταύτης τῆ κεφαλῆ ἡ ἀλήθεια
on her head rests truth	on her head rests <i>the</i> truth

This addition emphasizes the word ἀλήθεια more and takes away discussion on how this truth is formed: instead of any truth, *the* truth rests on the head of the bride.

5.1.5. Language and interpretation of the HBr: Conclusion

Concluding this short overview of those differences that I perceive as being the most important, it is noteworthy to see that the manuscripts that chose to include the HBr did so without changing the text significantly.

I did not find any changes due to clear theological reasons, as for example the Syriac versions do by changing the “bride” into the “Church” in 6:5, or by changing the “place of the blessed aeons” into “the place of life” in 6:11. This last verse does contain several alternative readings in the Greek manuscripts I studied, but they are more akin to scribal errors as the same letters are used in all variants (Bonnet, F, U, Y, 10: τὸν χορὸν; K: τῶν χωρῶν; 9: τὸν χρόνον; 56: τῶν χορῶν). Likewise, none of the Greek witnesses has deleted the references to the seven and twelve in 7:1, 7:2, and 7:3 as the Syriac versions do. The only manuscript that has an alternative reading in this regard is 9, which changes the seven, ἑβδομός, in 7:1 into countless, ἀναριθμητὸς while retaining the seven in 7:2. Furthermore, whereas the Syriac versions read “the just ones” in 7:6 and “some” in 7:7, all Greek manuscripts in this thesis have retained the readings “the great ones” and the “the eternal ones.”

5.2. Transmission

It is difficult to say something substantial about the transmission of the ATH on the basis of this short hymn. However, the fact that there are several alternative readings found in all Roman and Vatican manuscripts is noteworthy, especially since these are not found in many other manuscripts used by Bonnet as I just showed above. A good example of how the individual manuscripts in Rome and the Vatican relate to one another can be found in the first part of 6:5. Bonnet proposes the following reading:

Ἡ κόρη τοῦ φωτὸς θυγάτηρ, ἧ ἐνέστηκε καὶ ἔγκειται τὸ ἀπαύγασμα τῶν βασιλέων τὸ γαῦρον, καὶ ἐπιτερεπὲς ταύτης τὸ θέαμα, φαιδρῶ κάλλει καταυγάζουσα

The bride is daughter of the light. On her is placed and rests the splendid radiance of kings; and pleasing is her sight, shining with bright beauty.

All manuscripts studied for this thesis have alternative readings:

ἡ κόρη (10, 56: add. ἡ) τοῦ φωτός (F, K, U, Y: add. ἡ) θυγάτηρ, ἧ ἐνέστηκε (F: ἡ αἰνετή; K, U, Y, : ἐνέστη; 9: ἐν ἧ ἔστη; 10, 56: ἔνεστι) καὶ ἔγκειται τὸ ἀπαύγασμα τῶν βασιλέων τὸ γαῦρον, καὶ ἐπιτερπὲς ταύτης τὸ θέαμα, φαιδρῶ (56: φαιδρὰν) κάλλει καταυγάζουσα (9: καταύαζεται).

The first sentence in particular is thus fluctuating; does θυγάτηρ get an article, and if so, where exactly does this article stand? The verbal form from the verb ἐνίημι that follows also shows intriguing differences – especially in F as it does not include a verb in this place. The first part of 6:5 can thus be written in four different ways:

F ἡ κόρη τοῦ φωτός ἡ θυγάτηρ ἡ αἰνετή καὶ ἔγκειται τὸ ἀπαύγασμα τῶν βασιλέων τὸ γαῦρον

K ἡ κόρη τοῦ φωτός ἡ θυγάτηρ, ἧ ἐνέστη καὶ ἔγκειται τὸ ἀπαύγασμα τῶν βασιλέων τὸ γαῦρον

U ἡ κόρη τοῦ φωτός ἡ θυγάτηρ, ἧ ἐνέστη καὶ ἔγκειται τὸ ἀπαύγασμα τῶν βασιλέων τὸ γαῦρον

Y ἡ κόρη τοῦ φωτός ἡ θυγάτηρ, ἧ ἐνέστη καὶ ἔγκειται τὸ ἀπαύγασμα τῶν βασιλέων τὸ γαῦρον

9 ἡ κόρη τοῦ φωτός θυγάτηρ, ἐν ἧ ἔστη καὶ ἔγκειται τὸ ἀπαύγασμα τῶν βασιλέων τὸ γαῦρον

10 ἡ κόρη ἡ τοῦ φωτός θυγάτηρ, ἧ ἔνεστι καὶ ἔγκειται τὸ ἀπαύγασμα τῶν βασιλέων τὸ γαῦρον

56 ἡ κόρη ἡ τοῦ φωτός θυγάτηρ, ἧ ἔνεστι καὶ ἔγκειται τὸ ἀπαύγασμα τῶν βασιλέων τὸ γαῦρον

Of all these versions, 9 is the only witness that does not write an article before θυγάτηρ as Bonnet does. The four different versions of the verbal form are all quite easily explained as variations from the same archetype ἐνέστη. The variant reading in F, who reads ἡ αἰνετή, ‘the praiseworthy,’ seems to be a simple scribal error, derivative from this aorist. It is unlikely that this variant reading would be derived from the perfect form ἐνέστηκε as proposed by Bonnet, because then the whole word needs to change, as both the beginning would have been altered and the perfect ending -κε would have to be omitted. I would argue that something similar then happened in 9. This version reads ἐν ἧ ἔστη, a combination of words again much closer to the aorist found in K, U, and Y. Likewise, the variant reading in 10 and 56, ἔνεστι, differs in only one letter from the aorist found in K, U, and Y. I suspect that the form in 10 and 56 is an iotacized version of this ‘pure’ aorist, since both 10 and 56 show a significant amount of iotacized different spellings of words. The manuscripts in this case seem to be pretty close to one another in the transmission of the Hymn, as they all contain the aorist ἐνέστη, or a derivative that is best explained as variation of this aorist form. Especially F, K, U, and Y, as well as 10 with 56 seem to be close to one another because they contain the same variant readings.

Furthermore, as I have discussed in the preceding part where Bonnet proposes a reading not attested in any of the witnesses found in Rome and the Vatican, this variant reading is almost exclusively found in these Roman and Vatican manuscripts. The reading of *οι* in 7:2 instead of *αι* occurs in all manuscripts in Rome and the Vatican, as well as three other manuscripts studied by Bonnet (P, Q, R). Likewise, the addition of *σαρκός* in 7:11 is also only found in the Roman and Vatican manuscripts, together with four others (D, P, Q, R). While these few alternative readings on themselves are of course far too minor to indicate anything substantial about a possible *stemma codicum*, they might provide a good starting point for such an endeavor because it is quite striking that in places like 6:5, 7:2, and 7:11 all witnesses studied in this thesis seem so closely related to each other.

5.2.1. *The manuscripts that skipped the HBr*

It has become evident in the analysis of the individual versions of the HBr in the last chapter that two manuscripts, V and 8, did not transmit the HBr at all. Even so, I have included these two versions in this thesis because unlike manuscript 7, i.e., BAV Vat.gr. 866, they both belong to the long recension that normally includes the HBr. These two manuscripts that lack the HBr are good examples of the place of the HBr in the greater narrative of the first Act, as is also noted by Rouwhorst: “It [the HBr] forms an independent unity that does not really interrupt the flow of the narrative, but it can be omitted without implications for the comprehensibility of the story.”¹⁸⁸ Deleting the HBr does not really lead to textual or interpretative difficulties for the greater narrative *per se*. There are only a few sentences that need to be slightly changed in order to account for the deletion, and that is exactly what these two manuscripts do. I focus on them individually, beginning with V.

5.2.1.1. *The deletion of the Hymn in V*

V has skipped the HBr, and accomplished this by rewriting only a few lines so that the flow of the story is not interrupted:

Bonnet 108.12-13; 111.1–2	V – 101r, 12–15
Καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἤρξατο ψάλλειν καὶ λέγειν τὴν ᾠδὴν ταύτην [The Hymn of the Bride]	καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα μόνη ἡ αὐλήτρια συνηκεντὸ λεχθεν ἔβραῖος γὰρ ἦν εἶτα ὁ ἀπόστολος ἤρξατο ψάλλειν ἔβραῖστί
Καὶ ὅτε ὕμνησεν καὶ ἐτέλεσεν τὴν ᾠδὴν ταύτην, πάντες οἱ ἐκεῖ παρόντες εἰς αὐτὸν ἀπέβλεπον	καὶ ὅτε ὕμνησε καὶ ἐτέλεσε τὴν ᾠδὴν ταύτην πάντες οἱ ἐκεῖ παρον εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπέβλεπον
And after saying these things, he began to sing and say this song:	And speaking these things, only the flute-player understood what was spoken, because

¹⁸⁸ Gerard Rouwhorst, “Hymns and Prayers in the Apocryphal Acts of Thomas,” in *Literature or Liturgy? Early Christian Hymns and Prayers in their Literary and Liturgical Context in Antiquity*, ed. Clemens Leonard and Hermut Löhr, WUNT II.363 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 195–212, 201–202.

[Hymn of the Bride]	she was Hebrew. And then the apostle began to sing in Hebrew.
And when he sang and finished this song, all people that were there looked at him	And when he sang and finished this song, all people that were there looked at him

The insertion of the sentence μόνη ἡ αὐλήτρια συνηκεντὸ λέχθεν ἑβραῖος γὰρ ἦν εἶτα ὁ ἀπόστολος ἤρξατο ψάλλειν ἑβραϊστὴ, ‘only the flute-player understood which was spoken, because she was Hebrew. And then the apostle began to sing in Hebrew.’ in V is inspired by what in Bonnet follows in § 8: τὰ δὲ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ λεχθέντα οὐκ ἐνόουν, ἐπειδὴ αὐτὸς ἑβραῖος ἦν καὶ τὰ λεχθέντα ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἑβραϊστὶ ἐλέχθη. ἡ δὲ αὐλήτρια πάντα ἤκουσεν μόνη, ἑβραία γὰρ ἦν τῷ γένει, ‘They did not understand his words, because he was a Hebrew, and his words were spoken in Hebrew. Only the flute player heard everything, because she was belonging to the Hebrew race.’ This part of § 8 is therefore also left out in V. The explanation was already given in the place where the HBr normally would be. The rest of § 8 is intact.

There are three different possible reasons as to why the HBr is not included in V: (1) The HBr was already deleted in the copy that was used by the scribe of V. Since it was not there in this version, the scribe of V did not write the HBr; (2) Because the HBr contains certain theological ideas that the scribe or the client of V, bishop Georgios Abramaios, did not agree with, the HBr was thrown out; (3) The material properties of V could also have played a part; because the manuscript contains such a large number of folios, 1387 in total, it might also be the case that some parts of texts were omitted simply to save some space. More research must be done in order to choose between these three, research I sadly did not have the time for when in Rome.

5.2.1.2. *The deletion of the Hymn in 8*

It is evident that the HBr in 8 is omitted because the ATh in this manuscript is heavily abbreviated in general. The first words that have survived are from ATh § 2 and can be found on fol. 1r, 1.1–5: καὶ συνεφώνησεν μετ’ αὐτοῦ τριῶν λιτρῶν ἀσήμου, καὶ ἔγραψεν ὠνήν λέγων (ATh § 2, Bonnet 101.11–102.1). Already on fol. 1v, 1.26 the beginning of ATh § 6 can be found: τοῦ δὲ ἀποστόλου εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀφορώντος. There are 33 lines of writing per column and two columns per page. That means that on ff. 1r and 1v, 1.1–25 there are 91 lines. If we presume that there are on average four words per line, this would mean that these 91 lines contain about 364 words that have to cover § 2 (partly), 3, 4, and 5. In Bonnet’s edition, these chapters take up page and line numbers 101.11–108.5 and amount to a total of about 640 words, thus almost double the amount that 8 uses. Furthermore, as is visible in Appendix 1.6, 8 also skips the first half of § 8, leaving out how the wedding guests and the flute player react to the HBr. Instead, it only wants to end the story with the cupbearer. Thomas said he would see the hand of the cupbearer being dragged by a dog (6:3), and the last part of § 8 tells how this cupbearer gets killed by a lion, and how a dog then walks off with the hand that struck Thomas. In other words: it is not just the HBr that got deleted, but the whole of the ATh has been heavily abbreviated. I thus do not think that there were any theological reasons for this deletion. Because of the abbreviating tendencies of 8 and the relative ease with which the HBr can be omitted without immediate problems for the greater narrative, it has been skipped.

Chapter 6: *Conclusion and Further Research Possibilities*

This thesis, which began with a brief introduction of the intended research together with a summary of the ATh, has now come to its end. In what follows in this brief chapter, I summarize my findings and conclude with topics that I would have loved to expand on but for which I do not have the space, as I have greatly exceeded the word limit.

I presented the goals of this thesis, as well as the Greek text of Bonnet's HBr and my own English translation, in the first chapter. In chapter two, I gave a brief overview of the history of research into the ATh in general and the HBr specifically. Then, in the third chapter, I discussed the physicality, writing, and contents of all nine manuscripts located in Rome and the Vatican that contain the ATh, to compare each individual text of the HBr in chapter four. Chapter five then focused on a more comprehensive comparison of all witnesses with Bonnet's edition and with one another as well.

This exhaustive comparison of all the witnesses of the HBr in Rome and the Vatican has led me to believe that in the end, there are no readings that substantially change or challenge the general interpretation of the HBr as it has been studied since Bonnet published his critical edition in 1903. While there clearly are differences, this thesis, which has compared the HBr in all witnesses in Rome and the Vatican, shows that the general structure, language, and transmission of the HBr seem to be rather stable; the three manuscripts not yet incorporated in any edition which do contain the HBr are close to the versions that Bonnet used in his edition, showing at least that the HBr in Bonnet is a trustworthy edition to get a general idea of the HBr. At the same time, the new manuscript that skipped the HBr, 8, did not do so for theological reasons, but rather for reasons of space as it presents us a heavily abbreviated version of the first three Acts of the ATh. There are no indications for catholicizing rewritings as is so evident in all Syriac versions in any of the manuscripts I studied; there are no major additions, deletions, or alternative readings that might make all research into the HBr up to this point redundant.

Nevertheless, I find it quite challenging to say something substantial about more and less probable readings on more detailed sections of text because I am basing myself on only nine manuscripts. When the Roman and Vatican manuscripts all contain the same alternative reading, as they for example do in 7:2 and 7:11, it is compelling to argue that this reading is very probable. However, because I do not know whether this alternative reading is attested in any of the other sixty manuscripts that still need to be studied extensively, I am not sure whether this assertion of probability is correct or not. A similar problem arises when assessing the beginning of the HBr in 6:5, where there are four different readings in the manuscripts from Rome and the Vatican, whereas Bonnet reconstructs a fifth reading not found in any of the Roman and Vatican manuscripts. The many different possible interpretations of the work of the demiurge in 6:11 also show this kind of variance in readings. I find it difficult to decide on the most probable reading because this could change greatly once all known witnesses are included in the equation.

To conclude, then, what this thesis has shown is the importance and need of a new critical edition that incorporates all known witnesses of the ATh in order to make a version of the text that is as accurate as possible, especially in those places of the HBr and indeed in the ATh as a whole where there is much variation in the transmission of the text. I am glad to know that

there is a project underway at the universities in Córdoba and Groningen that sets out to do just that.

6.1. *Suggestions for Further Research*

There are many more aspects I would have liked to focus on or discuss in more detail, but I have already exceeded the word limit. This is mainly due to the fact that during my research I kept discovering more versions of the HBr in the BAV. During my first stay in Rome in September 2020 when I worked on the proposal of this thesis, I thought that only manuscripts F, U, V, and Y contained the HBr. However, when I started working on the thesis seriously, in April 2021, I quickly discovered that there were three additional manuscripts that had not yet been studied by Bonnet, 9, 10, and 56. Lastly, during my second stay in Rome in May and June 2021, I discovered that Bonnet made a mistake: K includes the first three Acts of the ATh next to the Martyrdom of Thomas, contrary to what Bonnet had claimed in his edition. This led me to evaluate all manuscripts located in Rome and the Vatican once more, during which I discovered that 8 did not include the HBr, but that it did include the surrounding chapters. I therefore could not leave this manuscript aside. So while in September 2020 I had 25,000 words to describe the HBr in four manuscripts, it became clear in June 2021 that I now had to describe nine different manuscripts and their versions of the HBr with the same amount of words. This turned out to be simply impossible if I wanted to commit to a proper comparison that incorporates all witnesses in Rome and the Vatican. Therefore, I had to leave out certain elements I would have loved to research. I have added two of them below, as well as a third suggesting that came up during a discussion of my thesis in Rome.

(1) It can be worthwhile to research the ATh in V in more depth. Are there more parts of the ATh that this manuscript omits? If so, why, and could these deletions be linked to its client, bishop Georgios Abramaios?

(2) It is clear that manuscript 8 gives a heavily abbreviated version of the first three acts of the ATh. As far as I know, it does not give an abbreviated version of Thomas's martyrdom. Is there any reason except for saving space that could have compelled the scribe of 8 to write this summary-like version?

(3) One of the requirements the KNIR set for the scholarship was for me to present my work during a so-called KNIR Debate. During the debate at which I presented my research, I explained what a critical edition is among other things. During the question round, one of the participants asked the question as to whether there were any pre-modern critical editions made, for example in the Middle Ages. This made me think about manuscript B (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1468, 91^r – 95^r [s. 11]) in Bonnet. This manuscript is a so-called *contaminatio* because it is a mix between the short and long recensions. It has been theorized that the scribe of B had both a long and short recension of the ATh and made a separate version out of it. In the context of the question during the KNIR Debate, I wonder: how would our view of the text of the ATh change should we think of this text not as a *contaminatio*, but rather as a medieval critical edition?

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Appendixes

Appendix 1: *The HBr in the Individual Manuscripts*

In displaying the Greek text of the Hymn, I have decided to present the text as it is written in the manuscripts. That is to say, I replicate the line numbers and columns in this appendix.

Appendix 1.1. *The HBr in F*

lines	33v.1	33v.2
5		καὶ ἐπιτερπὲς ταύτης · τὸ θεά- μα φαιδρῶ κάλλει καταυγά- ζουσα · ἥς τὰ ἐνδύματα ἔ- οικεν ἑαρινοῖς ἄνθεσιν · απο- φορὰ δὲ εὐωδίας ἐξ αὐτῶν δια- δίδοται · καὶ ἐν τῇ κορυφῇ ἴδρυ- ται ὁ βασιλεὺς · τρέφων τῇ ἐ- αυτοῦ ἀμβροσία τοὺς ἐπ αὐτῷ
10		ἴδρυμένους · ἔγκειται δὲ ταύ- της τῇ κεφαλῇ ἀλήθεια · χα- ρὰν δὲ τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτῆς ἐμ- φαίνει · ἥς τὸ στόμα ἀνέωκται · καὶ πρεπόντως αὐτῇ τριάκον- τα καὶ δύο εἰσὶν οἱ ταύτην ὑμνο- λογοῦντες · ἥς ἡ γλῶττα πα- ραπετάσματι ἔοικεν τῆς
15		θύρας · ὃ ἐκτινάσσεται τοῖς εἰσιοῦσιν · ἥς ὁ ἀὐχὴν εἰς τυ- πον βαθμῶν ἔγκειται · ὧν πρῶτος δημιουργὸς ἐδημι- οῦργησεν · αἱ δὲ δύο αὐτῆς χεῖ- ρες · σημαίνουσι καὶ ὑποδεικνύ- ουσι · τὸν χορὸν τῶν εὐδαιμό- μόνων αἰώνων κηρύσσοντες · οἱ δὲ δάκτυλοι αὐτῆς · τὰς πύ- λας τῆς πόλεως ὑποδείκνυ- σιν · ἥς ὁ παστὸς φωτεινὸς · ἀποφορὰν ἀπὸ βαλσάμου καὶ παντὸς ἀρώματος διαπνέ- ων · ἀναδιδούς τὴν ὀσμὴν ἰδί- αν σμύρνης τὴν καὶ φύλου · ὑπέ- στρωται δὲ ἐντὸς μυρσίνας καὶ ἀμθέων παμπόλων ἡδυ- πνῶων · αἱ δὲ κλειστάδες ἐν κα- [one line less than 33v.1!]
20	· τοῦ δὲ ἀποστόλου εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀφο- ρῶντος · εἷς τις τῶν οἰνοχόων ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἐρά- πισεν αὐτόν · ἐπάρας δὲ ὁ ἀπό- στολος τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ · καὶ προσσχὼν τῷ τύψαντι αὐτῷ εἶπεν · ὁ θεὸς μου ἀφήσει σοι εἰς	
25	τὸν μέλλοντα αἰῶνα τὴν ἀ- δικίαν ταύτην · εἰς δὲ τὸν κόσ- μον τοῦτον δείξει αὐτοῦ τὰ θαυ- μάσια · καὶ θεάσομαι ἤδη τὴν χεῖρα ἐκείνην τὴν τύψασάν με ὑπο κυνῶν συρομένην · καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἤρξατο ψαλλεῖν καὶ λέγειν τὴν ᾠδὴν ταύτην · ἡ κόρη τοῦ φωτὸς · ἡ θυγάτηρ ἡ αἰνετὴ · καὶ ἔγκειται τὸ ἀπαύγασ- μα τῶν βασιλείων · τὸ γαῦρῳ	
30		
35		

lines	34r.1	34r.2
<p>5</p> <p>10</p> <p>15</p> <p>20</p> <p>25</p> <p>30</p> <p>35</p>	<p>λάμοις κεκόσμηται· π^ε<ρι>εστοι- χισμένην δὲ αὐτὴν ἔχουσιν οἱ ταύ- της νυμφίοι· ὧν ὁ ἀριθμὸς ἑ- βδομὸς ἐστίν· οὗς αὐτὴ ἐξελέξα- το οἱ δὲ αὐτῆς παράνυμφοι εἰ- σὶν ἑπτα· οἱ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῆς χορεύουσιν· δώδεκα εἰσὶ τὸν ἀ- ριθμὸν οἱ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῆν ὑπη- ρετοῦντες· καὶ αὐτὴ ὑποκείμενοι· τὸν σκοπὸν καὶ τὸ θέαμα εἰς τὸν νυμφίον ἔχοντες· ἵνα διὰ τοῦ θε- άματος αὐτοῦ φωτισθῶσιν· καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα συν αὐτῷ ἔστον- ται· εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν χαρὰν τῇ αἰώνιον· καὶ ἔσονται ἐν τῷ γάμῳ ἐκείνῳ ἐν ᾧ οἱ μεγιστάνες συνα- θροίζονται καὶ παραμένουσι τῇ εὐωχίᾳ· ἥς οἱ αἰώνιοι κατα- ξιοῦνται· καὶ ἐνδύσονται βασι- λικά ἐνδύματα· καὶ ἀμφιάσον- ται στολὰς λευκὰς· καὶ ἐν χαρᾷ καὶ ἀγαλλια[σει] ἔσονται ἀμφοτέρω· καὶ δοξάζουσι τὸν π^ρα τῶν ὁ- λων· οὗ τὸ φῶς τὸ γαῦρον ἐδέ- ξαντο· μὴδὲν ὄλωσ ἀπουσί- αν ἔχουσαν· ἔπιον δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ μὴ δίψαν αὐτοῖς πα- ρέχοντος καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν σαρκός· ἐδόξασαν δὲ καὶ ὑμνησαν συν τῷ ζῶητι π^νι τὸν π^ρα τῆς ἀλη- θείας· καὶ τὴν μ^ρα τῆς σοφί^α</p>	

Appendix 1.2. *The HBr in K*

lines	9r.1	9r.2
5		
10		
15		
20		
25		
30		<p style="text-align: right;">Τοῦ δὲ ἀπο- στόλου εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀφορῶντος</p>

lines	9v.1	9v.2
5	εἷς της τῶν οἰνοχόων ἐκτήνας τὴν χηρα αὐτοῦ ἐράπησεν τὸν ἀπόστο- λον. ἐπάρας δὲ ὁ ἀπό- στολος τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ προσχὼν τὸ τύψαντι αὐτὸν εἶπεν	ται· καὶ ἐν τῇ κορυφῇ ἤ- δρυται ὁ βασιλεύς, τρέφον- τι ἑαυτοῦ ἀμβροσία ὁ τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἰδρυμέ- νους· ἔγκειται δὲ ταύτης τῇ κεφαλῇ ἀλήθεια, χα- ρὰν δὲ τοῖς ποσὴν αὐ- τῆς ἐμφαίνει· εἷς τὸ στό- μα ἀνέοκτε καὶ πρε- πόντος αὐτῇ· τριάκον- τα γὰρ καὶ δύο εἰσὴν οἱ ταύτην οἰμολογοῦν- τες εἷς ἢ γλόττα πα- ραπετάσματι ἔοικεν
10	ὁ θς μου καὶ ὁ κς ις χς ἀ- φίση σοι εἰς τὸν μέλλοντα αἰῶνα τὴν ἀδικίαν ταύ- την, εἰς δὲ τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον δίξι αὐτοῦ τὰ θαυμάσια καὶ τὰ σιμῖα καὶ θεάσωμετὴν χεῖραν	τῆς θύρας ὃ ἐκτινά- σεται τοῖς εἰσιοῦσιν εἷς ὁ ἀύχην εἰς τύπον βαθ- μοῦ ἔγκειται ὧν ὁ πρῶτος διμηουργὸς ἐδειμηούρ- γησεν, αἱ δὲ δύο αὐτῆς χεῖρες σημένουσιν τῶν χωρῶν τῶν εὐδαιμόνων
15	ἐκείνην τὴν τύψασάν με ὑπὸ κυνῶν συρωμέ- νην καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν τῇ ἑβραϊᾷ διδιδάκτω ἤρξατο ψάλλειν καὶ λέγει	αἰώνων κηρύσσοντες, οἱ δὲ δάκτοιλοι αὐτῆς τὰς ποῖλας τῆς πόλε- ως ὑποδικνοῖουσιν· εἷς ὁ παστὸς φωτινός, ἀ- ποφωρὰν ἀπὸ βαλσά- μου καὶ παντὸς ἀρώμα- τος διαπνέων, ἀναδι-
20	τὴν ὠδὴν ταύτην ἢ κόρη τοῦ φωτὸς· ἢ θυ- γάτηρ, ἢ ἐνέστη καὶ ἔγκηται τὸ ἀπαύγασμα τῶν βα- σιλέων· τὸ γαῦρων, καὶ	
25	ἐπιτερπὲς ταύτης τὸ θέαμα, φεδρῶ κάλλει καταναγά- ζουσα εἰς τὰ ἐνδύμα- τα ἔοικεν ἀερινοῖς ἄν- θεσιν, ἀποφορὰ δὲ εὐω-	
30	δίας ἐξ αὐτῶν διαδίδω-	

lines	10r.1	10r.2
5	δούς τε ὡσμῖν ἰδίαν σμύρ- νης τε καὶ φύλου, ὑπέστρο- το δὲ ἐντὸς μυρσίνας καὶ ἀνθέων πανπόλλων ἠδυπνῶν, αἱ δὲ σκλι- στάδες ἐν καλάμοις καὶ κόσμηται. Περιστυ- χισμένην δὲ αὐτὴν ἔ-	εἷς οἱ αἰώνιοι καταξιοῦν- ται, καὶ ἐνδύσονται βασι- λικά ἐνδύματα καὶ ἀμ- φιάσθισονται στολὰς λαμ- πράς, καὶ ἐν χαρᾷ καὶ ἀ- γαλλιάσι ἔσονται ἀμφώ- τεροι, καὶ δοξάσουσιν τὸν π̄ρα τὸν ὅλων· οὗ τὸ φῶς τὸ γλυκῦν ἐδέξαν-
10	οι, ὧν ὁ ἀριθμὸς ἑβδο- μὸς ἐστίν, οὗς αὐτὴ ἐξε- λέξατο· οἱ δὲ ταύτης πα- ράνυμοι οἱ ἦσιν ἑπτὰ οἱ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῆς	το, καὶ ἐφωτίσθησαν ἐν τῇ θεᾷ τοῦ δεσπότου αὐ- τῶν, οὗ τὴν ἀμβροσίαν βρῶσιν ἐδέξαντο μείδεν ὄλον ἀπουσίαν ἔχουσαν,
15	χορεύουσιν· δώδεκα δὲ ἦσιν τῶν ἀριθμῶν οἱ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῆς ὑ- πηρετοῦντες καὶ αὐ- τῇ ὑποκείμενοι, τὸν	ἔπιον δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ μὴ δίψαν αὐτοῖς πα- ρέχοντος καὶ ἐπιθυμῆν σαρκὸς ἐδόξασαν δὲ καὶ ὑμνησαν σὺν τῷ ζῶντι
20	σκοπὸν καὶ τὸ θέαμα εἰς τὸν νυμφίον ἐξέχοντες, ἵνα διὰ τοῦ θεάματος	π̄νι τὸν π̄ρα τῆς ἀλι- θείας καὶ τὴν μ̄ρα τῆς σωφίας.
25	αὐτοῦ φωτισθῶσιν· καὶ εἰς τῶν αἰῶνα σὺν αὐτῷ ἔσονται εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν χαρὰν τὴν αἰώνιον, καὶ ἔσονται ἐν τῷ γάμῳ ἐκεί- νῳ ἐν ᾧ οἱ μεγιστάναις	
30	συναθροίζονται, καὶ παραμενοῦσιν τῇ εὐωχίᾳ	

Appendix 1.3. *The HBr in U*

lines	93r.1	93r.2
5		
10		
15		<p>Τοῦ δε ἀποστόλου εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀφορῶντος · εἷς τίς τῶν οἰνοχόων ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἐράπι- σεν αὐτόν · ἐπάρας δὲ ὁ ἀπόστολος τοὺς ὀφθαλ- μοὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ προσχῶν</p>
20		<p>τῷ τύψαντι αὐτὸν εἶπεν ὁ θς μου ἀφήσει σοι εἰς τὸν μέλλοντα αἰῶνα τὴν ἀδικίαν ταύτην</p>
25		<p>εἰς δε τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον δεῖξῃ αὐτοῦ τὰ θαυμάσια καὶ θεάσωμαι ἡδεὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἐκείνην τὴν τύ- ψασάν με ὑπο κυνῶν συρομένην · καὶ εἰπὼν</p>
30		<p>ταῦτα ἤρξατο ψάλλειν καὶ λέγειν τὴν ᾠδὴν ταυ- τὴν · ἡ κόρη τοῦ φωτὸς ἡ θυγάτηρ · ἡ ἐνέστη καὶ</p>
35		<p>ἐγκεῖται τὸ ἀπαυγασμα των βασιλέων · τὸ γαύ- ρον καὶ ἐπιτερπεσ ταύ- τῆς · τὸ θέαμα φαι- δρῶ καλλεὶ καταυγάζου- σα · ἥς τὰ ἐνδύματα</p>
40		<p>ἔοικεν ἐαρινοῖς ἀνθεσιν</p>

lines	93v.1	93v.2
5	ἀποφορὰ δὲ ἑυωδίας ἐξ αὐτῶν διαδίεται · και ἐν τῇ κορυφῇ ἡδρυται ὁ βασιλεύς · τρέφων τῇ ἐ- αυτοῦ ἀμβροσία τοὺς	ἔχουσιν οἱ ταύτης νυμφίοι · ᾧν ὁ ἀριθμὸς ἑβδομὸς ἐστὶ οὗς αὐτὴ ἐξελέξατο · οἱ δὲ ταύτης παράνυμφοι
10	ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἡδρυμένους ἐγκείται δὲ ταύτης τῇ κεφαλῇ ἀλήθεια · χα- ρὰν δὲ τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτῆς ἐμφαίνει · ἥς τὸ στόμα ἀνέωκται · και πρεπόν- τως αὐτῇ · τριάκοντα	εἰσὶν ἑπτὰ · οἱ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῆς χορευοῦσιν · δώδε- κα δὲ εἰσὶν τῶν ἀριθμῶν οἱ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῆς ὑ- πηρετοῦντες και αὐτῇ ὑποκείμενοι · τὸν σκο- πὸν και τὸ θέλημα
15	και δύο εἰσὶν οἱ ταύτην ὑμνολογοῦντες · ἥς ἡ γλώττα παραπετάσμα- τι ἔοικεν τῆς θύρας · ὃ εκτεινάσεται τοῖς εἰσι- οῦσιν · ἥς ὁ ἀύχην εἰς τύ- πον βαθμῶν ἐγκείται ·	εἰς τὸν νυμφίον ἔχοντες · ἵνα δια τοῦ θεάματος αὐτοῦ φωτισθῶσιν · και εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα συν αὐτῷ ἔ- σονται εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν χαρὰν τὴν αἰῶνιον · και ἔσονται ἐν τῷ γάμῳ ἐκεί- νω ἐν ᾧ οἱ μεγιστᾶνες συνα- θροίζονται και παραμέ- νουσιν τῇ εὐωχίᾳ · ἥς οἱ αἰῶνιοι καταξιοῦνται και ἐνδύσονται βασιλι- κὰ ἐνδύματα · και ἀμ- φιάσονται στολας λαμ- πρὰς · και ἐν χαρᾷ και ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει ἔσονται ἀμφότεροι · και δοξά- σουσι τὸν $\overline{\pi\alpha}$ τῶν ὅλων ὅυ τὸ φῶς τὸ γαῦρον ἐ- δέξαντο · και ἐφωτίσθη- σαν ἐν τῇ θεᾷ τοῦ δεσπό- του αὐτῶν · οὗ τὴν ἀμ- βρωσίαν βρῶσιν ἐδέξαν- το · μηδὲν ὅλως ἀπου- σίαν ἔχουσαν · ἐπιον δὲ και ἀπο τοῦ οἴνου · τοῦ μὴ δίψαν αὐτοῖς παρέ- χοντος και ἐπιθυμίαν σαρκὸς · ἐδόξασαν δὲ και
20	ὄν πρῶτος δημιουργὸς ἐδημιούργησεν · αἱ δὲ δύο αὐτῆς χεῖρες σημαί- νουσιν και ὑποδεικνύου- σιν · τὸν χορὸν τῶν εὐδαι- μόνων αἰῶνων κηρύσσον- τες · οἱ δεδάκτυλοι αὐ- τῆς · τὰς πύλας τῆς πόλεως ὑποδείκνυσιν · ἥς ὁ παστὸς φωτινὸς ἀποφορὰν ἀπο βαλ- σάμου · και παντὸς ἀρώ- ματος διαπνέων · ανα- διδούς τε ὀσμὴν ἡδεῖαν σμύρνης τε και φύλλου ·	
25	ὑπέστρονται δὲ ἐντος μυρσίνας · και ἀνθέων πολλῶν ἡδυνόων · αἱ δὲ κλειστάδες ἐν καλά- μοις κεκοσμηται · πε- ριεστυχιομένην δὲ αὐτῆν	
30		
35		
40		

lines	94r.1	94r.2
5	<p>ὑμνησαν σὺν τῷ ζῶντι πᾶσι τὸν πᾶν τῆς ἀλη- θείας · καὶ τὴν μᾶν τῆς σοφίας ·</p>	
10		
15		
20		
25		
30		
35		
40		

Appendix 1.4. *The HBr in V*

lines	101r
5	
10	<p style="text-align: right;">Τοῦ δὲ ἀποστόλου εἰς τὴν γῆν</p> <p>ἀφορῶντος καὶ μὴ ἀνανεύοντος · εἷς τῶν οἰνοχόων ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα ἐράπίσεν αὐτόν. ἐ- πάρας δὲ ὁ ἀπόστολος τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ προσχὼν τῷ τύψαντι αὐτόν, εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς σὺ χωρήσει σοι εἰς τὸν μέλλοντα αἰῶνα τὴν ἀδικίαν ταύτην · εἰς δὲ τοῦτον τὸν κόσμον δείξει αὐτοῦ τὰ θαυμάσια · καὶ θεάσομαι νθν τὴν χεῖραν τὴν τύψασάν μοι, ὑπὸ κύνος συρομένην · καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα · μόνη ἡ αυλίστρια συνηκεντὸ λεχθεν · ἑβραῖος γὰρ ἦν · εἶτα ὁ ἀπόστολος ἤρ- ξατο ψάλλειν ἑβραϊστῆ · καὶ ὁ τεύμνησε καὶ ἐτέλεσετὴν ὠδὴν ταύτην, πάντες οἱ ἐκεῖ παρόν, εἰς αὐτόν ἐπέβλεπον καὶ ἡσύχαζον · ἀπέβλεπον δὲ καὶ τὸ εἶδος αὐτοῦ ἐν ἄλογες</p>
15	<p>[Here, V continues with § 8]</p>
20	
25	
30	

Appendix 1.5. *The HBr in Y*

lines	142v.1	142v.2
5		θεάσομαι ἤδη τὴν χεῖρα ἐκείνην τὴν τύψασάν με ὑπὸ κυ- νῶν συρομένην καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἤρ- ξατο ψάλλειν καὶ λέ- γειν τὴν ᾠδὴν ταύ- την. ἡ κόρη τοῦ φω- τὸς, ἡ θυγάτηρ, ἣ ἐ- νέστη καὶ ἔνκειται τὸ ἀπαύγασμα τῶν βασιλέων τὸ γαῦρον καὶ ἐπιτερπὲς ταύ- της τὸ θέαμα, φαι- δρῶ κάλλει καταγαύ- ξουσα ἥς τὰ ἐνδύ- ματα ἔοικεν ἀερι- νοῖς ἄνθεσιν, ἀπο- φορὰ δὲ εὐωδίας ἐ- ξ αὐτῶν διαδίδωται καὶ ἐν τῇ κορυφῇ ἤ- δρυνται ὁ βασιλεὺς, τρέ- φων τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἀμβρο- σίᾳ τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἰ- δρυμένους· ἔνκειται δὲ ταύτης τῇ κεφα- λῇ ἡ ἀλήθεια. χα-
10		
15	τοῦ δὲ ἀποστόλου εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀφορῶντος εἷς τις τῶν οἰνοχό- ων ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἐράπη- σεν αὐτόν. ἐπάρας δὲ ὁ ἀπόστολος τοὺς ὀ- φθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ προσχὼν τῷ τύψαν- τι αὐτὸν εἶπεν· ὁ θεὸς μου ἀφήσει σοι εἰς τὸν μέλλοντα αἰῶνα τὴν ἀδικίαν ταύ- την, εἰς δὲ τὸν κόσ- μον τοῦτον δεῖξῃ α- υτοῦ τὰ θαυμάσια, καὶ	
20		
25		

lines	143r.1	143r.2
5	<p>ρὰν δὲ τοῖς ποσὶν αὐ- τῶν ἐμφαίνει· ἧς τὸ στόμα ἀνέφκται καὶ πρεπόντος αὐτῆ· τρι- άκοντα καὶ δύο εἰσὶν</p>	<p>ναδιδοὺς τε ὁσμὴν ἡ- δίαν σμύρνης τε καὶ φύλ- λου, ὑπέστρωται δὲ ἐντὸς μυρσίνας καὶ ἀνθέων παμπόλ- λων ἡδυπνόων, αἱ δὲ κλειστάδες ἐν κα- λάμοις κεκόσμη- ται περιεστουχισμέσ- νην δὲ αὐτὴν ἔχουσιν</p>
10	<p>οὶ ταύτην ὑμνολο- γοῦντες· ἧς ἡ γλῶτ- τα περαπετάσματος ἔοικεν τῆς θύρας ὃ ἐκτεινάσεται τοῖς ἰοῦ- σιν· ἧς ὁ ἀρχὴν εἰς τύ- πον βαθμῶν ἔνκει- ται ὃν πρῶτος δημι- ουργὸς ἐδημιούργη- σεν, αἱ δὲ δύο αὐτῆς</p>	<p>οὶ ταύτης νυμφίοι, ᾧν ὁ ἀριθμὸς ἑβδο- μὸς ἐστίν, οὗς αὐτὴ ἐξελέξατο· οἱ δὲ ταύ- της παράνυμοί εἰ- σὶν ἑπτὰ, οἱ ἔμπροσ- θεν αὐτῆς χορεύουσι· δώδεκα εἰσὶ τὸν ἀριθ- μὸν οἱ ἔμπροσθεν</p>
15	<p>χειραὶ σημαίνουσι καὶ ὑποχωροῦσιν εἰς τὸν χωρὸν τῶν εὐδαι- μόνων αἶνον κηρύ- σσόντες, οἱ δὲ δάκτυ- λοι αὐτῆς τὰς πύλας τῆς πόλεως ὑποδεί- κνυσι ἧς ὁ παστὸς φωτεινὸς, ἀποφο- ρὰν ἀπὸ βαλσάμου</p>	<p>αὐτῆς ὑπηρετοῦντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑποκείμε- νοι, τὸν σκοπὸν καὶ τὸ θέαμα εἰς τὸν νυμφ- ῖον ἔχοντες, ἵνα δι- ὰ τοῦ θεάματος αὐτοῦ φωτισθῶσιν· καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα σὺν αὐτῷ</p>
20	<p>καὶ παντὸς ἀρώμα- τος διαπνέων, ἀ-</p>	
25		

lines	143v.1	143v.2
5	ἔσονται εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν χαρὰν τὴν αἰώ- νιον · καὶ ἔσονται ἐν τῷ γάμῳ ἐκείνῳ ἐν ᾧ	νοῦ τοῦ μὴ δῆψαν αὐ- τοῖς παρέχοντος · καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν σαρκός · ἐδόξασαν δὲ καὶ ὕ- μνησαν σὺν τῷ ζῶν-
10	οἱ μεγιστάνες συναθροί- ζονται · καὶ παραμέ- νουσιν τῇ εὐωχίᾳ · ἧς οἱ αἰῶνιοι καταξιοῦν- ται · καὶ ἐνδύσονται	τι π̄νι τὸν π̄ρα τῆς ἀληθείας · καὶ τὴν μ̄ρα τῆς σοφίας ·
15	δικαιοσύνην καὶ βα- σιλικὰ ἐνδύματα · καὶ ἀμφιάσονται στο- λὰς λαμπρᾶς · καὶ ἐν χαρᾷ καὶ ἐν ἀγαλλιά- σει ἔσονται ἀμφοτε-	
20	ροι, καὶ δοξάσουσι τὸ π̄ρα τῶν ὅλων · οὗ τὸ φῶς τὸ γαῦρον ἐδέξαν- το καὶ ἐφωτίσθησαν	
25	ἐν τῇ θεᾷ τοῦ προσώ- που αὐτῶν · οὗ πα- ρὰ τοῦ δεσπότη αὐ- τῶν τὴν ἀμβρωσί- αν βρῶσιν ἐδέξαν- το · μηδὲν ὅλως ἀ- πουσίαν ἔχουσαν · ἔπι- ον δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴ-	

Appendix 1.6. *The HBr in 8*

lines	1v.1	1v.2
5		ὁ θε̅ς μου ἀφήσει σοι εἰς τὸν μέ- λλοντα αἰῶνα τὴν ἀδι- κίαν ταύτην · εἰς δὲ τὸν κόσ- μον τοῦτον δείξῃ αὐτοῦ τα θανμάσια · καὶ θεάσωμαι τὴν χεῖραν τὴν τύψασάν μαι ὑπὸ κυνῶν συρομέ- νην · ἡ δὲ ἀυλήτρια πάν- τα ἤκουσεν μόνη · καὶ ἰδέως
10		ἤκου<σ>εν αὐτοῦ ὡς ἄνῶν ὁ- μό εθνον αὐτῆς · ἦν δὲ καὶ τῆ ἡδέα ὠραίος ὁ ἀποστολος ὑπὲρ πάντας τοῖς ἐκεῖ σε- όντας · ὁ δὲ οἰνοχόος ἐ-
15		κεῖνος ὁ ραπίσας αὐτον κατήλθεν εἰς τὴν πηγὴν ἀντλήσαι ὕδωρ · ἔτυχεν δὲ ἐκεῖ εἶναι λένοντα · καὶ θα- νατόσας αὐτὸν κατέκοψεν
20		τὰ μέλη αὐτοῦ · κύναις δὲ εὐθύς ἔλαβον τὰ μέλι αὐτοῦ ἐν οἷς καὶ εἷς μέλας κύον τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτοῦ χεῖρα τῷ στόμα- τι κρατῶν εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦ συνποσίου εἰσήνεγκεν ·
25		
30	τοῦ δὲ ἀποστόλου εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀ- φορώντος · εἷς τίς τῶν οἰνοχοῶν ἐκτίνασθὴν χεῖραν αὐτοῦ ἐράπησεν αὐτόν · ἐπάρας δὲ ὁ ἀπό- στολος τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῦς αὐτοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶπεν ·	skips the hymn, abbreviated version 8!

Appendix 1.7. *The HBr in 9*

lines	79r
5	
10	
15	
20	<p style="text-align: right;">τοῦ</p> <p>δὲ ἀποστόλου εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀφορῶντος εἷς τις τῶν οἰνοχό- ων ἐκτείνας αὐτοῦ τὴν χεῖρα ἐράπησεν αὐτόν · ἐ- πᾶρας δὲ ὁ ἀπὸ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ πρόσχῶν το τύψαντι αὐτὸν εἶπεν · ὁ θε̅ς μου ἀφίησιν εἰς τὸν μέλλοντα αἰῶνα τὴν ἀδικίαν ταύτην · εἰς δὲ τούτον τὸν κόσμον · δείξει αὐτοῦ τὰ θαυμάσια · καὶ θεάσωμαι ἥδει τὴν χεῖρα ἐκείνην τὴν τύψασάν με ὑπὸ κυ-</p>
25	<p>νὸς συρωμένην [... 12 – 14 ...] καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἤρξατο ψάλλειν καὶ λέγειν τὴν ᾠδὴν ταύτην. ἡ κό-</p>

lines	79v
5	ρη τοῦ φωτὸς θυγάτηρ, ἐν ἣ ἔσθη καὶ ἔγκηται τὸ ἀ- παύγασμα τῶν βασιλέων γαυρῶν. καὶ ἐπιτερπὲς ταύ- της τὸ θέαμα, φαιδρῶ κάλλη καταύαζεται ἥς τὰ ἐνδύματα ἔοικεν ἐρινοῖς ἄνθεσιν · ἀποφορὰ δὲ
10	ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀναδίδωται · ἐν τῇ αὐτῆς κορυφῇ ἴδρυ- ται ὁ βασιλεὺς · τρέφων τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἀμβροσίᾳ τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἠδρυμένους· ἔγκηται δὲ ταύτης τῇ κεφα- λῇ ἡ ἀλήθεια · χαρὰν δὲ τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτῆς ἐμφαίνει· ἀ- νέοκται τὸ στόμα πρεπόντως αὐτῇ· τριάκοντα
15	καὶ δύο εἰσὶν οἱ ταύτην ὁμολογοῦντες · ἥς ἡ γλῶσσα παραπετάσματι ἔοικεν τῆς θύρας ὃ ἐκτινάσῃ ἰ- σησὶν ὁ ἱεροφαντής · εἷς ὁ ἀρχὴν εἰς τύπον ἔγκηται ὄν ὁ πρῶτος δημιουργὸς ἐδημιούργισεν, αἱ δύο αὐ- τῆς χεῖρες · σημένουσιν καὶ ὑποδεικνύουσιν τὸν χρό- νον τὸν εὐδαιμόνων κηρύσσοντες · οἱ δὲ δάκτυλοι
20	αὐτῆς τὰς πύλας τῆς πόλεως ὑποδεικνύουσιν τὸν χρόνον τὸν εὐδαιμόνων κηρύσσοντες · οἱ δὲ δά- κτυλοι αὐτῆς τὰς πύλας τῆς πόλεως ὑποδει- κνύουσιν · εἷς ὁ παστὸς φωτινῶς, ἀποφορὰν ἀπὸ βαλσάμου καὶ παντὸς ἀρώματος ὡσμὴν ἰδοίαν σμύρνης καὶ φύλλου, ὑπέστρωτω ἐντὸς · μυρσί- νης καὶ ἀνθέων παμπολλῶν ἠδυπνῶων · αἱ δὲ κλει- στάδες ἐν καλάμῳ κεκόσμηται περιεστιχισμέ- νην αὐτὴν ἔχουσιν οἱ ταύτης νυμφῖοι, ὧν ὁ ἀριθμὸς

lines	80r
5	ἀναριθμητὸς ἐστὶν οὗς αὐτὴ ἐξελέξατο · οἱ δὲ ταύτης παράνυμφοί ὑπάρχουσιν ἑπτὰ, οἱ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῆς χορεύουσιν · δώδεκα ἐστὶν τῶν ἀριθμὸν οἱ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῆς ὑπηρετοῦντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑποκείμενοι · τὸν σκοπὸν καὶ τὸ θέαμα εἰς τὸν νύμφιον ἔχοντες · ἵνα διὰ τοῦ θεάματος φωτισθῶσιν · καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα σὺν αὐτῷ ἔσονται εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν χαρὰν τὴν αἰώνιον · καὶ ἔσονται ἐν τῷ γάμῳ ἐκείνῳ ἐν ᾧ οἱ μεγισταίνες συναθροίζονται · καὶ παραμένωσιν τῇ εὐωχίᾳ ἧς αἰώνιοι καταξιοῦνται · καὶ ἐνδύσονται βασιλικά ἐνδύματα καὶ ἀμφιάζονται λαμπρὰς στολὰς · καὶ ἐν χαρᾷ καὶ ἀγαλλιάσει ἔσονται ἀμφοτέρω· καὶ δοξάσωσιν τὸν π̄ρα τῶν ὄλων· οὗ τὸ φῶς τὸ γαῦρον ἐδέξαντο ·
10	ἐφωτίσθησαν ἐν τῇ θεᾷ τοῦ δεσπότου αὐτῶν · οὗ τὴν ἀμβρωσίαν βρῶσιν ἐδέξαντο · μηδὲν ὄλως ἀπουσίαν ἔχουσιν · ἐπιον δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ μὴ παρέχοντος αὐτοῖς δίψαν καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν σαρκὸς · καὶ ἐδόξασαν καὶ ὑμνησαν τῷ ζῶντι π̄νι τὸν π̄ρα
15	τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τὴν μ̄ρα τῆς σοφίας ·
20	
25	

Appendix 1.8. *The HBr in 10*

lines	20r.1	20r.2
5		γάτηρ · ἢ ἔνεστι καὶ ἔγκειται τὸ ἀπαύγασμα τῶν βασιλέων · τὸ γαῦρον καὶ ἐπιτερπὲς ταύτης θέαμα . φαιδρῶ κάλλει κατανυγάζουσα · ἥς τὰ ἐνδύνατα ἔοικεν ἔαρινοῖς ἄνθεσιν . ἀποφορᾶ δὲ ἐνοδίας ἐξ αὐτῶν διαδίδοται · καὶ ἐν τῇ κορυφῇ ἴδρυται ὁ βασιλεὺς τρέφων τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἀμβροσίᾳ τοῖς ἐπάυτον ἰδρυμένους · ἔγκειται δὲ ταύτης τῇ κεφαλῇ ἀλήθεια · χαρὰν δὲ τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτῆς ἐμφαίνει · ἥς τὸ στόμα ἀνέωκται πρεπόντος αὐτῇ · τριακοντὰ καὶ δύο εἰσὶν οἱ ταύτην ὑμνολογοῦντες · ἥς ἡ γλῶττα παραπετάσματι ἔοικεν τῆς θύρας · ὃ ἐκτεινάσσεται τοῖς εἰσιοῦσιν · ἥς ὁ αὐχὴν εἰς τύπιν βαθμὸν ἔγκειται · ὃν πρῶτος δημιουργὸς ἐδημιούργησεν · οὐ δὲ δύο αὐτῆς χεῖρες · σημεινοῦσιν καὶ ὑποδεικνύουσιν τὸν χορὸν τῶν εὐδαιμόνων αἰῶνων κηρύσσοντες · οἱ δὲ δάκτυλοι αὐτῆς τὰς πύλας τῆς πόλεως ὑποδεικνύουσιν · ἥς ὁ παστὸς φωτινός · ἀποφορὰν ἀποβαλάμεν · καὶ παντὸς ἀρώματος διαπνέων · ἀναδιδούς τε ὄσμην ἠδύϊαν σμύρνης τε καὶ φύλλου · ὑπέστροτε δὲ ἐντὸς μυρσίνας · καὶ ἀνθέων παμ-
10		
15		
20	τοῦ δὲ ἀποστόλου εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀφορῶντος · εἷς τίς τῶν οἰνοχόων ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἐρράπισεν αὐτόν · ἐπάρας δὲ ὁ ἀπόστολος τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ · καὶ πρὸς ἁπλῶν τῶ τυπᾶντι αὐτὸν εἶπεν · ὁ θεῶ μου ἀφήσει σοι εἰς [τ]ον μέλλοντα αἰῶνα τὴν ἀδικίαν ταύτην · εἰς δὲ τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον δείξει αὐτοῦ τὰ θαυμάσια · καὶ θεάσομαι ἤδη τὴν χεῖρα ἐκείνη τὴν τυπᾶσαν με ὑπο κυνῶν συρωμένην · καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἤσεν καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν ὁδὴν ταύτην · ἡ κόρη · ἡ τοῦ φωτὸς θυ-	
25		
30		

lines	20v.1	20.v2
5	πόλλων ἡδυνόων · αἱ δὲ κλειστα- δες ἐν καλάμοις κεκόσμηται · περιεστυχισμένην δὲ αὐτὴν ἔ- χουσιν οἱ ταύτης νημφίοι · ὧν ὁ ἀριθμὸς ἑβδομὸς ἐστίν · οἷς αὐ- τὴ ἐξελέξατο · οἱ δὲ ταύτης πα- ράνυμοι εἰσὶν ἑπτα · οἱ ἔμπρο- σθεν αὐτοῖ σχορεύουσιν · δώδε- κα δὲ εἰσὶν τὸν ἀριθμὸν οἱ ἔμ- προσθεν αὐτῆς ὑπηρεστοῦντες	πιθυμίαν σαρκός · ἐδόξασαν δὲ καὶ ὑμνησαν σὺν τῷ ζῶντι πνι τὸν πρᾶ τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τὴν μρᾶ τῆς σοφίας ·
10	καὶ αὐτῇ ὑποκείμενοι · τὸν σκο- πὸν καὶ τὸ θεάμα εἰς τὸν νυμφί- ον ἔχοντες · ἵνα δι' αὐτοῦ θεάμα- τος αὐτοῦ φωτισθῶσιν καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα σὺν αὐτῷ ἔσονται ·	
15	εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν χώραν τὴν αἰ- ώνιον · καὶ ἔσονται ἐν τῷ γάμῳ ἐ- κείνῳ ἐν ᾧ οἱ μεγιστάνες σὺν α- θροίζονται τῇ ἐνοχίᾳ · ἧς οἱ αἰώνιοι καταξιοῦνται · καὶ ἐν- δύσονται βασιλικά ἐνδύματα ·	
20	καὶ ἀμφιάσονται στολᾶς λαμ- πρᾶς · καὶ ἐν χαρᾷ καὶ ἀγαλλι- άσει ἔσονται ἀμφοτέροι · καὶ δο- ξάσουσιν τὸν πρᾶ τῶν ὅλων ·	
25	οὗ τὸ φῶς τὸ γαῦρον ἐδέξαντο καὶ ἐφωτίσθησαν ἐν τῇ θεᾷ τοῦ δεσπότη αὐτῶν · οὗ τὴν ἀμ- βρωσίαν βρῶσιν ἐδείξαντο ·	
30	καὶ ἐφωτίσθησαν ἐν τῇ θεᾷ τοῦ δεσπότη αὐτῶν μὴδὲν ὅ- λως ἀπουσίαν ἔχουσαν · ἔπιον δὲ καὶ ἀπο τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ μὴ δί- ψαν αὐτοῖς παρέχοντος καὶ ἐ-	

Appendix 1.9. *The HBr in 56*

lines	111r.1	111r.2
5		νοῖς ἄνθεσιν ἀποφορὰ δὲ εὐωδίας ἐξ αὐτῶν δι- αδίδωται · καὶ ἐν τῇ κορυ- φῇ ἡδρῦται ὁ βασιλεὺς τρέφων τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἀμβρω- σία τοὺς ὑπ αὐτὸν ἡδυ- μωμίους ἐγκείτε δὲ ταύτης τι κεφαλῇ ἀλή- θεια · χαρὰν δὲ τοῖς πω- σῆν αὐτῆς ἐμφενη · ἥς το σωμα ἀνεωκται · καὶ πρεπόντος αὐτῇ · τριά- κοντα καὶ δύο εἰσὴν οἱ ταῦτην ὑμνολογοῦντες · ἥς ἡ γλῶττα παραπε- τάσματι ἔοικεν τῆς θύρας ὃ ἐκτηνάσσειται τοῖς ἡουσην · ἥς ὁ ἀχὴν εἰς τύπον βαθμὸν ἐγκει- ται ὧν πρῶτος διμιούρ- γος ἐδιμιούργησεν · αἱ δὲ δύω αὐτῆς χεῖρες · ση- μένουουσην καὶ ὑποδει- κνοιουσην τῶν χορῶν τῶν εὐδαιμονων αἰ- ῶνων κηρύσσοντες οἱ δὲ δάκτυλοι αὐτῆς τῷ πύλας τῆς πόλεως ὑποδείκνυσην · ἥς ὁ παστὸς φωτηνὸς ἀπό- φορὰν ἀπὸ βαλσάμου · καὶ παντὸς ἀρώμα- τος διαπνέων · ἀναδι- δοὺς τὲ ὠσμὴν ἰδίαν ·
10	τοῦ δὲ α- ποστόλου εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀφο- ρόντος · εἰς τῆς τῶν οἰ- νοχόων · ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἐρραπισε αὐτὸν · ἐπάρας δὲ ὁ ἀπο- καὶ προσχὼν τῷ τυψαν- τι αὐτὸν εἶπεν · ὁ θς μο- ἀφή σοι εἰς τὸν μέλλοντα αἰῶνα τιν ἀδικῆαν ταύ- την · εἰ δὲ τὸν κόσμον τοῦτου · δείξῃ αὐτοῦ τὰ θαυμάσια · καὶ θεάσω- μαι ἴδει τὴν χεῖρα ἐ- κείνην τὴν τυψασάν με προ κυνὸς συρωμ<ένην> Καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἤρξα- το ψάλλῃν καὶ λειγῆν τιν ᾠδὴν ταύτην · ἡ κόρη ἢ τοῦ φωτὸς θυγάτηρ · ἢ ἔνεσι καὶ ἐγκείται το ἀπαύγασμα τῶν βασι- λέων τὸ γαῦρον καὶ ἐ- πιτερπες ταύτης τῷ θέαμα φαιδρὰν · κάλ- λει καταναγάζουσα εἰς τα ἐνδύματα ἔοικεν ἐαρι-	
15		
20		
25		
30		

lines	111v.1	111v.2
5	σμύρνης τε καὶ φύλλου ὑπέστρωται δὲ ἐντὸς μυρσίνας καὶ ανθέων πόλλων ἡδυνόων · αἱ δὲ κλειστάδες ἐν καλά- μοις καὶ κεκόσμηται ·	σωσι τὸν πατέρα τῶν ὄλω οὗ τω φῶς τὸ γαυρον ἐδέ- ξαντο καὶ εφωτίσθησαν ἐν τῇ θεᾷ τοῦ δεσπότου αὐτῶν οὗ τὴν ἀμβρω- σίαν βρῶσιν ἐδέξαντο
10	περιεστιχησμενην δὲ αὐτὴν ἔχουσιν οἱ ταύ- της νυμφιοὶ ὧν ὁ ἀ- ριθμὸς ἑβδομὸς ἐστίν ἄς αὐτὴ ἐξελέξατο ·	μιδὲν ὄλωσ ἀπουσίαν ἔχουσαν ἔπιον δὲ καὶ ἀ- πο τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ μὴ δίψᾳ αὐτοῖς παρέχοντος · καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν σαρκὸς ἐδώ- ξασαν δὲ καὶ ὑμνησαν ·
15	οἱ δὲ ταύτης παρα- νυμφιοὶ ἦσαν ἑπτὰ οἱ ἐμπροσθεν αὐτῆς ὑπερστυντες καὶ αυ- τοὶ ὑποκείμενοι · τον σκοπὸν καὶ τω θεάμα εἰς τὸν νυμφίον ἔχοντες	σὺν τῷ ζῶντι πνεύματι · τὸν πατέρα τῆς ἀλη- θείας · καὶ τὴν μῶρᾳ τῆς σοφίας ·
20	ἦνα διὰ τοῦ θεάματος αὐτοῦ φωτηθωσιν · καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα σὺν αὐ- τῷ ἔσονται εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν χαρὰν τὴν αἰώ- νιον καὶ ἐσοντε ἐν τῷ	
25	γαμῷ ἐκείνῳ ἐν ᾧ οἱ με- γιστανες συναθροίζω- ται τῇ εὐωχίᾳ ἧς αἰ- ώνιοι κατιξιοῦνται καὶ ἐνδύσονται βασι-	
30	λίκα ἐνδύματα · καὶ ἀμφιάσονται στολας λαμ- πρας καὶ ἐν χαρᾷ καὶ ἐν ἀγαλλιασει ἔσονται ἀμφῶτεροι καὶ δῶξα-	