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# The Oldest Manuscript of the Acts of Pilate: A Collaborative Commentary on the Vienna Palimpsest

Anne-Catherine Baudoin, Zbigniew Izydorzycyk

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Proceedings of International Summer Schools  
on Christian Apocryphal Literature (P-ISCAL) – volume 2

A circular illustration of a person writing in a book, overlaid with a purple abstract shape. The person is shown from the chest up, wearing a red tunic and a brown hat, with their hands on an open book. The book has several pages with text. The purple shape is a large, stylized, abstract form that partially obscures the illustration.

**The Oldest Manuscript of the Acts of Pilate**  
A Collaborative Commentary on the Vienna Palimpsest

Edited by  
Anne-Catherine Baudoin  
and Zbigniew Izydorczyk

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Gabriella ARAGIONE, Rémi GOUNELLE

## Preface

The first International Summer School on Christian Apocryhal Literature (ISCAL) took place in 2012. It was dedicated to the *Virtutes Apostolorum*—an anonymous collection of texts relating to the history of the apostles, composed in Latin probably towards the end of the 6th century—and to its reception in artistic production. The second Summer School was devoted to another famous apocryphal text that was widely disseminated in the Middle Ages: the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, an anonymous text relating to the Passion of Jesus, probably written in Greek in the second half of the 4th century. It was held in Strasbourg from 9 to 12 June, 2014. This second iteration of ISCAL focused on the phenomenon of translation and rewriting during the Middle Ages. It allowed students from several countries to interact with the foremost specialists in the field and to work under their direction on some unedited materials in a series of instructional workshops.

The Proceedings of the first ISCAL were published as an e-book by Brepols Publisher in 2014. The Proceedings of ISCAL 2014 are now being presented to the public in an open-access format, stored on the Internet. The editorial committee, composed of R. Gounelle, G. Aragione (Strasbourg), E. Rose (Utrecht), J.-M. Roesli (Montreal) and V. Calzolari-Bouvier (Geneva), has supervised this open-access publication.

These Summer Schools could not have been organized without the support of the French research Laboratory on Protestant Theology (EA 4378); of the University of Strasbourg, which provided generous funding through its “Initiative d’Excellence” grants; and of the “Association pour l’Étude de la Littérature Apocryphe Chrétienne” (AELAC), which has strongly encouraged the initiative from the beginning. We would like also to thank the director of the “Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire” (BNU) of Strasbourg, which allowed students participating in ISCAL to work directly on manuscripts and/or old editions: for most of the students, this was the first—and most fascinating—experience of this kind.

Most of all, we would like to acknowledge the efforts of those who helped us organize this second ISCAL: A.-C. Baudoin (École normale supérieure, Paris), J. Haynes (UCLA), and Z. Izydorczyk (University of Wininipeg), all of whom shared their expertise during this Summer School and collaborated on the preparation of the Proceedings, based in part on the observations and notes of the students involved in the instructional workshops.

A Summer School is always a vivid experience: scholars and students coming from all over the world to spend a few days working on the same topic, listening to lectures, challenging received assumptions, arguing passionately during lunches and dinners... To be sure, the atmosphere during the second ISCAL was animated, vibrant, and inquisitive, the qualities difficult to capture in academic reports. We do hope, however, that the readers will be able to catch at least a glimpse of genuine scholarly excitement somewhere in the ensuing text.

## Abbreviations and Sigla

### 1. Abbreviations

AP	<i>Acta Pilati</i>
Arm	Armenian translation of <i>Acta Pilati</i>
CC SA	Corpus Christianorum, Series Apocryphorum
CC SL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina
Census	Zbigniew Izydorczyk, <i>Manuscripts of the Evangelium Nicodemi: A Census</i> , <i>Studia Mediaevalia</i> 21 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1993).
Cop	Coptic translation of <i>Acta Pilati</i>
EN	<i>Evangelium Nicodemi</i>
GCS	Griechische christliche Schriftsteller
Geo	Georgian translation of <i>Acta Pilati</i>
Gk	Greek translation of <i>Acta Pilati</i>
LatA	Latin tradition A
LatA <sup>RR</sup>	Latin tradition A, version “Rufi Rubellionis”
LatA <sup>BT</sup>	Latin tradition A, version “Bassi Tarquilionis”
LatB	Latin tradition B
LatB1	Latin tradition B, redaction 1
LatB2	Latin tradition B, redaction 2
LatC	Latin tradition C
LXX	<i>Septuaginta</i>
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
ms(s)	manuscript(s)
NT	New Testament
PG	Patrologia Graeca
SC	Sources chrétiennes
Syr	Syriac translation of <i>Acta Pilati</i>
TR	Troyes redaction
Vg	Vulgate
VL	<i>Vetus Latina</i>
Vp	Vienna palimpsest

## 2. Manuscript sigla

### 2.1. Greek manuscripts

- A München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS gr. 192, ff. 305r-314v (s. xiv)  
 B München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS gr. 276, ff. 200r-221v (s. xii)  
 C Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS gr. 770, ff. 7r-20v (a. 1315)  
 E Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS gr. 929, p. 1-34, 319-324 (s. xv)  
 F Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS gr. 192 (C92 sup.), ff. 318r-327r (s. xiv/1)  
 G Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS gr. 4 (A 56 sup.), ff. 134r-160r (1542)  
 H London, British Library, MS Harley gr. 5639, ff. 124r-131v (s. xiv, xvi)  
 I München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS gr. 524, ff. 113r-122r (s. xiv)  
 J Andros, Monē Zoōdochos pēgēs ē Hagias, MS 46, ff. 301v-311r (s. xv)  
 K London, British Library, MS Harley gr. 5636, ff. 1r-25v (s. xvi)  
 L Meteōra, Monē Metamorphōseōs, MS 549, ff. 343r-346r (s. xiv-xv)  
 M Hagion Oros, Monē Megistēs Lauras, MS K 81, ff. 47r-56v (a. 1368)  
 N Hagion Oros, Monē Megistēs Lauras, MS Λ 117, ff. 322r-337r (s. xvi)  
 nar<sup>D</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS gr. 1021, ff. 349r; 350v-355r (s. xv)  
 nar<sup>R</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS gr. 947, ff. 115v; 118v-122v (s. xvi)  
 nar<sup>S</sup> Athēnai, Ethnikē Bibliothēkē tēs Hellados, MS 352, ff. 150r; 153v-158v (s. xvii)  
 nar<sup>T</sup> Yerushaláyim, Patriarchikē Bibliothēkē, Monē tou Hagiou Saba, MS 422, ff. 3r-10r (s. xvi)  
 nar<sup>U</sup> Istanbul, Patriarchikē Bibliothēkē, Theologikē scholē, MS 100, ff. 207r-222v (s. xvi)  
 O Athēnai, Ethnikē Bibliothēkē tēs Hellados, MS 2187, ff. 193r-204v (s. xv)  
 Q Hagion Oros, Monē Docheiariou, MS 114, ff. 264r-275v (s. xvi)  
 W Hagion Oros, Monē Batopediou, MS 776, ff. 110r-125v (s. xviii)  
 X Meteōra, Monē Rousanou, MS Hagia Trias 14 (Rousanou 12), ff. 1r-10v (s. xv-xvi)  
 Y Meteōra, Monē Rousanou, MS Hagia Trias 90, ff. 86r-101v (s. xvi)  
 Z Roma, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, MS gr. 20, ff. 91v-109v (s. xv)  
 St. Petersburg, Biblioteka Rossiyskoy Akademii Nauk, MS RAIK 166, ff. 9-29 (s. xviii)

### 2.2. Latin manuscripts<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Aachen, Stadtarchiv, MS KK Regulierherren Nr. 9, ff. 80ra- (s. xv)  
 2 Alba Iulia, Biblioteca Batthyaneum, MS R I 57, ff. 191rb-va (ca. 1407)  
 4 Alençon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 17, ff. 163ra-175vb (s. xiii in.)  
 5a Angers, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 236 (227), ff. 37v-48r (s. xi/2)  
 Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. II.1.2.163, ff. 241v-242v (s. xv; *Descensus* from *Legenda aurea*)  
 12 Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, MS Ripoll 106, ff. 246ra-253va (s. ix/2)  
 13 Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, MS A X 102, ff. 148v-154r (s. xv/2)  
 14 Belluno, Biblioteca Civica, MS 355, ff. 2r-36r (s. xvi/1, 1517)  
 15 Berkeley, CA, University of California, The Bancroft Library, MS UCB 20, ff. 21r-48r (s. xii)  
 17 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz (Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin), MS Theol. lat. fol. 241, ff. 128ra-136ra (s. xv)  
 18 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS Theol. lat. fol. 533, ff. 39ra-45va (s. xv/1)  
 19 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS Theol. lat. fol. 688, ff. 300r-309va (s. xv/1, 1419)  
 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS Theol. lat. qu. 57, ff. 92vb-93va (s. xv; *Descensus* from *Legenda aurea*)  
 21 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS Theol. lat. qu. 316, ff. 108r-109v (s. xv in., ca. 1400)  
 22 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS Theol. lat. qu. 369, ff. 64ra-65vb (s. xiii ex.)  
 23 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS Theol. lat. oct. 157, p. 205-273 (s. x)  
 24 Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 377, ff. 126v-137v (s. xiii/2)  
 25 Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 582, ff. 46r-75v (s. x/1)  
 26 Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 2601, ff. 113r- (s. xv/2, 1465)  
 28 Bordeaux, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 111, ff. 275vb-284va (s. xiv ex.)  
 33 Brno, Státní vědecká knihovna (Universitní knihovna), MS Mk 79, ff. 266v-295v (s. xv/1, 1419)  
 34 Brno, Státní vědecká knihovna (Universitní knihovna), MS Mk 99, ff. 145r-160r (s. xiv/2, a. 1379)

<sup>1</sup> Manuscripts of the Latin *Evangelium Nicodemi* (EN) are identified by their sigla numbers in Zbigniew Izydorczyk, *Manuscripts of the Evangelium Nicodemi: A Census*, Subsidia Mediaevalia 21 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1993). Numerical sigla followed by an additional letter indicate manuscripts unknown at the time of the compilation of the *Census* and not included in it; manuscripts without any sigla do not contain EN but works related to it (identified in parenthesis).



- 36 Brno, Archív města Brna, MS St. Jacob 98/121, ff. 124r-135r (s. xv/1, 1423-24)
- 38 Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale Albert I<sup>er</sup>, MS 1079-84 (V.d.G. 3141), ff. 100vb-115vb (s. xiii)
- 40 Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale Albert I<sup>er</sup>, MS 2741-47 (V.d.G. 1569), ff. 98ra-108ra (s. xv in.)
- 41 Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale Albert I<sup>er</sup>, MS 8627-8 (V.d.G. 3208), ff. 15v-30v (s. xv)
- 42 Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale Albert I<sup>er</sup>, MS II. 937 (V.d.G. 3283), ff. 1v-12v (s. xiii)
- 44 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 288, ff. 39r-54r (s. xiii)
- Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 320, f. 113v (s. xii; *Somnium Neronis*)
- 46 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 441, p. 392a-415b (s. xiii)
- 50 Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS 256, ff. 58r-66r (s. xii ex.)
- 51 Cambridge, Peterhouse, MS 242, ff. 14rb-21va (s. xiii)
- 52 Cambridge, St. John's College, MS B.20 (MRJ 42), ff. 62vb-70vb (s. xii/1, ca. 1140)
- 53 Cambridge, St. John's College, MS E.24 (MRJ 127), ff. 81r-93r (s. xiv)
- Cambridge, St. John's College, MS K.23 (MRJ 229), f. 76v (s. xii in.; *Somnium Neronis*)
- 54 Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.5.19 (MRJ 165), ff. 25r-28va (s. xiii in.)
- 55 Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.7.2, p. 89-113 (s. xiv/2, 1362-1366)
- 57 Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.III.16 (includes Ff.II.8 and Oo.VII.48), ff. 22ra-31rb (s. xiv)
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- 64 České Budějovice, Státní vědecká knihovna, MS 1 VB 58, ff. 1r-29r (s. xv)
- 65 Charleville, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 61 (s. xiv and xv)
- 66 Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 50, ff. 119rb-124rb (s. xii)
- 67 Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 639, ff. 82va-89vb (s. xiii)
- 72 Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS Adv. 18.5.18, ff. 204r-228r (s. xiii or xiv)
- 73 Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 169, p. 66-112 (s. x)
- 75 Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 326, ff. 11r-29v (s. ix 2/3)
- 78 Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 660, ff. 161v-183r (s. xv/2, 1460-1480)
- 81 Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS S. M. 599, ff. 8r-21r (s. xii)
- 83 Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS II, II, 453, ff. 1r-5r (s. xv/1, 1429)
- 85 Gdańsk, Biblioteka Polskiej Akademii Nauk, MS 1956, ff. 85ra-91rb (s. xv)
- 86 Gdańsk, Biblioteka Polskiej Akademii Nauk, MS 2016, ff. 74rb-80ra (s. xiv/2, ca. 1385)
- 87 Gdańsk, Biblioteka Polskiej Akademii Nauk, MS Mar. F 202, ff. 94r-101v (s. xv/1)
- 89 Genève-Cologny, Bibliothèque Bodmer, MS Bodmer 127, ff. 2ra-10rb (s. xii)
- 91 Giessen, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 729, ff. 97r-102v (s. xv/2, 1476)
- 95 Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 628 (33/12 2°), ff. 117va-122rb (s. xv/1, 1422)
- 96 Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 793 (41/32 4°), ff. 1r-14v (s. xii)
- 102 Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 470, ff. 18r-30r (s. xii)
- 108 Hannover, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, MS I 238, ff. 1r-8v (s. xi)
- 109 Hannover, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, MS I 247, ff. 1r-17r (s. xiv)
- 112 Kassel, Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek, MS 2° Ms. theol. 271 (s. ix 4/4)
- 116 Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 495, ff. 1ra-9vb (s. xv in.)
- 117 Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 840, ff. 44v-63v (s. xiii)
- 119 København, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS Gl. kgl. S. 1335, 4°, ff. 1ra-20rb (s. ix ex.)
- 124a Kraków, Archiwum Kapituły Metropolitalnej, MS 149, p. 25-38 (s. xv in.)
- 127 Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, MS 1509, ff. 89r-94r (s. xv ex.)
- 129 Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, MS 2724, ff. 291r-301v (s. xv/1, 1426-1441)
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- 130 Kremsmünster, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 3, ff. 138v-153r (s. xv/1, ca. 1416)
- 131 Kremsmünster, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 170, ff. 236ra-242ra (s. xv in.)
- 132 Kremsmünster, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 311, ff. 95ra-96vb (s. xv)
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- 157 London, British Library, MS Royal 1 E. IX, ff. 282rb-286ra (s. xiv ex.)
- 158 London, British Library, MS Royal 5 E. XIII, ff. 82r-100r (s. ix ex.)
- 160 London, British Library, MS Royal 8 B. XV, ff. 165r-175r (s. xiv)
- London, British Library, MS Royal 10 A. VIII, f. 149v (s. xiii; *Somnium Neronis*)
- 162 London, British Library, MS Royal 13 A. XIV, ff. 195r-196v (s. xiii ex.-xiv in.)
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- 173 Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS Vit. 23-8, ff. 162r-202r (s. xiii-xiv)
- 175a Michaelbeuern, Benediktinerstift, MS Man. cart. 110, two strips (s. ix/1)
- 177 Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS O 35 Sup., ff. 65v-86r (s. xiv)
- 177a Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazzia, Cod. 117 GG, p. 569b-580a (s. xi-xii)
- 177b Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazzia, Cod. 300R, p. 166-183 (s. xiii)
- 178 Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section Médecine, MS 503, ff. 40r-52r (s. xiv)
- 179 München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 642, ff. 1v-26r (s. xi)
- 180 München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 2625, ff. 1r-26v (s. xii ex. or xiii in.)
- 183 München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 5127, ff. 25r-47r (s. xi or xii)
- 190 München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 11403, ff. 62va-70ra (s. xv 3/4, 1458-1460)
- 198 München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 17181, ff. 103r-112r (s. xi)
- 199 München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 19105, ff. 51v-95v (s. x)
- 202 München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 22353, ff. 86ra-94va (s. xv/2, 1452)
- 203 München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 23839, ff. 57rb-64va (s. xv/1, 1434)
- 204 München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 23989, ff. 61v-67ra (s. xv/2, 1482)
- 206 München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 28168, ff. 166ra-174va (s. xiii and xiv)
- 207 München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 29275, 4 ff. and strips (s. ix 2/3)
- 208 München, Universitätsbibliothek, 2<sup>o</sup> Cod. ms. 87a, ff. Iir-IIv (s. ix 1/4)
- 213 Olomouc, Kapitulní knihovna, CO 407, ff. 111r- (s. xv in.)
- 213a Olomouc, Kapitulní knihovna, CO 487, ff. 219r-237r (s. xv)
- 215 Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 341 (289), p. 415-444 (s. ix 4/4)
- 220 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Add. A. 367, ff. 2r-25v (s. xii ex., ca. 1200)
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Ashm. 1289, ff. 72rb-vb (s. xiv in.; *Descensus from Legenda aurea*)
- 225 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodl. 406, ff. 2v-8v (s. xiii ex., 1291)
- 226 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodl. 428, ff. 29va-39rb (s. xiii/1)
- 228 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodl. 556, ff. 1r-12v (s. xiii in.)
- 230 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. Pat. Lat. 117, ff. 9r-15r (s. xv)
- 235 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud. misc. 79, ff. 92r-104r (s. xii in.)
- 238 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson D. 1236, ff. 54r-72r (s. xiii)
- 240 Oxford, Christ Church, MS 99, ff. 202r-209v (s. xiii/2)
- 241 Oxford, Jesus College, MS 4, ff. 96v-105r (s. xi and xii)
- 244 Oxford, Merton College, MS 13, ff. 186ra-191ra (s. xiv ex. and xv)
- 247 Padova, Biblioteca Antoniana, MS 473 Scaff. XXI, ff. 138v-147v (s. xi-xii)
- 248 Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 128 (39 A.T.L.), ff. 1r-28r (s. xiv, possibly 1310)
- 252 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 1652, ff. 31rb-48va (s. xv)
- 254 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 1933, ff. 128r-139r (s. xii-xiii)
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 2034, ff. 151v-157r (s. viii ex.; *Cura sanitatis Tiberii*)
- 255 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS lat. 2825, f. 137v (s. x; title only)
- 257 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 3214, ff. 132vb-139vb (s. xiv)
- 261 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 3454, ff. 29r-32v (s. xii)
- 262 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 3628, ff. 109r-122v (s. xv)
- 263 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 3784, ff. 108v-112v (s. xi/1, ca. 1025)
- 264 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 4977, ff. 227ra-232va (s. xiv)

- 265 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 4999 A, ff. 76r-86r (s. xii ex. or xiii in.)
- 266 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 5265, ff. 1r-15r (s. xiv)
- 268 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 5327, ff. 35v-55r (s. x)
- 273 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 5559, ff. 2r-40r (s. xv ex., ante 1502)
- 276 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 6041 A, ff. 178va-179vb (s. xiv)
- 277 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 6755, ff. 50va-55rb (s. xiii/2, ca. 1267)
- 279 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 10586, ff. 56v-80v (s. xiv)
- 284 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 14864, ff. 109r-128r (s. xii ex.)
- 286 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS n.a.lat. 503, ff. 111r-129r (s. xiv-xv)
- 287 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS n.a.lat. 1154, ff. 10v-16r (s. xv)
- 288 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS n.a.lat. 1605, ff. 4r-16v (s. ix med.)
- 290 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS n.a.lat. 1984, ff. 67v-89r (s. xi-xii)
- 291 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS n.a.lat. 2171, p. 1a-12b (s. xi/2, 1067-1073)
- 294 Poznań, Miejska Biblioteka Publiczna, Rkp. 188, ff. 65r-87v (s. xv)
- 299 Praha, Knihovna metropolitní kapituly, MS n. LIV, ff. 1r-21r (s. xv/2, 1478)
- 307 Praha, Národní knihovna, MS III.D.13, ff. 19ra-24vb (s. xiv/2, ca. 1380)
- 313 Praha, Národní knihovna, MS IX.F.4, ff. 78r-108v (s. xiii or xiv)
- 319 Praha, Národní knihovna, MS XIV.G.11, ff. 137vb-152ra (s. xiv or xv)
- 322 Praha, Národní knihovna, MS XX.A.7, ff. 133ra-139va (s. xiv or xv, ca. 1399)
- 328 Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense, MS 713, ff. 32ra-37va (s. xi)
- 333 Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, MS U. 65 (1426), ff. 242ra-242vb (s. xiv)
- 334 Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 202, ff. 1r-13r (s. ix/2)
- 336 Salzburg, Erzabtei St. Peter, MS a V 27, ff. 111r-139v (s. xii/2)
- 340 Schlägl, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 156 Cpl. 145, ff. 374v-389v (s. xv/2, 1473)
- 341 Schlägl, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 187 Cpl. 95 (s. xv)
- 342 Sélestat, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 86 (s. xv/1, ca. 1433)
- 349 Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Universitaire et Regionale, MS 190 (Latin 187), ff. 1r-34v (s. xvi)
- 351 Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, MS Theol. phil. 8° 57, ff. 45v-82v (s. xii)
- 362 Troyes, Médiathèque du Grand Troyes, MS 1636, ff. 90r-104v (s. xii ex.)
- 365 Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek, MS C 225, ff. 17r-32r (s. xiii in.)
- 369 Vallbona, Lerida, Santa Maria de Vallbona, MS 3, ff. 75rb-96v (s. xiv)
- 374 Vaticano, Città del, Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg. lat. 496, ff. 19r-48r (s. xi-xii)
- 379 Vaticano, Città del, Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana, MS Urb. lat. 59, ff. 231r- (s. xv)
- 381 Vaticano, Città del, Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 4363, ff. 93ra-96va (s. xii)
- 382 Vaticano, Città del, Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 4578, ff. 35rb-37va (s. xiv)
- 384 Vaticano, Città del, Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 5094, ff. 1r-18v (s. xii)
- 386 Venezia, Biblioteca nazionale Marciana, MS Marc. lat. II, 65 (2901), ff. 59r-78r (s. xiv)
- 387 Venezia, Biblioteca nazionale Marciana, MS Marc. lat. XIV, 43; It. II, 2 (4326), ff. 156r-171v (s. xiv or xv)
- 388 Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS LXXIII, ff. 1r-16v (s. xi or xii)
- 391 Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, MS 95 (Faye and Bond 114), ff. 1r-18r (s. xvi in.)
- 393 Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 563 (s. v)
- 401 Winchester, Cathedral Library, MS 7, ff. 97r- (s. xii or xiii)
- 405 Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 83.2 Aug. 2°, ff. 238va-246ra (s. xv, 1435-1456)
- 411 Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, MS I F 215, ff. 191rb-193ra (s. xv/2, 1456)
- 412 Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, MS I F 509, ff. 371ra-383rb (s. xv)
- 414 Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, MS I F 725, ff. 133vb-137ra (s. xv/2, 1461-1473)
- 415 Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, MS I F 742, ff. 223r-235rb (s. xv/2, 1464)
- 419a Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, MS Mil. II 94 (6146), ff. 153ra-159rb (s. xv)
- Vp Vienna palimpsest, Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 563 (s. v)

### 2.3. Vernacular manuscripts

- Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 26-27 (s. xiv; *Ci nous dit*)
- Colmar, Bibliothèque de la ville, MS 306 (s. xv/1; German translation E<sup>7</sup>)
- London, British Library, MS Harley 149 (s. xv 4/4; English translation)
- New York, New York Public Library, MS Spencer 102 (1440; *Die Neue Ee*)
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 6260 (s. xv; French translation)
- Schaffhausen, Stadtbibliothek, MS Generalia 8 (s. xiv/1; German translation H)
- Washington, Library of Congress, MS Faye-Bond 4 (s. xiv-xv, ca. 1395-1415; English translation)
- Worcester, Cathedral Library, MS F172 (s. xv; English translation)

## INTRODUCTION



## The Acts of Pilate and the Evangelium Nicodemi in the Age of Manuscripts

The apocryphal work commonly known today as the *Acts of Pilate* (*Acta Pilati*; *AP*) or the *Gospel of Nicodemus* (*Evangelium Nicodemi*; *EN*) has been part of the living Christian culture for over a millennium and a half. Originally composed in Greek and well attested by the last quarter of the fourth century, it migrated quickly into other Christian vernaculars, including Coptic, Armenian, Georgian, Syriac, Christo-Palestinian, and Latin.<sup>1</sup>

### Contents

In its Greek form, *AP* presents an alternative version of the trial of Jesus before Pilate, augmented with accounts of the Crucifixion, Resurrection and Ascension of Jesus. After the alleged translator's Preface and the Prologue giving an elaborate dating, the narrative begins with the trial before Pilate and relates the miracle of the imperial standards bowing before Jesus, an intervention of the righteous Jews on Jesus' behalf, testimonies of those healed by Jesus, Pilate's attempt to have him released, and finally Pilate's sentence against him. A concise account of the Crucifixion is then followed by a succession of episodes in which Joseph of Arimathea is imprisoned but miraculously disappears from his cell, the soldiers who guarded the sepulchre report on the resurrection, and three travellers from Galilee bring news of Jesus' Ascension. The Jews search for Jesus in the mountains but find only Joseph, who returns to Jerusalem and relates his deliverance by the risen Christ. The Jewish council is perplexed, so they summon again the three travellers, who confirm that they have indeed seen Jesus teaching his disciples and ascending into heaven. The Greek narrative ends with further exchanges among the Jewish leaders who cite various prophecies, and with the people's prayer.

The Latin *EN*, as preserved in medieval manuscripts, follows the same narrative arc but expands it with a dramatic account of the Harrowing of Hell, the *Descensus ad inferos* (*DI*). The original conclusion of the apocryphon is replaced with a speech by Joseph in which he urges the council to invite the two sons of Simeon, Leucius and Carinus, risen from the dead by Christ, to appear before them. The two are brought to Jerusalem and write down what they had witnessed. Their narratives describe the confusion and dissent among the infernal powers at the news of Christ's imminent arrival, and the jubilation among the Old Testament patriarchs and prophets. The prophets rehearse their messianic prophecies, and Seth recalls what Archangel Michael had foretold him about the coming of the Saviour, when he, Seth, had gone to paradise for the oil of mercy. A great voice calls out repeatedly, and Christ comes in as the King of Glory. Treading on Death, he hands Satan over to Hell, extends his hand to Adam, and makes a sign of the cross over him and over all the saints. He then leads them all out of hell and entrusts to Archangel Michael, who brings them into the terrestrial paradise, where they meet Enoch, Elijah, and the Good Thief. Meanwhile, the two sons of Simeon return to life with a multitude of others. Having finished writing, they hand in their separate accounts to the Jewish leaders and, transfigured, disappear from sight. Highly agitated, the Jews leave the synagogue, and Joseph and Nicodemus bring the news to Pilate, who commits everything to writing and deposits the report in his judgment hall.

In most manuscripts, the account of Christ's Descent into Hell is followed by Pilate's letter to Claudius, in which the prefect of Judaea informs the emperor of everything that transpired in Jerusalem.

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1 For editions, see Rémi Gounelle and Zbigniew Izydorczyk, "Thematic Bibliography of the Acts of Pilate," in *The Medieval Gospel of Nicodemus: Texts, Intertexts, and Contexts*, ed. Zbigniew Izydorczyk, Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies 158 (Tempe, AZ, 1997), p. 429-39.

## Titles

The modern title *Acts of Pilate* is not found in any Greek manuscripts. It appears to have been inspired by several titles mentioned by early Christian writers, even though modern scholars dispute their connection with the extant apocryphon. Thus, in his *Apology*, Justin Martyr refers to Ποντίου Πιλάτου γενομένων ἄκτων,<sup>2</sup> but an even closer model is offered by Epiphanius, who mentions the “acts” in his *Panarion* and uses the genitive of Pilate’s name, ἀπὸ τῶν Ἄκτων δῆθεν Πιλάτου.<sup>3</sup> The Latin form *Acta Pilati* is first attested in a passage added by Rufinus of Aquileia to his translation of Eusebius of Caesarea’s *Ecclesiastical History*.<sup>4</sup> A century and a half after Rufinus, Gregory of Tours mentions a similar title, *Gesta Pilati*, popularized in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries by Constantin von Tischendorf, who used it for the portion of the Latin text that corresponds to the Greek apocryphon.<sup>5</sup> However, neither *Acta Pilati* nor *Gesta Pilati* gained much currency in the Middle Ages as a title for the apocryphal work in question.

One of the earliest undisputed witnesses to the Greek *AP*, a pseudo-Chrysostomian homily dating from 387, refers to it as ὑπομνήματα [...] ἐπὶ Πιλάτου πραχθέντα,<sup>6</sup> and a similar title emerges from Greek manuscripts, despite their individual variations: Ὑπομνήματα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πραχθέντα ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, or “A record of the proceedings concerning Our Lord Jesus Christ, set down under Pontius Pilate.”<sup>7</sup> It carries juridical connotations and implies that the work represents an official record of the trial of Jesus prepared under Pontius Pilate.<sup>8</sup> Similar titular formulations suggesting that the apocryphon represents a trial transcript are also apparent in Armenian and Syriac versions.<sup>9</sup> As such, this title appears suitable only for the trial section of the apocryphon; the post-trial events are, however, mentioned in what has long been considered as the Prologue but what, according to Christiane Furrer and Christophe Guignard, should be considered as part of the work’s extended title.<sup>10</sup>

The earliest manuscript witness of *AP* in any language, the fifth-century Latin Vienna palimpsest (Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek MS 563 [*Census* 393]; hereafter Vp),<sup>11</sup> preserves only fragments of the text and no clear indication of the title. It does, however, preserve a portion of the Prologue, which, according to Furrer and Guignard, may have formed part of the original long title. By the ninth century, when the apocryphon re-surfaces in Latin manuscripts, it is typically entitled *Gesta Salvatoris domini nostri Ihesu Christi que[m] invenit Theodosius Magnus imperator in Hierusalem in pretorio Pontii Pilati in codicibus publicis* (*Census* 119, f. 1ra). In contrast to Gregory of Tours’ *Gesta Pilati*, this new title explicitly focuses on Christ the Saviour, foregrounding the soteriological theme prominent especially in the account of his Descent into Hell, while at the same time retaining

- 2 Justin Martyr, *Apologie pour les chrétiens*, ed. Charles Munier, SC 507 (Paris: Cerf, 2006), 35.9, p. 222 (cf. ch. 48.3, p. 255).
- 3 Epiphanius, *Panarion*, ed. Karl Holl, rev. J. Dummer, GCS 31 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1980), 50.1.5 and 50.1.8, p. 245-46.
- 4 Eusebius of Caesarea, *Eusebius Werke*, II: *Die Kirchengeschichte – Die Lateinische Übersetzung des Rufinus*, vol. 2, ed. E. Schwartz and T. Mommsen (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1908), p. 813.
- 5 Gregory of Tours, *Gregorii episcopi Turonensis Libri historiarum X*, 2nd ed., ed. Bruno Krusch and Wilhelmus Levison, MGH, Script. rer. Mer. 1.1 (1951; repr., Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1965), p. 17-18. Constantin von Tischendorf, ed., *Evangelia apocrypha adhibitis plurimis codicibus Graecis et Latinis maximam partem nunc primum consultis atque ineditorum copia insignibus*, 2nd ed. (Lipsiae: J. C. Hinrichs, 1876), p. 333-88.
- 6 “Une homélie anatolienne sur la date de Pâques en l’an 387” (“In sanctum Pascha sermo VII”), §17, in *Homélie pascales*, 2nd ed., ed. Fernand Floëri and Pierre Nautin, SC 48 (Paris: Cerf, 2004). Eusebius of Caesarea, *Ecclesiastical History* 9, 5-7 (cf. 1, 9-11), also speaks of ὑπομνήματα, but some scholars doubt whether he refers to the surviving apocryphon; cf. Rémi Gounelle, “Un nouvel évangile judéo-chrétien? Les Actes de Pilate,” in *The Apocryphal Gospels within the Context of Early Christian Theology*, ed. Jens Schröter, Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 260 (Louvain: Peeters, 2013), p. 364-66.
- 7 Quoted after Tischendorf, *Evangelia apocrypha*, p. 210. On the Greek manuscripts, see Christiane Furrer, “La recension grecque ancienne des Actes de Pilate,” *Apocrypha* 21 (2010), p. 11-30.
- 8 For a fuller discussion of this title, see Gounelle, “Un nouvel évangile judéo-chrétien?” p. 360; and especially Christiane Furrer and Christophe Guignard, “Titre et prologue des *Actes de Pilate*: nouvelle lecture à partir d’une reconstitution d’un état ancien du texte,” *Apocrypha* 24 (2013), p. 139-206.
- 9 Cf. the comparison in Furrer and Guignard, “Titre et prologue,” Appendice 2, p. 198.
- 10 Furrer and Guignard, “Titre et prologue,” especially p. 185-86, where the full title is reconstituted.
- 11 All manuscripts mentioned in this essay will be identified by the number assigned to them in Zbigniew Izydorczyk, *Manuscripts of the “Evangelium Nicodemi”: A Census*, Subsidia Mediaevalia 21 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1993); if they are not mentioned in that publication, they will be identified by a siglum number followed by a lower case letter; the locations and shelf-marks of all manuscripts are listed in section 2. of “Abbreviations and Sigla” above. On the Vienna Palimpsest, see especially Guy Philippart, “Fragments palimpsestes latins du Vindobonensis 563 (v<sup>e</sup> siècle?). Évangile selon S. Matthieu. Évangile de l’enfance selon Thomas. Évangile de Nicodème,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 90 (1972), p. 391-411, and Myriam Despineux, “Une version latine palimpseste du v<sup>e</sup> siècle de l’Évangile de Nicodème (Vienne, ÖNB MS 563),” *Scriptorium* 42 (1988), p. 176-83. A diplomatic transcription of *EN* from the palimpsest has been published by Guy Philippart, “Les fragments palimpsestes de l’Évangile de Nicodème dans le Vindobonensis 563 (v<sup>e</sup> s.),” *Analecta Bollandiana* 107 (1989), p. 171-88.

and, in fact, enhancing the impression that the document represents an official imperial record. *Gesta Salvatoris* remained the dominant title throughout the early Middle Ages, more or less until the thirteenth century.<sup>12</sup>

Several ninth-century Latin manuscripts of the apocryphon's version A (LatA; *Census* 119, 133, 334) may hint at an alternative early designation.<sup>13</sup> They conclude the text with the colophon "Explicit gesta de Christo Filio Dei," raising the possibility that it preserves vestiges of yet another ancient title. Its reflex may also be present in the conclusion of Latin version B, independent of those ninth-century codices, which reads "Hec sunt testimonia Carini & Leucini de Cristo Dei Filio, sanctisque suis gestis apud inferos" (*Census* 381; emphasis ours). The title from which the colophon and the explicit may have ultimately descended appears to have referred to "the deeds of Christ the Son of God," drawing attention to the motif of Christ's divinity.

From the twelfth century onwards, a new appellation increasingly found favour with scribes, namely *Evangelium Nicodemi*, and gradually edged out, though never completely, the older titles. It reflects a changed perception of the apocryphon that had come to be viewed as related, or parallel, to the canonical gospels and tied to a respectable New Testament personage, Nicodemus. On the one hand, this new title raised the work's prestige but, on the other, it also raised occasional reservations about the work's apocryphal character. However, once the title was adopted by Vincent de Beauvais in his popular *Speculum historiale* and by Jacobus de Voragine in his *Legenda aurea*,<sup>14</sup> it became the most common, though still not exclusive, way to refer to the apocryphon. Other titles, such as, for example, *Tractatus secundum Nichodemum* (*Census* 61), *Paralipomenon de gestis D. N. J. C.* (*Census* 284), *Explanatio dominicae passionis* (*Census* 254), *Gesta Graecorum de passione domini contra Iudaeos* (*Census* 12), *Epistola beati Nichodemi* (*Census* 13), *Gesta de passione Domini secundum Nichodemum* (*Census* 28), *Cronica domini nostri Ihesu Christi* (*Census* 55), and so on, can also be found in manuscripts.

In recent scholarship, the title *Acts of Pilate* or *Acta Pilati* has been applied mainly to the Greek and Eastern versions of the apocryphon. In the presentations that follow, we will conform to this practice. The title *Evangelium Nicodemi* (EN) will be reserved for the Latin versions, most of which expand the original apocryphon with the *Descensus Christi ad inferos* (DI). All European vernacular translations will be covered by the English title *Gospel of Nicodemus* (GN)

## Greek manuscripts of AP

The surviving Greek manuscripts of AP have transmitted two different forms of the apocryphon, identified and edited by Tischendorf as recensions A and B.<sup>15</sup> Recension B includes certain episodes absent from A and from the other Eastern versions, such as Mary's lament at the Crucifixion and Christ's Descent into Hell. Rémi Gounelle, who investigated and re-edited recension B, concluded that it does not represent a direct descendent of the ancient Greek apocryphon but rather an expanded and revised back-translation from Latin (LatA), carried out in the ninth or tenth century.<sup>16</sup> It survives in thirty-one manuscripts, the oldest of which – F and possibly D – date back to the fourteenth century.<sup>17</sup> The texts they contain vary considerably, suggesting that the translation was repeatedly reworked during the later Middle Ages, amplified, expurgated, and rephrased.

Tischendorf's recension A has descended directly from the original Greek apocryphon without any detours into foreign languages. It has survived in nineteen manuscripts: one from the twelfth century, five from the fourteenth, one from the fourteenth and/or fifteenth, and the remaining from the fifteenth or later.<sup>18</sup> Two additional

12 The only modern editor to have used this title was Hack Chin Kim, who placed it as a subtitle for his edition of the *codex Einsiedlensis*, *The Gospel of Nicodemus: Gesta Salvatoris*, Toronto Medieval Latin Texts 2 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1973).

13 On the various versions of the Latin EN, see below, p. 26-28.

14 Vincent de Beauvais, *Speculum historiale* (1624; repr., Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1965); for a digital text, see Vincent de Beauvais Website at <http://www.vincentiusbelvacensis.eu/bibl/ed3.thml%23SMp1700>. The *Legenda aurea* is available in *Iacobo a Varazze. Legenda aurea*, ed. Giovanni Paolo Maggioni, 2d rev. ed. (Firenze: SISMEL, ed. del Galluzzo, 1998), and *Legenda aurea con le miniature del codice Ambrosiano C 240 inf.*, ed. Giovanni Paolo Maggioni (Firenze: SISMEL, 2007).

15 Tischendorf, *Evangelia apocrypha*, p. 210-86, 287-332.

16 Rémi Gounelle, *Les recensions byzantines de l'Évangile de Nicodème*, CC SA, Instrumenta 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), especially p. 69-70.

17 The manuscripts are described in Gounelle, *Les recensions byzantines*, p. 109-29. To his list should probably be added St. Petersburg, Biblioteka Rossiyskoy Akademii Nauk, MS RAIK 166, ff. 9-29 (s. xviii); see I. N. Lebedev, *Opisanie Rukopisnogo Otdela Biblioteki Akademii Nauk SSSR*, vol. 5: *Grecheskie rukopisi* (Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka," 1973), p. 167-68.

18 Sixteen manuscripts are briefly described in Christiane Furrer, "La recension grecque ancienne des *Actes de Pilate*," *Apocrypha* 21 (2010), p. 11-30; three additional witnesses have been reported by Furrer and Guignard, "Titre et prologue des *Actes de Pilate*," *Appendice* 4, p. 204-05. The manuscripts are usually designated with letters of the alphabet, and this convention has been adopted by the members of the *Acta Pilati* Research Team re-editing the ancient apocryphon under the auspices of the Association pour l'étude de la littérature apocryphe chrétienne for the *Corpus Christianorum, Series Apocryphorum* (Brepols). On the methodology of that edition, see Rémi Gounelle, "L'édition de la recension grecque ancienne des *Actes de Pilate*. Perspectives méthodologiques," *Apocrypha* 21 (2010), p. 31-47.



manuscripts are believed to exist (or to have existed), but they have not been available to Western scholars.<sup>19</sup> All extant Greek witnesses of the ancient *AP* are thus relatively late and removed from the original time of composition by at least seven centuries.

Moreover, *AP* is partially and indirectly attested in five manuscripts of the *Narratio Iosephi rescripta*, which incorporates a summary of the Prologue and the first eight chapters of the apocryphon; the oldest of those manuscripts dates from the fifteenth century. Portions of chapters 1 and 2 to 5 are also excerpted in three manuscripts, dating from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries, of the *Ecclesiastical History* attributed to Germanus of Constantinople.<sup>20</sup>

The original Greek *AP* must have changed dramatically over time: the surviving texts are full of lacunae and additions, abridgements and amplifications, corrections and revisions, no doubt reflecting different intellectual and spiritual contexts in which it was read and rewritten. Even some major components of the apocryphon are not transmitted consistently. Thus, while the title calling the work Ὑπομνήματα occurs, with some variation, in most witnesses, the Preface is found in only two manuscripts (C, Z) and in one manuscript of the *Narratio* (nar<sup>R</sup>). The Prologue is transmitted differently in each family, but it is two unclassifiable manuscripts (E, N) that preserve its ancient form attested in the earliest translations. And the hymn concluding *AP* is present in only six manuscripts (F, K, G; C, Z; E), but it must have been more widely disseminated at the early stages, for it is included in the ancient translations.

## Vienna palimpsest

The earliest witness to the existence of a Latin translation of *AP* – and the oldest manuscript of the *AP* in any language – is the so-called Vienna palimpsest (Vp). It was discovered by Tischendorf, who referred to it repeatedly but never identified it by shelfmark.<sup>21</sup> This prompted G. C. O’Ceallaigh to cast doubt on its very existence when he remarked that Tischendorf worked from a manuscript “seen, we gather, by no one but himself.”<sup>22</sup> However, the Vienna palimpsest does indeed exist: it is Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek MS 563 (*Census* 393). It consists of four originally independent codices, the fourth of which (ff. 122-77) preserves, under a layer of eighth-century excerpts from the Fathers, uncial fragments of the *Gospel according to Matthew*, the *Infancy Gospel according to Thomas*, and the *Gospel of Nicodemus*. All three come from the same ancient codex, whose leaves had been disassembled, mostly erased, rearranged, and reused; some leaves have been lost.<sup>23</sup> Myriam Despineux dated the lower, uncial handwriting to the fifth century (after 425, the date mentioned in the Preface to *EN*) and associated it with Italy.<sup>24</sup>

Vp preserves remnants of what must have been a complete translation of the Greek apocryphon. The palimpsest is almost certainly not the Latin translator’s autograph but a copy, probably at several removes from the original Latin text, which is apparent from various scribal omissions, additions, and corruptions.<sup>25</sup> The surviving text includes most of the Preface of Ananias the translator regarding the discovery of the document, a portion of the Prologue dating the Passion, and fragments of varying length attesting to the presence in the original manuscript of the account of the trial before Pilate and the story of Joseph of Arimathea. The translation must have concluded with Annas and Caiaphas recounting the events of the crucifixion, the Jewish leaders attempting to control the damage, and the people celebrating Christ with a hymn based on the Old Testament testimonia (ch. 16.3-16.4). There is no evidence that Vp ever contained *DI*.

## Secondary attestations of *EN*

The originary translation attested in the palimpsest was not passed down to the High Middle Ages intact. In fact, some of its elements were lost, or nearly lost, while others were preserved in only certain branches of the Latin tradition; and new elements, absent from the Greek *AP*, were added, effectively changing the shape of the Latin apocryphon. Much of that reshaping must have happened between the sixth and the ninth centuries, during the period from which information is exceedingly scarce. No manuscripts have survived from that period, and

19 They are Jerusalem, St. Sabas 290 and 432; see Furrer, “La recension grecque,” p. 12. For MS RAIK 166, also mentioned by Furrer, see note 17 above.

20 Furrer, “La recension grecque,” p. 15-16.

21 See Philippart, “Fragments palimpsestes latins,” p. 392-99.

22 G. C. O’Ceallaigh, “Dating the Commentaries of Nicodemus,” *HThR* 56 (1963), p. 22-58. For a critique of O’Ceallaigh’s approach and conclusions, see Rémi Gounelle, “G. C. O’Ceallaigh et les *Actes de Pilate*,” in *Vérité(s) philologique(s). Études sur les notions de vérité et de fausseté en matière de philologie*, ed. Pascale Hummel and Frédéric Gabriel (Paris: Philologicum, 2008), p. 141-55.

23 Philippart, “Fragments palimpsestes latins,” p. 402.

24 Despineux, “Une version latine palimpseste,” p. 179.

25 See Despineux, “Une version latine palimpseste,” p. 181-83.

secondary sources, too, are mostly silent. The only sixth-century writer who appears to have been familiar with *EN*, and to have alluded to it, is Gregory of Tours. In his *Decem libri historiarum* 1.21, he briefly recounts the story of Joseph of Arimathea's incarceration and deliverance from prison, and identifies "Gesta Pilati ad Tiberium imperatorem missa" as the source of this story.<sup>26</sup> Gregory apparently associates his source with an old tradition – going back to Tertullian – of Pilate's dispatches to Rome.<sup>27</sup> His account of the Joseph episode is strongly evocative of *EN*, but it does not accord with the extant apocryphon in every detail. Gregory stylizes his version to make Joseph's imprisonment parallel to Christ's entombment (cf. "ut ille a militibus, hic ab ipsis sacerdotibus custodiretur").<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, Gregory gives his account of Joseph's deliverance before he mentions the confrontation between the soldiers guarding Jesus' tomb and the priests of the Jews. The details of Joseph's deliverance are, again, organized to parallel the resurrection of Christ and, again, differ slightly from those found in a typical version of *EN*. According to Gregory, Joseph was freed "absolvente angelo" rather than by Christ himself. A central European version of *EN* (*Census* 127 and 129a), which despite its late date preserves a number of archaic features of the apocryphon,<sup>29</sup> likewise reports Joseph's deliverance before the soldiers' conversation with the Jewish leaders, and likewise has angels deliver Joseph.<sup>30</sup> It seems, therefore, that Gregory may have had access to some early form of Latin *EN* and that he adapted it rhetorically for exegetical purposes.

For over a century after Gregory of Tours, all traces of *EN* disappear. The apocryphon is not unambiguously attested until the late-eighth- and early-ninth-century manuscripts of the *Cura sanitatis Tiberii*: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Lat. 2034, and Lucca, Biblioteca capitolare Feliniana, MS 490.<sup>31</sup> This work relates a mission to Palestine led by Volusianus on behalf of the ailing emperor Tiberius: Volusianus is charged with finding the healer called Jesus and presenting him to the emperor. Having learnt of Jesus' death and resurrection, Volusianus calls on Joseph of Arimathea to confirm the truth of those revelations. In his reply, Joseph alludes to the eyewitness account of the three rabbis from Galilee who saw Jesus sitting on mount Malec and then ascending into heaven. The name of this mountain is known only from *AP* and one version of *EN*, which makes it almost certain that the author was familiar with the apocryphon. He also refers repeatedly to the woman who was healed from the issue of blood by Jesus as Veronica, another name popularized, if not introduced, by *AP* and *EN*.

From the ninth century come also three Latin manuscripts that preserve an eighteen-line rhythmic abecedarius with several details derived, it seems, from *EN*, or, more specifically, from *DI*.<sup>32</sup> This short poem, which may have been composed in the eighth century, reports a dialogue between "Tartarucus" (or Sathanas) and "Infernus," which includes a number of lines strongly evocative of *DI*: for example, in the poem as in *DI*, Infernus mentions Lazarus, extracted from hell by Jesus; Satan refuses to see the danger; and Infernus ejects Satan to fight with Jesus. The poem corresponds more closely to *DI* than, for instance, to the *Sermo de confusione diaboli*,<sup>33</sup> and should probably be seen as inspired by *EN*.

The oldest extant manuscript of the *Vindicta Salvatoris*, *Census* 334, also belongs to the ninth century.<sup>34</sup> This apocryphal work relates, first, the healing and conversion of Tyrus, "regulus" of Aquitaine, and his subsequent avenging of Jesus Christ by destroying Jerusalem; and second, the mission of Volusianus and the healing of Tiberius by the image of Christ, both adapted from the *Cura sanitatis Tiberii*. The testimonies given by Joseph of Arimathea (ch. 21) and by Veronica (ch. 22) before Volusianus are even closer to *EN* than in the *Cura*, suggesting that the author of the *Vindicta* – or one of the copyists who revised it – was familiar with both works<sup>35</sup>.

26 Ed. Krusch and Levison, p. 17-18.

27 Cf. Tertullian, *Apologeticum* 5.2, 21.24, ed. Eligius Dekkers, in *Quinti Septimi Florentis Tertulliani Opera*, pt. 1: *Opera catholica. Adversus Marcionem*, CC SL 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1954), p. 94-95, 127.

28 Ed. Krusch and Levison, p. 17

29 This version has been edited together with its medieval Polish translation by Zbigniew Izydorzyczyk and Wiesław Wydra, *A Gospel of Nicodemus Preserved in Poland*, CC SA, Instrumenta 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007).

30 Since Joseph's prison was lifted, according to the dominant textual tradition, by the four corners, or "a quattuor angulis," both Gregory's account and the central European version may have resulted, ultimately, from a misreading of an abbreviated form of the word "angulis" (corners) as "angelis" (angels). But it is equally possible that Gregory altered the details himself in order to set up a parallel between an angelic presence in Jesus' tomb and in Joseph's prison.

31 Edited by Ernst von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder. Untersuchungen zur christlicher Legende, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlicher Literatur* 18, N.F. 3 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1899), p. 163\*\*-90\*\*.

32 Edited by Paulus von Winterfeld, *Poëtae Latini aevi Carolini*, vol. 4, pt. 2, MGH (Berlin: apud Weidmannos, 1904), p. 636-37. See also Dieter Schaller and Ewald Könsgen, *Initia carminum saeculo undecimo antiquiorum* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977), no. 1335, and *Supplementband* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005).

33 Edited by Edward Kennard Rand, "Sermo de confusione diaboli," *Modern Philology* 2 (1904), p. 261-78.

34 The standard edition is that by Tischendorf in his *Evangelia apocrypha*, p. 471-86. The text from *Census* 334 has been printed in *Two Old English Apocrypha and Their Manuscript Source: "The Gospel of Nicodemus" and "The Avenging of the Saviour"*, ed. James E. Cross, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 19 (Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 248-92. For a recent discussion of the different versions of the *Vindicta*, see Rémi Gounelle, "Les origines littéraires de la légende de Véronique et de la Sainte Face: La *Cura sanitatis Tiberii* et la *Vindicta Salvatoris*," in *Sacre impronte e oggetti «non fatti da mano d'uomo» nelle religioni*, ed. A. Monaci Castagno (Turin: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2011), p. 231-51.

35 See Gounelle, "Les origines littéraires," p. 544-45.

## Latin manuscripts of *EN*

The secondary evidence thus suggests that, by the ninth century, *EN* was already being absorbed into other texts and, therefore, must have been fairly widely disseminated. This is borne out by the fact that at least eight complete and four fragmentary manuscripts survive from that century.<sup>36</sup> Six of the complete manuscripts originated in France: two were copied in northern France (*Census* 133 at Saint-Amand-les-Eaux,<sup>37</sup> and 334 at Saint-Bertin<sup>38</sup>), two others in the north central region (*Census* 215<sup>39</sup> at Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, and 288<sup>40</sup> in the vicinity of Orléans), one possibly in eastern France (*Census* 119),<sup>41</sup> and one possibly in Brittany (*Census* 158).<sup>42</sup>

Perhaps the earliest among them is *Census* 133, copied in the first third of the ninth century at Saint-Amand-les-Eaux and later owned by the cathedral school of Laon. It once belonged to Martin Hiberniensis (d. 875), who, like his more famous friend and compatriot John Scottus Eriugena (d. ca. 880), was known for his erudition, which probably included some knowledge of Greek. Martin owned a large collection of books on grammatical, medical, computistical, exegetical, and pastoral topics, many of which he annotated. *Census* 133 is one of those annotated books, and includes a table of contents on f. 1v in Martin's hand,<sup>43</sup> in which Martin refers to *EN*, the first item in the manuscript, as *Gesta Saluatoris*, while the colophon on f. 35r calls it "gesta de Christo Filio Dei."

Somewhat surprisingly, none of the earliest extant Latin manuscripts was copied in Britain even though two have strong connections with Anglo-Saxon England. According to D. N. Dumville, *Census* 158, although written on the Continent in the ninth century, traveled to England (perhaps to Worcester) during the tenth. This seems to be confirmed by the presence in the manuscript of some corrections in an Anglo-Saxon hand and of a gloss in Old English.<sup>44</sup> The other manuscript, with an even more obvious link to Anglo-Saxon England, is *Census* 334. Executed at Saint-Bertin in the second half of the ninth century, it was taken across the Channel in the early eleventh. In England, possibly at Canterbury, it was used as the source-text by the Anglo-Saxon translator who rendered *EN* into Old English. Not only are a number of Latin words in *Census* 334 glossed in Old English, but the lacunae in the Latin text, caused by the loss of folios, are also reflected in the Old English translation.<sup>45</sup> One other early copy of *EN* may have travelled to England, although its case is weaker. *Census* 288 is a composite codex, consisting of two originally independent volumes, bound together before or during the twelfth century. The second volume, containing the *Scintillae scripturarum* of Defensor de Ligugé, was at some point at Ramsey, Huntingdonshire, as it bears an eleventh-century note that mentions Abbot Whitman. However, it is not the second but the first volume that contains *EN*, and whether the first volume also traveled to England cannot be known for certain.

While the manuscripts described above are all of French origin, another cluster of ninth-century copies can be located in southern and central Germany. The earliest of these, *Census* 208,<sup>46</sup> from the first quarter of the century, consists of two folios and several strips recovered from the binding of a fifteenth-century manuscript written in 1446 by Johannes Gotfridt, a parish priest in Hohenprug, dioc. Freising. The celebrated *codex Einsiedlensis* (*Census* 75) was written closer to the middle of the century by a scribe trained at Fulda.<sup>47</sup> The three remaining witnesses, all fragmentary, include the early ninth-century *Census* 175a, from south-eastern Germany; the mid-century *Census* 207, possibly from western Germany;<sup>48</sup> and *Census* 112, dated to the close of the century, from central Germany.<sup>49</sup>

If early forms of *EN* were indeed available in northern Italy in the fifth and sixth centuries, as the evidence of the Vp appears to suggest, the apocryphon may have first migrated northward, and then to the north-west. Since several of the ninth-century manuscripts have either an Irish (*Census* 133) or an Anglo-Saxon (*Census* 158,

36 *Census* 12, 75, 119, 133, 158, 215, 288, and 334 have been dated to the ninth century. The ninth-century fragments include *Census* 112, 175a (see Beatrix Kroll, *Katalog der Handschriften des Benediktinerstiftes Michaelbeuern bis 1600* [Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000], p. 421-22), 207, 208.

37 Bernhard Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts*, pt 2: Laon - Paderborn (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004), p. 30, no. 2096.

38 James E. Cross and Julia Crick, "The Manuscript: Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale, 202," in *Two Old English Apocrypha*, p. 10; see also Bischoff, *Katalog*, pt 3: Padua - Zwickau (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2014), p. 285, no. 5403.

39 Bischoff *Katalog*, pt 2, p. 353, no. 3748.

40 Bischoff *Katalog*, pt 3, p. 241, no. 5099.

41 Bischoff, *Katalog*, pt 1: Aachen - Lambach (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998), p. 412, no. 1985.

42 On the dating and localization of this manuscript, see Thomas N. Hall, "The *Euangelium Nicodemi* and *Vindicta saluatoris* in Anglo-Saxon England," in *Two Old English Apocrypha*, p. 48, note 39; and Bischoff, *Katalog*, pt 2, p. 124, no. 2493.

43 See John J. Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon from 850-930: Its Manuscripts and Masters* (Munich, 1978), p. 130-34.

44 Hall, "The *Euangelium Nicodemi* and *Vindicta saluatoris*," p. 48-49.

45 James E. Cross, "Introduction," and "Saint-Omer 202 as the Manuscript Source for the Old English Texts," in *Two Old English Apocrypha*, p. 3-9, 82-104.

46 Bernhard, *Katalog*, pt 2, p. 299, no. 3522.

47 Bischoff, *Katalog*, pt 1, p. 242, no. 1133.

48 Bischoff, *Katalog*, pt 2, p. 280, no. 3379.

49 Hans-Jürgen Kahlfuss, ed., *Die Handschriften der Gesamthochschulbibliothek Kassel Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel*, vol. 1.1: Konrad Wiedemann, *Manuscripta theologica. Die Handschriften in Folio* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994), p. 273; Bischoff, *Katalog*, pt. 2, p. 377, no. 1816.

288, 334) connection, and since some of them were associated with the monastic foundations frequented by Irish (Laon) or Anglo-Saxon travellers (Saint-Bertin, Fleury), one might hypothesize that Irish and Anglo-Saxon scribes/scholars played a role in the apocryphon's spread towards the north-west.

However, at the same time *EN* must have also reached the Iberian peninsula, as evidenced by *Census* 12. According to Bischoff, the second part of this manuscript, a miscellany of poetic, scientific, and theological texts that includes *EN*, originated in Catalonia in the second half of the ninth century,<sup>50</sup> and belonged to the Benedictines at Ripoll, dioc. Vich. Thus, by the end of the Carolingian period, *EN* was available in southern, central, and western Germany, in north central and northern France, and in Catalonia.

In the tenth century, additional manuscripts of *EN* were produced north of Italy: one in south-western Germany (*Census* 23; owned at Tegernsee);<sup>51</sup> another at Sankt Gallen (*Census* 25);<sup>52</sup> and a third at Tagernsee (*Census* 199).<sup>53</sup> A new copy was also made at Saint-Amand-les-Eaux (OSB), dioc. Tournai (*Census* 268). Three tenth-century manuscripts of *EN* – two extant (*Census* 73 and 255),<sup>54</sup> and one now destroyed (*Census* 425) – have not yet been associated with any specific scriptorium. Of the manuscripts copied in the eleventh century, at least eight are still extant; their number goes up to thirteen, if one counts those assigned more broadly to the eleventh or twelfth centuries. Unfortunately, the origins and first owners of many of them have not been identified. With certainty, we can place two of them in southern Germany, one at Prüll near Regensburg (*Census* 179) and another at Beuerberg (dioc. Freising; *Census* 183). Three are from France: one may have been owned in the diocese of Orléans (*Census* 374); one may have belonged to the cathedral in Beauvais (*Census* 290); and the third was a copy made by Ademar de Chabannes at Saint-Cybrad, Angoulême, or at Saint-Martial, Limoges (*Census* 263). Two manuscripts may be Italian (*Census* 328 and 388). And at least one copy was made in England (*Census* 241). Early medieval booklists also indicate that, in the eleventh century, the apocryphon could also be found at the ancient abbey of Stavelot (1105; Belgium, province of Liège),<sup>55</sup> a female convent near Paris,<sup>56</sup> and probably at Saint-Symphorien near Metz.<sup>57</sup>

The numbers of manuscripts produced in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries increase sharply: this may be partly due to the increased interest in the apocryphon that now acquired the word “evangelium” in its title, and partly to the fact that more manuscripts managed to survive from that period than from the earlier ones. Close to fifty copies made in the twelfth-century and about sixty-five from the thirteenth are still extant. The patterns of their distribution – that is, of their origins and early owners – continue the trends already observed for the older codices. The strongest concentrations of twelfth-century copies are in south-eastern Germany and northern France. The numbers of extant codices drawn up in the fourteenth century double to over 120, and in fifteenth to over 165. By the close of the Middle Ages, *EN* had spread to practically all regions of Europe. It was available in Sweden, northern and central Germany, Poland, and Bohemia. Many monastic libraries owned multiple copies of it. The surviving manuscripts with ownership inscriptions reveal that dozens of libraries had two copies, and thirteen libraries had three or more.<sup>58</sup>

Medieval booklists bespeak the easy availability of the apocryphon in the later Middle Ages. They indicate, for instance, that the Durham Cathedral had two copies of *EN*, one since the twelfth century;<sup>59</sup> so did Saint-Martial abbey at Limoges in the thirteenth;<sup>60</sup> in the fourteenth century, Christ Church priory in Canterbury owned no fewer than six different exemplars, and perhaps as many as eight;<sup>61</sup> a fifteenth-century catalogue of books at

50 See Birger Munk Olsen, *L'Étude des auteurs classiques latins aux XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, vol. 1: *Calalogue des manuscrits classiques latins copiés du IX<sup>e</sup> au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Apicius - Juvénal* (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1982), p. 65.

51 Bischoff, *Katalog*, pt 1, p. 102, no. 484.

52 Bischoff, *Katalog*, pt. 1, p. 130.

53 Bischoff, *Katalog*, pt 2, p. 270, no. 3315.

54 *Census* 255 contains only the title; on its date, see Bischoff, *Katalog*, pt. 3, p. 83.

55 Albert Derolez and Benjamin Victor, eds, *The Medieval Booklists of the Southern Low Countries*, vol. 2: *Provinces of Liege, Luxemburg and Namur* (Bruxelles, 1994), p. 172, no. 90.

56 See a reference to a “Liber gestorum salvatoris” in an anonymous eleventh-century booklist in Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 943, f. 155r (see [http://www.libraria.fr/fr/editions/inventaire---anon-paris-bnf-lat-943-f-154v-155-f%23\\_ftn10](http://www.libraria.fr/fr/editions/inventaire---anon-paris-bnf-lat-943-f-154v-155-f%23_ftn10)).

57 See the eleventh-century list of books that could be found “apud Sanctum Symphorianum,” in Bibliothèque de Metz, MS 221 (printed in *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements*, vol. 5: *Metz - Verdun - Charleville* [Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1879], p. 97).

58 Conclusions drawn on the basis of the *Census*.

59 Gustavus Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui* (Bonnae: apud Max Cohen et filium, 1885), p. 256, no. 126; *Catalogues of the Library of Durham Cathedral*, Surtees Society 7 (London: J. B. Nichols and Son, William Pickering, 1938), p. 26, 54.

60 Léopold Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1874), p. 500, no. 113; p. 502, no. 266.

61 Montague Rhodes James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover* (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1903), p. 47, no. 270; p. 110, no. 1258; p. 117, no. 1373; p. 118, no. 1389; p. 121, no. 1420; p. 129, no. 1542; cf. also p. 65, no. 541; p. 112, no. 1301.

St. Augustine Abbey in Canterbury, refers to three copies;<sup>62</sup> and a fifteenth-century booklist from the Augustinian abbey at Leicester records six, although some were probably in French.<sup>63</sup>

The majority of *EN* manuscripts were owned by monastic libraries, mostly by Benedictines, Cistercians, and Regular Canons. These three orders jointly owned, at one time or another, more than one-third of all extant manuscripts. *EN* was also found in female convents, such as those of Benedictine nuns, Brigittines, and Cistercian nuns, where its vernacular translations were used as a source of monastic readings. But not all manuscripts were communally owned. Several surviving manuscripts were originally commissioned by lay persons, especially in the fifteenth century. And among the twenty-nine scribes who signed their names or whose hands have been identified in the extant manuscripts, seven were parish priests.<sup>64</sup> Many copies of *EN* were thus utilitarian in character, intended to serve as an aid in preaching or devotion. This would explain the rather pedestrian appearance of most manuscripts, with a minimum of decoration, if any at all. Very few copies of *EN* can be called deluxe,<sup>65</sup> and only one seems to have been illustrated throughout (*Census* 173),<sup>66</sup> which is rather surprising given that *EN* is frequently adduced as a textual source for the iconography of the Harrowing of Hell.

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62 James, *The Ancient Libraries*, p. 220, no. 328; p. 371, no. 1502; p. 379, no. 1563.

63 Teresa Webber and Andrew G. Watson, *The Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 6 (The British Library, 1998), p. 141, no. 148a, f; p. 142, nos. 159-60; p. 178, no. 305; p. 337, no. 1235.

64 Generalizations based on the data gathered in the *Census*.

65 But *Census* 89 and 157 certainly can; see their digital reproductions at <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/fmb/cb-0127/2r> and [http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=royal\\_ms\\_1\\_e\\_ix\\_fs001r](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=royal_ms_1_e_ix_fs001r).

66 A digital reproduction available at <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000012663&page=1>.

## The Protean *Evangelium Nicodemi*

### Greek textual tradition

The *Evangelium Nicodemi* (*EN*) of the Latin Middle Ages was an altered and expanded translation of the Greek *Acta Pilati* (*AP*). In its narrative contour, and especially in the presence of an account of Christ's Descent into Hell, the Latin *EN* resembles the Greek text-type edited by Tischendorf as recension B of *AP*.<sup>1</sup> However, Rémi Gounelle, who investigated and edited that recension, has established that, rather than being the source of the Latin *EN*, it represents an expanded and revised back-translation from the dominant Latin form, carried out in the ninth or tenth century.<sup>2</sup> This medieval, Byzantine translation, which Gounelle re-branded as Greek version M to avoid any confusion with the Latin B form of *EN*, survives in three distinct textual forms: the original back-translated composition (designated as M<sub>1</sub>), the amplified version composed after the middle of the twelfth century (M<sub>2</sub>), and the expurgated version, extensively rewritten towards the end of the Middle Ages (M<sub>3</sub>). Version M was thus a product of a long evolutionary process, in which the text crossed linguistic boundaries twice and was reshaped at many intermediate stages.

The Greek text that stands behind the Latin and all Eastern translations of *AP* has been partially preserved in the manuscripts of what Tischendorf edited as *AP A*.<sup>3</sup> The textual tradition that emerges from those manuscripts is complex: it comprises two major textual families, a group of nonconforming manuscripts, and partial witnesses of the *Narratio Iosephi rescripta* and *Ecclesiastical history* attributed to Germanus of Constantinople. Nine manuscripts (F, K, X; G, H, Y, L; C, Z) form the dominant textual family φ, five others constitute family χ (O, Q, W; A, M), and the remaining five resist classification (E, I, J, B, N).<sup>4</sup> Internally, family χ is less consistent than φ. None of the witnesses preserves the primitive form of *AP*, but all of them contain reflexes of earlier stages in the apocryphon's history. Although φ runs generally closer to what must have been the primitive form than χ, which rewrites and abridges the text, or the unclassifiable manuscripts, which meander between the two families and often cut their own path, all of them occasionally carry readings whose antiquity is confirmed by the presence of corresponding readings in the early translations into Latin, Coptic, Syriac, Armenian, and Georgian.

### Latin textual traditions

#### *Vienna palimpsest*

The earliest Latin text of *EN*, preserved in the Vienna palimpsest, begins with the Preface of Eneas, the alleged discoverer and Greek translator of the Hebrew proceedings against Jesus, followed by a portion of the Prologue dating his trial (and Passion) and naming Nicodemus as the author of the document.<sup>5</sup> The main body of the text comprises fragments of most chapters of the Greek *AP*, with only three chapters entirely missing, ch. 8 (the Jews insist that Jesus is not their king), 9 (Pilate's sentence), and 11 (the death of Jesus). The original Latin translation must have been co-extensive with the extant *AP A* and corresponded roughly to what Tischendorf edited as the

1 Constantin von Tischendorf, *Evangelia apocrypha adhibitis plurimis codicibus Graecis et Latinis maximam partem nunc primum consultis atque ineditorum copia insignibus*, 2nd ed. (Lipsiae: J. C. Hinrichs, 1876), p. 287-332.

2 Rémi Gounelle, *Les recensions byzantines de l'Évangile de Nicodème*, CC SA, Instrumenta 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008).

3 Tischendorf, *Evangelia apocrypha*, p. 210-86. *AP A* is now being re-edited by the Acta Pilati Research Team under the auspices of the Association pour l'étude de la littérature apocryphe chrétienne for the *Corpus Christianorum, Series Apocryphorum* (Brepols); on the methodology of that edition, see Rémi Gounelle, "L'édition de la recension grecque ancienne des Actes de Pilate. Perspectives méthodologiques," *Apocrypha* 21 (2010), p. 31-47.

4 See Christiane Furrer, "La recension grecque ancienne des Actes de Pilate," *Apocrypha* 21 (2010), p. 11-30.

5 The text of Vp has been diplomatically edited by Guy Philippart, "Les fragments palimpsestes de l'Évangile de Nicodème dans le *Vindobonensis* 563 (V<sup>e</sup> s.?)," *Analecta Bollandiana* 107 (1989), p. 171-88.

Latin *Gesta Pilati*.<sup>6</sup> The surviving text indicates that Vp once contained, like its Greek source, ch. 16 and that it ended with the people's prayer. However, there is no indication that it ever contained the *Descensus Christi ad inferos* (DI), a thematic section that definitely attracted much attention in the later Middle Ages and was, in part, responsible for *EN*'s popularity.

### The emergence of LatA

Some time between the fifth and the ninth centuries, during the period from which no manuscripts have survived and secondary attestations are very limited, *EN* underwent a profound make-over. First, the original conclusion of *AP* (ch. 16.3-4) was altered to make space for a transition to an account of Christ's catabasis, or the *Descensus Christi ad inferos* (DI). The transition is smooth, the added material and the narrative method having been fully integrated with the preceding sections.<sup>7</sup> Even thematically the *Descensus* is tied to the accounts of the trial, crucifixion, and Ascension through the repeated references to the divinity and royalty of Christ.<sup>8</sup>

Many motifs and details of *DI* find parallels in the Greek sermons of ps.-Eusebius of Alexandria and ps.-Epiphanius.<sup>9</sup> However, since *DI* incorporates passages culled from Latin sources, such as a portion of the pseudo-Augustinian *Sermo 160* (the devils' confusion and questions to Jesus in ch. 22)<sup>10</sup> and the Latin translation of the *Vita Adae et Evae* (Seth's account of his journey to Paradise in ch. 19.1),<sup>11</sup> it was most likely composed in Latin. It may have been designed specifically as a continuation of *EN*, possibly in the sixth century, when similar materials were fairly popular and circulated widely.<sup>12</sup>

In the Latin West, *EN* continued to change and expand through accretion. The Preface of Eneas disappeared, and new material was added after *DI*, possibly by a different redactor, to enhance its appearance as an official imperial document from Pilate's archives. In fact, the concluding sentence states that Pilate himself wrote down everything that was done by the Jews concerning Jesus ("et ipse Pilatus scripsit omnia quae gesta and dicta sunt de Iesu a Iudaeis," ch. 27.5) and deposited the writing in the public archives ("in codicibus publicis pretorii sui").<sup>13</sup> The characteristic Latin title, *Gesta Salvatoris Domini Nostri Iesu Christi inuenta Theodosio magno imperatore in Hierusalem in pretorio Pontii Pilati in codicibus publicis*, which may have been fashioned by the same redactor, also promotes the idea of *EN* being a document from Pilate's archives rediscovered by emperor Theodosius.<sup>14</sup> The problem is, of course, that, despite this title, *EN* cannot be the document that Pilate "scripsit": the main body of the narrative does not project Pilate's point of view at all, and the ascription of authorship to Pilate contradicts the Prologue, which states that it was Nicodemus who recorded at least some of the events in writing ("acta a principibus sacerdotum et reliquis Iudaeis, mandauit ipse Nichodemus litteris ebreicis").<sup>15</sup> Nonetheless, to reinforce the connection with Pilate, the redactor attached also, with a straightforward transition ("Et post haec ipse Pilatus scripsit..."),<sup>16</sup> Pilate's supposed letter to emperor Claudius, this time projecting Pilate's own voice.<sup>17</sup> All

6 Tischendorf, *Evangelia apocrypha*, p. 333-88.

7 Rémi Gounelle and Zbigniew Izydorczyk, *L'Évangile de Nicodème ou les Actes faits sous Ponce Pilate (recension latine A), suivi de La lettre de Pilate à l'empereur Claude*, Apocryphes: Collection de poche de l'AELAC 9 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), p. 73-76.

8 Cf. Rémi Gounelle, "La divinité du Christ est-elle une question centrale dans le procès de Jésus rapporté par les *Acta Pilati*?" *Apocrypha* 8 (1997), p. 121-36.

9 Pseudo-Eusebius of Alexandria, "In Diabolum et Orcum," in PG 86, 383-404; "Oratio de adventu et annuntiatione Joannis (Baptistae) apud Inferos," in PG 86, 509-26; and "In sancta et magna parasceve, et in sanctam passionem Domini," in PG 62, 721-24. Pseudo-Epiphanius, "Sancti Patris nostri Epiphanius episcopi Cypri oratio in divini corporis sepulturam Domini et Servatoris nostri Iesu Christi, et in Iosephum qui fuit ab Arimathæa, et in Domini in infernum descensum, post salutarem passionem admirabiliter factum," in PG 43, 439A-64D.

10 Edited by Dolores Ozimic, *Der pseudo-augustinische Sermo CLX. Hieronymus als ein vermutlicher Verfasser, seine dogmengeschichtliche Einordnung und seine Bedeutung für das österliche Canticum triumphale "Cum rex gloriae," Dissertationen der Universität Graz, no. 47 (Graz, 1979), p. 19-36; the bulk of this sermon is also edited in Eusebius Gallicanus, *Collectio homiliarum, de qua critice disseruit Ioh. Leroy*, ed. Fr. Glorie, CC SL 101 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1970), vol. 1, p. 141-43, 145-50; CC SL 101A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1971), vol. 2, p. 881-86.*

11 Gary A. Anderson and Michael E. Stone, *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, Society of Biblical Literature, Early Judaism and Its Literature 17, 2nd rev. ed. (Atlanta, 1999), p. 34. Cf. M. Nagel, *La Vie grecque d'Adam et d'Ève. Apocalypse de Moïse*, Thèse présentée devant l'Université de Strasbourg II, (Lille, 1974), vol. 1, p. 165; Jean-Pierre Pettoelli, Jean-Daniel Kaestli, Albert Frey, and Bernard Outtier, eds, *Vita latina Adae et Evae*, CC SA 19 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), p. 376-83, 487-97, 530-32, 562-64, 588-90, 618-21, 689-97, 736-37.

12 Gounelle and Izydorczyk, *L'Évangile de Nicodème*, p. 113-17.

13 H. C. Kim, *The Gospel of Nicodemus: Gesta Salvatoris*, Toronto Medieval Latin Texts 2 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1973), p. 49.

14 Kim, *The Gospel of Nicodemus*, p. 13.

15 Kim, *The Gospel of Nicodemus*, p. 13.

16 Kim, *The Gospel of Nicodemus*, p. 49.

17 On Pilate's letter, see below, p. 19.

three—the conclusion, the title, and the letter—may have been added by a redactor who was more keenly interested in foregrounding the connection between *EN* and Pilate’s records than in maintaining narrative cohesion.

It is this expanded and refashioned form of *EN*, traditionally designated as Latin A (LatA), that emerges from eleven out of twelve ninth-century manuscripts, the oldest after Vp. Their texts are still relatively uniform, sharing not only the same narrative elements but also a number of orthographic and lexical peculiarities; however, even those early copies show the process of divergent evolution already well under way. Their common ancestor probably lay not much further in the past, perhaps in the late seventh- or eighth-century. It inherited—in addition to the title, *DI*, the ascription of authorship to Pilate, and Pilate’s letter—also some characteristics of the palimpsest, such as, for instance, the omission of Pilate’s question about his suitability to judge a king in ch. 1.1. It then compounded them with its own idiosyncrasies, such as new omissions, unsettled morphology, confused lexis, and non-standard orthography. Many ninth-century scribes reproduced those characteristics, while others, especially in the late ninth and tenth centuries, made an effort to replace them with classical forms. For example, the ancestor of LatA must have omitted the word “hoc” in ch. 1.1, where the Jewish leaders pile up charges against Jesus (“Non solum sed et sabbatum uiolat...”); the word is present in Vp but the omission shows up in several ninth-century manuscripts (*Census* 112, 119, 133, 158, 207, 215).<sup>18</sup> It was restored by the scribe of *Census* 334 and by later scribes either through conjecture or through borrowing from alternative exemplars. In ch. 15.5, in which Annas and Caiaphas request Joseph of Arimathea to tell them about his miraculous deliverance, the same textual ancestor substituted “contestati” for “contristati” (Gk ἐλυπήθημεν), and the ninth-century scribes followed suit, writing “Quia contestati fuimus eo quod sepelisti corpus ihesu” (*Census* 75, 119, 133, 158, 215, 288, 334). Again, later medieval scribes corrected the error. Consequently, late medieval copies of *EN* are often stylistically smoother and easier to read, more “grammatically correct,” than the early ones.

## RR and BT

Although they have preserved many idiosyncrasies of their common source, the earliest LatA manuscripts must have descended through at least two intermediaries, one of which introduced additional changes. For instance, in the account of the delivered saints’ encounter with the Good Thief (ch. 16), the Thief explains what he saw during the crucifixion, saying, “& uidi creaturarum quae facta sunt per crucem ihesu crucifixi” (*Census* 119, 133, 158, 334). The meaning and grammar here are incomplete, and the ninth- and tenth-century scribes variously tried to make sense of it: “et uidi omnia quae facta sunt...” (*Census* 23, 75), “et uidi omnem creaturam quae facta est...” (*Census* 25). However, one ninth-century manuscript, *Census* 288, preserves what may have been the original reading, “signa creaturarum quae facta sunt.” For the most part, *Census* 288 is a corrupt, at times garbled copy, whose scribe was apparently incapable of independently correcting a faulty expression; the phrase in question is, therefore, likely to have descended from an ancestor that had preserved the original reading, lost in the immediate source of the other manuscripts.

In fact, *Census* 288 and its descendent, *Census* 215, appear to have followed a different textual path than the remaining ninth-century manuscripts. What sets them apart is not only the correct reading quoted above but a whole range of unique modifications. In the Prologue, they date the Passion to the consulate “Bassi Tarquilionis” (BT family), which may be a corruption of (or a replacement for) “Ruffi Rubelionis” (RR family), the usual reading in the other Latin, Greek, and Eastern versions.<sup>19</sup> Other modifications include omissions, additions, and grammatical changes. The most extensive omission in *Census* 288 and in the majority of later BT manuscripts extends from ch. 1.6 to 3.1. The story moves abruptly from the miracle of the standards to a discussion between Pilate and the Jewish leaders: “[ch. 1.6] et iussit preses ingredi Ihesum secundo. Et fecit cursor eundem scismate sicut et prius. [ch. 3.2] Dicunt pilato iudei: Nobis non licet occidere neminem...” (*Census* 288). This sudden shift breaks the narrative continuity as the episode of the bowing standards is never concluded, and the reason for the Jews’ statement is unclear. Most likely, the omission was caused not by deliberate abridgement but by an accidental loss of a folio in the common source.

Thus already in the ninth century, LatA was not monolithic but exhibited two similar yet discrete textual forms: the predominant RR and the more peculiar BT text-type. Moreover, most likely because of its popularity and frequent copying, family RR was also mutating in the late ninth and tenth centuries. None of the extant early RR manuscripts is a direct offspring of any other; however, a number of them left their own individual legacies in the later Middle Ages.

18 All manuscripts mentioned in this essay will be identified by their number in Zbigniew Izydorczyk, *Manuscripts of the “Evangelium Nicodemi”: A Census*, Subsidia Mediaevalia 21 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1993).

19 See Zbigniew Izydorczyk, “The Unfamiliar *Evangelium Nicodemi*,” *Manuscripta* 33 (1989), p. 169–91.



## The emergence of LatB

A number of BT manuscripts were thus affected by a lacuna extending from ch. 1.6 to 3.1, covering Pilate's wife's dream and the testimony of the twelve righteous Jews. However, the tenth-century *Census* 268 fills in the lacuna with text that exhibits some readings that are strikingly different from the ones typically found in Latin A. The text includes, for example, Pilate's remarks about his wife Procula's sympathy for the Jews (ch. 2.1), absent from all other Latin A manuscripts but attested in Greek and Oriental versions. Somewhat later, Pilate asks Annas and Caiaphas, "Nihil respondetis ad hæc quæ isti testificantur?" and in their response, they claim, "Cum omni multitudine clamamus quia de fornicatione natus est..." (ch. 2.5). Neither Pilate's question nor the quoted portion of the answer is attested in LatA, but both are present in Greek.<sup>20</sup> Where did those ancient readings come from then?

One possibility is that the scribe of *Census* 268 used a second exemplar to supply the missing passages. In fact, the supplied passages correspond closely to the text of a distinct version of *EN*, first identified by Dobschütz as Latin B (LatB), whose earliest complete manuscripts date only from the eleventh century (*Census* 198, 247).<sup>21</sup> The text preserved in *Census* 268 offers, apparently, the first glimpse of that characteristic version. Another possibility is that both *Census* 268 and LatB are indebted to the same ancient but no longer extant ancestor. That *Census* 268 represents the source of LatB is less likely because the latter contains a number of archaic features in agreement with Vp and the Greek texts, which are absent from *Census* 268.

LatB is a complex tradition, with evidence of extensive and repeated revisions. However, since it does share portions of the text with LatA, especially in the early chapters, they must have descended, ultimately, from a common archetype, or must have otherwise come in contact with each other before the period of the earliest extant manuscripts. The differences between them grew starker probably through successive revisions and/or textual mishaps. For example, in a few places, the surviving context indicates that LatA has lost a portion of the text that is still preserved in LatB. In the account of three rabbis from Galilee (ch. 14.2), LatA omits a fragment of the dialogue and has the rabbis reply twice in succession ("Respondentes dixerunt: Uiuit dominus.... Respondentes tres uiri dixerunt: Si uerba...")<sup>22</sup> even though they have nothing to respond to the second time; the challenge that provoked their second response—a question about the reason for their coming to Jerusalem, which was, most likely, present in the ancestor of LatA—is preserved in LatB.

Exactly when or how the original split between LatA and LatB occurred is not known. Divergent texts must have already existed in the late fifth century, for even Vp shows signs of rewriting. The split may have been prompted by a revision of a Vp-like version, perhaps even before it acquired the *DI*, against a Greek text that was different from the one that had been used by the original translator. The evidence, although at present not overwhelming, is suggestive. For example, in ch. 1.6, when Pilate orders that the Jews choose their own strong men to hold the standards, he addresses "seniores plebis" in LatA; in LatB he speaks to "sacerdotibus populi." These are two different renditions, one secular and one religious, of the Greek πρεσβύτερος, which may have resulted from two independent translations. In the same chapter, the Jewish strong men are set "ante conspectum praesidis" (ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἡγεμόνος) in LatA, as in the majority of Greek witnesses, but "ante tribunal presidis" in LatB, with the word "tribunal" corresponding to ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βήματος τοῦ ἡγεμόνος of Greek manuscripts J, B, and C.

### LatB1 and LatB2

LatB is not a homogenous tradition: it falls into two major subfamilies, LatB1, attested in four complete manuscripts, and LatB2, attested in at least twelve. The two subfamilies differ in a number of ways, including traces of different Greek antecedents. For instance, in the episode mentioned above, in which the three rabbis from Galilee are being interrogated (ch. 14.2), B1 and B2 differ substantially, the interrogators making a shorter inquiry in the former and a longer one in the latter.<sup>23</sup> Both have counterparts in Greek, B1 in version χ (manuscripts N, A, M, and

20 In fact, Kim, *The Gospel of Nicodemus*, p. 18, reconstructed the response on the basis of the Greek.

21 Ernst von Dobschütz, "Nicodemus, Gospel of," in *A Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. James Hastings (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1919), vol. 3, p. 545. Tischendorf, *Evangelia apocrypha*, p. 417-32, published only *DI* B; a complete text from *Census* 44 was edited in two unpublished dissertations, one by K. A. Smith Collett, "The Gospel of Nicodemus in Anglo-Saxon England," Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania 1981, and the other, with extensive corrections, by Rémi Gounelle, "Recherches sur le manuscrit CCCC 288 des *Acta Pilati*," Mémoire présenté pour l'obtention de la maîtrise ès lettres classiques, Université de Paris X-Nanterre 1989. For a list of manuscripts, see Izydorczyk, "The Unfamiliar *Evangelium Nicodemi*," 181, and idem, "The *Evangelium Nicodemi* in the Latin Middle Ages," in *The Medieval Gospel of Nicodemus: Texts, Intertexts, and Contexts in Western Europe*, ed. Zbigniew Izydorczyk (Tempe, AZ: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1997), p. 51, note 32.

22 Kim, *The Gospel of Nicodemus*, p. 30.

23 LatB1: "Ad hoc uenistis adnuntiare nobis hæc. aut uenistis adorare deum. aut quid hunc multiloquium fecistis coram omni populo?" (*Census* 284); LatB2: "ad hoc uenistis nuntiare nobis an uenistis orationem deo dare? Dixerunt autem eis. Venimus orationem dare deo. Dicunt seniores et principes sacerdotum. et leuite ad eos. Et si rationem uenisti reddere deo. deliramento isto quid murmurastis ante omnem populum?" (*Census* 44).

O), and B2 in version φ. Similar differences, going back to different Greek models can be found in other parts of LatB as well.<sup>24</sup> Unfortunately, none of the existing Greek manuscripts matches either B1 or B2 in their entirety, and sometimes certain features of the Latin text can be paralleled only from the Eastern versions.

In general, Latin B2 shows more traces of revision and editorial activity. Firstly, it seems to be aware of B1 variants but “corrects” them with new readings. For example, in Latin B1, the mountain from which Jesus ascended is called “Malech” (or some similar name), whereas B2 gives three names: “in monte oliueti qui uocatur mambre. alii uocant eum amalech” (*Census* 44; “Mambre” is also the reading of Vp). The doublet, or rather triplet, of LatB2 has no counterparts in Greek or Eastern versions, and is most likely editorial. Secondly, LatB1 gives a more complete version of the apocryphon than LatB2. All LatB manuscripts have lost the Prologue present in Latin A but preserve a portion of the Preface of Ananias. In B2, however, that Preface is introduced with a lead sentence that suggests a revision in a monastic environment: “Audustis fratres karissimi que acta sunt sub pontio pilato presidi temporibus tiberii cesaris” (*Census* 44). In consequence of the same (?) revision, some B2 manuscripts have several extensive and deliberate omissions, most notably in the trial section (ch. 2.3 - 4.5), where a long stretch of text is laconically elided with “Quid multa? omnia iam nota sunt uobis a sancto euuangelio” (*Census* 44).<sup>25</sup>

Finally, LatB2 concludes with a rewritten and re-configured version of the *Descensus Christi ad inferos* (DI B). In DI B, Leucius and Carinus write essentially the same story as in A, but their narrative is rearranged (e.g., it begins with the arguing among the devils rather than with the prophecies of the patriarchs as in DI A) and some episodes are eliminated (e.g., the meeting with Enoch and Elijah in paradise). There are also numerous lexical and stylistic differences between the two forms of the DI.

DI B is usually found as part of LatB2. LatB1, in contrast, appears hesitant about it. One of its manuscripts has no DI at all (*Census* 284); another (*Census* 198) attaches, rather awkwardly, a Latin sermon on the Descent, based on the homilies of pseudo-Eusebius of Alexandria and entitled by its editor *Sermo de confusione diaboli*.<sup>26</sup> Yet another manuscript (*Census* 336) combines LatB1 with a version of DI A.<sup>27</sup> This ambivalence about DI may suggest that the proto-LatB1, like the original translation, did not include an account of the catabasis. Perhaps aware that other copies of the apocryphon did have it, later scribes strained to supply it from whatever source happened to be at hand.

Which form of the DI was original, A or B? It is usually assumed that DI A is primary—and it may, indeed, be a valid assumption. DI B appears to take pains to make certain doctrinal points about the Descent quite explicit, points of which DI A appears to be less self-aware. For example, while DI A might give an impression that Christ effected universal salvation from hell by releasing also the wicked,<sup>28</sup> DI B asserts the prevalent view that Christ “partem deiecit in tartarum, partem secum reduxit ad superos” (*Census* 44). And after they finished writing, Leucius and Carinus are transfigured in DI A, implying an exaltation of their bodies, whereas in DI B they return to their graves to await the future general resurrection.<sup>29</sup> Such doctrinal correctness might suggest a later revision, one based on a careful reconsideration of the implications of the original text. Moreover, in DI B, not only Adam but also Eve pleads with Christ, but Eve is rarely mentioned in the sixth-century texts on the Descent, such as those of pseudo-Caesarius of Arles, which constitute a natural context for the DI.

## LatC

Despite numerous minor differences, most of the early manuscripts transmit essentially the same text-type, LatA. However, one ninth-century manuscript, *Census* 12, preserves a vastly different text that lies at the head of Latin tradition C (LatC), so different that in places it almost defies collation with LatA. Written in Catalonia in the second half of that century, *Census* 12 definitely is not the original redactor’s copy: it shows many corruptions, at least some of which suggest that the scribe of one of its ancestors was unfamiliar with the Visigothic script of its exemplar.<sup>30</sup> The majority of manuscripts of LatC are associated with the Iberian Peninsula, and some details, such

24 For instance, in ch. 15.5, when the leaders of the Jews arrive at Nicodemus’s place to speak to Joseph, Nicodemus leads them, according to LatB1, “in orto suo” attested in Greek version φ (A ,C, F, G; εις τὸν κήπον αὐτοῦ), and according to LatB2, “in domum suam” found in version χ (B, E, I, M, N, O; εις τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ).

25 The text resumes with an introduction to Nicodemus’ speech, “Post multas intercationes inter pilatum et iudeos surgens nichodemus...” (*Census* 44). Some subgroups of LatB2 do not exhibit all the lacunae, which they usually fill in with the text corresponding to LatB1.

26 Edward Kennard Rand, “Sermo de confusione diaboli,” *Modern Philology* 2 (1904), p. 261-78.

27 The DI in *Census* 336 is very similar to the one in *Census* 268 (BT).

28 Cf. ch. 22.1, “et omnes de nostris uinculis auferre conaris”; ch. 23.1, “et totius mundi noxios, impios et iniustos perdidisti”; Kim, *The Gospel of Nicodemus*, p. 42, 44.

29 Cf. ch. 27.3, LatA: “subito transfigurati sunt candidati nimis,” Kim, *The Gospel of Nicodemus*, p. 48; LatB: “reversi sunt ad sepultura sua” (*Census* 44).

30 See Justin Haynes, “New Perspectives on the Evangelium Nicodemi Latin C. A Consideration of the Manuscripts on the Way to a Modern Critical Edition,” *Apocrypha* 21 (2010), p. 103-12, who also lists all the manuscripts.

as the name of the Good Thief, Limas, find parallels in Spanish sources. It is possible, therefore, that this redaction originated there.<sup>31</sup>

Textually, LatC must have been derived from LatA. In *Census* 12, it is entitled *Gesta Grecorum de passione domini contra Iudaeos*, and opens with an abbreviated and somewhat confused Prologue indicating that the work was found in Pilate's archives and that it was written by Nicodemus. The first twelve chapters recount the same episodes as LatA but adding occasional details, such as the name of the cursor, "Promanus." Beginning with ch. 13, however, LatC abridges many episodes and excises others altogether. Its *DI* is considerably restructured and its conclusion does not style Pilate as the author of the entire document. In LatC, Pilate does not himself write down—as in LatA—everything he has heard, but deposits ("reposit") the accounts written down by Laucius and Carinus in his public archives.

What Pilate does write down, at least in *Census* 12, is a report on his interrogation of the Jewish leaders in their synagogue concerning Jesus Christ. That interrogation is a major original addition to *EN* by the redactor of LatC (Tischendorf's ch. 28).<sup>32</sup> In this extra episode, Pilate orders the high priests to consult their holy books; they comply and discover that Christ was indeed the long-awaited Messiah. They admit their error before Pilate but urge him to keep Christ's divine nature secret. The episode typically ends with a chronology from Adam to Christ, which demonstrates that Christ indeed came at the precise point in time defined in the scriptures and mentioned by archangel Michael to Seth (ch. 19.1). It is at the conclusion of this episode that, according to *Census* 12, Pilate actually writes down everything he has heard from the priests of the Jews in the synagogue. Later manuscripts of LatC, however, avoid ascribing to Pilate even the authorship of this final episode. The only text that they ascribe to Pilate himself is his letter to Claudius, which continues the apocryphon also in tradition C.

## Hybridization

In the later Middle Ages, the three major textual traditions, LatA, LatB, and LatC, splintered into countless smaller textual subfamilies as different scribes adapted them for their own needs and impressed on them their own sense of Latinity. Some went even further: they adopted a more text-critical approach, apparently trying to re-configure the text to the best of their skills and knowledge. They consulted two or more exemplars—and many monastic libraries had multiple copies<sup>33</sup>—to correct one text against another, to add a layer of interlinear glosses, even to cut and paste from different traditions or from different stages in the evolution of the same tradition. Such conflated texts gave rise to several hybrid forms of *EN*.

## Troyes redaction

Although LatC survives in a limited number of manuscripts, it did nonetheless leave an important legacy: a version combining LatC with LatA. This mixed version, known as the Troyes redaction (after the location of its earliest, twelfth-century manuscript, *Census* 362), is extant in some fifteen manuscripts, at least four written or owned in France, two with links to Britain, and six executed in central or eastern Europe.<sup>34</sup>

Some of the innovations of the Troyes redaction seem unique; such is, for instance, its characteristic prologue, which asserts that the Latin translation was made at the behest of emperor Theodosius. For the most part, however, it revises the narrative of Latin A, incorporating into it numerous factual details from Latin C. Those details include, for example, the name of the cursor and an allusion to the golden images of emperors crowning the standards. However, the Troyes redaction aligns itself several times with LatA against LatC in the early chapters (for example, in 1.5; 2.1; 3.1), and most of the *DI* is also A, with only one major amplification: a description of Christ's arrival in hell in the company of angels. Although none of the frequent excisions, abridgements, compressions, and rearrangements typical of *DI* C appears in the Troyes text, the latter does include Tischendorf's ch. 28, which relates the discussions between Pilate and the Jewish priests in the Temple. This chapter is absent from LatA and from all versions derived from it.

Although its manuscripts are not very numerous, this hybrid version left an extensive legacy: in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it was translated into several vernaculars, some of which continued to be printed well into the eighteenth century.<sup>35</sup>

31 Izydorczyk, "The *Evangelium Nicodemi*," p. 51-53. See also Cullen J. Chandler, "A New View of a Catalonian 'Gesta contra Iudaeos': Ripoll 106 and the Jews of the Spanish March," in *Discovery and Distinction in the Early Middle Ages: Studies in Honor of John J. Contreni*, ed. Cullen J. Chandler and Steven A. Stofferahn (Kalamazoo, MI: Western Michigan University, 2013), p.187-204.

32 Tischendorf, *Evangelia apocrypha*, p. 409-12.

33 See above, p. 19-20.

34 For manuscripts of the Troyes redaction and a semi-diplomatic edition of *Census* 362, see Zbigniew Izydorczyk and Dario Bullitta, "The Troyes Redaction of the *Evangelium Nicodemi* and Its Vernacular Legacy," in *Gnose et manichéisme. Entre les oasis d'Égypte et la Route de la Soie. Hommage à Jean-Daniel Dubois*, ed. A. Van den Kerchove and L. G. Soares Santoprete, Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études – sciences religieuses 176 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), p. 557-603.

35 Izydorczyk and Bullitta, "The Troyes Redaction," p. 562-72, and below p. 46, 49-50.

## 2.9. Bohemian redaction

Another hybrid form of *EN*, the so-called Bohemian redaction, circulated fairly widely in central Europe and survives in ten fifteenth-century Latin manuscripts, mostly from Upper Austria, Bohemia, Moravia, and Poland.<sup>36</sup> It resulted from a fusion of Latin traditions A and B. In the early chapters, it tends to adopt the text of LatA but with occasional details drawn from LatB. By the account of Joseph of Arimathea (ch. 15), however, the redactor has mostly switched to an exemplar of LatB and relies on it throughout the narrative of the three rabbis from Galilee and the introduction of Carinus and Leucius (ch. 16-17). He reverts to the exemplar of LatA in *DI*, but, as before, supplements it with occasional passages from LatB. He concludes the text with Pilate's letter to Claudius and a short epilogue identifying Nicodemus as the author and emperor Theodosius as the discoverer of the work.

It is clear that the redactor of this hybrid version worked from two exemplars placed side by side. He read them both and then chose one or the other as the basis for his copy. The nature of his two source texts can be determined more precisely. His copy of LatB most likely belonged to the group of LatB2 manuscripts marked by a lacuna extending from ch. 2.3 to 4.5, and therefore omitting part of the discussions between Pilate and the Jews; the manuscripts of that group summarize the missing text with a single sentence, "post multas altercationes inter pilatum et iudeos..." (*Census* 44). The scribe responsible for the Bohemian redaction retained this summarizing phrase (in the form "Post multas igitur altercationes quas habuit pylatus cum iudeis..." *Census* 87), but he supplied the text missing in his LatB2 source from the other exemplar.

The character of this LatA source is more difficult to determine. A clue, however, is offered by a short epilogue at the end of the Bohemian redaction, identifying the author and the discoverer of the apocryphon. The same epilogue occurs also in eight manuscripts from France and Great Britain, dating from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries. In four of them, it follows a full text of *EN*, and in the other four it co-occurs with portions of the so-called Andrius Compilation.<sup>37</sup> The redactor's LatA exemplar may have, therefore, originated in Western Europe. This would not be surprising, since there was much intellectual traffic between Britain and central Europe in the second half of the fourteenth century, when the two regions were linked by strong religious and political ties.<sup>38</sup>

Like the Troyes redaction, the Bohemian text left an important vernacular legacy. It was translated not only into Slavic languages, such as Byelorussian and Czech, but also into German. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the German translation was printed throughout the German-speaking regions, translated into Polish, and even crossed the Atlantic to North America.<sup>39</sup>

### Echoes of a distant past

Several manuscripts from central Europe have preserved *EN* with various archaic features. For example, a copy of the Bohemian redaction made by St. Iohannes Cantius (d. 1473, canonized 1767; *Census* 129) adds—after Pilate's letter, and, therefore, out of place—a translation of the conclusion of the Greek *AP* (ch. 16.3.2 and 16.4). This conclusion was part of the Latin translation in *Vp*, but its full text disappeared when the Latin *EN* acquired *DI*.

### *Praha* group

Placed after Pilate's letter as in Cantius' copy, the original conclusion resurfaces also in a group of manuscripts—the *Praha* group—that includes *Census* 213, 299, 322 and 419a.<sup>40</sup> Although these manuscripts follow, for the most part, a typical text of LatA, with only minor changes and omissions, they transmit some passages rarely found in other LatA copies. They include, for example, Pilate's question about his judging a king, his statements about Procula's pro-Jewish sentiments, and his remark about the priests gnashing their teeth against Nicodemus, all characteristic of LatB. Moreover, at least two of the manuscripts, *Census* 299 and 419a, preserve a complete text of the Preface, highly abridged in LatB and attested in only eight other LatA manuscripts (*Census* 36, 59, 81, 83, 252, 287, 379, 384). The Preface of *Census* 299 and 419a is fairly close to *Vp*, and may be distantly related to it; in contrast, the wording in the other manuscripts is either foreshortened or altered in comparison with *Vp*. The *Praha* group appears, therefore, to have retained, or acquired, some interesting and heretofore unexplored vestiges of the early Latin apocryphon.

36 For a discussion of this version and a list of its manuscripts, see Zbigniew Izydorczyk, "The Bohemian Redaction of the *Evangelium Nicodemi*," *Studia Ceranea* 4 (2014), p. 49-64.

37 The manuscripts are listed in Izydorczyk, "The Bohemian Redaction," p. 51, note 13. On the Andrius Compilation, see E. C. Quinn, *The Penitence of Adam: A Study of the Andrius MS*, Romance Monographs 36 (1980).

38 Cf. Alfred Thomas, *A Blessed Shore: England and Bohemia from Chaucer to Shakespeare* (Cornell University Press, 2007).

39 See Zbigniew Izydorczyk and Charlotte Fillmore-Handlon, "The Modern Life of an Ancient Text: The *Gospel of Nicodemus* in Manitoba," *Apocrypha* 21 (2010), p. 113-20.

40 On Cantius' copy and the *Praha* group, see Zbigniew Izydorczyk and Wiesław Wydra, *A Gospel of Nicodemus Preserved in Poland*, CC SA, Instrumenta 2 (Turnhout: Brepols), p. 19. *Census* 419a omits the *Descensus* and the original conclusion.

### Kraków redaction

Related to the Praha group through the presence of the original conclusion of *AP*, yet in many other respects distinct from it, is a unique text preserved in two manuscripts from Kraków, *Census* 127 and 129a.<sup>41</sup> This form of *EN*, beginning with a foreshortened Prologue, is heavily abridged: some chapters are cut out completely, and it has no *DI* or Pilate's letter. The Kraków redaction is remarkable because it is the only version of the Latin *EN* to end with ch. 16.3-16.4 exactly the same way as *Vp* and the early Greek and Eastern *AP*.

Moreover, the Kraków version uses a number of what appear to be calques from Greek, such as *scema* (σχῆμα) in ch. 1.5 or *iudeisat* (ιουδαίζει) in ch. 2.1, not attested in the mainstream versions LatA, LatB, or LatC. It is impossible to know if those two terms were present in *Vp* because the relevant passages have not survived; however, given the literal nature of the original translation, they probably would not be out of place in it.<sup>42</sup> On occasion, however, the Kraków version shares wording with *Vp* and even preserves reflexes of readings (e.g., ch. 4.3, "propter blasphemiam"; cf. "de blasphemia" in *Vp*) lost in the rest of the Latin tradition. Thus, it is more likely that it has descended from the ancient Latin translation than that it was translated anew from Greek or Old Church Slavonic. In particular, its lexical agreements with *Vp*, even in rare words (e.g., 15.6, "pausauit"; cf. ἀπέπαυσε), are too numerous to be explained by accidental convergence. Most likely, the Kraków version goes back to an early *Vp*-like text that antedates the three standard versions.

### Textual scope

Scribal inattention, re-translation, hybridization, and the revival of ancient forms were not the only factors that affected the ever-changing shape of *EN*. Sometimes the apocryphon was deliberately rewritten with a specific purpose in mind. Such rewriting could involve drastic abridgement, as in the homiletic adaptation preserved in the Carolingian homiliary from Saint-Père de Chartres (*Census* 102 and Angers, Bibliothèque municipale MS 236).<sup>43</sup> Embedded in the context of reflections on the need for Redemption, *EN* merges with the preceding material smoothly, with Matthean quotations gradually transforming into the Nicodemean account of the trial before Pilate. Then the rest of *EN* follows, albeit with lots of material omitted. Another homiletic treatment, dating from the thirteenth century and of Irish provenance (*Census* 162, 168),<sup>44</sup> begins only with the story of Joseph of Arimathea and often compresses parts of the text. A fifteenth-century example is provided by the collection of *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis* by Franciscus Woitsdorf (*Census* 132, 411, 414, 124a).<sup>45</sup> It includes a highly abbreviated version, also beginning with the story of Joseph and with large portions of *DI* summarized or abridged. In both cases, the apocryphon is also given a distinctively homiletic ending.<sup>46</sup>

Other redactor-scribes amplified either the core of *EN* or its peripheries. The core text could be expanded by incorporating additional details or even entire episodes. For example, in a twelfth-century manuscript of Italian origin (*Census* 220), a fairly accurate copy of LatA, the scribe greatly amplified ch. 6, in which those healed by Jesus appear before Pilate and bear witness to the miracles. He added witnesses testifying to the miracle at Cana in Galilee and to three miracles in Capharnaum.<sup>47</sup> Another example is offered by a pair of manuscripts, one from the fourteenth century (*Census* 279) and the other from the fifteenth (*Census* 273), both interpolating accounts of the Jewish council, of Satan entering Judas, of the Last Supper, and of Jesus' arrest, before returning to the trial as typically presented in *EN*. Similarly, the twelfth-century *Census* 89 explains who Pilate was, reports Judas' betrayal, and relates how Peter denied knowing Jesus.

41 *Census* 129a has been brought to light by Marcello Piacentini, "Un importante contributo allo studio degli apocrifi. Il Vangelo di Nicodemo in Polonia: tradizione latina e traduzione polacca," *Studi Slavistici* 8 (2011), p. 195-201. For a discussion of the Kraków version and a semi-diplomatic edition of *Census* 127, see Izydorczyk and Wydra, *A Gospel of Nicodemus*, p. 20-25, 44-97.

42 The only known manuscript to include both these terms, in addition to *Census* 127 and 129a, is *Census* 391.

43 Another manuscript of the same homiliary is *Census* 52, but it contains an unabridged copy of the *Evangelium*. The Angers manuscript was not included in the *Census* but will be assigned siglum 5a; see Raymond Étaix, "L'homélaire carolingien d'Angers," *Revue Bénédictine* 104 (1994), p. 148-90.

44 Edited from *Census* 162 by David J. G. Lewis, ed., "A Short Latin Gospel of Nicodemus Written in Ireland," *Peritia* 5 (1986), p. 262-75.

45 On 124a, see Ignacy Polkowski, *Katalog rękopisów kapitulnych katedry wawelskiej*, pt 1: *Kodexa rękopiśmienne 1-228* (Kraków: Fr. Kluczyński, 1884), p. 104-6.

46 On these homiletic adaptations of *EN*, see Zbigniew Izydorczyk, "Preaching Nicodemus's Gospel," in *Medieval Sermons and Society: Cloister, City, University*, ed. Jacqueline Hamesse, Beverly M. Kienzle, Debra L. Stoudt et al. (Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales, 1998), p. 9-24.

47 This amplification found its way into early modern printings of *EN*; see Izydorczyk, "The Unfamiliar *Evangelium Nicodemi*," and idem "The Earliest Printed Versions of the *Evangelium Nicodemi* and Their Manuscript Sources," *Apocrypha* 21 (2010), p. 129-30.

The scope of the *EN* fluctuated also through the expansion of its peripheral boundaries. In fact, the *EN* as it was typically known in the Middle Ages came into being only after the Latin translation of *AP* was expanded through the addition of *DI*.

### *Epistola Pilati*

Probably as common and as old as *DI* is the *Epistola Pilati ad Claudium (EP)*, found in a vast majority of *EN* manuscripts.<sup>48</sup> Its presence in all three major traditions, LatA, LatB, and LatC, suggests that it was attracted to *EN* at an early date, during the period from which no manuscripts survive. *EP* is written in Pilate's own voice and addressed to Claudius (in some late manuscripts to Tiberius). It briefly reports—from a perspective sympathetic to Jesus—the events that took place in Jerusalem, invokes the prophecies about the Messiah, blames the Jews for the Crucifixion, and reveals that Pilate believed in Christ's divine origin and Resurrection. *EP* appears fully integrated and anchored in *EN* with a single transitional sentence. Occasionally, *EP* is marked with a marginal rubric or title (e.g., in *Census* 17, 28, or 38), but more typically it is not visually set off from the main body of the apocryphon. In fact, colophons marking the end of *EN* are usually placed after *EP*, reinforcing the impression that, in the eyes of the scribes, the latter fully belonged to the apocryphon. However, at least one detail in the body of the letter appears to clash with the corresponding passage in *EN*. The letter states that the guards who reported the Resurrection “cum accepissent pecunias, tacere ueritatem non potuerunt quod factum est sed de sepulchro resurrexisse testificati sunt”; *EN* 13.4, however, clearly suggests that they said what they had been instructed to say by the Jews (“dixerunt ut a Iudaeis moniti sunt, et diffamatus est omnibus sermo illorum”).<sup>49</sup>

Its credibility supported by Tertullian's and Eusebius's allusions to Pilate's reports to Rome, *EP* circulated also as part of other compilations. It was incorporated, for instance, into the Latin and Greek versions of the *Passio sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli*, ch. 19–21 (the so-called Marcellus text), possibly antedating the sixth century;<sup>50</sup> into the *Cura sanitatis Tiberii* before the eighth (see below); into many chronicles in the later Middle Ages;<sup>51</sup> and into epistolary collections of the Renaissance.

### *Cura sanitatis Tiberii*

Another text often absorbed into *EN* was the so-called *Cura sanitatis Tiberii (CST)*,<sup>52</sup> a rapid, not always cohesive compilation, narrating the mission of Volusianus to Jerusalem, dispatched by emperor Tiberius to find the healer Jesus, who might cure him from his affliction. Volusianus learns about Jesus' death, incarcerates Pilate, and returns to Rome with Veronica and her image of Christ. The emperor venerates the image, is healed, and dies less than a year later. The focus then abruptly changes to Peter and Paul, Simon Magus, and Nero. The emperor learns about Jesus and summons Pilate from exile; to refute Simon's mendacious claims, the apostles tell Nero to read Pilate's letter; Nero reads it, and Peter confirms its truthfulness. The text ends with the deaths of Pilate and Nero. *CST* thus offers a completely different perspective on Pilate than the one emerging from *EP*: it shows Pilate as a villain rather than as Jesus' sympathizer. It also styles Tiberius as an imperial convert to Christianity and a defender of Christ.

Since *CST* borrows details from *EN* (the characters of Veronica, Joseph of Arimathea, the righteous Jews) and incorporates the entire *EP*, it is no doubt later than both of them. It probably originated between the fifth and the late eighth centuries, that is, between the date of the Latin translation of *AP*, and the date of its own earliest manuscripts.<sup>53</sup> It was originally composed as an independent piece, and, to some extent, retained its independence

48 On *EP*, see Jean-Daniel Dubois and Rémi Gounelle, “Lettre de Pilate à l'Empereur Claude,” in *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens*, vol. 2, ed. Pierre Geoltrain and Jean-Daniel Kaestli, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 2005), p. 357-63; and Izydorczyk, “The *Evangelium Nicodemi*,” p. 55-57.

49 Kim, *The Gospel of Nicodemus*, p. 29 et 50.

50 Richard Adalbert Lipsius and Maximilien Bonnet, *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, pt 1 (1891; repr., Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1959), p. 134-39, 196-97; cf. Matthew C. Baldwin, *Whose Acts of Peter?* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), p. 108-10.

51 E.g., Matthew of Paris, *Matthæi Parisiensis, monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica majora*, vol. 1: *The Creation to A.D. 1066*, ed. Henry Richards Luard, *Rer. Brit. M. A. Script.* 57 (London: Longman, 1872), p. 95-96; cf. Johann Carl Thilo, ed., *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, vol. 1 (Lipsiae: Sumptibus Frid. Christ. Guilielmi Vogel, 1832), p. 796-97.

52 Studied and edited by Ernst von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder. Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlicher Literatur 18, N.F. 3 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1899), p. 209-14, 157\*\*–203\*\*. More recently, *CST* has been discussed by Rémi Gounelle, “Les origines littéraires de la légende de Véronique et de la Sainte Face: La *Cura sanitatis Tiberii* et la *Vindicta Salvatoris*,” in *Sacre impronte e oggetti «non fatti da mano d'uomo» nelle religioni*, ed. A. Monaci Castagno (Turin: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2011), p. 232-37, and Zbigniew Izydorczyk, “The *Cura sanitatis Tiberii* a Century after Ernst von Dobschütz,” in *The European Fortune of the Roman Veronica in the Middle Ages*, ed. Amanda Murphy, Herbert L. Kessler et al., *Convivium. Supplementum* 2017 (Brno: Université de Lausanne and the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Masaryk University, 2017), p. 33-49. Cf. also Izydorczyk, “The *Evangelium Nicodemi*,” p. 57-59.

53 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France MS lat. 2034 (late 8th c.), and Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare Felianiana MS 490 (late 8th or early 9th c.).

throughout the Middle Ages.<sup>54</sup> However, already in the ninth and tenth centuries, it began to appear contiguous to *EN*. From the eleventh century onwards, it often lost its title and became fused with the preceding text, usually *EP*. A connecting sentence (“Hanc [i.e., epistolam] Pilatus Claudio direxit...”) suppressed its own independent identity and subordinated it to the larger apocryphon.<sup>55</sup> The fusion was completed by colophons placed after *CST* but announcing the conclusion of *EN* (e.g., *Census* 26, 57, 169). Such expanded *EN*, incorporating *EP* and *CST*, was used as a model for the *editio princeps* issued in 1473 by an Augsburg printer, Günther Zainer. Although he divided the text into three sections, he clearly viewed it as a single work.<sup>56</sup>

### *Somnium Neronis*

Perhaps even more closely associated with *EN* was another piece compiled from heterogeneous sources, the so-called *Somnium Neronis* (*SN*).<sup>57</sup> It is found attached to the apocryphon from the tenth century onwards (e.g., *Census* 179, 268). Like *CST*, it relates an exchange between Nero and Peter, in which Peter attests to the truth of Pilate’s report on Jesus. After the “gesta salvatoris” have been recited, Nero’s palace collapses, and Nero sees the bleeding Christ, who alludes to Pilate’s letter and instructs Nero to have Vespasian avenge his death. The rest of *SN* recounts the destruction of Jerusalem, and includes a discursive anti-Jewish treatise, buttressed with numerous quotations from the Old Latin translation of the Bible, demonstrating that the downfall of Jerusalem had been foretold by the prophets and that Christ, the “lapis angularis,” marks an end of the old observances of the synagogue.

While the first section of *SN* invokes *EN* (“gesta salvatoris”) and is closely tied to *EP* (“Cumque haec [i.e., epistolae Pilati] Claudius suscepisset...”), the long scriptural treatise is only tangentially relevant to the preceding narrative. This must have also been the impression of at least some scribes who retained only Nero’s vision (e.g., *Census* 40, 139) and/or the destruction of Jerusalem (e.g., *Census* 60, 155); of those who started copying the rest of the treatise, only a few reached the end, most stopping at various points in the dissertation (e.g., *Census* 52, 73, 173). In contrast to *EP* and *CST*, *SN* does not seem to have had an independent existence apart from *EN*<sup>58</sup> but is always subsumed by the apocryphon, which might suggest that it was conceived specifically as its continuation. The colophons and closing statements, whenever they appear after *SN*, invariably refer to the broader narrative of *EN* (e.g., *Census* 1, 179, 268, 294).

### *Minor appendices*

Besides *DI*, the three appendices mentioned above—*EP*, *CST*, and *SN*—represent the earliest and most widely attested expansions of *EN*. Later scribes continued to graft additional texts onto *EN* and to stretch its boundaries, but the circulation of those newer amplifications was more limited. Typically, they are of quasi-historical character. *De Veronilla*, for example, is textually related to *CST* and tells the story of Veronica’s image of Christ; it is found together with *EN* in four manuscripts. In its oldest manuscript dating to the twelfth century, *Census* 351,<sup>59</sup> it stands adjacent to *EN* but is announced with its own title; in the other three (*Census* 18, 95, 307), it continues without a break the preceding narrative<sup>60</sup> and ends with colophons explicitly announcing the conclusion of *EN*.

In several thirteenth- to fifteenth-century manuscripts, *EN* ends with an epilogue, which also serves as a transition to a series of other pieces loosely associated with the apocryphon, dealing with the Roman emperors and the destruction of Jerusalem.<sup>61</sup> In *Census* 53, this hugely expanded compilation includes, in addition to *EN*, an account of the healing of Tiberius, notes on other emperors, the destruction of Jerusalem, a legend of the cross, and a story of Judas.<sup>62</sup> The last three sections have titles of their own so they were not fully absorbed into the apocryphon, but the compilation was transmitted as an entity (with some omissions and rearrangements) for close to two centuries.

54 Edited by Dobschütz as version A.

55 Edited by Dobschütz as version B.

56 Reprinted but with modern mise-en-page by Achim Masser and Max Silber, eds, *Das Evangelium Nicodemi in spätmittelalterlicher deutscher Prosa. Texte*, Germanische Bibliothek, 4th Series, Texte und Kommentar (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1987), p. 448–67.

57 Edited by Ernst von Dobschütz, “A Collection of Old Latin Bible Quotations: *Somnium Neronis*,” *Journal of Theological Studies* 16 (1915), p. 1–27. Cf. also Izydorczyk, “The *Evangelium Nicodemi*,” p. 61–62.

58 In three manuscripts, Cambridge, St. John’s College, MS K.23 (MRJ 229) (early 12th c.); Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 320 (12th c.); and London, British Library, MS. Royal 10 A. VIII (13th c.), the *Somnium* occurs in conjunction with *EP* only.

59 Edited by Hans Ferd. Massmann, *Der keiser und der kunige buoch oder die sogenannte Kaiserchronik, Gedicht des zwölften Jahrhunderts*, pt. 3 (Quedlinburg: G. Basse, 1854), p. 579–80, 605–6; cf. also Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, p. 278\*; Izydorczyk, “The *Evangelium Nicodemi*,” p. 62–63; and Gounelle, “Les origines littéraires,” p. 236.

60 In at least two of them, *Census* 95 and 307, it is directly attached to a piece on the death of the two Herods, which is in turn fused with *EN*.

61 See Izydorczyk, “The *Evangelium Nicodemi*,” p. 64–67.

62 The last two pieces have been printed by E. M. Thompson, “Apocryphal Legends,” *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 37 (1881), p. 241–43.

### *Vindicta Salvatoris*

Other texts, too, kept close company with *EN* but without becoming part of it. Perhaps the most important of those is the *Vindicta Slavatoris* (*VS*), attested in manuscripts of *EN* since the ninth century (*Census* 334).<sup>63</sup> *VS* combines two narratives of miraculous healings. First, it relates how Titus, a ruler in Aquitaine, is cured after he has learnt about Jesus from Nathan, a Jewish emissary to Rome; and how, in gratitude, Titus besieges and destroys Jerusalem, where Jesus was crucified. The second narrative, drawn from *CST*, retells the mission of Volusianus, the condemnation of Pilate, and the healing of Tiberius. *VS* co-occurs with *EN* in over twenty manuscripts but never develops the same attachment to it as, for example, *CST*: not infrequently, it is contiguous with the apocryphon of the Passion (e.g. *Census* 4, 14, 44, 51, etc.), but it tends to retain its independence, visually marked by a title, a large initial, or white space. However, the fact that the two were often copied together suggests that *VS* was perceived as a companion piece to *EN*, a kind of sequel or appendix to it.

### *Prefaces*

The textual boundaries of *EN* could be stretched not only by its various continuations or appendices but also by prefaces. We have already alluded to the sporadic resurgence of the Preface of Ananias in a small group of LatA manuscripts.<sup>64</sup> In a different group, the main body of the apocryphon is introduced with excerpts from ps.-Augustine and Gregory of Tours, which were probably viewed as patristic recommendations for *EN*.<sup>65</sup>

The two passages are found at the head of *EN*, typically before the title, in several British codices of the twelfth century and later (e.g., *Census* 44, 46, 50, 72, etc.). The first, extracted from Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum*, ch. 1.21, is concerned with Joseph of Arimathea and mentions the “gesta Pilati ad imperatorem missa.”<sup>66</sup> The second, taken from the sermons of Eusebius “Gallicanus” “De Pascha I” and “De Pascha IA,”<sup>67</sup> which formed part of the pseudo-Augustinian *Sermo 160*, describes the terror of the denizens of hell at Christ’s Descent and resembles *EN* ch. 22. Although not fully merged with the apocryphon, the two extracts function as introductions to *Gesta Pilati* and *DI*, respectively, while at the same time guaranteeing the apocryphon’s veracity and doctrinal correctness.

### **Conclusion**

Published editions may give an impression that the medieval *EN* was a fixed, stable, clearly delimited work. However, its 450 or so extant manuscripts suggest otherwise: from the moment it entered Latin Christendom, it seems to have been in a constant state of flux. Its style, form, and scope fluctuated as much as its title. The original Passion-Resurrection narrative as preserved in *Vp* was polished, corrected against Greek copies, revised, abridged, and amplified many times over the centuries, its non-canonical character and status as a translation inviting such editorial interventions. It was easily transformed into homilies and chronicles, cut and pasted into hagiographic and encyclopedic compilations. So much so that the opinion of what exactly constituted or counted as the *Evangelium Nicodemi* varied somewhat from place to place and from century to century. Was Tischendorf’s ch. 28 really part of it? Was the *Cura sanitatis Tiberii*? Was the *Somnium Neronis*? Different scribes would, no doubt, have answered differently. The apocryphon had no single authorial or authoritative text or form, but was being shaped simultaneously in many different places and to many different effects.

63 Edited by Tischendorf, *Evangelia apocrypha*, p. 471-86. For a recent discussion, see Gounelle, “Les origines littéraires,” p. 237-51.

64 See above, p. 27.

65 Printed from *Census* 228 by David C. Fowler, “The Middle English Gospel of Nicodemus in Winchester MS. 33,” *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s., 19 (1988), p. 79-81. Cf. Izydorczyk, “The *Evangelium Nicodemi*,” p. 67-68.

66 Cf. above, p. 17.

67 Eusebius “Gallicanus,” *Collectio homiliarum*, vol. 1, p. 141-50; cf. vol. 2, p. 881-86.





## A New Edition of the *Evangelium Nicodemi*: Some Working Assumptions

The Latin *Evangelium Nicodemi* (*EN*) has a long print history, extending back to the age of incunabula (Günther Zainer, Augsburg, ca. 1473). In the nineteenth century, Johann Carl Thilo and Constantin von Tischendorf produced its first critical editions;<sup>1</sup> however, since both scholars worked from a very limited manuscript base, both editions are highly eclectic and neither reconstruct the original form of the apocryphon nor adequately represent its culturally most salient texts.<sup>2</sup> At the turn of the twentieth century, Ernst von Dobschütz recognized the extent and diverse character of *EN*'s manuscript attestation, but he never completed his own edition.<sup>3</sup> Thus, although several single-manuscript, semi-diplomatic editions appeared in the last hundred years or so,<sup>4</sup> Thilo's and especially Tischendorf's editions remain the standard scholarly reference texts.

The reasons why they have not yet been replaced are probably connected with the nature of *EN* as a textual entity. It does not sit well with the assumptions or lend itself easily to the procedures traditionally employed in preparation of critical editions.<sup>5</sup> In fact, it challenges them on several counts.

### Challenges posed by *EN*

First of all, *EN* is not a native Latin composition but a fifth-century translation of the Greek *Acts of Pilate*. Although, theoretically, knowing the Greek model should resolve many editorial issues, all Greek manuscripts are approximately seven centuries later than the earliest Latin witness, and they are far removed from the original Greek apocryphon.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, there is evidence that the apocryphon was changing already at the time of the Latin translation,<sup>7</sup> if not before, and the process accelerated during the Byzantine period. Hence, the extant Greek texts are far removed from the exemplar used by the original Latin translator and can offer only limited assistance. The same holds true for translations into other early Christian languages (Coptic, Syriac, Armenian, Georgian), especially since they were made from different Greek source-texts than the Latin translation.

Second, the original Latin translator remains anonymous, and it is not known exactly where or in what socio-religious context he worked. The oldest Latin manuscript, the Vienna palimpsest (Vp), has been tentatively

1 Johann Carl Thilo, ed., *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, vol. 1 (Lipsiae: Sumptibus Frid. Christ. Guilielmi Vogel, 1832), p. 490-800; Constantin von Tischendorf, *Evangelia apocrypha adhibitis plurimis codicibus Graecis et Latinis maximam partem nunc primum consultis atque ineditorum copia insignibus*, 2nd ed. (Lipsiae: J. C. Hinrichs, 1876), p. 333-434.

2 For a brief critique of those editions, see Zbigniew Izidorczyk, "The Unfamiliar *Evangelium Nicodemi*," *Manuscripta* 33 (1989), p. 169-91.

3 Cf. Ernst von Dobschütz, "Nicodemus, Gospel of," in *A Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. James Hastings (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1919), vol. 3, p. 545. Some of his papers, including his 1931 report that mentions his work on the *Evangelium Nicodemi*, are now deposited at the Bibliothèque cantonale et universitaire in Lausanne.

4 For example, David J. G. Lewis, "A Short Latin Gospel of Nicodemus Written in Ireland," *Peritia* 5 (1986), p. 262-75; H. C. Kim, *The Gospel of Nicodemus: Gesta Salvatoris*, Toronto Medieval Latin Texts 2 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1973); J. E. Cross, ed., *Two Old English Apocrypha and Their Manuscript Source: "The Gospel of Nicodemus" and "The Avenging of the Saviour"*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 19 (Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 248-92; Zbigniew Izidorczyk and Wiesław Wydra, *A Gospel of Nicodemus Preserved in Poland*, CCSA, Instrumenta 2 (Turnhout: Brepols); and Zbigniew Izidorczyk and Dario Bullitta, "The Troyes Redaction of the *Evangelium Nicodemi* and Its Vernacular Legacy," in *Gnose et manichéisme. Entre les oasis d'Égypte et la Route de la Soie. Hommage à Jean-Daniel Dubois*, ed. A. Van den Kerchove and L. G. Soares Santoprete, Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études – sciences religieuses 176 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), p. 557-603.

5 Cf. Paul Maas, *Textual Criticism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958).

6 Vienna palimpsest (Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek MS 563) has been dated to the fifth century; cf. Myriam Despineux, "Une Version latine palimpseste du v<sup>e</sup> siècle de l'Évangile de Nicodème (Vienne, ÖNB MS 563)," *Scriptorium* 42 (1988), p. 176-83. The earliest Greek witness belongs to the twelfth; cf. Christiane Furrer, "La recension grecque ancienne des *Actes de Pilate*," *Apocrypha* 21 (2010), p. 11-30.

7 See Christiane Furrer and Christophe Guignard, "Titre et prologue des *Actes de Pilate*: nouvelle lecture à partir d'une reconstitution d'un état ancien du texte," *Apocrypha* 24 (2013), p. 139-206.

localized to northern Italy,<sup>8</sup> but this does not necessarily mean that the translation was carried out there; the palimpsest is not an autograph but a copy, possibly at several removes from the autograph.

Third, the original Latin translation may have been partially retranslated and was extensively revised between the fifth and the ninth centuries, the period from which no manuscripts have survived. It appears that the Latin text was compared against a different Greek version than the one used by the original translator, and the various translation layers were eventually merged. The text was also doubled in length through the addition of the *Descensus ad inferos*, *Epistola Pilati*, and other extensions absent from the Greek models. The work of the original translator was thus transformed into a collectively expanded compilation.

Fourth, *EN* was translated and repeatedly (?) revised at the time when classical linguistic norms were under constant pressure from spoken registers. It was most likely conceived not as a work of literature but as a document that might inspire the believers, the majority of whom were ordinary folk. Vp suggests that the translation was neither elegant nor literary; rather, it was a literal rendering of the Greek source-text, to the point of preserving aspects of Greek syntax and vocabulary. The Latinity of the early copies was apparently polished and improved by later Carolingian scribes.

Fifth, the process of comparing, correcting, and completing *EN*, begun between the fifth and the ninth centuries, did not cease in the early Middle Ages but continued throughout the period. The apocryphon's texts were constantly in motion. Ample evidence of scribal editorial activity can be found, for example, in manuscripts of version LatB1, which originally probably did not include the *Descensus*. Their scribes, aware that other versions did have an account of the Harrowing of Hell, searched out and appended whatever accounts were available: *Census* 198<sup>9</sup> appends the *Sermo de confusione diaboli*,<sup>10</sup> and *Census* 336 adds *Descensus* LatA. Other medieval redactors transferred both individual readings and entire passages from one version of *EN* to another, creating hybrid entities, such as the Troyes and Bohemian redactions.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, the apocryphon's boundaries fluctuated over time, first through the addition of the *Descensus* and the *Epistola Pilati*, and later through the incorporation of the *Cura sanitatis Tiberii*,<sup>12</sup> *Somnium Neronis*,<sup>13</sup> or other texts.<sup>14</sup>

And sixth, the ubiquity of manuscripts of *EN*, housed in dozens of libraries throughout Europe, has long posed a serious logistic challenge to any prospective editor.

In short, the question has been how to go about editing a Latin translation of an unstable Greek work when we know very little about the translator and his milieu; when the original Latin translation was drastically altered by subsequent translators, redactors, and scribes, few of whom cared about the norms of classical Latin; and when that process of transformation continued throughout the Middle Ages and is evident in the profusion of manuscript witnesses.

## Mapping out the texts

Answers to this question started to emerge in the course of preparatory work on a new edition of *EN*, undertaken under the auspices of the Association pour l'étude de la littérature apocryphe chrétienne (AELAC). The project began by addressing the last-named challenge: coming to terms with the apocryphon's vast yet poorly documented manuscript tradition. A systematic survey of library and archive catalogues in Europe and North America, conducted in the late 1980s and early 1990s, revealed over 420 extant medieval copies of *EN*.<sup>15</sup> In the last two decades, that number has gone up to approximately 450.

The traditional approach to determining the nature and filiation of texts preserved in those manuscripts would have involved detailed comparisons of their full collations. However, the sheer number of witnesses precluded not only full but even partial collation of all texts. The adopted solution sacrificed exhaustiveness for the sake of efficiency. Only passages preselected from the beginning, middle, and end of the text were collated, and only from approximately 20% of all witnesses. The preselected passages included also all fragments preserved in Vp. Among the collated witnesses were all pre-twelfth-century manuscripts and a selection of later ones with various configurations of prologues, epilogues, and extensions, and copied in various geographical regions. These collations made it possible to establish a list of approximately one hundred sites in the text where significant variation tended

8 Cf. Despineux, "Une Version latine palimpseste," p. 179.

9 All manuscripts mentioned in this essay will be identified by their number in Zbigniew Izydorczyk, *Manuscripts of the "Evangelium Nicodemi": A Census*, *Subsidia Mediaevalia* 21 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1993).

10 Edward Kennard Rand, "Sermo de confusione diaboli," *Modern Philology* 2 (1904), p. 261-78.

11 See above, p. 26-27.

12 Edited by Ernst von Dobschütz in his *Christusbilder. Untersuchungen zur christlicher Legende*, *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlicher Literatur* 18, N.F. 3 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1899), p. 163\*-90\*\*.

13 Edited by Ernst von Dobschütz, "A Collection of Old Latin Bible Quotations: *Somnium Neronis*," *Journal of Theological Studies* 16 (1915), p. 1-27.

14 See above, p. 29-30.

15 Published as *Manuscripts of the "Evangelium Nicodemi": A Census*.

to occur, and an inventory of significant variants (that is, variants unlikely to have arisen independently of one another in different manuscripts) for each site. Finally, the same sites in additional manuscripts were checked against the inventory to identify which variants the manuscripts supported; if a manuscript exhibited a new variant, it was added to the inventory and made available when checking further manuscripts. The data on variants in each manuscript were coded and entered into a database, which provided input for statistical (phylogenetic) analysis adapted from the field of evolutionary biology. The analysis was conducted in two ways, originally using the phylogenetic software package PAUP<sup>16</sup> and later exploiting the facilities provided by the website Stemmanator.org,<sup>17</sup> with both producing comparable results.

The reconstructions of the relationships among the pre-twelfth-century manuscripts produced by phylogenetic analysis confirmed the existence of three major directions of textual change, crystalizing into three text-types: LatA, LatB, and LatC. Assuming Vp as an ancestor, the analysis suggested the existence of two different types of LatB, LatB1 and LatB2, derived from exemplars sharing a number of Vp-like features, not preserved in LatA. LatB1 differs from Latin B2 in that it contains a higher number of features in common with LatA, absent from LatB2. Hence, the two LatB types probably descended from two different textual states but more closely related to each other than to LatA. LatC is more closely associated with LatA and probably arose from an early state of the latter.

The above summary requires two caveats. First, the analysis of LatB was based primarily on the portion of *EN* that corresponds to the Greek *Acts of Pilate*, that is, excluding the *Descensus*. The *Descensus* in LatB2 is clearly related to that in LatA and, in fact, appears to be its adaptation; if that is the case, then LatB2 is a hybrid, combining two states in the evolution of the text, an early one with many features of Vp and a later one with the *Descensus*. LatB1, in contrast, although based on a textual state closer to LatA, does not appear to have originally included the *Descensus*.<sup>18</sup>

The second caveat pertains to the relationship between textual states and chronology. For LatB2 to have emerged from an earlier textual state than LatA does not mean that it antedates the emergence of LatA. Manuscripts preserving early texts often circulated side by side with those preserving more evolved texts, and sixth and seventh-century copies of *EN* were certainly available in the ninth and tenth centuries, and probably even later.

Phylogenetic analysis also revealed some relationships within each textual family. Thus, already the ninth- and tenth-century manuscripts preserve two types of LatA, designated as RR and BT in reference to the consulship mentioned in the Prologue (“Rufi et Rubellionis” or “Bassi et Tarquilionis”). The former type was by far more productive: it was reproduced more often and became the basis for more rewritings than the latter. LatB1 in its pure form is attested in only four manuscripts (*Census* 177a and 198; *Census* 284 and 336). LatB2, attested in at least twelve manuscripts, comprises three—and possibly four—sub-types, characterized by excisions, double readings, and textual idiosyncrasies. The oldest manuscript of LatC (*Census* 12) patterns with two others (*Census* 262, 264), while those remaining form two pairs (*Census* 177 and 257; *Census* 141 and 291). The overall picture becomes much more complex when late medieval manuscripts are included in the analysis because the frequent practice of correcting and conflating different texts produced a number of hybrid versions (such as, for instance, Bohemian and Troyes redactions).

## Prospective edition

The highly diverse character of *EN*'s textual tradition, revealed by the search for its medieval copies and their analysis, prompts the question about the kind of edition that would best represent the apocryphon as it existed and functioned for over a millennium. Reconstructing a text based on Vp with the help of Greek and Eastern versions as well as later Latin manuscripts would make for a fascinating philological exercise; however, it would also be highly hypothetical and speculative and, ultimately, would probably reveal more about the editors' perceptions of early Christianity than about the apocryphon, its textual history, and its impact on popular religious culture.

An alternative approach to editing *EN* would be to accept as a fundamental editorial assumption that the apocryphon, as it existed in late antiquity and in the Middle Ages, was not a product of a single individual authorial or translatorial intention but a work continuously and collectively recreated by redactors and scribes. Each successive copy was an accumulation of all rewritings that renewed and sustained it. When successive redactors altered the wording, amplified, or conflated different versions, they did not seek to reconstitute the authorial text but to achieve a text best suited to their purpose and audience. The early Christian and medieval *EN* was thus inherently dynamic and diachronic. It was not until it was transferred into print that those two dimensions were largely suppressed and replaced by the conception of a singular and stable work.

16 D. L. Swofford, *PAUP\*. Phylogenetic Analysis Using Parsimony (\*and other methods)* (Sunderland, MA, Sinauer Associates, 2001).

17 The website is a collaboration between Zbigniew Izydorczyk, University of Winnipeg, and Mitchell Newberry, Plotkin Research Group in Mathematical Biology, University of Pennsylvania.

18 See above, p. 24-25.

The medium of print is poorly suited to representing a work that from the moment it entered Latin, and most likely even before, was always in the process of becoming, was itself always a process. If one accepts the premise that *EN* is constituted by its progressive, diachronic variations, continually interacting with one another, then one is forced to conclude that a single, critically established printed text cannot adequately represent it. As long as the new edition needs to be confined to print, the best—if still imperfect—solution seems to be producing not one but a series of edited texts that capture the most salient points in the apocryphon’s textual continuum. Each salient text should then be accompanied by a positive critical apparatus that would allow for full reconstitution of its representative witnesses. This approach would still miss many features of many minor versions, but it would at least convey something of the range and dynamic quality of *EN*’s unceasing compositional process.

The edition of *EN* currently under way will, therefore, encompass the three different textual types that provided the bases for the majority of its medieval rewritings, that is, types LatA, LatB, and LatC. Each of them poses a different set of editorial issues: LatA by virtue of its large number of manuscripts, LatB because of its textual duality, and LatC because of the nature of its revisions and its Latinity.

In order to provide a perspective on LatA—which survives as hundreds of texts, generally similar yet often divergent in lexical, syntactic, or narrative detail—the edition will present the dominant text that emerges from the ninth-century witnesses, from which the rest of the LatA tradition descended. The apparatus will record variants from all pre-twelfth-century and a selection of later texts that represent major medieval rewritings based in LatA, and it will include major amplifications and accretions of those texts. Since LatA ultimately evolved from a Vp-like text, the readings from the palimpsest will be signalled in the apparatus, as will be those from a handful of outlying central European manuscripts that contain reflexes of the palimpsest lost elsewhere in the Latin tradition. The apparatus will be as central to the edition as the edited text, and its importance will need to be emphasized by page layout and typographic means.

LatB and LatC survive in more limited numbers of manuscripts, hence their editions will contend with different sorts of issues. LatB is comprised of two text-types, similar in some respects but diverging in their relationships to Vp and LatA; they also differ in their *Descensus* sections, with LatB1 probably missing it originally and LatB2 using an extensively revised version of *Descensus* LatA. It appears, therefore, that the prospective edition will have to account for both text-types, presenting them either fully or partially side by side, with the apparatus recording the details of later medieval rewritings. As in the edition of LatA, variants from Vp will be signalled in the apparatus.

The surviving witnesses of LatC suggest that the exemplar from which this tradition originated “had an especially corrupt text, which contained many illogical statements and confusing grammar, due, no doubt, to rather hasty abridgements of a much fuller source.”<sup>19</sup> A new edition will thus have to tease out a text in many respects imperfect because it was this faulty text that inspired later attempts to improve the grammar and sense of the work as it was received. Those subsequent improvements will all be recorded in the apparatus, together with variants from Vp and the closest LatA version.

The new edition of *EN* will, therefore, attempt to capture the apocryphon as a collective work-in-constant-progress, always in textual motion. Although focused on the three main states of the text, it will open up the entire tradition through its positive apparatus that will offer insights into their key medieval rewritings and transformations.

<sup>19</sup> Justin Haynes, “New Perspectives on the *Evangelium Nicodemi* Latin C. A Consideration of the Manuscripts on the Way to a Modern Critical Edition,” *Apocrypha* 21 (2010), p. 111.

Zbigniew IZYDORCZYK

## The *Evangelium Nicodemi* in Medieval Religious Milieu

### Apocryphicity and semi-canonicity

The wide diffusion of the *Evangelium Nicodemi* (*EN*), especially in the later Middle Ages, testifies to its hold on medieval religious imagination. Its scribes and readers were well aware of its apocryphal character: in manuscripts, *EN* was often placed in the company of other non-canonical, apocryphal works. Several of its manuscripts contain only or mostly apocrypha (e.g., *Census* 15, 180, 252, etc.),<sup>1</sup> but even in manuscripts with mixed contents, it frequently accompanies such texts as Pseudo-Matthew and other infancy narratives (e.g., *Census* 22, 28, 34, 41, etc.), *Liber Methodii* (e.g., *Census* 244, 277, 401, etc.), *Transitus Mariae* (e.g., *Census* 117, 134, 138, etc.), *Visio Pauli* (e.g., *Census* 178, 247, 313, etc.), *Vita Adae et Evae* (*Census* 21, 319, 333, etc.), or the apocryphal correspondence of Jesus and Lentulus (e.g., *Census* 59, 66, 67, etc.).

Occasionally, scribes or readers explicitly labeled *EN* as apocryphal, and such inscriptions can be found already in the earliest manuscripts. In *Census* 133, a ninth-century hand (possibly of one of Martin Hibernensis' successors) inserted a note at the top of f. 2r, just above the title, drawing attention to the apocryphal character of *EN*. It states that the book should not be accepted and implies that it was condemned in the *Decretum pseudo-Gelasianum*. Although no such explicit condemnation can be found in the published text of the *Decretum*,<sup>2</sup> similar warnings occur in other manuscripts as well, such as the twelfth-century *Census* 89, which bluntly states, in the top margin on f. 2r, that *EN* is believed to be apocryphal.<sup>3</sup> Interestingly, in the later Middle Ages, such warnings sometimes gave way to apologetic statements emphasizing that *EN* was authored by Nicodemus, who was an eyewitness of the proceedings against Jesus, and in effect defending the apocryphon (e.g., *Census* 131, 190).

The respect for *EN* suggested by such apologetic notes is most apparent in its occasional inclusion in purely biblical manuscripts, whose scribes appear to confer on it semi-canonical authority. In the late fourteenth-century *Census* 157, one of the giant Bible manuscripts,<sup>4</sup> *EN* is treated like a fifth gospel: it is inserted after the four gospels and before the Epistles, Acts, and Apocalypse. It lacks the visual decoration of the canonical texts, but its placement suggests that, for the scribe, it was almost-



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- 1 All manuscripts mentioned in this essay will be identified by their number in Zbigniew Izydorczyk, *Manuscripts of the "Evangelium Nicodemi": A Census*, Subsidia Mediaevalia 21 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1993).
- 2 Cf. Ernst von Dobschütz, ed., *Das Decretum Gelasianum de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis*, Texte und Untersuchungen 38.3 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1912).
- 3 Cf. also *Census* 95, 265, 405, 419a.
- 4 Sylvia Wright, "The Big Bible Royal 1 E IX in the British Library and Manuscript Illumination in London in the Early Fifteenth Century," Doctoral Dissertation, University of London, 1986, unpublished. The manuscript has been digitized and is available online at [http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Royal\\_MS\\_1\\_e\\_ix](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Royal_MS_1_e_ix).

canonical. In several other, mostly fifteenth-century manuscripts, *EN* can be found adjacent to the canonical Scriptures (e.g., *Census* 33, 190, 206) or in close proximity to them (e.g., *Census* 85, 202).

The majority of late medieval readers were probably aware of *EN*'s apocryphal character, but apocryphicity often meant for them uncertain authorship and did not necessarily undermine its value as a historical or devotional text.<sup>5</sup> They probably saw in it an independent, historical account of the central events of salvation. Its historicity seemed supported by its common early medieval title (*Gesta Salvatoris*, sometimes used side-by-side with the newer one, *Evangelium Nicodemi*) alluding to emperor Theodosius and Pilate's archives, by the prologue dating the Passion and referring to the rulers of Rome and Galilee, and by the appendices relating to the emperors of Rome, which often formed part of the apocryphon. Its scribes and readers must have seen it, if not a true gospel, then as true history – and such perception allayed fears of unorthodoxy and aroused, if not always enthusiasm, then at least heightened interest.

## Reasons for longevity

The air of authority that surrounded *EN* may be one of the reasons for its longevity and continued appeal. Other factors that may have contributed to its staying power include its piety-inspiring content and its dialogic, dramatic style. *EN* offered its pious readers plenty to strengthen their faith: a new miracle showing the submission of the highest earthly power to Christ (the bowing of the standards), a new Christophany (Joseph of Arimathea), an eyewitness account of the Ascension, new saints directly involved in Christ's Passion (Veronica, Longinus, Dismas), and a powerful illustration of the credal formula "descendit ad inferna," all of them reinforcing the messages of the canonical gospels and showing in graphic, almost tangible, terms what it meant to be saved.

This piety-inspiring content was conveyed in simple and accessible, perhaps even rudimentary, language. The plot emerges neither from description of action, nor from verbal narration, but from direct dialogic discourse, often highly dramatic and almost theatrical. The story unfolds through a quick succession of dialogues among the participants in the drama: the Jewish accusers, Pilate, the cursor, Jesus, the twelve righteous Jews, Nicodemus, the guards of the sepulchre, the three rabbi from Galilee, and so on. Even the stories within the main story, such as Joseph of Arimathea's account of his deliverance from prison, and Leucius's and Carinus's accounts of the Harrowing of Hell, are full of dialogues. The speeches range from accusations to confrontations, from harangues to recriminations, from pronouncements to praises and recitations. Brisk tempo, variety of speech acts, dramatic irony (the audience never doubts the outcome of all the strife), all give the apocryphon a highly effective dialogic texture.

## *Speculum historiale* and *Legenda aurea*

Through most of its long history in Western Europe, *EN* enjoyed considerable popularity and left many traces in historical, theological, catechetical, liturgical, devotional, dramatic and literary discourses. Its influence spread not only directly through one of its complete Latin texts or vernacular translations, but also through its various abridged versions, and especially through two extremely popular Dominican compilations, Vincent de Beauvais's *Speculum historiale* (completed before 1260) and Jacobus a Voragine's *Legenda aurea* (before 1267). The former includes, in the context of a universal chronicle, an account of the Passion, Resurrection, and the Harrowing of Hell, drawn largely from *EN*. The trial sections (ch. 40-41) partly quote and partly paraphrase *EN*, while the stories of Joseph of Arimathea and of Christ's Descent (ch. 56-63) absorb verbatim most of its ch. 12.2-27, with only sporadic abridgements.<sup>6</sup>

The somewhat later *Legenda aurea* (*LA*) was perhaps the most influential hagiographical collection of the Middle Ages. Jacobus draws extensively on apocryphal sources and refers to *EN* on several occasions. He quotes the exchange between Pilate and Christ concerning truth (*EN* ch. 3.2; *LA* ch. 51); mentions Joseph's imprisonment (*EN* ch. 12; *LA* ch. 52 and 63); and recounts Seth's account of his journey to paradise (*EN* ch. 19.1; *LA* ch. 64). Above all, he gives a summary of the pseudo-Augustinian *Sermo 160*, and then almost the entire *Descensus Christi ad inferos* (*DI*, i.e., *EN* ch. 18-27, *LA* ch. 52), with only occasional omissions.<sup>7</sup> Although it contained less of *EN* than the *Speculum*, the *Legenda* was more widely disseminated, and thus played a greater role in the popularization of *EN*; in fact, Jacobus' slightly shortened *DI* often circulated as an independent text.<sup>8</sup> The two compilations were

5 Cf., for example, Bernaldus Presbyter Constantiensis, *De excommunicatis vitandis, de reconciliatione lapsorum et de fontibus iuris ecclesiastici*, ed. Fridericus Thaner, in *Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum saeculis XI. et XII. conscripti*, vol. 2, MGH (Hannover: Impensis Bibliopoli Hahniani, 1892), p. 124.

6 *Speculum historiale* (1624; repr., Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1965), p. 236, 238, 242-44.

7 *Legenda aurea*, ed. Giovanni Paolo Maggioni (Firenze: SISMELE Ed. del Galluzzo, 1998), vol. 1, p. 339, 363-69, 457, 459.

8 E.g., Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. II.1.2.163 (15th c.); Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS Theol. lat. qu. 57 (15th c.); Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashm. 1289 (early 14th c.); and so on.

copied in hundreds, if not thousands, of manuscripts,<sup>9</sup> and rendered into most European languages. They not only disseminated the apocryphal narrative but also contributed to the widespread adoption of the title *Evangelium Nicodemi*.

## Chronicles

Since *EN* was often considered an eyewitness account of the sacred events, it was highly appreciated by medieval historians, such as Adémar de Chabannes (d. 1034), who copied it himself (*Census* 263).<sup>10</sup> The author of the fourteenth-century *Eulogium (historiarum sive temporis)* incorporated it wholesale into his work.<sup>11</sup> John of Glastonbury (fl. ca. 1400) adapted ch. 12-15 of *EN* in his chronicle of the Glastonbury foundation.<sup>12</sup> Without quoting *EN in extenso*, other writers borrowed episodes and details from *EN*, most often the accusations against Jesus before Pilate, the exchange concerning truth, Pilate's wife's dream, Joseph's Christophany, and Christ's Descent into Hell. Albertus Miliolus (13th c., Italy), for example, invokes *EN* to correct the claims that Joseph of Arimathea remained imprisoned for decades.<sup>13</sup> Vernacular chroniclers, such as the Catalan author of the universal chronicle *Lo Gènesi* or the German chroniclers Heinrich von München and Jacob Twinger, were also well aware of *EN* and used it extensively.<sup>14</sup>

## Theology

Although not a theological tract, *EN* was also of interest to theologians, several of whom copied or owned it. For example, Martin Hibernensis (d. 875), the first master of the school of Laon annotated his copy (*Census* 133), which later passed on to his successors. Johannes Cantius (d. 1473), a doctor of theology in Cracow, made a copy for his own use (*Census* 129), and Gabriel Biel (d. 1495) inscribed an ownership note in a manuscript he used (*Census* 91). Readers such as these confirm that the apocryphon attracted not only idle curiosity but also some serious theological thought.

In fact, *EN* may have influenced theological discourse in a number of subtle ways. It reinforced the credal formula about Christ's Descent into Hell with a graphic, dramatic, almost tangible illustration of the event. By implying that the infernal space consisted of different regions (the abode of the patriarchs and prophets, and the abyss), it may have contributed to the ideas about the infernal topography and purgatory.<sup>15</sup> Some theologians, such as Albert the Great (d. 1280) and Thomas of Chobham (early 13th c.), quoted it in support of the notion of bodily resurrection at the time of Christ's Resurrection (cf. Mt 27:52-53) and at the end of times.<sup>16</sup> *EN* popularized the

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- 9 On the manuscripts of the *Speculum historiale*, see M.-C. Duchenne, Gregory G. Guzman, and J. B. Voorbij, "Une Liste des manuscrits du *Speculum historiale* de Vincent de Beauvais," *Scriptorium* 41 (1987), p. 286-94; Claudine A. Chavannes-Mazel, "The *Miroir Historial* of Jean Le Bon: The Leiden Manuscript and Its Related Copies," Ph.D. dissertation, Leiden University, 1988, Appendix A, p. 179-82; and "Manuscripts of the *Speculum Historiale*" on Vincent de Beauvais Website, <http://www.vincentiusbelvacensis.eu/mss/mssSH.html>. On the manuscripts of the *Legenda aurea*, see Barbara Fleith, *Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der lateinischen Legenda Aurea*, *Studia Hagiographica* 72 (Bruxelles: Société de Bollandistes, 1991).
  - 10 Richard Landes, "A Libellus from St. Martial of Limoges Written in the Time of Ademar of Chabannes (998-1034)," *Scriptorium* 37 (1983), p. 190 n. 48, and 204.
  - 11 Frank Scott Haydon, ed., *Eulogium (historiarum sive temporis): Chronicon ab orbe condito usque ad annum Domini M. CCC. LXVI a monacho quodam Malmesburiensi exaratum*, vol. 1, *Rer. Brit. M. A. Script.* 9 (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1858), p. 92-141.
  - 12 John of Glastonbury, *The Chronicle of Glastonbury Abbey: An Edition, Translation and Study of John of Glastonbury's "Cronica sive Antiquitates Glastoniensis Ecclesie"*, ed. James P. Carley, trans. David Townsend (Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1985), 46. In *Census* 147, 163, 164, 240, 265, and 276, *EN* co-occurs with Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae*; see Julia C. Crick, *Dissemination and Reception in the Later Middle Ages*, *The Historia Regum Britanniae* of Geoffrey of Monmouth 4 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1991), p. 21, 34, 42, 45-46, 60, and idem, *A Summary Catalogue of Manuscripts*, *The Historia Regum Britanniae* of Geoffrey of Monmouth 3 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1989), p. 272.
  - 13 Albertus Miliolus, *Cronica imperatorum*, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores* 31 (1903), cap. 10, p. 593 (available on eMGH).
  - 14 Cf. Josep Izquierdo, "The Gospel of Nicodemus in Medieval Catalan and Occitan Literatures," in *The Medieval Gospel of Nicodemus: Texts, Intertexts, and Contexts in Western Europe*, ed. Zbigniew Izydorzyc (Tempe, AZ: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1997), p. 156-57; Werner J. Hoffmann, "The Gospel of Nicodemus in High German Literature of the Middle Ages," in *The Medieval Gospel of Nicodemus*, p. 302, 325-26.
  - 15 Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 44-45.
  - 16 Albert the Great, *De resurrectione*, Tract. 2, Q. 4, ad 2; Q. 5, ad 5, ed. Wilhelmus Kübel, in *Sancti doctoris ecclesiae Alberti Magni... Opera omnia*, vol. 26 (Münster in Westfalen: Aschendorff, 1958), p. 262-63. Thomas of Chobham, *Summa de arte praedicandi*, ed. Franco Morenzoni, *CC CM* 82 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1988), p. 110.



idea of Joseph of Arimathea's Christophany, adopted apparently from *EN* already by Gregory of Tours and later disseminated by the widely circulating *Elucidarium*.<sup>17</sup>

## Devotion

The apocryphon acquired special significance with the shift in the practice of devotion towards the contemplation of and empathy with Christ's humanity. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Passion narratives began to exploit a wider range of extrabiblical sources in search for more detailed emotive material. They quickly discovered that *EN* had plenty concrete details that could enhance compassion and devotional experience: from names for the otherwise nameless characters, to awe-inspiring miracles, to images of deliverance from longing and suffering. Not surprisingly, *EN* is often accompanied in manuscripts by such texts as *Planctus Mariae* (beg. "Quis dabit..."), probably by Olgerius of Tridino, and the *Dialogus beatae Mariae et Anselmi de passione domini*,<sup>18</sup> which encouraged affective meditation of Christ's suffering manhood and compassion with the Blessed Virgin Mary. It also permeated two key works of the affective devotion movement, the *Meditationes vitae Christi* by pseudo-Bonaventure and the equally influential *Vita Jesu Christi* by Ludolph of Saxony, both of which integrated some of its apocryphal details.<sup>19</sup> The former borrows from *EN* the name of Longinus (ch. 80), has the patriarchs and prophets meet Enoch and Elijah in the terrestrial paradise (ch. 85), and reports Joseph's Christophany, explicitly alluding to the apocryphon (ch. 89, 96).<sup>20</sup> The latter excerpts liberally from the *Meditationes*, including the passages with echoes of *EN*, but also includes its own, unique allusions to the apocryphon relating to the question about truth (pt. 2, ch. 61.11), Pilate's sentence against Jesus (pt. 2, ch. 62.27), and Joseph's incarceration (pt. 2, ch. 75).<sup>21</sup>

*EN* may have also spurred and enhanced the devotion to Nicodemus, Joseph of Arimathea, Veronica, Longinus, and Dismas.<sup>22</sup> To the last three, it gave names and thereby conferred on them personal identities. It made them thinkable in concrete human terms as Veronica, the woman with the issue of blood (cf. Mt 9:20-22; Mk 5:25-29; and Lk 8:43-44); Longinus, the soldier who pierced Christ's side (Jn 19:34); and Dismas, the Good Thief.

## Liturgy

Present in personal devotional practices, *EN*'s was bound to affect also certain forms of communal worship, although its interactions with liturgical texts and ceremonies are more elusive and more difficult to establish. Some liturgical rituals, such as the dedication of the church or the Palm Sunday processions, which evoke Christ's Descent into Hell,<sup>23</sup> may have arisen independently of *EN* but in subsequent centuries owed their vitality to the apocryphon. Some elaborate paschal celebrations, such as the Latin Easter play from Klosterneuburg, or the dramatic "elevatio crucis" from Barking and Bamberg,<sup>24</sup> echoed the themes of *EN* (e.g., the antiphonal recitation of Ps 23, the use of the antiphon "Cum rex gloriae," etc.), while at the same time legitimizing the apocryphon.<sup>25</sup>

## Homiletic literature

The link between *EN* and preaching offers perhaps the best evidence of the apocryphon's impact on public worship. The apocryphon is often found embedded in collections of sermons, making it easily available to preachers (e.g., in *Census* 130, 131, 143, 225, 247). Occasionally, homilists adapted it in its entirety, or used one of its thematic

17 Yves Lefèvre, ed., *L'Elucidarium et les lucidaires* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1954), p. 391. On Gregory of Tours, see above, p. 14, 17.

18 C. William Marx, "The *Quis dabit* of Oglerius of Tridino, Monk and Abbot of Locedio," *Journal of Medieval Latin* 4 (1994), p. 118-29; Oskar Schade, *Interrogatio sancti Anselmi de passione domini* (Königsberg: Typis academicis Dalkowskianis, 1870), and PL 159: 271-90. *EN* co-occurs with the *Planctus* and/or *Dialogus*, for example, in *Census* 2, 18, 24, 53, 61, 63, 65, and others.

19 *Meditationes vitae Christi*, in S. R. E. Cardinalis S. Bonaventurae... *Opera omnia*, ed. A. C. Peltier, vol. 12 (Paris: L. Vivès, 1868), p. 509-630; Ludolph of Saxony, *Vita Jesu Christi*, ed. L. M. Rigollot, vol. 4 (Paris: Victor Palmé, 1878).

20 *Meditationes*, p. 608, 613, 619, 623.

21 Ludolph of Saxony, *Vita*, p. 58, 84, 169-70, 205.

22 On those saints, see David Hugh Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

23 Cf. Michel Andrieu, *Les "Ordines Romani" du haut Moyen Âge*, vol. 4: *Les Textes (suite)* ("Ordines" XXXV-XLIX) (Louvain: "Specilegium Sacrum Lovaniense," 1956), p. 339-49; Alexander of Villa Dei, *Ecclesiale*, ed. L. R. Lind (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1958), vv. 603-22.

24 Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church* (1933; repr., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), vol. 1, p. 164-66, 172-75, 425; Karl W. Ch. Schmidt, *Die Darstellung von Christi Höllenfahrt in den deutschen und der ihnen verwandten Spielen des Mittelalters* (Marburg: H. Bauer, 1915), p. 24-25.

25 Cf. also the influence of *EN* on vernacular liturgies, such as the Perugian *lauda*; see Amilcare A. Iannucci, "The Gospel of Nicodemus in Medieval Italian Literature: A Preliminary Assessment," in *The Medieval Gospel of Nicodemus*, p. 178-84.

sections, or quarried it for colourful details.<sup>26</sup> In one Carolingian homiliary, preserved in *Census* 102, *EN* is placed in the context of salvation history: it begins with a brief account of the Creation and the Fall of humankind, and ends with the Last Judgment.<sup>27</sup> Other homilists, such as for example, Franciscus Woitsdorf (d. 1463) or Bruno Segniensis (d. 1123), employed only portions of *EN*. Woitsdorf places the story of Joseph of Arimathea (*EN* 12-17) among his *Sermones de tempore*, preserved in at least three manuscripts (*Census* 132, 411, 414); Bruno Segniensis, in contrast, uses *DI* and focuses on the Harrowing of Hell.<sup>28</sup>

Collections of exempla intended for preachers also occasionally mention *EN*. Stephanus de Borbone (d. 1261), for example, invokes it in his *De dono timoris et de dono scientie* to offer an alternative account of the liberation of Joseph of Arimathea.<sup>29</sup> *EN* also appears in a beautifully illustrated vernacular collection of biblical stories, saints' lives, and exempla called *Ci nous dit*, preserved at Musée Condé at Chantilly (MS 26-27).<sup>30</sup> The manuscript includes two miniatures relating to the contents of *EN*, the deliverance of Joseph of Arimathea and the two narrators of the Harrowing of Hell, Leucius and Carinus.

### Vernacular literature<sup>31</sup>

The pervasive influence of *EN* was not confined, of course, to the Latin culture. The apocryphon was translated into most vernaculars, as were the works that adapted it or absorbed themes or details from it, such as the *Speculum historiale*, *Legenda aurea*, *Meditationes*, and *Vita Jesu Christi*. Furthermore, there was a vast range of vernacular compositions that drew inspiration, narrative motifs, or details directly from Latin originals or from their renderings into local dialects. Those native compositions included not only preacherly texts, such as *Ci nous dit*, but also Passion narratives of various kinds, lives of Jesus, chronicles, dramatic *laude*, Passion plays, even secular romances – a body of texts too varied and extensive to summarize here. It is precisely through this vernacular appropriation that *EN* continued to exert its influence, if in a less ostensible manner, long after the close of the Middle Ages. Many details that originated in the apocryphon, such as the name of Pilate's wife or Jesus' answer to the question "what is truth?" became part of the general store of religious knowledge, available even to those who had not actually read the *EN*.

### Visual arts

A work so prominent for so long, so influential throughout the Middle Ages, could not but leave a mark on visual arts as well. It is, indeed, tempting to view it, and especially *DI*, as an inspiration for the countless representations of the Harrowing of Hell. However, since Christ's Descent into Hell was treated also in many other textual sources, sometimes equally dramatic as *EN* (e.g., in the sermons of ps.-Eusebius Gallicanus and Caesarius of Arles, or in the *Sermo de confusione diaboli*), and since many elements of the Harrowing quickly became *loci communes*, it is difficult to prove a direct link between a particular image and the apocryphon. Manuscripts of *EN* did not offer any specific models for visual representation of the Harrowing of Hell or other episodes. Rather surprisingly, only one of approximately four hundred and fifty Latin manuscripts of *EN* is extensively illustrated, *Census* 173, but even there, the miniature showing the Harrowing includes no features drawn specifically from the text. I do not want to imply that such images do not exist: a drawing in a Milan manuscript, illustrating an excerpt from the *Legenda aurea*, clearly shows the devils arguing among themselves, while another drawing shows the devils trying to repel Jesus.<sup>32</sup> However, it seems that *DI* encouraged the conception rather than specific iconographic details of medieval visualizations of the Harrowing.

Only one Latin manuscript of *EN*, *Census* 173, preserves an extended series of illustrations that relate to the text that surrounds them.<sup>33</sup> Executed in Italy in the late 13th or early 14th c., the miniatures show the cursor spreading

26 See Zbigniew Izydorczyk, "Preaching Nicodemus's Gospel," in *Medieval Sermons and Society: Cloister, City, University*, ed. Jacqueline Hamesse, Beverly M. Kienzle, Debra L. Stoldt et al. (Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales, 1998), p. 9-24.

27 The same form of *EN* is found also in Angers, Bibliothèque municipale MS 236 (siglum 5a); see Raymond Étaix, "L'homélie carolingienne d'Angers," *Revue Bénédictine* 104 (1994), p. 148-90.

28 Bruno Segniensis, "In die resurrectionis," in *Maxima bibliotheca veterum patrum*, vol. 6 (Lyon: Apud Anissonios, 1677), 754.

29 For mentions of *EN* in other collections, see M.-A. Polo de Beaulieu, "Les apocryphes dans le recueils d'exempla: traces, réécritures et diffusion," *Apocrypha* 24 (2013), p. 9-56.

30 Christian Heck, *Le Ci nous dit. L'image médiévale et la culture des laïcs au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Les enluminures du manuscrit de Chantilly* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), p. 286-87.

31 On vernacular translations, see below p. 43-50.

32 *Evangelica Historia. Manoscritto L. 58. Sup. della Biblioteca Ambrosiana*, introduction Bernhard Degenhart and Annegrit Schmitt, transcriptions and translations Angelo Paredi (Electa Editrice, 1978), ff 58r-59r, p. 233-35.

33 Adalbert Erbach von Fuersternau, "L'Evangelo di Nicodemo," *Archivio storico dell'arte* 2, no. 3 (1896), 225-37. A digital reproduction of the manuscript is available at <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000012663&page=1>.

his handkerchief before Jesus, the miracle of the standards, the cursor before Christ and Procula speaking to Pilate, the crucifixion, and the Resurrection. The miracle of Joseph of Arimathea is shown through two illustrations, followed by the women at the sepulchre, the Harrowing of Hell, and the Good Thief entering the paradise and meeting Enoch and Elijah.

In contrast to the Latin tradition, which, with a few exceptions, is devoid of illustrations, manuscripts of French and German translations of *EN* frequently contain miniatures illustrating the text.<sup>34</sup> Images clearly inspired by *EN* can also be found in manuscripts of story-book Bibles (*Historienbibeln*), such as the German *Die Neue Ee*.<sup>35</sup> There, one can find drawings and images of the cursor spreading his kerchief before Jesus, the standards bowing before Jesus, Procula relating her dream to Pilate, Joseph of Arimathea in prison, and Christ's appearance to Joseph in prison.

This breathless, cursory survey of *EN*'s impact on medieval religion and culture does not do justice to its true scope, much of which still needs to be elucidated. And the apocryphon's influence did not wane with the Middle Ages. *EN* continued to be read well into the early modern period, and even today has retained its power to attract believers and artists alike. In 2003, at a special gala performance at the Cathedral in Poznań, Poland, the *Gospel of Nicodemus* was read out as part of the Paschal Triptych, its individual sections interwoven with performances of Mozart's violin concerto.<sup>36</sup> And in North America, Hollis Thomas's 90-minute oratorio *Passion* (2007) for soloists and chamber ensemble, based on the Gospel of John, the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, and medieval and renaissance poetry depicting the suffering and death of our Lord through the eyes of Nicodemus, received its world premiere in Annapolis, Maryland (Bach Concert Series, March 27, 2011).<sup>37</sup> *EN* continues to influence European culture, as it has for a millennium and a half.

34 For example, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 6260 (cf. Richard O'Gorman, "The *Gospel of Nicodemus* in the Vernacular Literature of Medieval France," in *The Medieval Gospel of Nicodemus*, p. 107); Schaffhausen, Stadtbibliothek MS Generalia 8, and Colmar, Bibliothèque de la ville MS 306 (cf. Hoffmann, "The *Gospel of Nicodemus*," p. 306, 311). A digital reproduction of the Schaffhausen manuscript is available at <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/sbs/0008>; and that of the Colmar manuscript at [http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?mode=ecran&panier=false&reproductionId=1932&VUE\\_ID=534928&carouselThere=false&nbVignettes=4x3&page=18&angle=0&zoom=petit&tailleReelle=](http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?mode=ecran&panier=false&reproductionId=1932&VUE_ID=534928&carouselThere=false&nbVignettes=4x3&page=18&angle=0&zoom=petit&tailleReelle=).

35 For example, in New York Public Library, MS Spencer 102 (cf. Jonathan J. G. Alexander et al., *The Splendor of the World: Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts at the New York Public Library* [New York: The New York Public Library / Harvey Miller Publishers, 2006], p. 116-24).

36 *Tryptyk Paschalny / Apokryfy o Męce i Zmartwychwstaniu / czyta Andrzej Seweryn*, Verba Sacra, Modlitwy Katedr Polskich, 2003; see [http://www.verbasacra.pl/archiwum/\\_tryptykpoz.htm](http://www.verbasacra.pl/archiwum/_tryptykpoz.htm).

37 Described on Hollis Thomas's website, <http://www.hollisthoms.com/Musical-Compositions.html>.

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## Revised in Translation: Vernacular Legacies of the *Evangelium Nicodemi*

A Latin translation of the Greek *Acts of Pilate* (*AP*), usually referred to as the *Evangelium Nicodemi* (*EN*), was available in Italy already in the late fifth century, as evidenced by the Vienna palimpsest.<sup>1</sup> With Latin as an ecclesiastical *lingua franca* of Europe, its copies spread across the continent during the millennium that followed, reaching as far as Scandinavia and the British Isles. As it expanded throughout Europe, its text was inflected in countless ways, resulting in a plethora of major (LatA, LatB, LatC) and minor, often hybridized, versions. Its manifold incarnations inspired, from the eleventh century onwards, a host of vernacular translations and adaptations that, in many cases, continued to reshape their divergent Latin sources. Various re-contextualized in the intensely religious climate of the later Middle Ages, those vernacular *Gospels of Nicodemus* (*GsN*) not only gained full respectability and acceptance but eventually displaced their Latin antecedents. In the end, it is those late medieval vernacular versions that ensured the apocryphon's survival in the West as a lively and living work in the age of print.

The history of *AP* is inextricably connected with translation. Its anonymous Greek author claims in the Prologue, which originally may have been part of its title, that Nicodemus composed it in Hebrew; and the Preface, which may have been added at some later point, identifies one Aeneas as the Greek translator.<sup>2</sup> Translation was not only part of *AP*'s fiction of origin but also part of its earliest textual tradition as, by the end of the fifth century, the work was translated into Latin, Coptic, and Armenian, and by the end of the first millennium into Georgian, Palestinian Aramaic, and Syriac as well. Certain versions of the Latin *EN* developed the fiction of origin even further, for example, by suggesting that Nicodemus wrote the apocryphon in two or even three languages (Hebrew and Greek in *Census* 86; Hebrew, Greek, and Latin in *Census* 203),<sup>3</sup> or that it was translated into Latin by St. Ambrose (*Census* 52, 54, 226) or St. Jerome (*Census* 117a), or that emperor Theodosius sponsored its translation from Hebrew into Latin (Troyes redaction). Not surprisingly, by the late Middle Ages, life began to imitate fiction as *EN* was repeatedly rendered into European vernaculars in the spirit of *translatio*, that is, not merely transferred into the linguistic codes of local speech but also reinterpreted, re-purposed, re-framed, and even re-invented.<sup>4</sup>

### The rise of vernacular translations

The first vernacular translation of *EN* in medieval Europe, the one into Old English, was carried out in the early to mid-eleventh century.<sup>5</sup> By the early sixteenth century, the Latin apocryphon had been translated about sixty times, producing vernacular *GsN* in most European languages, including Old and Middle English, High and Low German, Dutch, Old Norse, Danish, and Swedish; French, Catalan, Occitan, Portuguese, Italian, and Romanian; Irish and Welsh; Old Church Slavonic, Byelorussian, Czech, and Polish.<sup>6</sup> Their full or partial texts are extant in

1 See above, p. 21-22.

2 On the Preface and the Prologue, see Christiane Furrer and Christophe Guignard, "Titre et prologue des *Actes de Pilate*: nouvelle lecture à partir d'une reconstitution d'un état ancien du texte," *Apocrypha* 24 (2013), p. 139-206.

3 The manuscripts of *EN* will be referred to by their number in Zbigniew Izydorczyk, *Manuscripts of the "Evangelium Nicodemi": A Census*, *Subsidia Mediaevalia* 21 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1993).

4 Cf. Rita Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts* (Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 92-95.

5 Edited in *Two Old English Apocrypha and Their Manuscript Source: "The Gospel of Nicodemus" and "The Avenging of the Saviour"*, ed. James E. Cross, *Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England* 19 (Cambridge University Press, 1996).

6 For full bibliographic details, see Zbigniew Izydorczyk, "The Gospel of Nicodemus as a Medieval Bestseller," in *Every (wo)man's books of salvation / Des lectures salutaires pour tous*, ed. Florence Bourgne and Géraldine Veyseyre (Turnhout: Brepols, in preparation).

close to 300 manuscripts dating from the fourteenth to the early sixteenth centuries.<sup>7</sup> That number is just a fraction smaller than the number of manuscripts of the Latin *EN* surviving from the same period (approximately 320).<sup>8</sup> What this reveals is that, at the close of the Middle Ages, vernacular translations of *EN* were almost as likely to be copied as their Latin source-texts.

The Latin *EN* was transmitted, for the most part, anonymously. This is also true about vernacular translations in prose, only two of which have so far been associated with particular writers (John Trevisa and Dafydd Fychan).<sup>9</sup> More specific names are connected with verse translations, especially into French (André de Coutances, one Chrétien),<sup>10</sup> High German (Konrad von Heimesfurt, Gundacker von Judenburg, Heinrich von Hesler, Heinrich von München),<sup>11</sup> and Dutch (Jan van Boendale),<sup>12</sup> but with few exceptions very little is known about the people behind those names.

Most of those translations, at least until the age of print, were local in character, their circulation confined socially and geographically. Neither the Latin nor any vernacular version of *EN* was ever officially sanctioned or authorized, so no individual Latin or vernacular version gained dominance or met with general acceptance. In most cases, local translators were probably unaware of the existence of other translations, or if they were aware, they had no access to them. As a consequence, multiple translations into the same language are quite common: for example, two verse and at least six prose translations survive in Middle English; in High German, we have three in verse and at least ten in prose; in French, three in verse and at least five in prose; and so on. The numbers are approximate because research on vernacular *GsN* is still ongoing and new translations may still come to light.

In general, the earliest translations (into Old English, Irish,<sup>13</sup> and Slavonic<sup>14</sup>) were in prose; verse translations first appeared in the twelfth century (Old Norse *Niðrstigningsarsaga*)<sup>15</sup> and continued to be produced in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (e.g., Catalan *Sens e razos d'una escriptura*,<sup>16</sup> Middle English *Stanzaic Gospel of Nicodemus*,<sup>17</sup> or Danish poetic *Gospel of Nicodemus*<sup>18</sup>). However, prose became the dominant medium from the mid-fourteenth century onwards, and the majority of late medieval *GsN* are thus in prose.

## Gaining independence

Although it was known to be apocryphal—which was usually taken to mean that its authorship was uncertain<sup>19</sup>—*EN* was highly regarded, especially in the later Middle Ages. Occasionally, its vernacular translators and scribes explicitly emphasized its trustworthiness. The Old Norse *Niðrstigningsarsaga*, for instance, notes that *EN* may have been accorded less prominence than other sacred writings, but it contains nothing questionable.<sup>20</sup> The Occitan author of *Sens e razos d'una escriptura* explains that many details present in *EN* cannot be found in Matthew or John

7 This number does not include post-medieval manuscripts or manuscripts of Slavic translations from Greek, or translations of the abridged versions incorporated into the *Legenda aurea* and the *Speculum historiale*.

8 These estimates are based on my unpublished inventory of vernacular manuscripts and on the indexes to the *Census*.

9 C. William Marx, "The *Gospel of Nicodemus* in Old and Middle English," in *The Medieval Gospel of Nicodemus: Texts, Intertexts, and Contexts in Western Europe*, ed. Zbigniew Izydorczyk (Tempe, AZ: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1997), p. 247-50; David N. Klausner, "The *Gospel of Nicodemus* in the Literature of Medieval Wales," in *The Medieval Gospel of Nicodemus*, p. 406.

10 Richard O'Gorman, "The *Gospel of Nicodemus* in the Vernacular Literature of Medieval France," in *The Medieval Gospel of Nicodemus*, p. 104-5.

11 Werner J. Hoffmann, "The *Gospel of Nicodemus* in High German Literature of the Middle Ages," in *The Medieval Gospel of Nicodemus*, p. 288-304.

12 Werner J. Hoffmann, "The *Gospel of Nicodemus* in Dutch and Low German Literatures of the Middle Ages," in *The Medieval Gospel of Nicodemus*, p. 337-41.

13 Ann Dooley, "The *Gospel of Nicodemus* in Ireland," in *The Medieval Gospel of Nicodemus*, p. 374-90.

14 On the Slavic translations from Latin, see André Vaillant, *L'Évangile de Nicodème: Texte slave et texte latin* (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1968); and Zbigniew Izydorczyk, "The Bohemian Redaction of the *Evangelium Nicodemi*," *Studia Ceranea* 4 (2014), p. 49-64; cf. Francis J. Thomson, "Apocrypha Slavica: II," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 63.1 (1985), p. 79-83; and Susana Torres Prieto, "The *Acta Pilati* in Slavonic," *Apocrypha* 21 (2010), p. 94-96.

15 Dario Bullitta, *Niðrstigningsarsaga: Sources, Transmission, and Theology of the Old Norse Descent into Hell*, Old Norse-Icelandic Series (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017); cf. Kirsten Wolf, "The Influence of the *Evangelium Nicodemi* on Norse Literature: A Survey," in *The Medieval Gospel of Nicodemus*, p. 262-74.

16 Alessio Collura, "Sens e razos d'una escriptura. Edizione e studio della traduzione occitana dell'Evangelium Nicodemi," Ph.D. dissertation, Università degli Studi di Trento and Université Montpellier III—Paul-Valéry, 2012/2013; and Josep Izquierdo, "The *Gospel of Nicodemus* in Medieval Catalan and Occitan Literatures," in *The Medieval Gospel of Nicodemus*, p. 134-45. Cf. Alessio Collura, "L'Evangelium Nicodemi e le traduzioni romanze," *Ticontre. Teoria Testo Traduzione* 3 (2015), p. 29-48.

17 Marx, "The *Gospel of Nicodemus*," p. 236-39.

18 Wolf, "The Influence," p. 280-83.

19 Zbigniew Izydorczyk, "The *Evangelium Nicodemi* in the Latin Middle Ages," in *The Medieval Gospel of Nicodemus*, p. 75-83.

20 Wolf, "The Influence," p. 265.

because many things transpired in those days that were not recorded in the gospels (cf. Jn 21:25).<sup>21</sup> Other writers foreground Nicodemus's respectability (*Klosterneuburger Evangelienwerk*) or point out that he was an eyewitness to the events he described (Gundacker von Judenburg, Heinrich von Hesler, Jan van Boendale).<sup>22</sup> Boendale even contrasts Nicodemus' trustworthiness with the uncritical attitudes of his fellow poets who include many falsities in their histories.

Perhaps as a sign of respect for Nicodemus, the alleged author of *EN*, or for its contents, or for the Biblical idiom in which it was couched, some translators attempted to render it almost verbatim in their local vernaculars. This ancient method of translation, employed to translate the original Greek *AP* into Latin some nine centuries earlier, highlighted the secondary, derivative nature of the vernacularized text, presenting it as subordinate to and in the service of the original. For example, the fifteenth-century English translation in Worcester Cathedral Library MS F172 is, according to William Marx, "very literal, more like a gloss on the Latin."<sup>23</sup> Similarly, the translator of the Low German version L rendered his source, according to Werner Hoffmann, "most literally, closely adhering to the Latin word order and copying Latin syntax."<sup>24</sup> In the *Augsburger Biblehandschrift*, the translation imitates "Latin participial constructions and [retains] Latin word order."<sup>25</sup> The Byelorussian and Polish translators render into their respective vernaculars even nonsensical expressions, as if fearful to omit or alter any part of their source text.<sup>26</sup> Such translators treated the Latin text with highest respect, perhaps even reverence, and directed their efforts at making the Latin pseudo-gospel accessible with least interference on their part. They did not presume to introduce new meanings into it.

This, however, was not a majority attitude. In fact, the majority of translators exercised much more translatorial license and more control over their Latin source-text: they aimed not merely to transfer *EN* into but to remake it in their vernaculars, to revise and to adapt it, effectively divorcing it from the Latin and staging it as an independent vernacular work. They borrowed revision techniques and strategies from the Latin redactors of *EN*: they compressed the material, reorganized it, expanded it, recycled it piecemeal, even re-contextualized it altogether. One can thus easily find vernacular adaptations that focus on only one plot line of the apocryphon,<sup>27</sup> usually the story of Joseph of Arimathea (e.g., the Old Norse *Joseph of Arimathea*),<sup>28</sup> or the Descent into Hell (e.g., the second of the two Old Irish translations in the Leabhar Breac, Old Norse *Niðrstigningsarsaga*, Dutch version C),<sup>29</sup> or a combination of the two (e.g., the French translation by André de Coutances, High German prose translations F and K).<sup>30</sup> Very common was also selective omission of details deemed unnecessary or redundant, as in Dutch translation B, which skipped ch. 2, "probably on dogmatic grounds," objecting to the emphasis on the marriage of Joseph to Mary.<sup>31</sup> Nor did translators hesitate to rearrange episodes or minor details; for example, Konrad von Heimesfurt rearranges the structure and expands the dialogues; the second of the Leabhar Breac versions adds speaker designations; and John Trevisa places the episode of the standards before the trial section.<sup>32</sup> Translations could also be amplified with hagiographic details as in two manuscripts of the Irish *GN*, which include a story of Longinus regaining his sight;<sup>33</sup> or with illustrations of doctrine, as in *Niðrstigningsarsaga*, which adds images of a mousetrap and a fishhook to visualize the nature of redemption;<sup>34</sup> or with didactic inserts, as in the Middle English translation in MS Harley 149, which incorporates an account of the making of the creed.<sup>35</sup>

Sometimes the amplifications brought together, juxtaposed, or intercalated the apocryphal and the canonical texts. The short French prose version A inserts an episode of Judas returning the silver (based on Mt 27:6) into the account of the Crucifixion.<sup>36</sup> Other translators complete the apocryphal narrative with details and verses from the

21 Izquierdo, "The Gospel of Nicodemus," p. 138.

22 Hoffmann, "The Gospel of Nicodemus in High German," p. 292, 297, 307; Hoffmann, "The Gospel of Nicodemus in Dutch," p. 340-41.

23 Marx, "The Gospel of Nicodemus," p. 251.

24 Hoffmann, "The Gospel of Nicodemus in Dutch," p. 349.

25 Hoffmann, "The Gospel of Nicodemus in High German," p. 309.

26 See Izydorczyk, "The Bohemian Redaction," 51-57; Zbigniew Izydorczyk and Wiesław Wydra, *A Gospel of Nicodemus Preserved in Poland*, CC SA, Instrumenta 2 (Turnhout: Brepols), p. 95, note 6, p. 96, note 2.

27 Some of those short translations may reflect the shape of their sources, abridged already in Latin, but others were no doubt refashioned in the process of translation. See below.

28 Dario Bullitta, "The Story of Joseph of Arimathea in AM 655 XXVII 4to," *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 131 (2016), p. 1-28.

29 Ann Dooley, "The Gospel of Nicodemus in Ireland," p. 377-80; Hoffmann, "The Gospel of Nicodemus in Dutch," p. 346-47.

30 Cf. O'Gorman, "The Gospel of Nicodemus," p. 104; and Collura, "L'Evangelium Nicodemi," p. 33-34. Hoffmann, "The Gospel of Nicodemus in High German," p. 313-17.

31 Hoffmann, "The Gospel of Nicodemus in Dutch," p. 346

32 Hoffmann, "The Gospel of Nicodemus in High German," p. 289; Dooley, "The Gospel of Nicodemus in Ireland," p. 379; Marx, "The Gospel of Nicodemus," p. 248.

33 Dooley, "The Gospel of Nicodemus in Ireland," p. 382-83.

34 Bullitta, *Niðrstigningsarsaga*; Wolf, "The Influence," p. 268-70.

35 Marx, "The Gospel of Nicodemus," p. 254.

36 Lydie Lansard, "Les réécritures du récit de la mort du Christ dans quelques versions vernaculaires de l'Évangile de Nicodème," in *La mort dans la littérature française du Moyen Âge*, ed. Jean-François Kosta-Théfaine (Ressouvenances,

canonical gospels. In several High German translations, the canonical and apocryphal narratives are inextricably merged or intercalated, creating a more complete account of the Passion. Konrad von Heimsefurt inserts *GN* into the framework provided by the New Testament; High German translation E likewise embeds apocryphal text in the canonical; Heinrich von Hesler draws comparisons between *GN* and the New Testament; Gundacker von Judenburg fits fragments of *GN* around the canonical passages; and the author of the *Klosterneuburger Evangelienwerk* glosses the sacred scriptures with the apocryphal ones.<sup>37</sup> Such close association between the canonical material and *GN* demonstrates the high esteem for the latter, especially in the German-speaking regions, and complete confidence in its vernacular text.

### Assessing originality

This increasing vernacular self-confidence and creative engagement with the Latin pseudo-gospel, suggestive of a desire to rebuild and reclaim it for vernacular devotion and culture, is not always easy to demonstrate. After all, Latin scribes had been restructuring and reinventing the apocryphon for centuries, and many vernacular innovations followed the patterns long familiar to Latin scribes. The only definitive way to determine the areas of vernacular creativity would be to confront the translated text with its immediate Latin model. Unfortunately, given the singular yet perishable nature of manuscripts, this is often an impossible task, and the majority of translations can at best be linked to one of the broad subfamilies of the Latin tradition (LatA, LatB, LatC).

This does not mean, of course, that there is never any hope of identifying the exact exemplar used by a translator. In fact, several scholars did manage to pinpoint specific Latin manuscripts that represent either the translators' Latin copies or those copies' close relatives. Thus, the Old English translation was made, in all likelihood, from *Census* 334, a ninth-century manuscript copied at Saint-Bertin but later taken to Britain, where it was consulted by several Anglo-Saxon readers. A careful comparison of the Old English text with *Census* 334 reveals, for example, that it was not the Old English translator who decided to skip a large portion of the text, but rather his Latin exemplar was already missing those passages.<sup>38</sup> Similarly, it has been determined that the Byelorussian translation that combines readings of LatA and LatB must have been derived from a sister copy of *Census* 87. A close reading of one against the other reveals that the translator attempted to be so literal that he rendered into Byelorussian even errors of his Latin source-text.<sup>39</sup> Konrad von Heimesfurt modeled his *Urstende* most likely on *Census* 336, which combines *Gesta* B with *DI* A.<sup>40</sup> In cases such as these, one can establish fairly precisely the degree of creative transformation of, or translatorial license taken with, the Latin source-text. One can then safely say, for example, that it was the compiler (less likely the translator) of the Byelorussian version who was responsible for the rearrangement and redistribution of the apocryphon's thematic sections, and that it was Konrad von Heimesfurt who both abbreviated the narrative and expanded it with details from local judicial procedures.

Such precise identification of the exemplar is possible, admittedly, only in rare circumstances. More typically, all one can identify is a larger subgroup of manuscripts within the Latin tradition, which carries the text-type that stands behind a translation. For example, one fifteenth-century Czech translation is based on the Latin model preserved in the manuscripts of the Bohemian redaction.<sup>41</sup> The manuscripts of the so-called Troyes redaction served as models for several vernacular translators, including those responsible for the Catalan, French, English, Dutch, Low German, High German, Swedish, Norse, and Welsh versions; of these, only Dutch translation shows strong affinity to a particular Latin manuscript.<sup>42</sup> Hence caution needs to be exercised when evaluating the originality of medieval translations because Latin scribes could be as creative and imaginative as vernacular writers.

### Reinventions

The growing confidence in vernacularizing canonical and quasi-canonical texts also lead to reinventing and reconceiving *GN* as part of larger, usually biblical, historical, didactic, or devotional compilations. This practice was not unknown in Latin, as the abridged versions of *EN* absorbed into the *Legenda aurea*, *Speculum*

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2013), p. 180.

37 Hoffmann, "The Gospel of Nicodemus in High German," p. 289, 293, 297, 306-07, 310.

38 James E. Cross, "Saint-Omer 202 as the Source Manuscript for the Old English Texts," in *Two Old English Apocrypha*, p. 84-87.

39 Izydorczyk, "The Bohemian Redaction," p. 56.

40 Hoffmann, "The Gospel of Nicodemus in High German," p. 290.

41 Izydorczyk, "The Bohemian Redaction," p. 59-63.

42 Zbigniew Izydorczyk and Dario Bullitta, "The Troyes Redaction of the *Evangelium Nicodemi* and Its Vernacular Legacy," in *Gnose et manichéisme. Entre les oasis d'Égypte et la Route de la Soie. Hommage à Jean-Daniel Dubois*, ed. A. Van den Kerchove and L. G. Soares Santoprete, Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études – sciences religieuses 176 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), p. 576-86.

*historiale*, *Eulogium historiarum*, or homiliaries amply demonstrate.<sup>43</sup> Vernacular writers followed suit, frequently incorporating *GN* into accounts of sacred history or chronicles. For instance, in a French biblical compilation, extant in three manuscripts, *GN* replaces the New Testament accounts of the Passion, Resurrection and Ascension.<sup>44</sup> In works such as the Middle English *Cursor mundi* or Catalan *Lo Gènesi*,<sup>45</sup> the apocryphon is projected against the background of salvation history, acquiring currents of significance harder to discern in a free-standing work. However, it was through vernacular compilations on the Passion that *GN* was reimagined as a potentially powerful stimulus to affective piety. While the pseudo-Bonaventuran *Meditationes vitae Christi* and Ludolph of Saxony's *Vita Christi* allude and quote *EN*,<sup>46</sup> vernacular compositions based on them incorporate much more Nicodemean material and are often followed by *GN* itself. Thus, in a Middle English devotional sequence entitled by its editor *Liber aureus and the Gospel of Nicodemus*, portions of the trial section of *GN* are submerged in the translation of the *Meditationes*, while the rest of the apocryphon, starting with the story of Joseph, is appended at the end.<sup>47</sup> The Polish *Sprawa chędogo o męce Pana Chrystusowej*, although based on a wider range of sources, incorporates *GN* in exactly the same manner, placing a short version of the apocryphon after the Passion.<sup>48</sup> In another Passion sequence extant in both Anglo-Norman and Middle English, the *Complaint of Our Lady and the Gospel of Nicodemus*, parts of Joseph's story are embedded in a complaint of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the Descent section follows the complaint.<sup>49</sup> And the High German *Spiegel des Lidens Cristi*, a large Passion compilation based on *Vita Christi* and preserved in a richly illustrated manuscript, accommodates most of the High German translation E.<sup>50</sup> Similar vernacular treatments of *GN* can also be found in French Passion compilations.<sup>51</sup>

*GN* could sometimes be adapted in less predictable contexts, too. Although the Latin *EN* is not often found in the midst of hagiographic compilations, the Occitan *Gamaliel* merged the apocryphal story with the traditions on Gamaliel and Stephan, and in the process entirely restructured and refocused it. This work enjoyed tremendous popularity, especially in French translation (the "long" version of *GN*).<sup>52</sup> Equally unexpected is the inclusion of vernacular *GsN* in French romances. The *Livre d'Artus* and *Perceforest* used different translations of the apocryphon but in a similar manner: in both *GN* is rehearsed as an instrument of catechetical instruction.<sup>53</sup>

43 Vincent de Beauvais, *Speculum historiale* (1624; repr., Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1965); digital text is available at Vincent de Beauvais Website, <http://www.vincentsbelvacensis.eu/bibl/ed3.html%23SMp1700>. For the *Legenda aurea*, see Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, ed. Giovanni Paolo Maggioni (Firenze: SISMEL, Ed. del Galluzzo, 1998). For *Eulogium historiarum*, see Frank Scott Haydon, ed., *Eulogium (historiarum sive temporis): Chronicon ab orbe condito usque ad annum Domini M. CCC. LXVI a monacho quodam Malmesburiensi exaratum*, vol. 1, *Rer. Brit. M. A. Script.* 9 (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1858), p. 92-141. On *EN* in homiliaries, see Zbigniew Izydorczyk, "Preaching Nicodemus's Gospel," in *Medieval Sermons and Society: Cloister, City, University*, ed. Jacqueline Hamesse, Beverly M. Kienzle, Debra L. Stoldt et al. (Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales, 1998), p. 9-24.

44 Lydie Lansard, "Proximité et mise à distance du texte biblique dans la version en moyen français de l'Évangile de Nicodème," in *Textes sacrés et culture profane: de la révélation à la création*, ed. Mélanie Adda (Berne: Peter Lang, 2010), p. 27-51.

45 Richard Morris, ed., *Cursor mundi (The Cursor of the World)*, EETS OS 62 (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1876), pt. 3, p. 992-1065; cf. Marx, "The Gospel of Nicodemus," p. 233-34. Miquel Victorià Amer, *Compendi historial de la Biblia que ab lo títol de "Genesi de Scriptura" trelladà del provençal a la llengua catalana Mossen Guillem Serra en l'any M. CCCC. LI*. (Barcelona: Biblioteca Catalana, 1873); cf. Izquierdo, "The Gospel of Nicodemi," p. 152-59.

46 *Meditationes vitae Christi*, in S. R. E. Cardinalis S. Bonaventurae... *Opera omnia*, ed. A. C. Peltier, vol. 12 (Paris: L. Vivès, 1868), ch. 80, 85, 89, 96. Ludolph of Saxony, *Vita Jesu Christi*, ed. L. M. Rigollot (Paris: Victor Palmé, 1878), pt. 2, ch. 61.11, 62.27, 75.

47 William Marx, ed., *The Middle English Liber Aureus and Gospel of Nicodemus*, Middle English Texts 48 (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2013).

48 Stefan Vrtel-Wierczyński, ed., *Sprawa chędogo o męce Pana Chrystusowej i Ewangelia Nikodema* (Poznań: Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, 1933).

49 C. William Marx and Jeanne F. Drennan, eds, *The Middle English Prose Complaint of Our Lady and Gospel of Nicodemus*, Middle English Texts 19 (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 1987). Similarly, in several manuscripts, Heinrich von Hesler's translation is compiled with Brother Philipp's *Marielenleben*; see Hoffmann, "The Gospel of Nicodemus in High German," p. 302.

50 High German version E'; see Hoffmann, "The Gospel of Nicodemus in High German," p. 311-12.

51 O'Gorman, "The Gospel of Nicodemus," p. 114-15.

52 Lydie Lansard, "Adapter l'Évangile de Nicodème au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle: Tisser et métisser l'Évangile de Gamaliel et la Vengeance Nostre Seigneur," in *Éditer, traduire ou adapter les textes médiévaux*, ed. Corinne Füg-Pierreville (Lyon: C.E.D.I.C., 2009), p. 249-70. The Occitan text is printed by Peter T. Ricketts and Cyril P. Hershon, "La tradition occitane de l'Évangile de Gamaliel: Éditions et commentaire," *La France latine* 144 (2007), p. 133-327.

53 See Oskar Sommer, ed., *The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, vol. 7 (Washington: Carnegie Institution, 1916), p. 247-60; and *La treslegante... Histoire du... Roy Perceforest*, vol. 6 (Paris: Egidius Gormontius, 1531), ff. 117vb-121va (München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Rar 2221-6; urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10860889-2).



## Vernacular recycling

All such creative reframing of *GN*, whether involving the translator or a scribe, suggest that by the end of the Middle Ages, the pseudo-gospel was fully naturalized in vernacular settings: it no longer harkened back to the Latin original but had become fully woven into the vernacular literary fabric of Europe. Its vernacular versions could be further recycled within a single vernacular, or they could move across linguistic boundaries. The former practice may be illustrated by the High German version E<sup>3</sup>, which combines the loose translation E with a more faithful but otherwise undocumented translation and with a prose redaction of a portion of Heinrich von Hesler's verse translation: a single text recycling three translations. The situation is similar in Heinrich von München's *Weltchronik*, which compiles excerpts from three earlier verse translations by Konrad von Heimesfurt, Gundacker von Judenburg, and Heinrich von Hesler; the *Weltchronik*, in turn, became a source of *Die Neue Ee*, a biblical history that rendered the reflexes of earlier poetic translations into prose.<sup>54</sup>

Vernacular *GsN* moved with ease also from one vernacular or dialect to another. The Occitan *Gamaliel* was translated into Catalan, Castilian, and French; and the Catalan *Lo Gènesi* into Occitan and Italian.<sup>55</sup> Two Middle English translations (Library of Congress MS Faye-Bond 4 and British Library MS Harley 149)<sup>56</sup> were drawn from French exemplars. Dutch translation D was also available in Rhenish Franconian, its origin betrayed by a number of Middle Dutch elements in the German text. The Low German translation was copied also in Limburg and Ripuarian dialects.<sup>57</sup> By the end of the Middle Ages, vernacular *GsN* appear to have been reaching far wider audiences and inciting more literary activity than their Latin source-texts. Literacy has moved beyond Latin and so has Nicodemus' apocryphon.

## Medieval users

By the end of the Middle Ages, vernacular *GsN* were embraced by members of religious orders and by lay readers of various stations; and they were used for communal as well as for private devotion. In England, Low Countries, and Scandinavia, where affective piety found much resonance among female audiences, *GsN* were often copied, owned, and read by nuns. For example, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, in Vadstena, sisters Katarina Gudmundi and Anna Girmundi copied the Old Swedish translation;<sup>58</sup> at Fischbach near Kaiserslautern, Gertrud von Buren copied Dutch translation D.<sup>59</sup> No doubt other nuns, too, were involved in copying, given that a significant number of extant vernacular manuscripts bear ownership marks from female convents. Thus, High German translation E was owned mostly by Benedictine and reformed Dominican nuns; convents in Amsterdam and Delft owned copies of Dutch translation A; nuns in Maaseik owned Dutch translation C and *Det Lyden ende die Passie Ons Heren Jhesu Christi*; and convents in Lübeck, Venray, and Cologne had manuscripts of the Low German translation.<sup>60</sup> Many of those copies were probably read in private and used as a stimulus for meditation on Pilate's question about truth, on Joseph's vision of the resurrected Christ, on the joy of salvation from hell, and on the power of the cross as explained by the Good Thief. After all, that is how the pseudo-Bonaventuran *Meditationes vitae Chisti* and Ludolph of Saxony's *Vita Jesu* employed the *Evangelium Nicodemi*. This is also how Ignatius of Loyola in the sixteenth century and a popular website in the twenty-first recommended it could be used.<sup>61</sup> Occasionally, however, *GsN* were also read communally, for instance in refectory, as at the Dominican convent of St. Katharina in Nürnberg.<sup>62</sup>

In lay households run by devout women—such as the lady of Tribehou to whom André de Countances dedicated his verse translation; or Agnes von Kleve who, together with her husband, Rogier van Leefeldale, requested that Jan van Boendale compile his *Dat Ieken Spiegel*; or lady Isabel, wife of Sir Roger I de Neville of Hornby Manor, who

54 Hoffmann, "The Gospel of Nicodemus in High German," p. 302-4, 311; Jonathan J. G. Alexander et al., *The Splendor of the World: Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts at the New York Public Library* (New York: The New York Public Library / Harvey Miller Publishers, 2006), p. 116-24.

55 Izquierdo, "The Gospel of Nicodemus," p. 152-53, 160.

56 Marx, "The Gospel of Nicodemus," p. 252-4.

57 Hoffmann, "The Gospel of Nicodemus in Dutch," p. 347-48.

58 See Dario Bullitta, "The Old Swedish *Evangelium Nicodemi* in the Library of Vadstena Abbey: Provenance and Fruition," *Scandinavian Studies* 86.3 (2014), p. 268-307; cf. Wolf, "The Influence," p. 284.

59 Klaus Graf, "Adventskalender 2011: Türchen XXIII—Schrieb Gertrud von Büren im westpfälzischen Kloster Fischbach?" *Archivalia*, <http://archiv.twoday.net/stories/59210885/>.

60 Hoffmann, "The Gospel of Nicodemus in Dutch," p. 345, 347-49, 353.

61 Ignatius of Loyola, *Exercices spirituels* (Paris: Seuil, 1982), p. 138, no. 310. For the website run by Suzanne Guthrie, see <http://www.edgeofenclosure.org/proper19b.html>.

62 *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, vol. 3.3.4, ed. Paul Ruf (Munich: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1939), p. 644. The convent owned at least four copies of *GN*; see p. 600, 603 (items A.VI, A.X, D.II, D.X); see also *Die Bibliothek des Klosters St. Katharina zu Nürnberg. Synoptische Darstellung der Bücherverzeichnisse*, ed. Antje Willing (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2012), vol. 1, p. 69, 73, 111, 118.

commissioned a beautiful copy of the Anglo-Norman *Complaint of Our Lady and the Gospel of Nicodemus*<sup>63</sup>—GsN were probably performed in similar ways. For example, Isabel's richly illustrated Anglo-Norman copy of the *Complaint of Our Lady* suggests that it was meant as much for viewing and contemplation as for reading.<sup>64</sup> The practice of communal reading in aristocratic households is well attested,<sup>65</sup> and the apocryphon could rival romances in its dramatic action and presentation; in fact, since it was incorporated into *Livre d'Artus* and *Perceforest*, it may have been read as part of those romances. People of humbler stations must also have owned and read the *Gospel of Nicodemus*: although the evidence is still limited, we know, for example, that a burgher of Luzern, Johannes Ottenrütli, made a copy of it in 1383, and that Lollards loaned it to each other and read it.<sup>66</sup>

### Survival in the age of print

Although Nicodemus's pseudo-gospel enjoyed enormous popularity in the fifteenth century, it also incurred occasional censure, especially from those who objected to its flamboyant representation of the Descent into Hell.<sup>67</sup> The criticisms were not strong enough to prevent the Latin *EN* from being repeatedly printed all over Europe, with eight editions appearing between 1473 and 1545;<sup>68</sup> after 1545, however, those printings stopped. Scholars, such as Iohannes Basilius Herold and Johann Jacob Grynaeus still included it in their collections of patristic writings,<sup>69</sup> but these were aimed at learned and scholarly audiences rather than at regular clergy or devout lay persons. By the middle of the sixteenth century, the Latin *EN* thus ceased to be a living text and a cultural force: it became a relic of the Christian past.

Vernacular GsN, in contrast, not only successfully competed with Latin printings but continued to thrive in post-medieval Europe. They transitioned into print, like their Latin counterparts, in the 1470s: perhaps the first to be printed, in 1477, was *Dat Lyden ende die Passie Ons Heren Jhesu Christi*; by 1528, it had been re-issued close to twenty times.<sup>70</sup> Less than a decade after *Dat Lyden*, in 1485, the French "long" version, or *Gamaliel*, was printed as part of a large volume entitled *La Vie de Jesu Crist*, and often reprinted afterwards.<sup>71</sup> The Catalan *Gamaliel* came out in 1493 and Castilian in 1522. Short texts of GN in various vernaculars appeared in considerable numbers in the first half of the sixteenth century. Possibly the earliest of those was the English GN printed by Julian Notary in 1507, reissued seven times by two different printers.<sup>72</sup> The oldest surviving German version appeared around 1520 and was reprinted at least fourteen times in that century.<sup>73</sup> The Bohemian version brought out around 1527 likewise went into several editions.<sup>74</sup> And an Italian translation was printed in Venice in 1544.<sup>75</sup> This list is necessarily fragmentary because a full inventory of the early printings of vernacular translations has not yet been compiled.

This surge of vernacular printings, by far outstripping the Latin editions, subsided in the second half of the sixteenth century, no doubt under the pressure of, first, Reformation and, then, Counter-Reformation. By the middle of the seventeenth century, however, printers discovered that despite a century of criticism, there was still a sizable appetite for the old apocryphon among the religiously-minded reading public, and they began to modernize and reissue the old editions. For example, Julian Notary's English version, updated and prefaced by John Warrin, was printed by Jean Cousturier in Rouen; this edition then served as model for a host of eighteenth-century

63 O'Gorman, "The *Gospel of Nicodemus*," p. 104; Hoffmann, "The *Gospel of Nicodemus* in Dutch," p. 338.

64 Kathryn A. Smith, "The Neville of Hornby Hours and the Design of Literate Devotion," *The Art Bulletin* 81.1 (March 1999), p. 72-92.

65 See, for example, Anna Baldwin, *An Introduction to Medieval English Literature 1300-1485* (London: Palgrave, 2016), p. 7.

66 Hoffmann, "The *Gospel of Nicodemus* in High German," p. 309. On Lollard readers of GN, see M. Deanesly, *The Lollard Bible and Other Medieval Biblical Versions* (Cambridge: University Press, 1920), 363; and Susan Brigden, *London and the Reformation* (London: Faber and Faber, 2014), p. 87.

67 Izydorczyk, "The *Evangelium Nicodemi*," p. 100.

68 Izydorczyk, "The Earliest Printed Versions of the *Evangelium Nicodemi* and Their Manuscript Sources," *Apocrypha* 21 (2010), p. 121-32.

69 Johann Basilius Herold, ed., *Orthodoxographa theologiae sacrosanctae ac syncerioris fidei doctores numero LXXXVI...* (Basileae: Heinrich Petri, 1555); Johann Jakob Grynaeus, *Monumenta S. Patrum Orthodoxographa, hoc est, theologiae sacrosanctae ac syncerioris fidei Doctores, numero circiter LXXXV...*, vol. 2 (Basileae: Ex officina Henricpetrina, 1569).

70 Hoffmann, "The *Gospel of Nicodemus* in Dutch," p. 352.

71 Lydie Lansard, "De Nicodème à Gamaliel. Les réécritures de l'Évangile de Nicodème dans la littérature narrative médiévale (xii<sup>e</sup>-xvi<sup>e</sup> s.). Étude et éditions," Doctoral dissertation, Sorbonne Nouvelle - Paris 3, 2011, p. 61-64.

72 C. William Marx, "Julian Notary, Wynkyn de Worde, and the Earliest Printed Texts of the Middle English Gospel of Nicodemus," *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1994), p. 1-25.

73 On the non-extant incunabulum of 1496, see Achim Masser and Max Siller, eds, *Das Evangelium Nicodemi in spätmittelalterlicher deutscher Prosa. Texte*, Germanische Bibliothek, 4th ser., Texte und Kommentar (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1987), p. 107. For the first extant German edition, see *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts* (VD 16), no. B5286.

74 *Knihopis českých a slovenských tisků od doby nejstarší až do konce 18. století*, available at [http://aleph.nkp.cz/F/?func=file&file\\_name=find-b&local\\_base=KPS](http://aleph.nkp.cz/F/?func=file&file_name=find-b&local_base=KPS).

75 This edition (Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, +Z170325907) was brought to my attention by Prof. Edoardo Barbieri.

editions.<sup>76</sup> In Bohemia, revisions of the first edition were re-issued until the nineteenth century. In Germany, the old vernacular text-type was occasionally reprinted in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, spreading even to North America;<sup>77</sup> however, from 1676 onwards, a completely different German translation began to spread, in many regions surpassing the old one in popularity; that translation, too, crossed the Atlantic and is still being printed on demand in North America.<sup>78</sup>

At least three enormously popular vernacular text-types of the *Gospels of Nicodemus* used by printers are direct descendants of medieval translations: *Dat Lyden* incorporated most of the Dutch translation D, based on the Troyes redaction; the French “long” translation, or *Gamaliel*, is itself an adaptation of the Occitan work by the same title, which partly drew on an earlier Occitan verse adaptation of *EN*; and the Czech editions are descendants of the medieval translation of the so-called Bohemian redaction. The post-medieval English printings, derived from Julian Notary’s edition, cannot be directly linked to any known medieval English version; however, Notary’s immediate source was a still unidentified French translation of the Troyes redaction. Similarly, all but one sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century German printings are derived from the translation of the Troyes redaction published ca. 1520 (or its lost 1496 ancestor).<sup>79</sup> It is not known whether the text of the oldest extant German edition was translated specifically for the purpose or whether it, too, represents a late medieval translation. The new German text-type that appeared in 1676 represents the Bohemian redaction, and more specifically its Czech version that was repeatedly printed in the sixteenth century: although the German text reworks certain passages, the two share readings not found in the extant Latin manuscripts of the Bohemian redaction. The two must, therefore, have been translated from the same, now lost Latin exemplar, or the German has been translated from Czech.<sup>80</sup>

The picture of vernacular editions of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* is far from complete. However, even these partial outlines suggest that, despite official condemnations,<sup>81</sup> the apocryphon not only survived the turbulent sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but flourished in the post-medieval world, at least in Germanic, Romance, and Slavic languages. The shift towards vernaculars in the later Middle Ages made it readable and relevant for large Christian audiences, both religious and lay, who took ownership of it and secured for it a permanent place in popular religious culture.

76 *Nichodemus His Gospel*, preface John Warrin (Rouen: Iohn Cousturier, ca. 1635); see William Marx, “John Warrin’s Book: National Library of Wales MS 5006,” *Journal of the Early Book Society* 6 (2003), p. 93-107. For the eighteenth-century editions, see, for example, *Nicodemus’s Gospel. Containing an extraordinary and minute Account of our blessed Saviour’s Trial and Accusation; his Death and Passion; his Descent into the Invisible World; and what happened there during that period: with the Ascension into Heaven. Which curious relation will be found agreeable to Scripture*, ed. Joseph Wilson (London: Printed for the Author, and sold at His House in Lancaster Court in Strand, 1767); *The Gospel of Nicodemus in Thirteen Chapters* (Newcastle: Printed in the present year [1775?]); *The First Book of the Gospel of Nicodemus. Translated from the Original Hebrew* (Sold by...: ca. 1775); *The Second Book of the Gospel of Nicodemus. Translated from the Original Hebrew* (Sold by...: ca. 1775). The last two titles were frequently reissued, e.g., Derby: Printed for Travelling Stationers, c. 1780; Derby: Printed in the Year 1789 (February); Printed and sold in London, no date; London: Aldermary Church Yard, no date; etc.

77 Zbigniew Izydorczyk and Charlotte Fillmore-Handlon, “The Modern Life of an Ancient Text: *The Gospel of Nicodemus* in Manitoba,” *Apocrypha* 21 (2010), p. 115.

78 Izydorczyk, “The Bohemian Redaction,” p. 62-63.

79 The exception is the printing by Franciscus Rhode (Danzig, 1538), which is based on the text of the Bohemian redaction.

80 Izydorczyk, “The Bohemian Redaction,” p. 62.

81 See Izydorczyk, “*The Evangelium Nicodemi*,” p. 101.

Zbigniew IZYDORCZYK

## The Strasbourg Manuscript of the *Evangelium Nicodemi*

One of the highlights of ISCAL 2, devoted to medieval rewritings of the *Evangelium Nicodemi* (*EN*), was a visit to the Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg. The reason for the visit was a slender sixteenth-century volume of 47 folios, of unknown origin and provenance, housed in the library's manuscript collection, MS 190 (Latin 187).<sup>1</sup> Although the manuscript might at first glance appear unexceptional, the only item it contains, an extended version of *EN*, presents a rather interesting case: it is a product of two different writing technologies and embodies features of two textual cultures, manuscript and print.

### *Evangelium Nicodemi* in manuscripts and in print

The pseudo-gospel entered Latin Christendom in the fifth century as a handwritten text inscribed in a codex,<sup>2</sup> and it was transmitted in hand-scripted copies for over a millennium. Whether they took dictation or copied directly from exemplars, scribes inevitably altered the text through inadvertent errors or through deliberate modifications. As a consequence, each manuscript of *EN* is unique, defined by its own codicological, paleographic, linguistic, and textual features. Not only could individual copies reflect lexical and stylistic predilections of their scribes, but the process of re-inscribing (recreating) *EN* invited the scribes to intervene in the narrative fabric to mould it to their view of sacred history or to refashion the work to suit its intended use. Those interventions could be wide-ranging and could involve abridgement, rearrangement, amplification, and many other textual operations. Manuscript copies of *EN* are thus influenced by their scribes' skills, ideology, knowledge, predispositions, and preferences, and hence always idiosyncratic and subjective. In the world of manuscripts, the apocryphon resided not in any one textual form but always in many.

This situation changed when *EN* made a transition into print. Printing made it possible to produce a large number of legible and textually uniform, stable copies; it privileged a small number of textual forms and arrested the interminable process of scribal change. Readers could—and did—still correct and add comments in the margins of their books but those marginalia had a slight chance of becoming part of the transmitted text.

The first printer to issue the Latin *EN* was Günther Zainer, who published it in Augsburg around 1473. By the end of the sixteenth century, it was printed ten more times and all over Europe: in Milan (Boninus Mombritius, 1476-77), Cologne (Cornelis Zierikzee, 1499), Leipzig (Melchior Lotter, 1499, 1516), Copenhagen (Poul Ræff, 1514), Venice (Giacomo Penzio, 1522), Antwerp (Guilielmus Montanus, 1538), Paris (Vivantius Gaultherot, 1545), and Basel (*Orthodoxographa*, edited first by Iohannes Basilius Herold and later by Johann Jacob Grynaeus, printed by Heinrich Petri, 1555, 1569). The print runs of those editions are not known, but it is probably safe to assume that they amounted to thousands of printed copies distributed throughout Europe. All those copies disseminated only five distinct texts of *EN* because early printers and/or editors borrowed texts—and sometimes typography as well—from one another. Thus, Zainer and Zierikzee used distantly related copy-texts but independently of one another; Penzio reused Mombritius' edition; Lotter issued two editions of the same text, which was reprinted also by Ræff; and Gaultherot, Herold, and Grynaeus recycled Montanus' edition.<sup>3</sup> Eventually, the textual multiplicity and exuberance of medieval Latin manuscripts was reduced to a few forms that predominated until the nineteenth century.

1 *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*. Départements, Octavo series 47 (Paris, 1923), p. 113. The manuscript is listed in Zbigniew Izydorczyk, *Manuscripts of the Evangelium Nicodemi: A Census* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1993), no. 349; hereafter *Census*.

2 The oldest extant manuscript is the Vienna palimpsest, or Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek MS 563 (*Census* 393).

3 For a brief commentary on those editions, see Zbigniew Izydorczyk, "The Earliest Printed Versions of the *Evangelium Nicodemi* and Their Manuscript Sources," *Apocrypha* 21 (2010), p. 121-32.

## The Strasbourg manuscript

The Strasbourg manuscript of *EN* was, therefore, produced at a time when the apocryphon's print copies had been available for about a generation and had already been fairly well established. Although its text bears some resemblance to a group of five fourteenth-century manuscripts, it was not copied from a manuscript exemplar: a number of its textual features suggest that it was taken directly from Zainer's 1473 print.<sup>4</sup>

As in the printed edition, the extended *EN* is the only item in the manuscript. In medieval manuscripts, *EN* often included—in addition to the accounts of the trial before Pilate, Joseph of Arimathea's imprisonment, and the Harrowing of Hell—the *Cura sanitatis Tiberii* (*CST*),<sup>5</sup> a narrative about the discovery of Veronica's image of Christ, the healing of Tiberius, and Pilate's condemnation and death. Zainer's exemplar of *EN* must have included this narrative because he printed it as an integral part of the apocryphon. The scribe of the Strasbourg manuscript followed the printed text faithfully from the title to the final "Amen" and copied *CST* without a slightest hesitation.

A close comparison of the Strasbourg manuscript with Zainer's edition reveals that the former is indeed a direct copy of the latter. The text of Zainer's *EN* is marked by a number of omissions, contractions, and idiosyncratic phrases inherited from its manuscript copy-text.<sup>6</sup> For example, the cursor's report on his inquiry about the meaning of the children's shouts at Christ's entry into Jerusalem (ch. 1.4) is cut out, and the episode of the standards bowing before Christ (ch. 1.5-6) is abridged. Exactly the same excisions and abridgements occur in the Strasbourg text. The copyist retained even some typographic features of Zainer's edition. He did not try to preserve the integrity of individual pages, but he did preserve the division of the text into three large sections, the first extending from ch. 1 to ch. 12.1 (the entrance of Joseph of Arimathea), the second from ch. 12.1 to ch. 26 (the end of Leucius and Carinus' narrative), and the third from ch. 27.1 to the end of *CST*. Even the paragraph sign in Zainer's edition, marking a transition to Pilate's letter, is duly indicated in the manuscript by the use of display script, in the middle of the line. The texts of Pilate's letter and *CST* are completely fused with the preceding apocryphon of the Passion, in both the print and the manuscript.

Furthermore, the scribe reproduced his printed source with great care, word for word. He did not correct grammar, style, or factual details, even where those were clearly faulty, as in "scelum [i.e., zelum] habet<sup>7</sup> quoniam sabatho curat" (f. 4v, ll. 14-15), or "qualis dies tunc erat. Respondi<sup>8</sup> sabathum" (f. 8, l. 12). In "Regem habemus cæsarem non Ihm. Respondit pylatus. Nā et magi obtulerunt ei munera..." (f. 10r, ll. 6-8), the scribe follows his print exemplar in wrongly attributing to Pilate the revelations about the magi and Herod; the error is rather obvious as several lines later Pilate asks a question about those revelations, "Et audiens pylatus, facto silentio in populo dixit. Ergo hic est..." (ll. 15-17). The scribe clearly attempted to render his exemplar as exactly as possible, perhaps influenced by the sentiment promoted by the print medium that texts, including those of apocrypha, should be uniform and stable.

Although *EN* is not a long text, just twenty-seven pages as printed by Zainer, it would probably take no fewer than ten hours of steady writing to copy it. The errors the scribe of the Strasbourg manuscript commits are typically those resulting from fatigue and fluctuation of attention. Thus, on occasion, he reverses the order of words (e.g., "intrare eum," f. 2r, l. 8, instead of "eum intrare"), omits a word at the bottom of the page (f. 11r, the last word in the last line should be "titulum"), or inadvertently adds a word (e.g., "In manus tuas domine [not in Zainer] pater commendo..." f. 12r, l. 6). He did approach the task of copying with some orthographic habits and preferences, which he imposed on the transferred text. For example, he has a modern sense of capitalization: he writes all names and starts new sentences with upper case letters. He replaces Roman numerals with Arabic ones and expands words abbreviated in Zainer but not consistently; sometimes, he even adds his own contractions. It is in spelling, however, that he imprints his scribal personality on the text most forcefully. He writes "Pilatus" in place of Zainer's "pylatus," "Nicodemus" in place of "nichodemus," "sabathum" in place of "sabbatum," "Ihs" in place of "hiesus." Less consistently, he introduces classical spellings with "ę" or "æ" to replace Zainer's indiscriminate "e" but prefers the medieval spelling "plasphe-mauit" (f. 6r, l. 11; 6v, ll. 2, 4; but "blasphemauerit" in l. 10) to "blasphemauit" of his exemplar, and "scelum" (f. 4v, l. 14) to "zelum."

4 Zainer's edition has been reprinted, but with modern division into chapters and a modern layout, by Achim Masser and Max Silber, eds, *Das Evangelium Nicodemi in spätmittelalterlicher deutscher Prosa. Texte*, Germanische Bibliothek, 4th Series, Texte und Kommentar (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1987), p. 448-67. A digital reproduction of Zainer's edition is available at <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k854527t/f5.image>. For photos of the Strasbourg manuscript, see p. 54 sq.

5 Edited by Ernst von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder. Untersuchungen zur christlicher Legende*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlicher Literatur 18, N.F. 3 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1899), p. 163\*-90\*\*; cf. and Zbigniew Izydorczyk, "The *Cura sanitatis Tiberii* a Century after Ernst von Dobschütz," in *The European Fortune of the Roman Veronica in the Middle Ages*, ed. Amanda Murphy, Herbert L. Kessler et al., *Convivium*. Supplementum 2017 (Brno: Université de Lausanne and the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Masaryk University, 2017), p. 33-49.

6 None of the extant manuscripts of the same text-type matches Zainer's edition in all respects; see Izydorczyk, "The Earliest Printed Versions," p. 123-24.

7 So Zainer for "habent."

8 So Zainer for "Respondit."

The Strasbourg *EN* owes its existence to a printed text and to a scribe. Both the source of the text and the scribe's evident attempt at exact reproduction are probably signs of the influence of print; the handwritten product, with its partly inadvertent and partly habitual variance, harkens back to the waning age of manuscripts. Positioned thus between the old and the new, the Strasbourg text begs the question why? Why expand so much effort to copy a text by hand if it has already been printed? While a definitive answer is, of course, impossible, one could speculate that it may have had something to do with the accessibility of the printed editions. Although during the century after its *editio princeps* the pseudo-gospel was issued in various cities in Europe, only in Leipzig and later in Basel was it printed more than once.

### *Evangelium Nicodemi* in Alsace

Strasbourg printers showed little interest in *EN*—with the exception of Jacques Frölich, who issued a German edition ca. 1550<sup>9</sup>—even though some humanists in Alsace certainly did. Thomas Vogler von Obernai (Thomas Aucuparius, d. 1532), a theologian, poet, and editor, well-connected in the literary and intellectual circles of Strasbourg,<sup>10</sup> owned an early thirteenth-century manuscript, now Uppsala, Universitätsbibliothek MS C 225 (*Census* 365), containing several Marian and apocryphal texts, including *EN*. Inside the front cover, he wrote an apostrophe to the book, “Tho. Aucuparius Ad hunc Librum suum / Salue chare Liber Liber o charissime... te lego chare Liber.” Johannes Schefferus, a native of Strasbourg and later one of the foremost humanists in Sweden, may have taken the manuscript to Uppsala.<sup>11</sup> Another extant manuscript of *EN*, Sélestat, Bibliothèque municipale MS 86 (*Census* 342), was owned by Jean de Westhuss, a rector of St. George's church in Sélestat (the second quarter of the fifteenth century) and the founder of the Humanist Library (1452).<sup>12</sup> Westhuss commissioned Conrad Brampach of Erfurt to copy this book for him in 1433.<sup>13</sup>

The pseudo-gospel was clearly well known in Alsace even before the humanist movement in Rhineland. For example, another manuscript of Alsatian provenance, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France MS Lat. 5265 (*Census* 266), from the fourteenth century, was copied by prior Hermannus and donated by him to the Benedictine abbey of St. Walburg, dioc. Strasbourg.<sup>14</sup> Luzern, Zentral- und Hochschulbibliothek MS P 35 4<sup>o</sup>,<sup>15</sup> from the latter half of the same century, likewise originated in the diocese of Strasbourg.<sup>16</sup> Even the manuscript containing the famous Vienna palimpsest may have an Alsatian connection. The palimpsest section, the oldest in the manuscript, is bound together with three eleventh- to twelfth-century booklets, all copied at the Benedictine abbey of Neuwiller-lès-Saverne (Neuweiler), dioc. Strasbourg. “Ob der älteste Teil f. 122-177 sich auch in Neuweiler befand,” writes Julius Hermann Hermann, “läßt sich nicht mit Sicherheit nachweisen, ist aber wahrscheinlich.”<sup>17</sup>

Local vernacular writers, such as Jakob Twinger von Königshofen (d. 1420), a canon at St. Thomas in Strasbourg, incorporated portions of the apocryphal narrative, which he knew from Vincent de Beauvais' *Speculum historiale*, in his *Straßburger Weltchronik*.<sup>18</sup> A particularly impressive vernacular version of *EN* of Alsatian origin is preserved in Colmar, Bibliothèque de la ville MS 306, of the second decade of the fifteenth century and written possibly in Colmar. It contains “a mirror of Christ's Passion” that has absorbed the entire High German redaction E of the

9 Joseph Benzing, *Bibliographie Strasbourgeoise*, vol. 1 (Baden-Baden: Valentin Koerner, 1981), p. 37, no. 165; Jean Muller, *Bibliographie Strasbourgeoise*, vol. 2 (Baden-Baden: Valentin Koerner, 1985), p. 375.

10 Peter G. Bietenholz and Thomas B. Deutscher, eds, *Contemporaries of Erasmus: A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, vol. 3 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), p. 416-17.

11 Margarete Andersson-Schmitt and Monika Hedlund, *Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala. Katalog über C-Sammlung*, vol. 3: *Handschriften C201-300* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1990), p. 90-92.

12 See *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des Départements*, Quarto series 3 (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1861), p. 584-85; Charles Samaran and Robert Marichal, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste*, vol. 5 (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1965), p. 371. Cf. Paul Adam, *L'humanisme à Sélestat: l'école, les humanistes, la bibliothèque*, 3rd ed. (Sélestat: Impr. Alsatia, 1973), p. 77-80; Joseph Gény, “Geschichte der Stadtbibliothek zu Schlettstadt,” in Joseph Gény and Gustav C. Knod, *Die Stadtbibliothek zu Schlettstadt* (Schlettstadt, 1889), p. 13-15.

13 F. 258r, “scriptum et completum per me Conradum Brampach, de Erfordia sub anno Domini M<sup>o</sup>CCCC<sup>o</sup>XXXIII<sup>o</sup>...”; see Samaran and Marichal, *Catalogue*, p. 371.

14 Hagiographii Bollandiani, *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum antiquorum saeculo XVI qui asservantur in Bibliotheca Nationali Parisiensi*, vol. 1 (Bruxelles, apud Editores, 1889), p. 403-04.

15 Not in *Census*; siglum 170a.

16 Charlotte Bretscher-Gisiger, Peter Kamber, and Mikkel Mangold, *Katalog der mittelalterlichen Handschriften des Klosters St. Urban* (Dietikon-Zürich: Urs Graf Verlag, 2013).

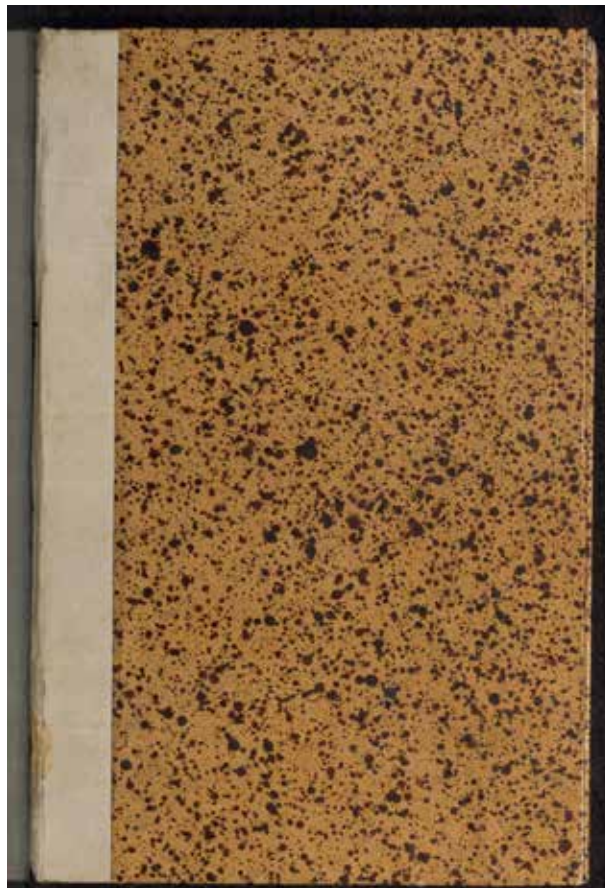
17 Julius Hermann Hermann, *Die deutschen romanischen Handschriften*, Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich 2, Die illuminierten Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Nationalbibliothek in Wien 2 (Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann, 1926), p. 15, no. 10; p. 55, no. 35.

18 Werner J. Hoffmann, “The Gospel of Nicodemus in High German Literature of the Middle Ages,” in *The Medieval Gospel of Nicodemus: Texts, Intertexts, and Contexts in Western Europe*, ed. Zbigniew Izydorczyk, *Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies* 158 (Tempe, AZ: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1997), p. 325-26.

*Gospel of Nicodemus*. The manuscript, probably intended as an aid to devotional exercises, is richly illustrated with coloured drawings representing scenes from the apocryphon.<sup>19</sup>

## Conclusion

The Strasbourg manuscript was copied at a time when print had already taken hold but had not yet become the sole technology for preserving texts of the past. It is a liminal artifact, inspired by the emerging textual praxis yet still supported by the practices of old. It was not unique in this Janus-like quality, for at least two other manuscripts are known to have been copied from Zainer's edition, Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek MS 660 (*Census* 78), copied in or before 1476; and München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 23989 (*Census* 204), copied in 1482.<sup>20</sup> All three demonstrate that hand copying remained a viable textual option even after printed texts began to appear. In fact, in some vernacular traditions, such as Icelandic and Slavic,<sup>21</sup> manuscript copies continued to be produced and passed around well into the nineteenth century.

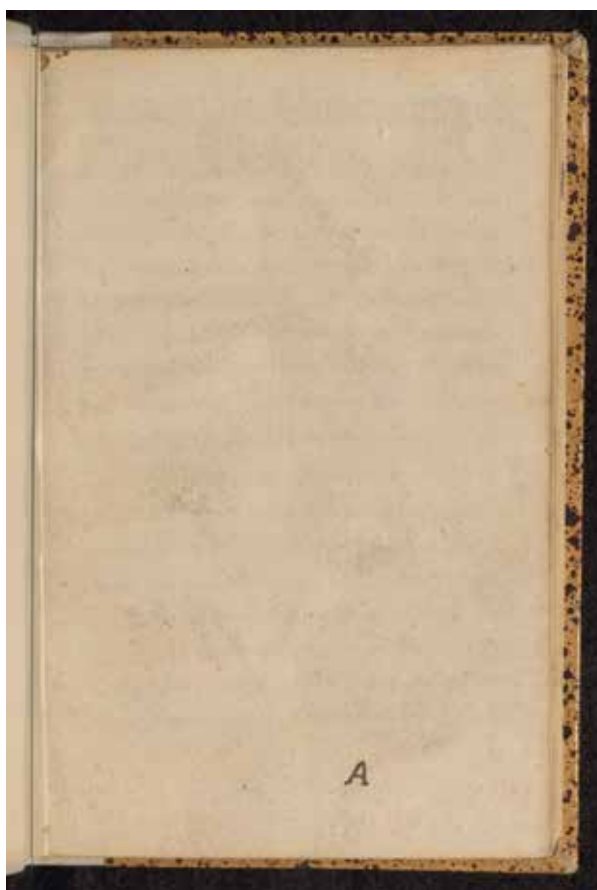
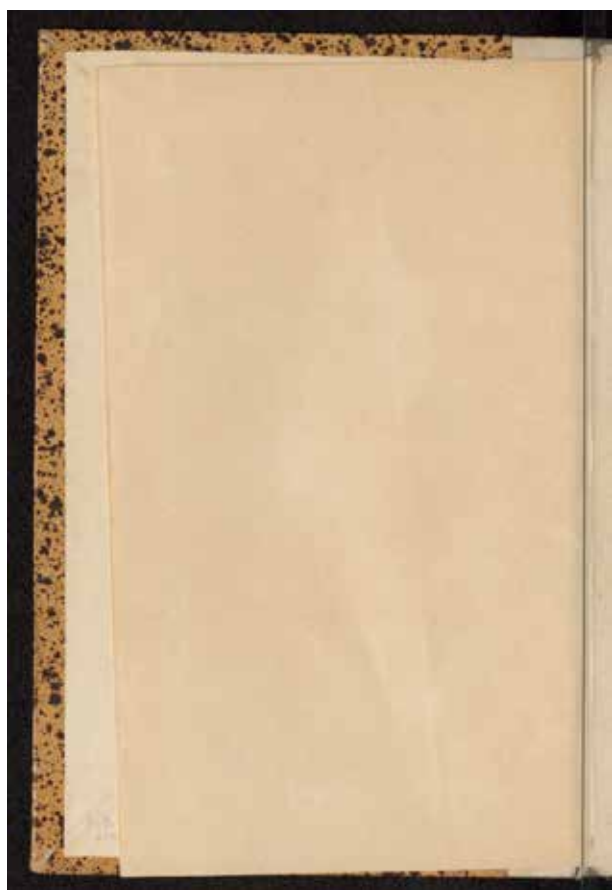
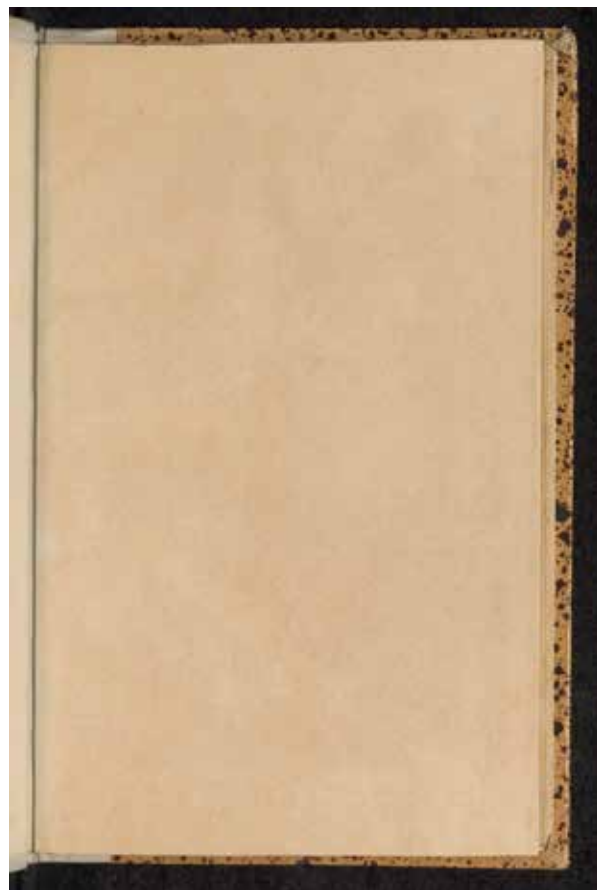


*The Strasbourg manuscript*, © BNU.

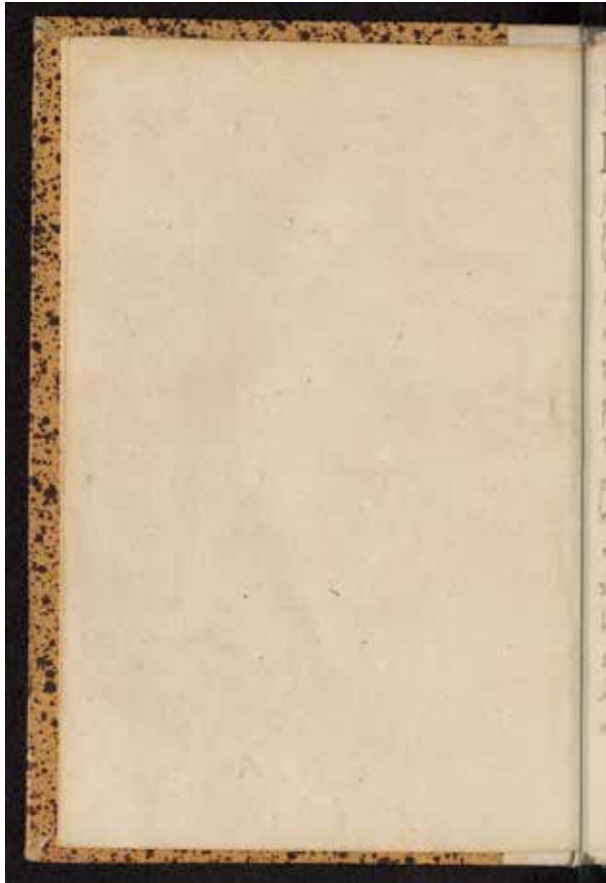
19 Hoffmann, "The *Gospel of Nicodemus*," p. 311-12. For a reproduction of Colmar manuscript, see [http://bvmc.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?mode=ecran&panier=false&reproductionId=1932&VUE\\_ID=534928&carouselThere=false&nbVignettes=4x3&page=18&angle=0&zoom=petit&tailleReelle=](http://bvmc.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?mode=ecran&panier=false&reproductionId=1932&VUE_ID=534928&carouselThere=false&nbVignettes=4x3&page=18&angle=0&zoom=petit&tailleReelle=)

20 Izydorczyk, "The Earliest Printed Versions," p. 125.

21 For late Icelandic manuscripts, see Kirsten Wolf, "The Influence of the *Evangelium Nicodemi* on Norse Literature: A Survey," in *The Medieval Gospel of Nicodemus*, p. 273; for a list of Slavic manuscripts, see Aurelio de Santos Otero, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der altslavischen Apokryphen*, vol. 2 (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1981), p. 61-98.







**Euangelium Nicodemi incipit**  
**F**actum est Nonas Idibus Iulij Ce-  
 saris imperij Romanorum. Et Heredis im-  
 perij Galilee Anno .iij. penitipatis eius. 8.  
 Kalendas Aprilis. hoc est .25. die mensis  
 Martij. consuetudinis Iosephi Verbois. in An-  
 no quarto. et .ij. olympiadis sub penitipa  
 in sacerdotum Iosephi et Capthe. Et quinta  
 post ventum et passum domini. hystoria  
 vis est Nicodemis arthe. cum peni-  
 pius surrexerim et reliquis iudeis et  
 mandavit iose Nicodemis literis hebra-  
 ics. Ioseph et Capthe et Sobna. et Da-  
 ran et Gamalhel. et Iulus. et Nepia-  
 lom. Alexandre. et Syenis. et reliqui iude-  
 orum. Venierunt ad Pilatum adire.  
 his dixerunt. amissantes eum de multis  
 malis sermonibus. dicentes. Isum na-

L  
 Cat'a  
 187

minis Ioseph subei filium de Maeca-  
 natione et dicit se esse filium dei. et  
 gen. Non solim hoc. sed etiam lo-  
 gum nostram vult deservere. Dicit  
 eis pilatus que sunt que agit. et quid  
 vult deservere. Legem habemus. in  
 sabatho non curare aliquem. Istraunt  
 sacerdotes. necos. claudos. mienos. paliti-  
 ras. Leprosos. et demptarios mirantur in  
 sabatho non multis artificibus. Di-  
 cunt ei maleficus est. et in principe be-  
 clebrus venit demonia. et omnia ei sunt  
 subiecta. Pilatus dixit. Istud non est  
 spiritus immundi. facit. et ecce demo-  
 ma sed in dei virtute. Dicitur budo.  
 Rogamus magistram tuam et  
 miteris eum a face ante tribunal tuum.  
 et audire eum. Admonens Pilatus  
 iuxta eum. dicit et. Cum iudicatione

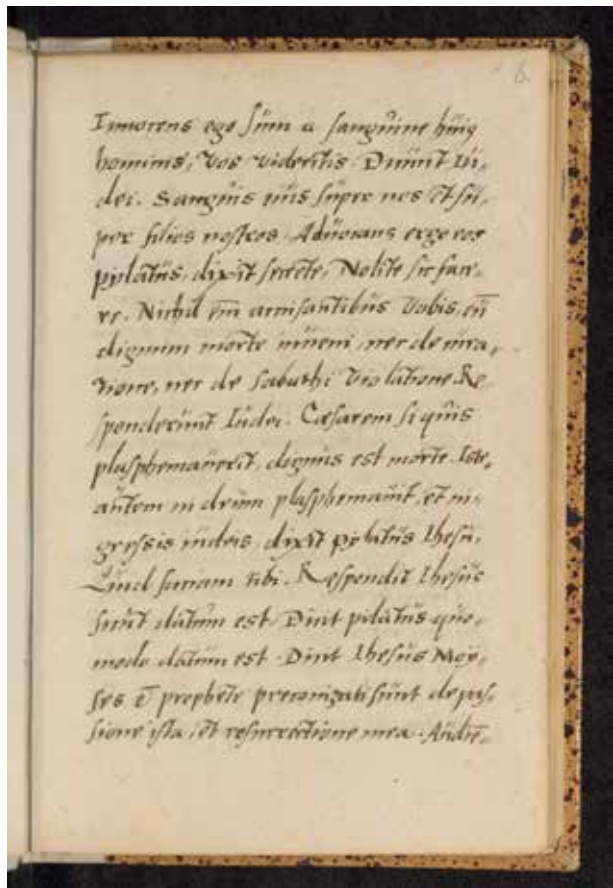
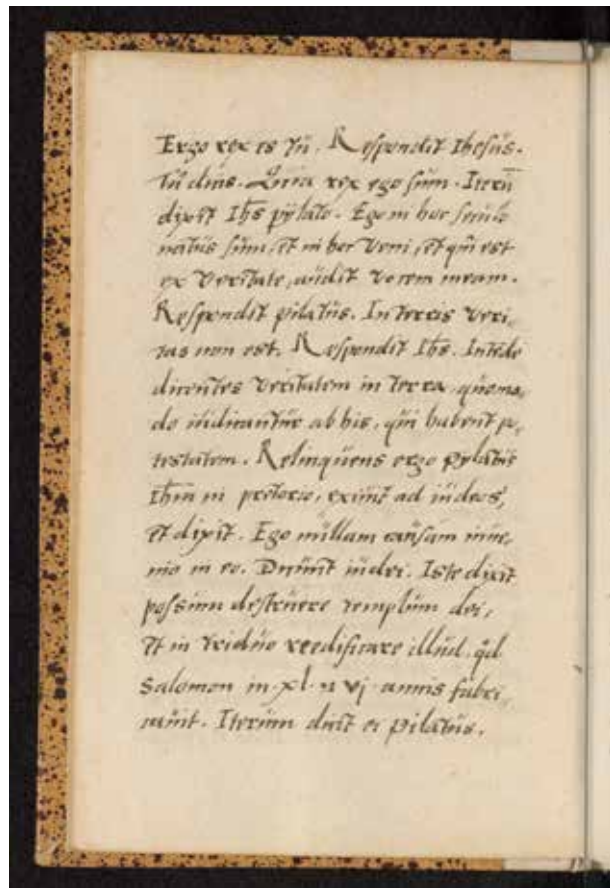
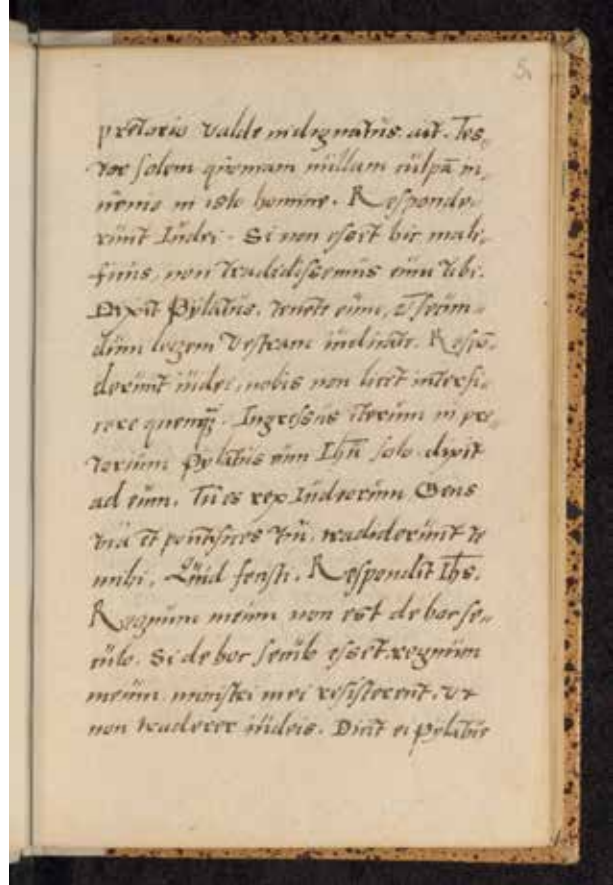
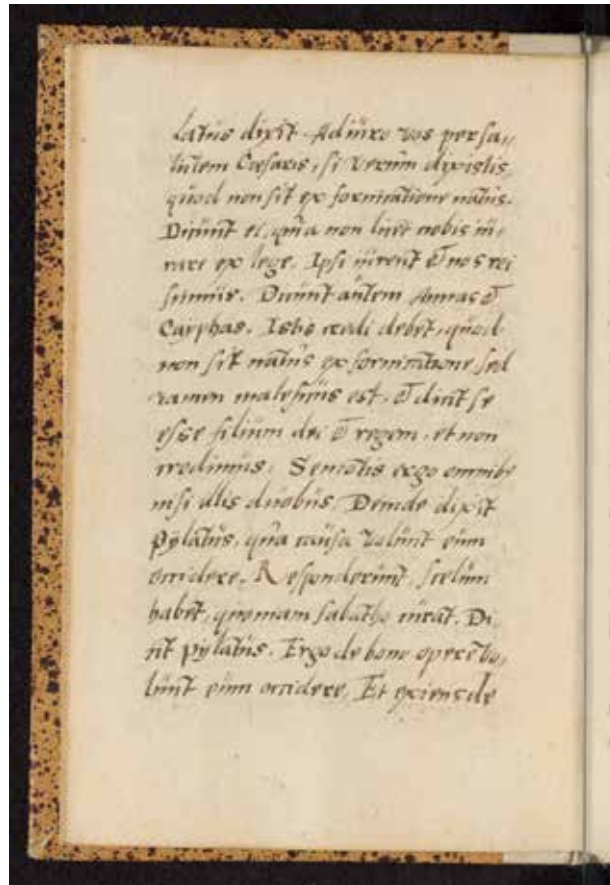
adnotare Ius. Exiens autem Engor  
 et Volens Ium adorant eum. Iosephi  
 alium suum expandit in terram et  
 ambulat super eum ingredens. ad  
 pedem. Videntes Iudei quod se-  
 rit Engor. exclamaverunt dicentes.  
 Quare sub Vere peccatis. non misisti  
 interire eum. sed per iuxta eum. Eng-  
 for eum adorant eum in terra. et  
 dixit ei. Deum adorant et peccat  
 Dicit Pilatus iuxta. Quare hoc  
 fecisti. Respondit Engor. Quando  
 me Iherosolimam misisti ad Alexan-  
 drum. Vide Ium sedentem super Asi-  
 num. et phice hebreorum clamabat.  
 Istama xamus olimavim et palma.  
 eum in mundis fortiter. Alij dicit.  
 utbant vestimenta sua in via. dicit

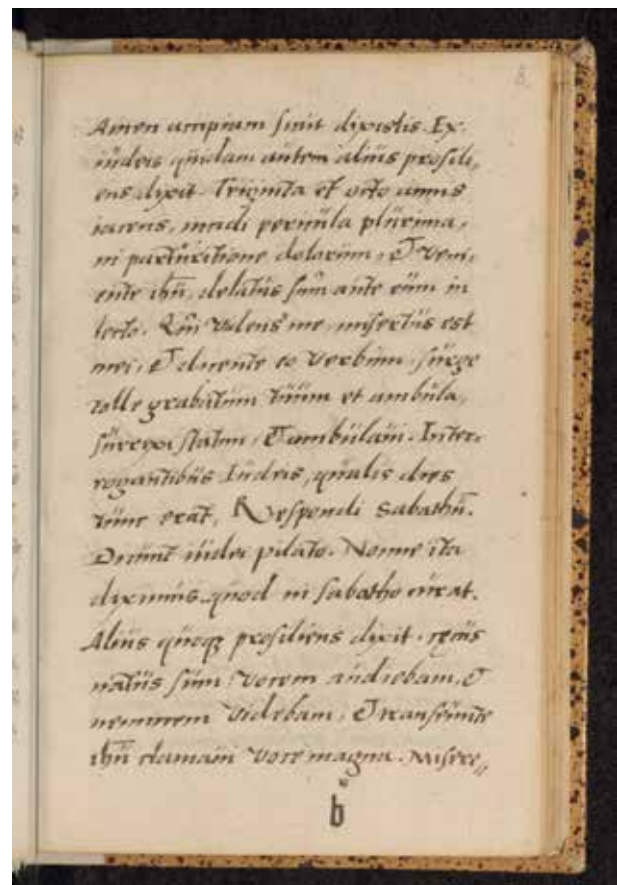
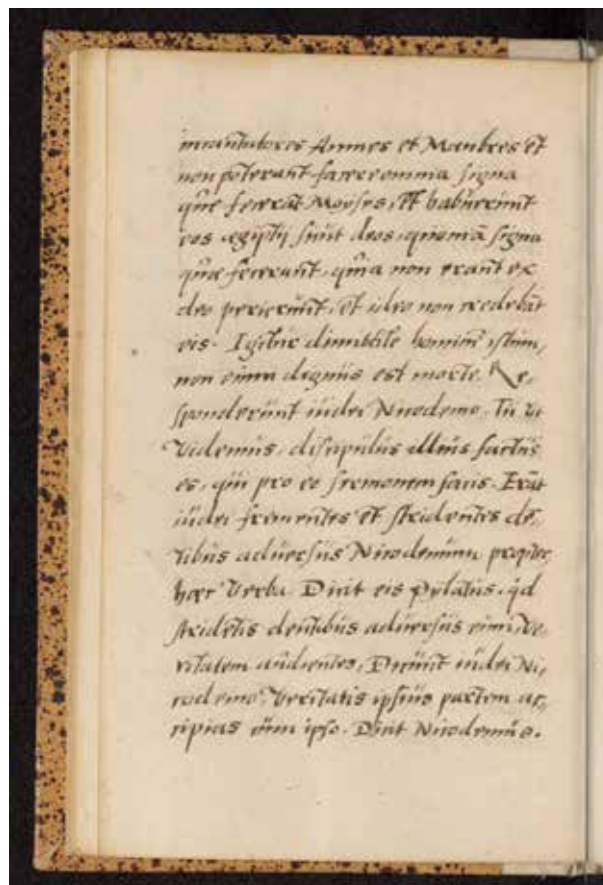
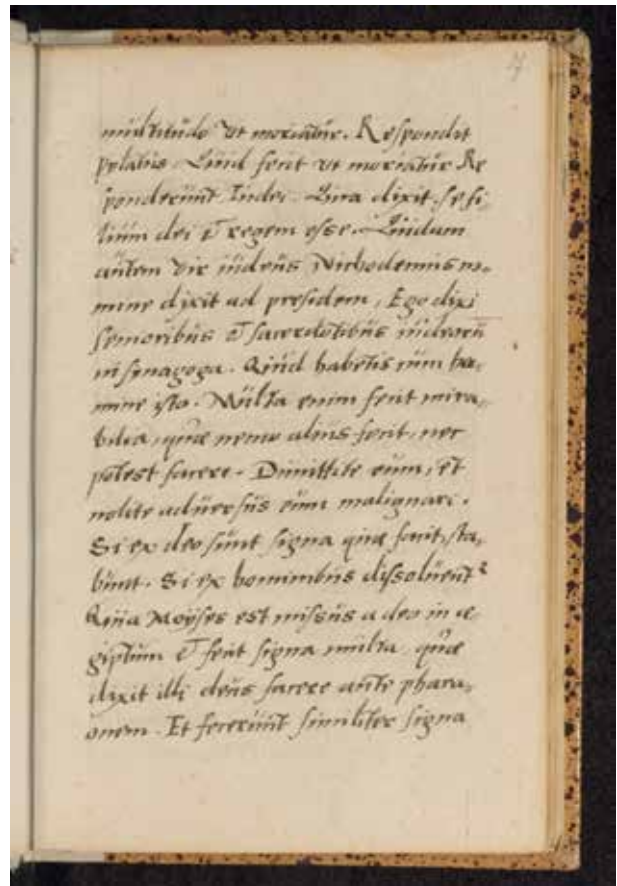
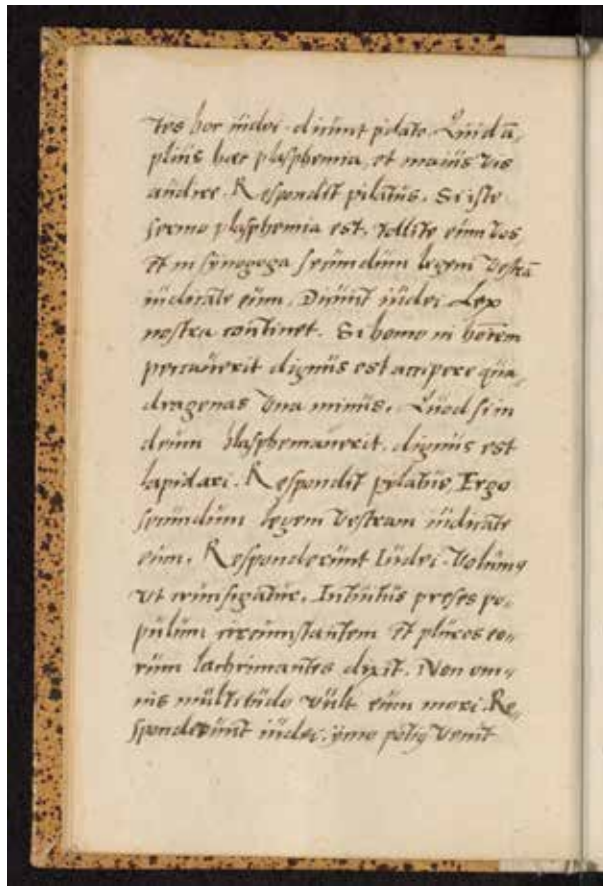
res. salua nos. qui es in excelsis Be-  
 nedictus qui venit in nomine domini.  
 Clamauerunt Iudei aduersus Cypre-  
 rum dicentes. Quare hebreorum be-  
 trant clamabant. Et quomodo omnis  
 grauis. hebraicum nostri. Respon-  
 dit Cypreus. Iudeus mihi dixerunt.  
 Dicit ei Pilatus. Quomodo clamabat  
 hebraice. Dixerunt illi. Osanna. Dicit  
 Pilatus. Osanna quid interpretatur.  
 Dixerunt saluum fac seruum tuum. I-  
 dem salua nos. Dicit Pilatus. Vos  
 alexandrinorum uoces quas prius dicit  
 erunt. Quid perunt Cypreus. Erant  
 Cypreus. et que uis uelint intrare  
 Ithm. Que interpretatur signa inuocatis  
 capitibus adorauerunt eum. Quod  
 Videns Pilatus ait. Nonne lauda-

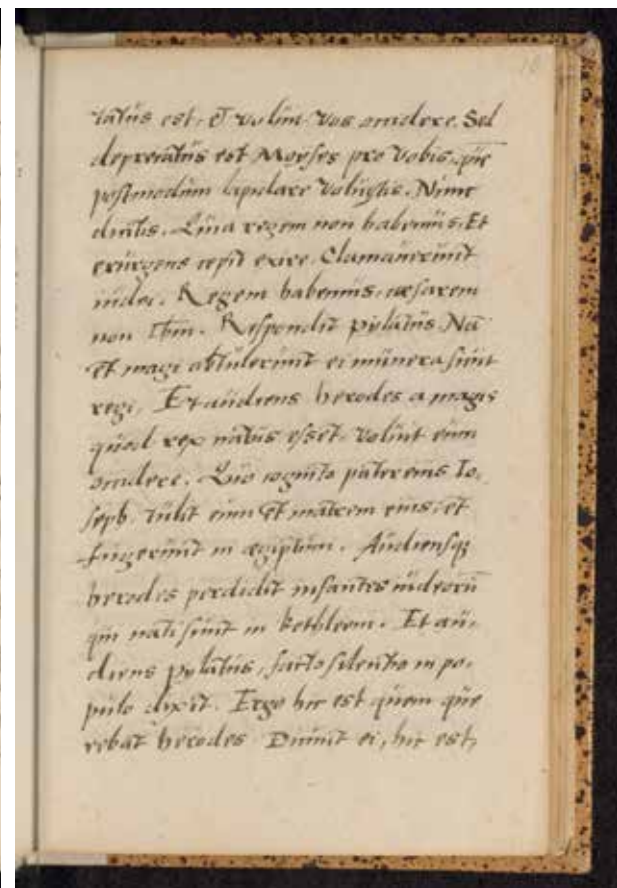
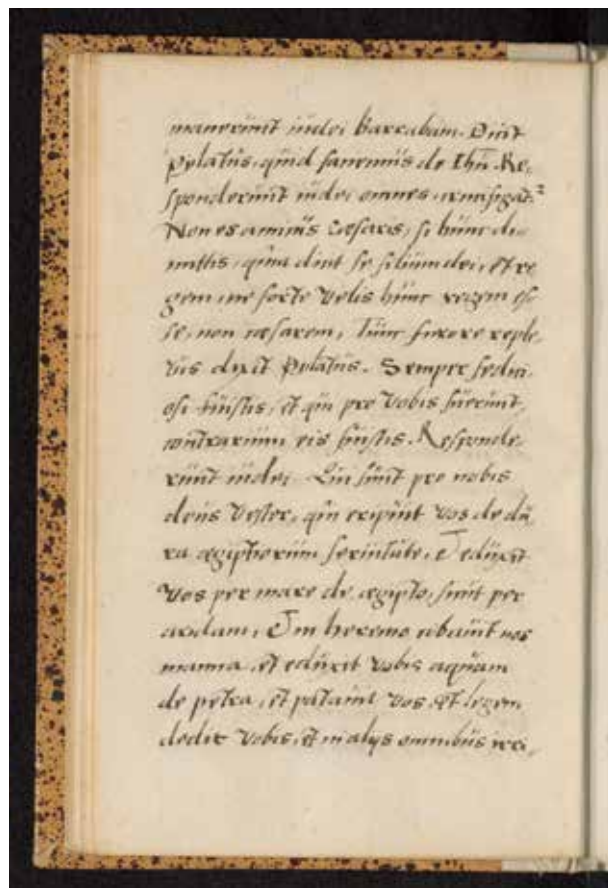
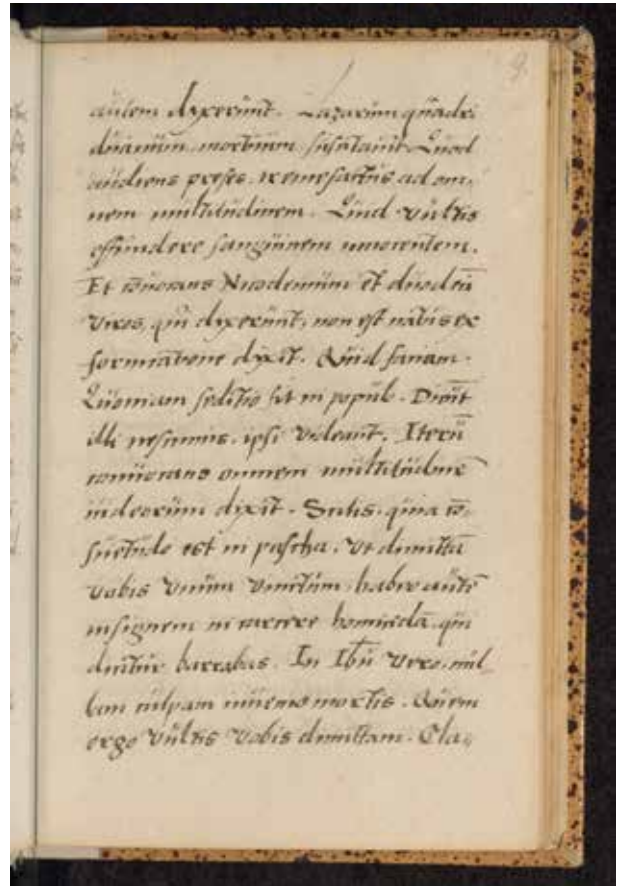
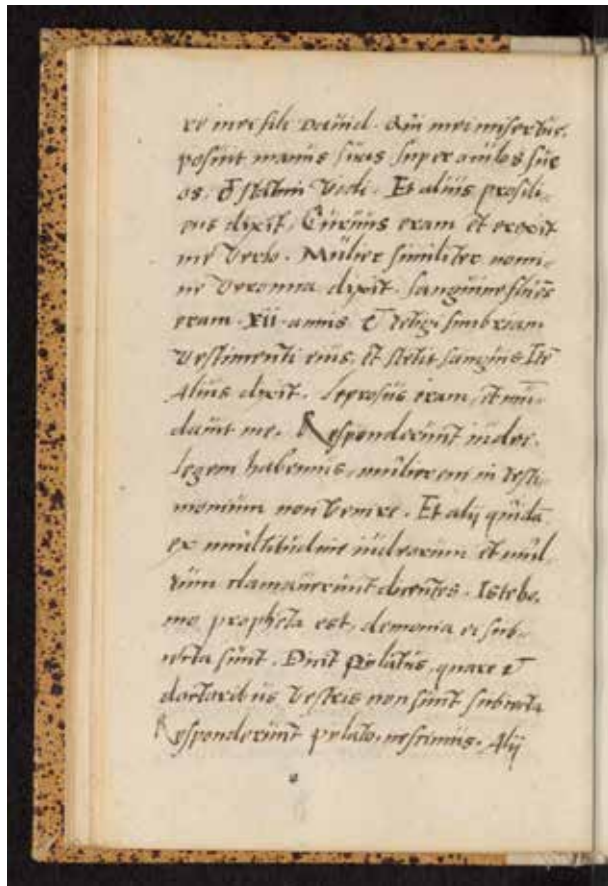
sus quod ex se inuocata signorum in-  
 pita adorauerunt Ithm. Significi-  
 antem interrogati a Pilato. quare hoc  
 fecissent. dixerunt. Nos uiri paga-  
 ni sumus et templorum secti. Sic  
 modo habuimus aduocare eum. Item  
 uocantes nobis signis per se inuocata  
 adorauerunt eum. Dicit Pilatus  
 cal archisynagogum et seniores plebis.  
 Eligite uirum prudentem et fortis qui  
 contineat signa. Et uideamus si ex  
 se inuocabit. Que facta. Et inuocante  
 Ithm. iterum signa inuocata aduocau-  
 erunt Ithm. Quod Videns Pilatus. Ithm  
 profectus exire uolens. Timor autem uox  
 illius ei dicens. Nichil tibi timere illi.  
 Nilum enim hac nocte passa sum prop-

pter illum per Ithm. Dixerunt  
 Iudei. Numquid non dicimus quod  
 maleficus est. Ecce feminam in-  
 uisit uxori. Pilatus aduersans  
 Ithm dixit. Non audis quanta ad-  
 uersus te testificantur. Respondit  
 Ithm. Si non habuerint potestatem lo-  
 quendi bonum uel malum. Ipsius  
 dei responderunt. quod uolumus pro-  
 quod ex fornicatione es. Scimus  
 quod in bethleem pregenita tua est.  
 ubi prope te facta est interrogatio  
 proreum. Tertio quod pater tu-  
 us. Et matre tua fuerunt in aegip-  
 tum. quia non habuerunt fiduciam  
 in populo dixerunt quidam ex astanti-  
 bus Iudeis. Nos non dicimus eum

ex fornicatione natum. Non sumus  
 quia dispensata est Maria Iosiph. Dicit  
 Pilatus ad eos. qui dicebant Ithm ex  
 fornicatione natum. Si uero uisite mi-  
 dax est. sunt ex gente dystra testa-  
 tur. Dicit Pilato Annas et Ca-  
 phas milia hie hominum proclamant  
 quod ex fornicatione natus est. Et ma-  
 leficus sit. Isti autem presbiteri sunt  
 inter facti. Iudei dixerunt. Lega-  
 ritis Ananias. Anthonis. Iacob  
 Pricas et Samuel. Isaac et Iosiphus  
 Agrippa Amos. et Iudas. Nos pro-  
 fecti non sumus nati. sed filij iude-  
 arum sumus. Et ueritatem legi-  
 mus. Ithm in deus salubris. Na-  
 ris sumus. Quos alloquens pi-





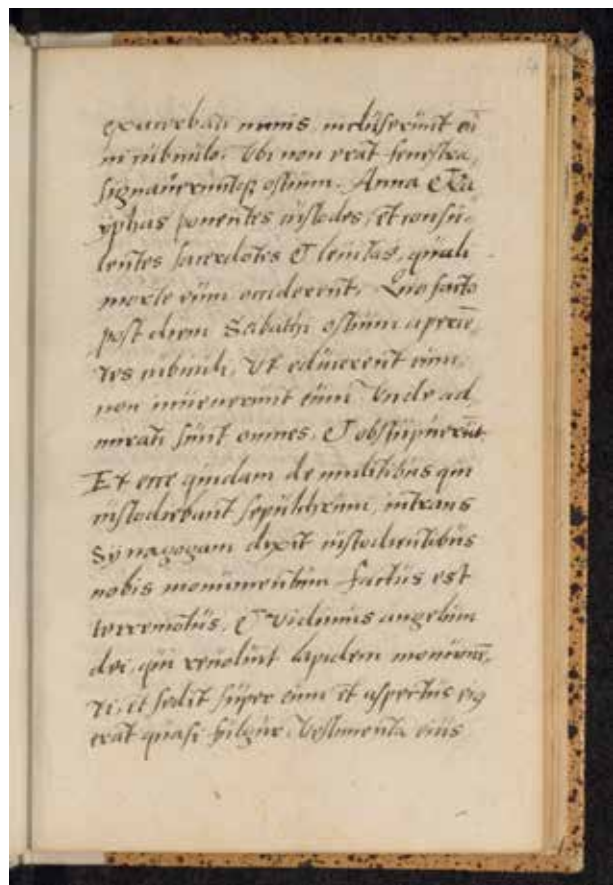
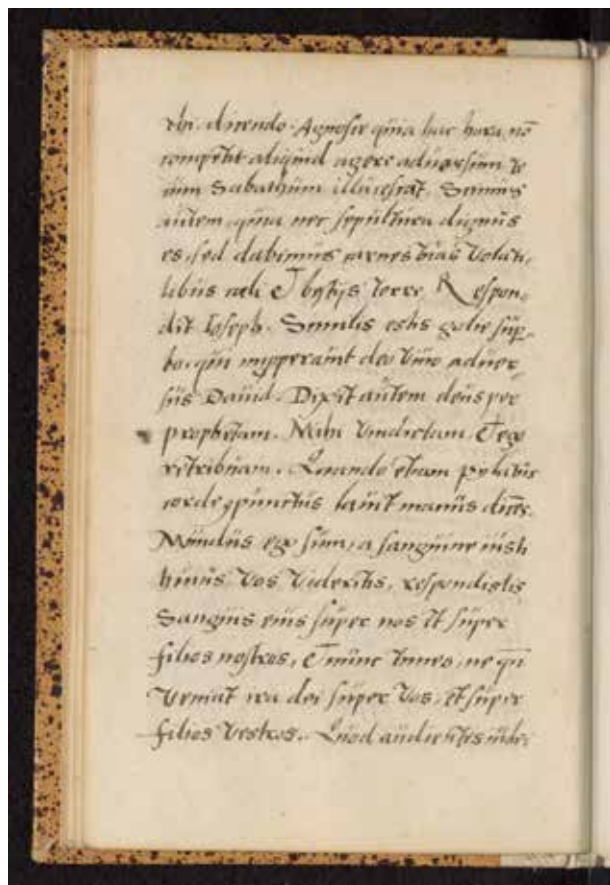
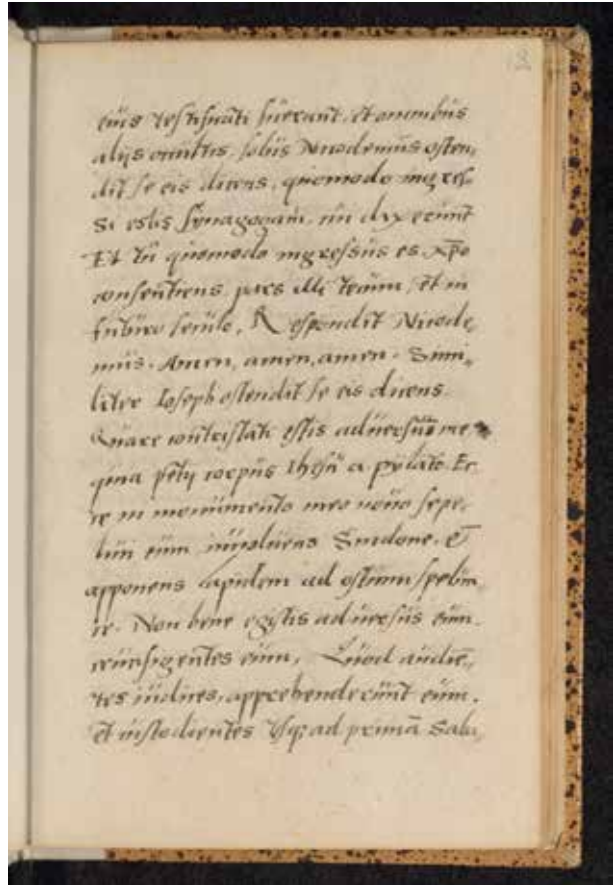
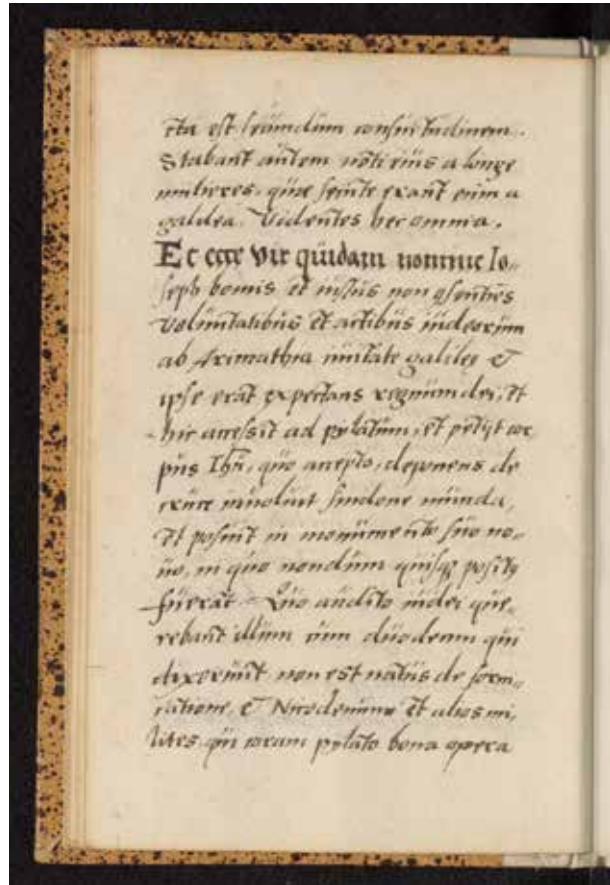


accipiens omni misit ad herodem,  
 dicens. Immo ego sum a sangui-  
 ne misit hinc. Uos autem dicitis. Et  
 profertis est. Polabris bis dicitis. di-  
 rens sententiam aduersus Ioh. De-  
 misit tunc probant de regem, prop-  
 tera pceptis de primo flagellari se.  
 Similiter statuta pceptum pceptum.  
 Deinde alterant in tunc in loco qu-  
 teritio te. Iohannes maliquos tunc  
 quicquid nomina sunt her Desmas  
 Desmas. Et exiens ibi de pre-  
 teris. Iohannes latens omni eo, tunc  
 vult tunc te ad homin. Et exph-  
 antem tunc vestimentis suis. I  
 pceptis vult tunc linteis, et tunc  
 nam de spinis imposuerunt in te  
 caput eius. Similiter et dicit lat-

nes tunc te suspenderunt Desmas  
 a dextera. Desmas a sinistra. Ioh  
 vero dixit. pater pater, et dicit de-  
 lie quia misit quid facit, et  
 dimiserunt tunc vestimenta eius. Sic  
 tunc populi et tunc fecerunt tunc p-  
 neps herodem. Dicitur tunc in  
 rea similes legentes. Ahas sal-  
 vos sunt, tunc scriptum saluum san-  
 si filius dei est, et dicitur de tunc.  
 Et dicitur tunc quia milites  
 Et accipiens autem Ioh, affectat  
 et bibere dicitur. Si tunc ex  
 videtur tunc libere tunc tunc.  
 Accipiens autem sanguis miles  
 tunc aperit labis tunc et  
 tunc sanguis et aqua. Viserit  
 autem Polabris per sententia sibi

hinc de hebreis, grecis, et latinis  
 simul quod dicitur tunc  
 hic et rex tunc tunc. Unus au-  
 tem ex his latere tunc qui suspen-  
 si sunt nomine Desmas dicitur ei.  
 Si tunc es Desmas, libere tunc tunc.  
 tunc et tunc. Respondit Desmas,  
 et tunc tunc tunc dicitur. Non  
 tunc dicitur quia in hoc tunc  
 is, nos tunc dicitur ea quia g-  
 fimo tunc tunc hic tunc mali-  
 fent. Et ait ad Ioh. Memento  
 te tunc dicitur dicitur tunc  
 in regnum tunc. Respondit  
 et Ioh. Amen dico tibi, herodem  
 tunc tunc in p- dicitur. Ecce au-  
 tem quia bona sicut. Et tunc  
 facta sunt super tunc tunc tunc

Uig ad herem tunc. Solem tunc  
 dicitur. Ecce tunc tunc tunc  
 est, in dicitur tunc tunc tunc  
 tunc. Et dicitur tunc tunc tunc.  
 Uia dicitur tunc tunc. Quod tunc tunc  
 tunc. In manu tunc tunc tunc pa-  
 tre tunc tunc tunc tunc. Et  
 hoc dicitur tunc tunc tunc. Uult  
 autem tunc tunc quia facta sunt,  
 gloriatur tunc tunc. Et hoc  
 tunc tunc tunc. Et omnes populi  
 tunc tunc tunc tunc tunc. Quod  
 audiens tunc tunc tunc tunc tunc  
 non tunc tunc tunc tunc tunc  
 tunc dicit. Et tunc tunc tunc tunc  
 illis. Uultis quia facta sunt. Re-  
 sponderunt tunc tunc tunc tunc



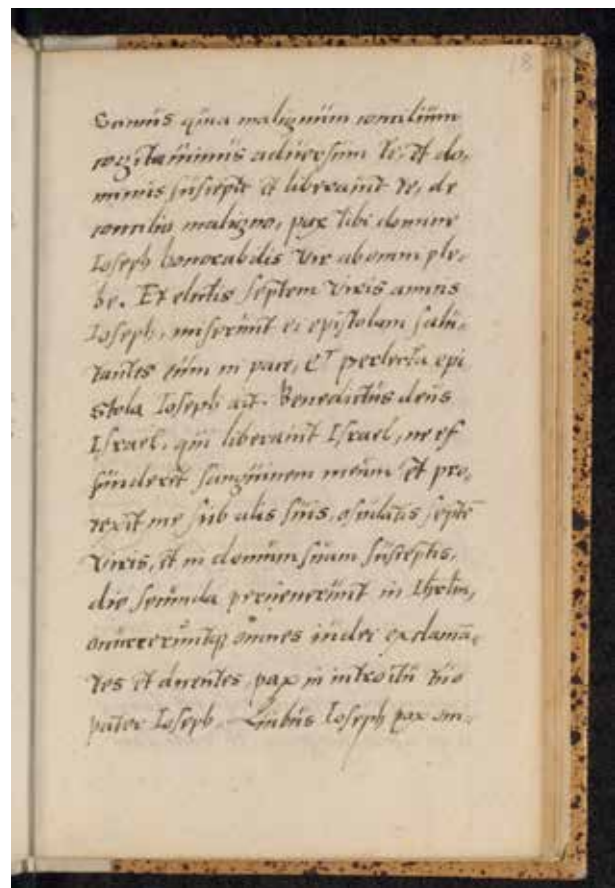
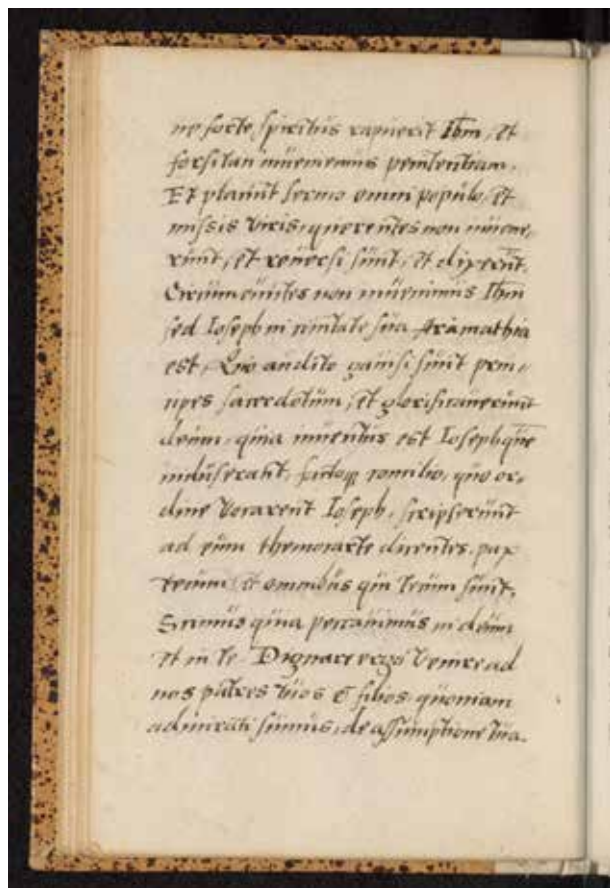
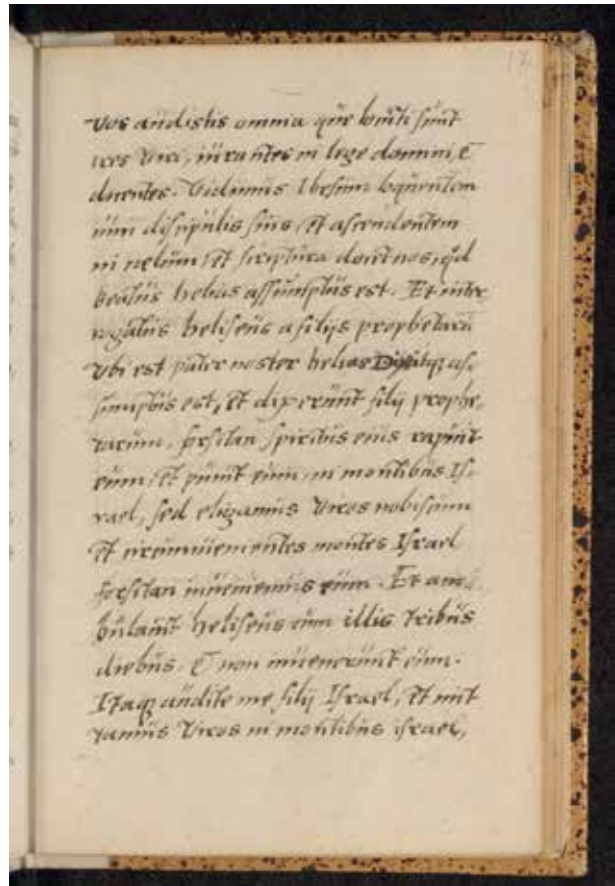
sunt me; et per turres facti sunt  
 sunt mox et ad dominum an-  
 tium dixerunt mulieribus: quia ve-  
 nerunt ad sepulchrum. Nolite ti-  
 mere, sed quod Iesus quiescit non  
 est hic, sed surrexit  
 sunt dixit. Venite et videte lo-  
 cum ubi positus erat, et cito venite  
 dicit discipulis quia surrexit et  
 peredet vos in galilea, ibi enim  
 videbitis. Et tunc mulieres cito  
 mystice dixerunt que sunt mi-  
 lites quibus angelus locutus est  
 et quare non tenuistis vias. Respon-  
 derunt milites mulieres in sumis  
 et nos velut mox facti sumus per  
 viam angelum. Responderunt iudei  
 Venit dominus, quia non credimus.

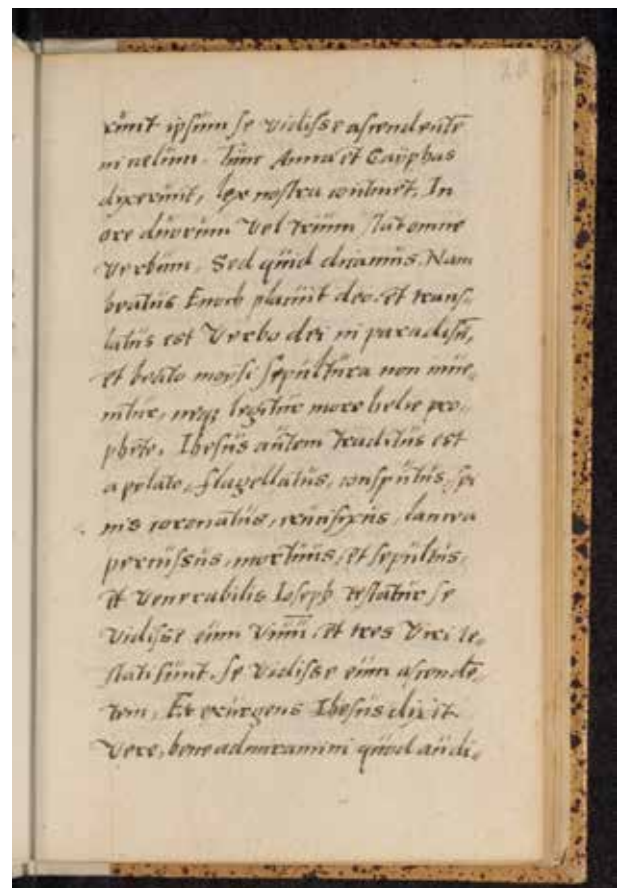
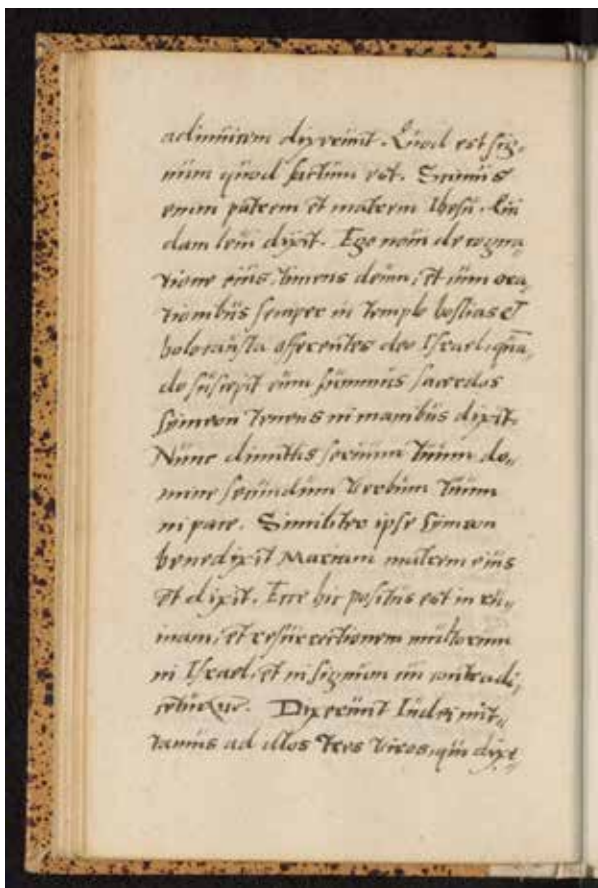
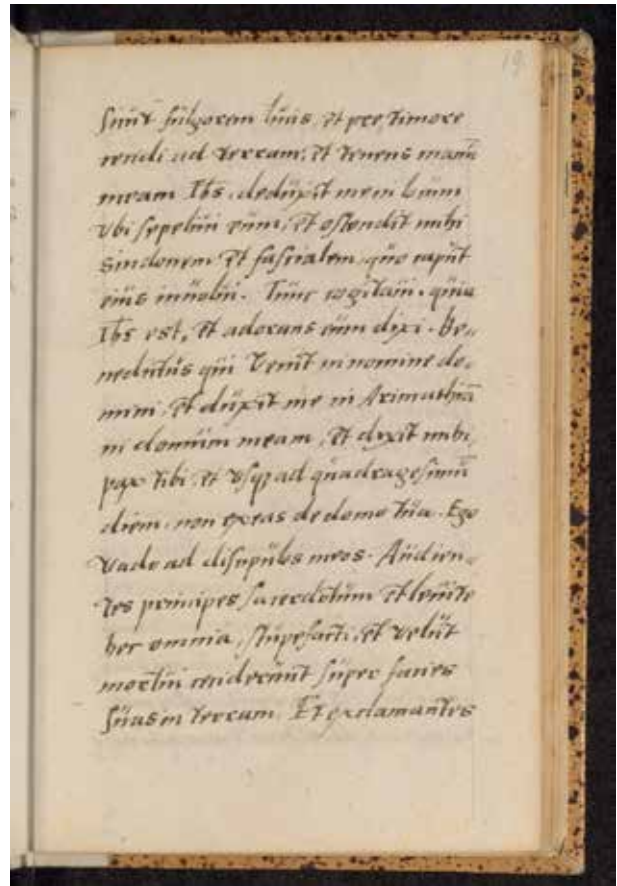
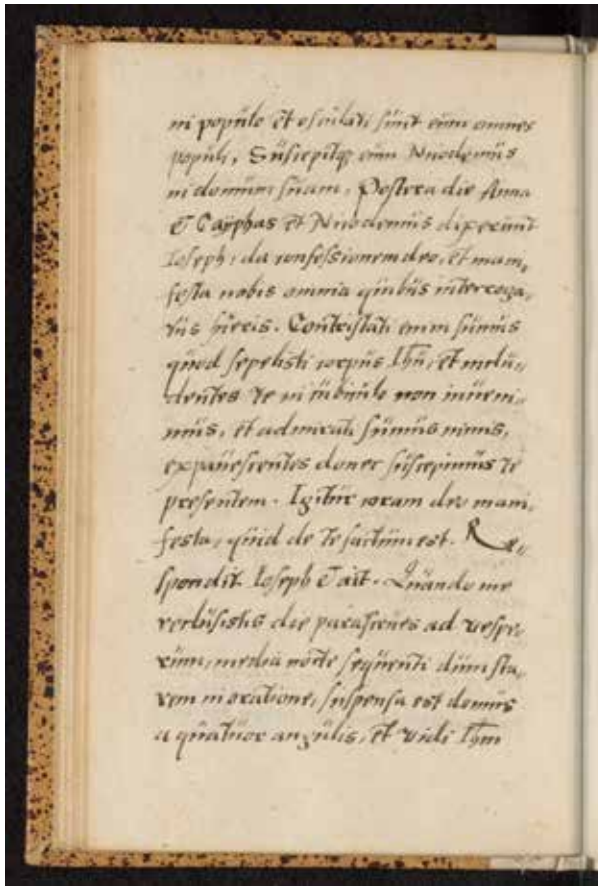
vobis. Responderunt milites, tunc  
 in miracula videntes Iesus factus  
 reddidit. quem modo nobis reddidit  
 estis. bene quidem dixistis. Numbrum  
 et venit dominus quem reddidit  
 factum quod Ioseph qui sepeli-  
 mit corpus Iesus in iudis in iudis  
 lo super fluvium signato. Et per-  
 res non invenit eum, dicit ergo  
 nobis Ioseph quem reddidit in  
 iudis, et nos dabimus Iesus  
 quem in iudis in iudis  
 Responderunt iudei Ioseph da-  
 mus nos, dicit vos Iesus Ioseph  
 enim in iudis sua in iudis  
 thia est. et Iesus in galilea est si-  
 mit audimus ab angelis. Hoc  
 quidam iudei ad dominum dicit

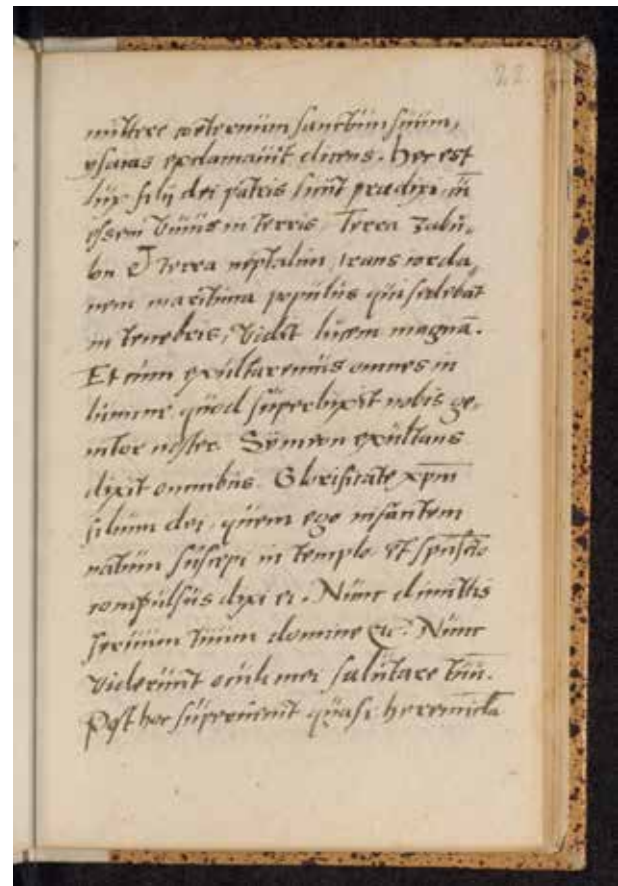
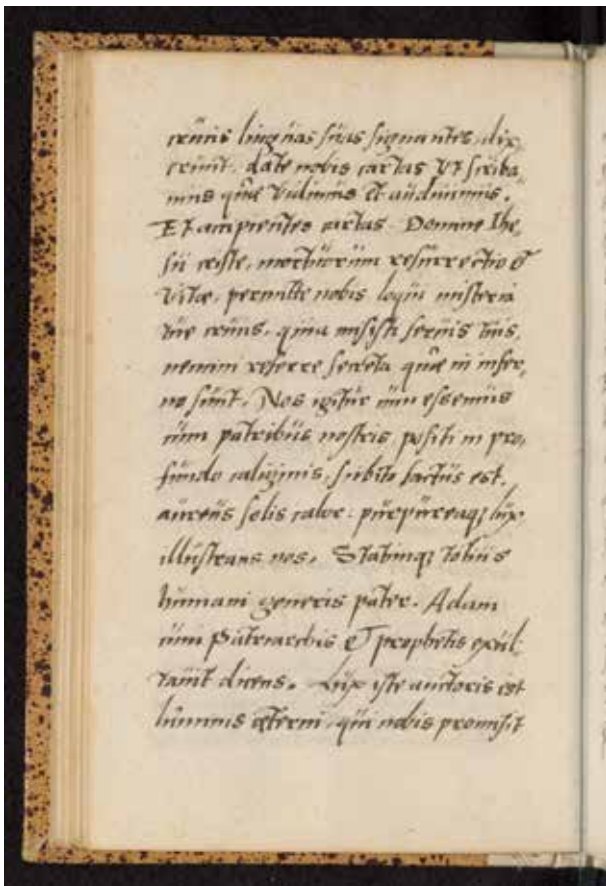
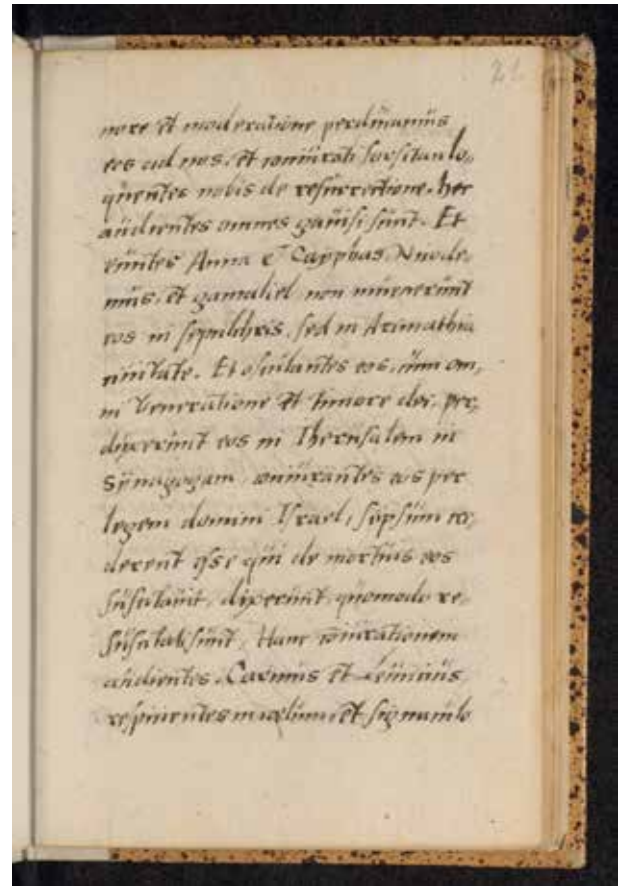
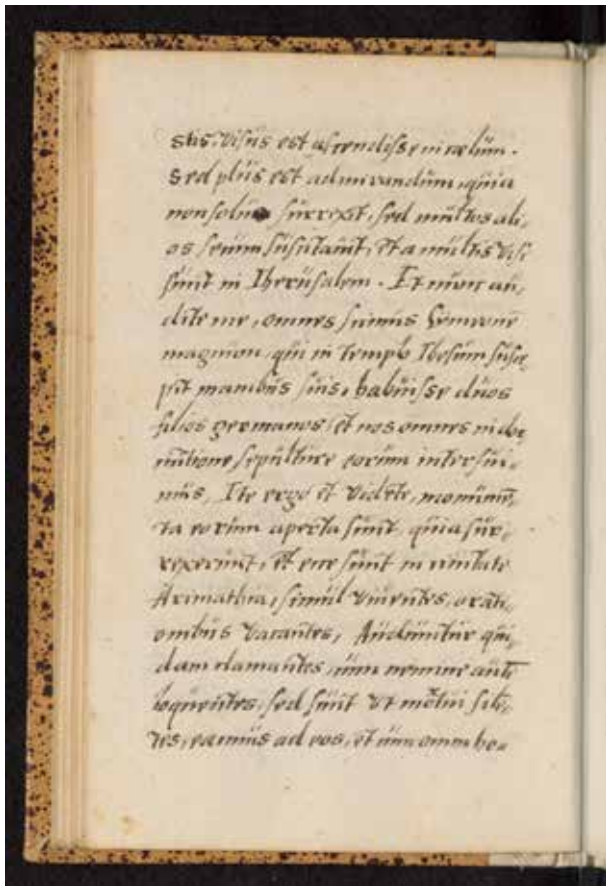
res viderunt valde. Neque videtur  
 dicitur formosus iste et omnes cre-  
 dunt in Iesus. Et congregata prima  
 multa dixerunt eis dicitur. Dicitur  
 quia nobis dicitur discipulis  
 Iesus facti sunt corpus eius. sunt  
 mis Iesus vos servos vestris pro-  
 lina, si audistis sunt verbum hoc.  
 Milites vero impientes primam se-  
 dixerunt. et a muliere miterunt sunt  
 et dicitur seorsum eorum apud  
 omnes. Unde autem sacerdos  
 nomine finis et ad illa percipit  
 et omnes nomine agens ista res  
 Veniunt de galilea in Iesus de-  
 rentes primam sacerdotum Ie-  
 sum quem reddidit reddidit in  
 viderunt discipulis loquentem et se-  
 dentem in medio eorum in monte.

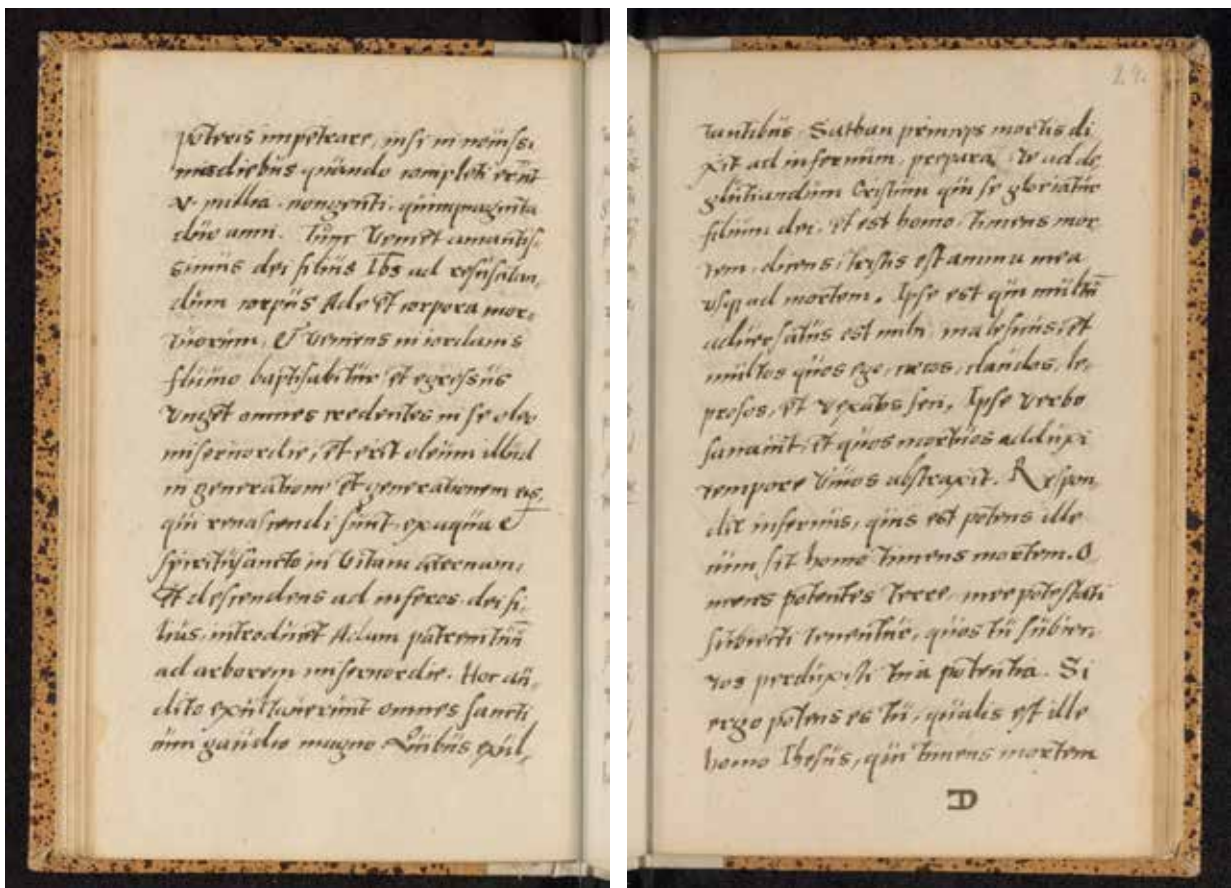
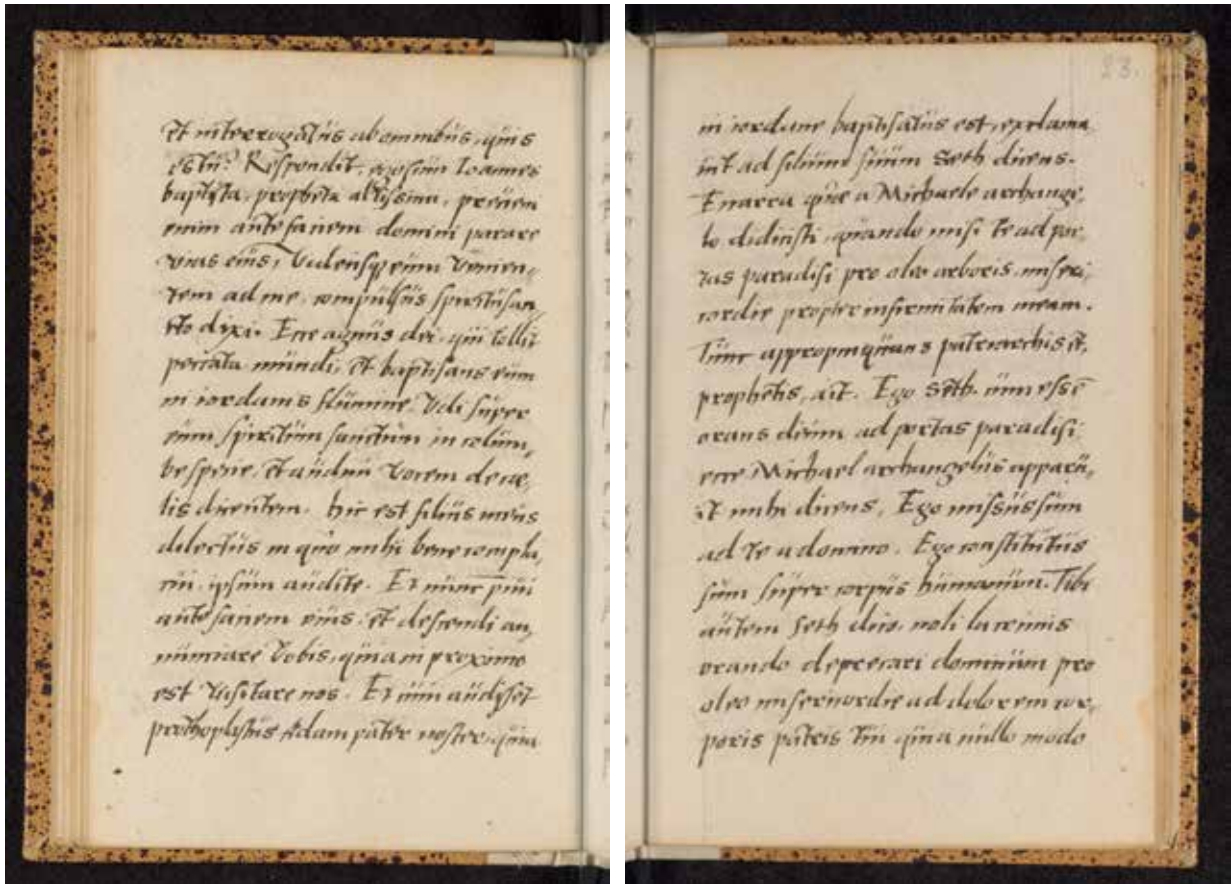
dicitur I dicitur eis. Tunc in  
 dicitur dicitur per dicitur Enange-  
 lum baptizans eos in nomine pa-  
 tris, et filii, et spiritus sancti. In res  
 dicitur et baptizans sunt ad salum  
 red, qui non reddidit, reddidit  
 bibe. Et hoc dicitur reddidit enim us-  
 reddidit in reddidit. Audientes  
 primam sacerdotum dixerunt da-  
 re gloriam deo, et dicitur confessionem.  
 Si vera sunt que vidistis et au-  
 distis. Responderunt. Venit domi-  
 nus dicitur patrem reddidit, dicitur  
 Abraham, dicitur Isaac, et dicitur Iacob,  
 quia vera sunt que dicitur enim  
 dicitur enim loquentem discipulis  
 suis. et reddidit enim reddidit  
 in reddidit. Quod si tamen enim  
 peccatum habuerunt. Exergentis

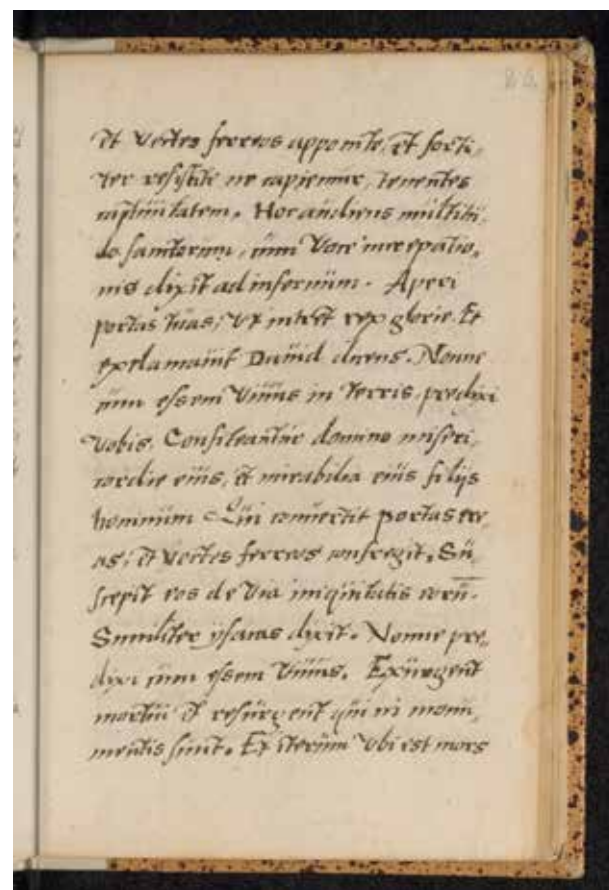
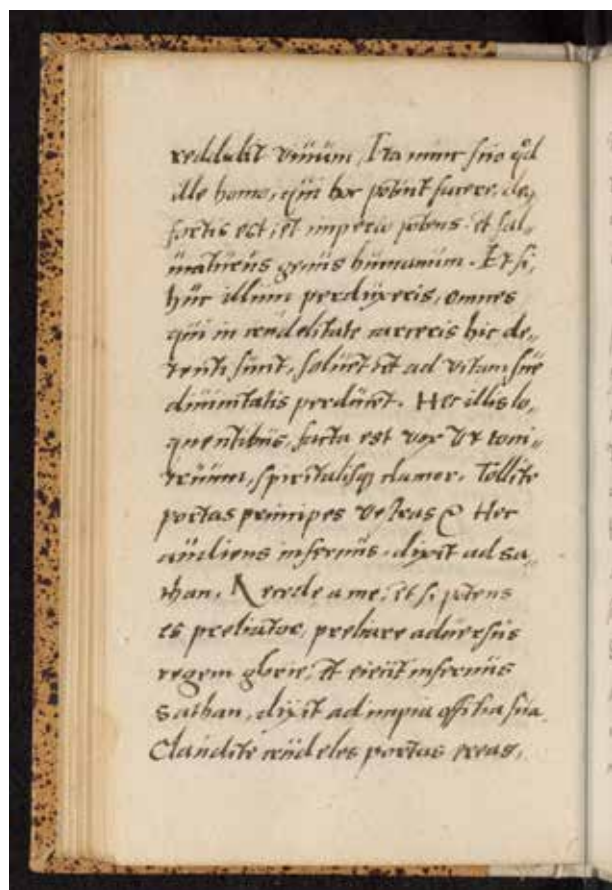
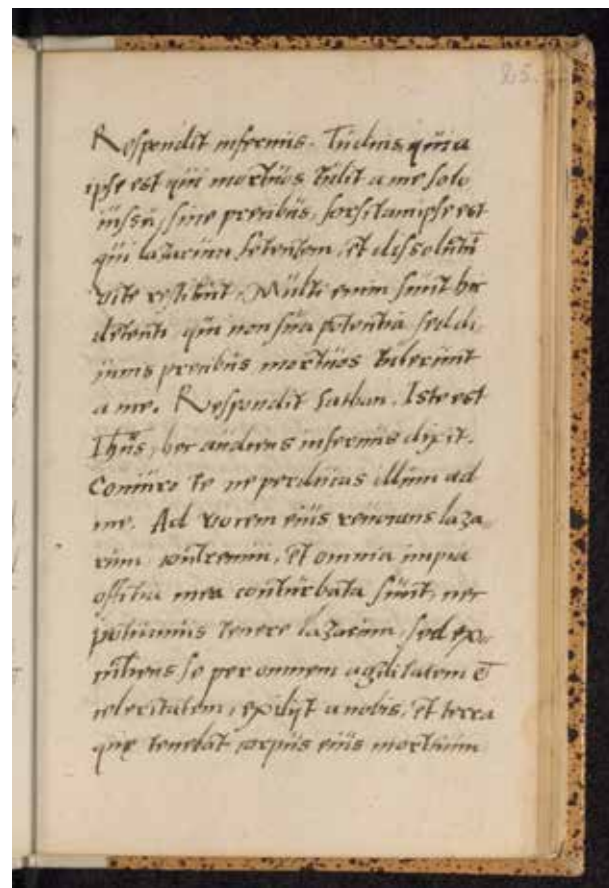
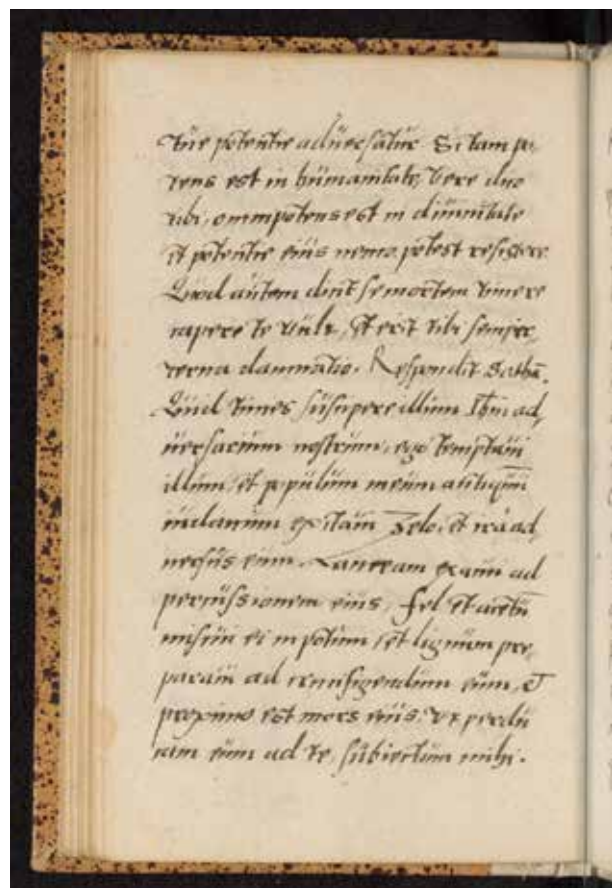


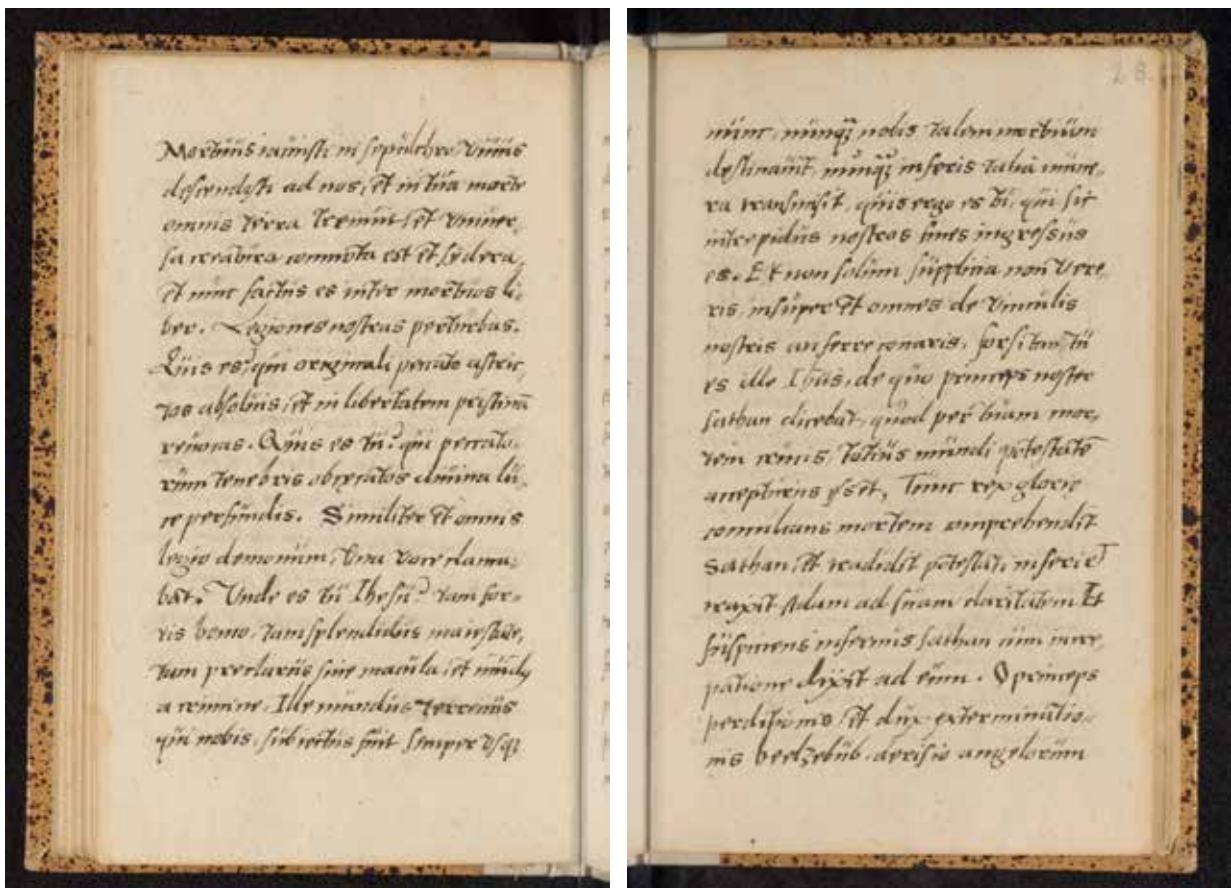
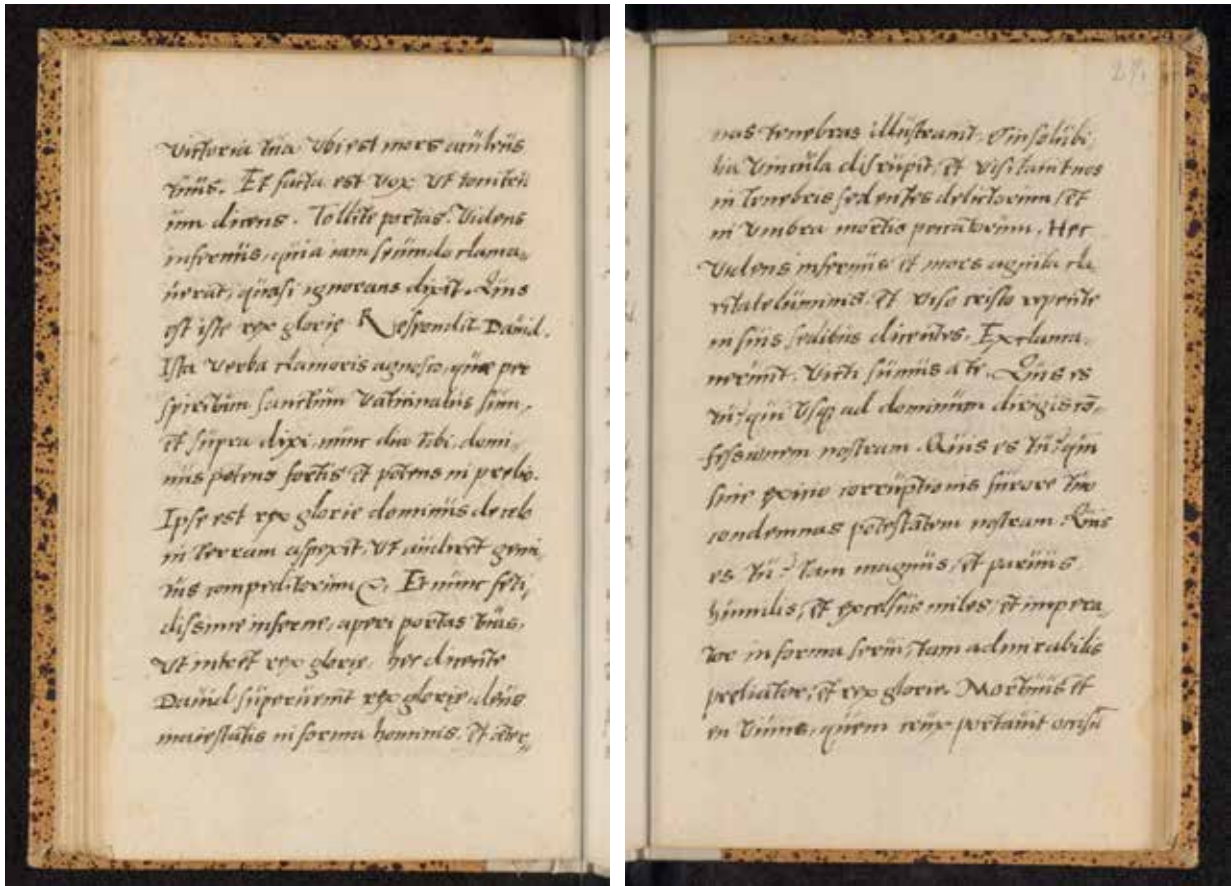












despectio in locum. quod in saeculo  
 voluisti. Regem glorie renuisti  
 voluisti in unum regem tanta spolia  
 promisti. Erit tunc iste locus domus  
 malis sine fine. fugat omnes te  
 nebeas nocte et serena meritis  
 insensit. et erit rapinos et sol  
 in tenebris. et omnes qui solent  
 sub nocte suspirare tormentis in  
 saltabant nobis. Iam non viderit  
 nos gemitus humanum. Insuper  
 bis ammirabile. Operibus Sa-  
 than. illis tunc divitibus per legem  
 prevaricationis. Et preclari amissi-  
 onem. Nunc per legem tunc pre-  
 clari. et preclari omnis letitia tua.  
 domus istum regem glorie renuisti  
 suspendisti ammodo te gressu. quatuor

tormentis pascentis et in terra ista  
 deo. sempiterna. debereas penam  
 nullam meritis iniquitatis. sed nulla  
 inquam mentisti. quare unius ren-  
 nunciasti. Cum in noxam regi-  
 onem innocens perdidisti. et  
 voluit mundum innoxios et impios a-  
 misti. per loquentem inferno ad  
 sathan. dixit rex glorie ad infernum.  
 Exit sathan sub una potestate in pre-  
 sence serula. in loco ad te et filium  
 eius. et infernum innoxios. Et  
 extensio manuum suam dixit.  
 Upride ad nos omnes sancti in te qui  
 habetis iniquitatem et similitudi-  
 nem meam. qui per legem facti  
 domus et diabolum et mortem super-  
 vati. Nedo videri per legem tunc

nis damnatum diabolum et mor-  
 tem. Et tunc omnes sancti sub una  
 in domum altissimi sunt. tunc  
 videri dominus manu dextera ad  
 dixit ad tunc. pax tibi et omni-  
 bus tunc iustis meis. Adam autem  
 genibus domini prostratus dixit.  
 et. Exaltabo te domine quonia  
 suscipisti in te. domini deus  
 meus clamavi ad te. Dominus  
 rediisti et psallite dominus om-  
 nes sancti eius. Similitudinem  
 nos sancti una voce dixerunt.  
 adieristi exultatione in iustis. et  
 in pre legem et preceptis tuis  
 dixisti. Despondisti ad nos pro  
 mortem tunc hinc. ut respiceret  
 nos a morte per mansuetudinem tuam

Et sunt passivi tunc in exultatione  
 domus tunc hinc in tereis.  
 Ita tunc domine spiritum dicit.  
 tu tunc in inferno. ut mors do-  
 minis amplius. Et extensio  
 domini manuum suam super  
 sathan. et super omnes suos. sic  
 est spiritum tunc. Tunc exla-  
 mant dominus. Cantate do-  
 mine tantum nomini quonia  
 mirabilia sunt. Et responderunt  
 omnes gloria hoc est omnibus  
 sanctis eius. Aliter dixit. Ex-  
 git domine in salutem populi  
 tunc. Et dicitur ait. Quis dicit  
 hinc in domine. in inferno a-  
 nobis iniquitates et reprobati-  
 onis peccata. et domus tunc in te

p[er]fructum maris. Et omnes  
 sancti respiciunt. h[ic] est de  
 us noster in aeternum. ipse regit  
 nos in seculo. alleluia. Et sequit[ur]  
 laudare dominum. Tradiditq[ue]  
 nos dominus Michael archan-  
 gelo. q[ui]m introduxit nos in pa-  
 radisum. et omne regit[ur] eis. deo  
 v[er]o venisti. Interrogat[ur] a san-  
 ctis q[ui]m ipse est. Respondit unus  
 ego sum Inoch q[ui]m v[er]bo do-  
 mini h[ic] sum translatus. Iste  
 autem q[ui]m nomen est. Helius  
 est. q[ui]m nomen regit[ur] assump[er]it  
 est. Et usq[ue] nunc non gustavit  
 mortem. sed maduerit[ur] vita.  
 v[er]bi v[er]ba n[on] sumis. dominus  
 signis. et prodigijs p[ro]phetat. ut

eo. et ubi in omni in Iherosolymis.  
 quam tendimus et servamus v[er]ba  
 v[er]bi. Et in v[er]bis assump[er]it. et  
 his v[er]bis sup[er]venit. v[er]o quida  
 misit. postea t[er]ram in h[ic]me-  
 ris. Archa v[er]bentis sancti. d[omi]n[us]  
 venit. Quis es tu? q[ui]a v[er]bo  
 tua latens est. T[er]ra est sign[um]  
 m[er]it[um] q[ui]od p[ro]ditus. Respondens  
 ille ait. V[er]o latens s[un]t. sanctor[um] d[omi]n[us]  
 mala s[un]t v[er]ba. remissio est  
 me m[er]it[um]. immo I[er]o[so]l[im]a. et  
 ipse saluator[um]. T[er]ratorem em-  
 m[er]it[um]. et dominationem omnipotentis.  
 et u[er]ba p[ro]phetas s[un]t om[n]i d[omi]n[us].  
 Memoria n[on] dormit d[omi]n[us]. v[er]o  
 n[on] est in regnum[um] h[ic]me. Quis su-  
 um suspicis orationem meam.

ait. Amen dico tibi h[ic] me m[er]it[um]  
 eis in paradiso. Et dicit[ur] m[er]it[um] hoc  
 signum. mittens ad paradysum. v[er]o  
 v[er]bo hoc sign[um]. angelis n[on] s[un]t para-  
 diso intro m[er]it[um] et me. et tollens  
 me angelis in d[omi]n[us] parad[isum].  
 dicit[ur] ait. Existite m[er]it[um] est  
 m[er]it[um] v[er]bentis p[ro]phet[um] s[un]t. Ioh[ann]is  
 h[ic]me. q[ui]m n[on] est om[n]i d[omi]n[us]  
 sanctis. Hec omnia v[er]ba l[ite]ra.  
 m[er]it[um] d[omi]n[us] n[on] est om[n]i p[ro]phet[um]  
 et p[ro]phet[um] v[er]ba v[er]ba d[omi]n[us].  
 dominus omnipotens. q[ui]m v[er]ba  
 gratiam d[omi]n[us] v[er]ba in gaudia  
 paradysi. m[er]it[um] d[omi]n[us] v[er]ba v[er]ba ad  
 p[ro]phet[um] p[ro]phet[um] et cetera. et  
 spirital[is] v[er]ba v[er]ba est. Amen

32  
**H**ec sunt divina et sacra  
 mysteria q[ui]m v[er]bentis. Sanctor[um]  
 m[er]it[um]. Ego Carinus et Leonius fra-  
 tres gemam. ampliusq[ue] n[on] sumus  
 p[ro]misi emere et v[er]ba myste-  
 ria dei. Sunt testans Michael  
 archangelus dicit nobis. om[n]i d[omi]n[us]  
 m[er]it[um] se dicit[ur] v[er]bentis in Iherosolu-  
 m. v[er]bis m[er]it[um] v[er]bentis g[lo]b[us].  
 v[er]bis v[er]bentis d[omi]n[us]  
 m[er]it[um] I[er]o[so]l[im]a. q[ui]m v[er]ba mor-  
 tuis suscipit. et n[on] veniunt  
 v[er]bis sequentes. sed v[er]bis v[er]ba.  
 v[er]ba v[er]ba d[omi]n[us] v[er]ba v[er]ba v[er]ba  
 mittat dominus vobis v[er]ba  
 s[un]t d[omi]n[us] v[er]ba v[er]ba. v[er]ba v[er]ba  
 s[un]t archangelus v[er]ba v[er]ba v[er]ba

E



407  
 in locum asphumum. Ubi sunt milia  
 in quibus nobis sum sine ex tunc in  
 vestimentum resurrexerunt. In  
 xpo. Et baptizati sumus in iorda  
 me flumine. ac prout singulis  
 stelas ubi. Et post tres dies etc.  
 beate passu domini. omnes qui  
 nobis sum sine ex tunc. xpo. se  
 unis in milibus. Et a tunc po  
 stea visi sunt. huius sunt qui vobis  
 reuersione domini. resurrexerunt  
 bis. Pax vobis ab ipso domine  
 die nostro. In xpo saluatore nro  
 Et completis omnibus Carminis  
 reddidit. Nardomo et Josepho  
 inuictis. Et subito reuersione  
 sunt. rancidat nimis. Et no an.

33  
 plius visi. Scripta autem eorum  
 inuenta sunt equalia. in belonia  
 in's aut nimis vna litera. habet  
 tra qsa omnia admiranda. Cui  
 in et hinc dicit andreas semu  
 goga. dixereunt ad dominum. Vra  
 ista omnia a deo sunt. Et benedi  
 ctus dominus in secula seculi  
 amen. Et exierunt omnes  
 de synagoga in magna illud  
 dicit. Et tunc prout nro per  
 stera sua. Ab huius vniuersis in pa  
 pua. Josepho vero et Nardomo  
 statim inuenerunt presule sua  
 que ipse possit in volubus publi  
 cis presule. Postquam volens iasa  
 et minare hoc omnia scripsit epi

408  
 solum dicens. Prouisus prolebis dan  
 die sine saltem. Nunc vobis qd  
 et ipse probum milites pro inuicta  
 se sic huius presule reddidit. in belonia  
 tunc prout. De quo nimis pua  
 sum habent presule eorum qd  
 illis dene inuictis de re sancta  
 sum. qui in xpo veni die  
 xpo. In huius se pro vniuersis  
 inuictis inuictis ad iocus. Et  
 in presule in terra inuicta huius  
 inuictis. Vnde dicit inuictis. ne  
 nos illuminasset. leprosus inuictis  
 se paralyticus inuictis. armatus  
 ab hominibus inuictis. mortuus  
 inuictis. Inuictis vniuersis. an  
 inuictis huius prolebis inuictis  
 inuictis. Et multa alia inuictis. Et

34  
 signa inuictis et milites de populo in  
 dicit inuictis. qui saltem die inuictis  
 inuictis inuictis eorum inuictis  
 prout presule inuictis. Et tunc  
 eorum. Et inuictis presule inuictis  
 ultra pro aliis inuictis de re inuictis  
 inuictis. dixereunt illum magnum in  
 se. Et inuictis dicit inuictis. Ego an  
 tunc vobis eorum ita inuictis  
 est. flagellatum inuictis illum  
 inuictis eorum. Illi autem inuictis  
 inuictis eorum ligno. Et inuictis  
 inuictis inuictis presule inuictis  
 inuictis presule inuictis ad inuictis  
 inuictis. Illi autem inuictis in  
 inuictis inuictis. Et signa inuictis inuictis  
 inuictis inuictis die inuictis inuictis

Vnde In tantum autem exegerit  
 iniquitas hominum ut data perennia  
 multibus inascerentur dicitur  
 Dicitur quia discipuli eius per no-  
 rum fuerunt sunt regis eius. Et  
 accepta perennia, multos dicitur  
 rem tace non potuerunt. Ideo  
 suggestores regi nequius alter men-  
 tate et essent vultu dicitur me  
 datis meliorum dicitur po-  
 et sua vestit. Omnia que gesta  
 sunt de Iesu in praesentia meo huc  
 voluit dicitur dicitur ad huc  
 videntem libere imperatore. In  
 exansimo laborante morbo. Ipse  
 enim libere et vitello consilium  
 videntem ipse libere omni gna

35  
 breuacit imperium et dicitur  
 inuicem respicit dicitur me  
 ipse sunt ut ad partes Iherosolima  
 vni dicitur pendit dicitur  
 ut Iherosolima ipsum ipse dicitur  
 breuis. quia multa meamita an-  
 dicitur. et quod meos suscitauit  
 inuicem omnes sanacit. tam pre-  
 se quam pre discipulos suos. Hor-  
 rigate consilia vultu dicitur. Si  
 dicitur est. saltem prope nobis pe-  
 rest. Si homo est. amaceno po-  
 test. et vni publicam pream gna  
 breuacit passim. hinc conside-  
 ro. quia prenegit me inuicem  
 meo. Elegit itaque vni pendens  
 quia enim ad nos omni rogati et hinc

nec pream ipse. Elato itaque  
 illis dicitur vni dicitur sa-  
 niste. ipse enim ad partes hinc  
 solimonia. ut vni tam suo quam  
 Casius dicitur rogati sub vni  
 na et hinc pream ipse. Doler  
 vni vni dicitur. et itam hinc  
 vni pream ipse et remissum vni  
 meis de ipse distillat. Tunc  
 vni vni summa inuicem  
 lan gnae suo adhibens nihil pe-  
 scit. Ad hinc vni dicitur  
 me dicitur. Tunc vni dicitur  
 vni dicitur meo. et vni post vni  
 saluo. et quidem inuicem pream  
 gna dicitur. et vni dicitur  
 similitudine. et dicitur pream ipse

36  
 vni dicitur vni vni dicitur  
 ad inuicem hinc dicitur  
 quia dicitur est vni. quod homo  
 sit quidam vni dicitur hinc  
 quoniam dicitur meos suscitauit et  
 omnia alia inuicem vni dicitur  
 dicitur dicitur dicitur et vni inuicem  
 vni dicitur vni dicitur. vni dicitur  
 vni salutem pream. Tunc vni  
 hinc inuicem sapite ad hinc et  
 saxem. et hinc vni dicitur hinc  
 dicitur hinc hinc. namque as-  
 vni dicitur vni inuicem vni  
 dicitur hinc. et hinc dicitur  
 salimonia pream. hinc inuicem  
 vni dicitur. omnes vni inuicem

Nimiam vniuersi polate quod die  
 venturie in bono constitutis de  
 partibus kamant aduenisset. Omne  
 vniuersi vniuersi in oratione omni  
 omni sollicitudine dixit. Quippe non  
 interueniens sicut in de aduenit die  
 sine. Et in oratione sine dixerunt ubi  
 obsequium. Respondit Volusianus  
 mis. Nos postea non in oratione p  
 inimie dixerunt summus a p[er]sona li  
 bere regere aut pro vniuersi in  
 butum. ut pro sollicitudine vniuersi  
 boni sed similitudine est nobis quere  
 p[er] domini nostri Augusti salutem  
 quem in scriptura eius verbula  
 ualido constat. Ita ut in  
 ualiditatis. ut in ualiditatis  
 aduenit p[er]venerit. Ita nos solli

87  
 unde ut p[er]uenit. Et nisi ab con  
 iungente. h[ic] p[er] multos dies ma  
 re impediende longa tempore  
 demora. Agitur quendam homine  
 nomine Ioh[ann]es exire de silvama  
 quoniam abq[ue] ualiditatis ualiditatis  
 in am p[er] se p[er]venerit. Sicut vela  
 de ualiditatis h[ic] ualiditatis demora  
 quod v[er]bo tantum omnia ualiditatis  
 ualiditatis in am p[er] se p[er]venerit  
 His ualiditatis p[er]venerit ualiditatis in  
 genit. Ad hoc ualiditatis homo miles  
 thomas nomine inuis ualiditatis ante  
 ualiditatis ualiditatis p[er]venerit p[er]venerit  
 Dixit domini n[ost]ri et filium dei. Nam  
 demora omni ualiditatis. Nam  
 et h[ic] sunt ualiditatis in am. p[er] quod de

ipso potestis cognoscere ualiditatis.  
 Tunc vniuersi de ualiditatis dixit. De  
 h[ic] Ioh[ann]es p[er]venerit ualiditatis de silvama  
 in v[er]bo ualiditatis quoniam ualiditatis  
 non ualiditatis ualiditatis in am. Con  
 sistens est vniuersi p[er]venerit ad ualiditatis  
 ualiditatis in am. Tunc ualiditatis  
 p[er]venerit ad ualiditatis. Tunc ualiditatis  
 p[er]venerit ualiditatis p[er]venerit in am  
 Ioh[ann]em quoniam ualiditatis ualiditatis  
 mo et p[er]venerit demora. Respondit  
 demora p[er]venerit dixit. Inuenerit de  
 mo p[er]venerit non p[er]venerit quoniam vniuersi  
 ualiditatis. Dixit h[ic] ualiditatis miles p[er]  
 latis. Non ualiditatis ualiditatis in am  
 de quoniam vniuersi in am ualiditatis  
 genit in ualiditatis de silvama. M[ag]  
 ista h[ic] ualiditatis nobis in am. quoniam ualiditatis  
 omni p[er]venerit ualiditatis et ualiditatis in am

88  
 ualiditatis. Nam ualiditatis h[ic] ualiditatis  
 ualiditatis Ioh[ann]es ad se p[er]venerit in am  
 ualiditatis et ualiditatis ualiditatis. Tunc  
 in am ualiditatis dixit ualiditatis. In  
 solus in p[er]venerit in am p[er]venerit ut dicit  
 omni in v[er]bo ualiditatis in am. Die ex  
 ge nobis in ualiditatis de Ioh[ann]e app[er]  
 in p[er]venerit ualiditatis et v[er]bo homine in am  
 quoniam demora ualiditatis ualiditatis  
 si v[er]bo ualiditatis a mo et in am quoniam  
 ualiditatis in am ualiditatis ualiditatis  
 ualiditatis. Respondit Ioh[ann]es ualiditatis  
 in am quoniam ualiditatis a mo et in am de  
 in am mens Ioh[ann]es ualiditatis quoniam v[er]  
 de in am et in am ipse ualiditatis in am. Et  
 ego p[er]venerit in am in am in am  
 in am et ualiditatis in am p[er]venerit in am  
 ualiditatis in am ualiditatis ualiditatis et  
 demora ualiditatis in am. Tunc ualiditatis

Iulianus misit per amicum regem  
 hierosolimitanum ad inquisitionem  
 eum ut cognosceret eum. Et cum se  
 quens inquisito perit de illo dicit  
 vinit. Quodam homines simul in  
 Ioseph affirmantes se vidisse eum  
 ascendentem in celum. Post hoc  
 Volusianus propter nomen permi-  
 pit misit prolatum in iusticia ma-  
 ior. Cum in iusto multa miracu-  
 la de Iesu mirantibus Volusianum  
 quibus auditis Volusianus dixit  
 vocem omni populo. Si deus erat  
 Iesus mirare non habuit. Si ho-  
 mo gubernare reipublicam potest.  
 Quia omnia praeconia prolati in  
 iusticia in publico eum personam  
 percipit. Cum enim laudamus dixit.  
 Inimicus veritatis et reipublicae quare

39  
 Ad Iesum non retulisti arguendo  
 respondit prolati non peccabis sum  
 in sanguine eius. sed in deo. Cum vo-  
 lusianus tu quem ad inuentionem  
 ostendis. quia non solum eum no-  
 liberasi sed etiam impijs tradidi-  
 sti. Tunc unus ex discipulis Iesu  
 vocem omni populo dixit. Pro-  
 ce. cum Iesum vocis et Iudas ad  
 affligendum dicitur et persequendum  
 habere et dimittere. et prolatum ex-  
 iudice. Quomodo inuentionem  
 et asseris. Respondit prolati in-  
 ducem infidelium Iudaei. et tradidit  
 deum ipsum. et ut inuentionem esse  
 dixerim. Iam manus meas per am-  
 amicitias dicitis. Inuentionem ego sum

a sanguine iusti huius. vos dabo  
 tis. Ad hoc mihi respondendum  
 ut. Sanguinis eius super nos et  
 super filios nostros. His auditis in  
 lacrimis ad prolatum ait. Impre-  
 tus deo discipulo dimittere debuisse.  
 His factis cepit Volusianus inquirere  
 vixit aliquam similitudinem Iesu  
 christi. Vixit quidam nomine ma-  
 rius quondam secreta similitudinem  
 mulieris dicitur Volusiano. Ante  
 annos sex inuenerit mulierem quae  
 clam afflixit sanguinis Iesu qui se-  
 nita ob amorem eius. imaginem  
 ipsius sibi depinxit. cum ipse ma-  
 rius in corpore. Ipsi etiam sciende.  
 Vixit Volusianus dixit ad marium

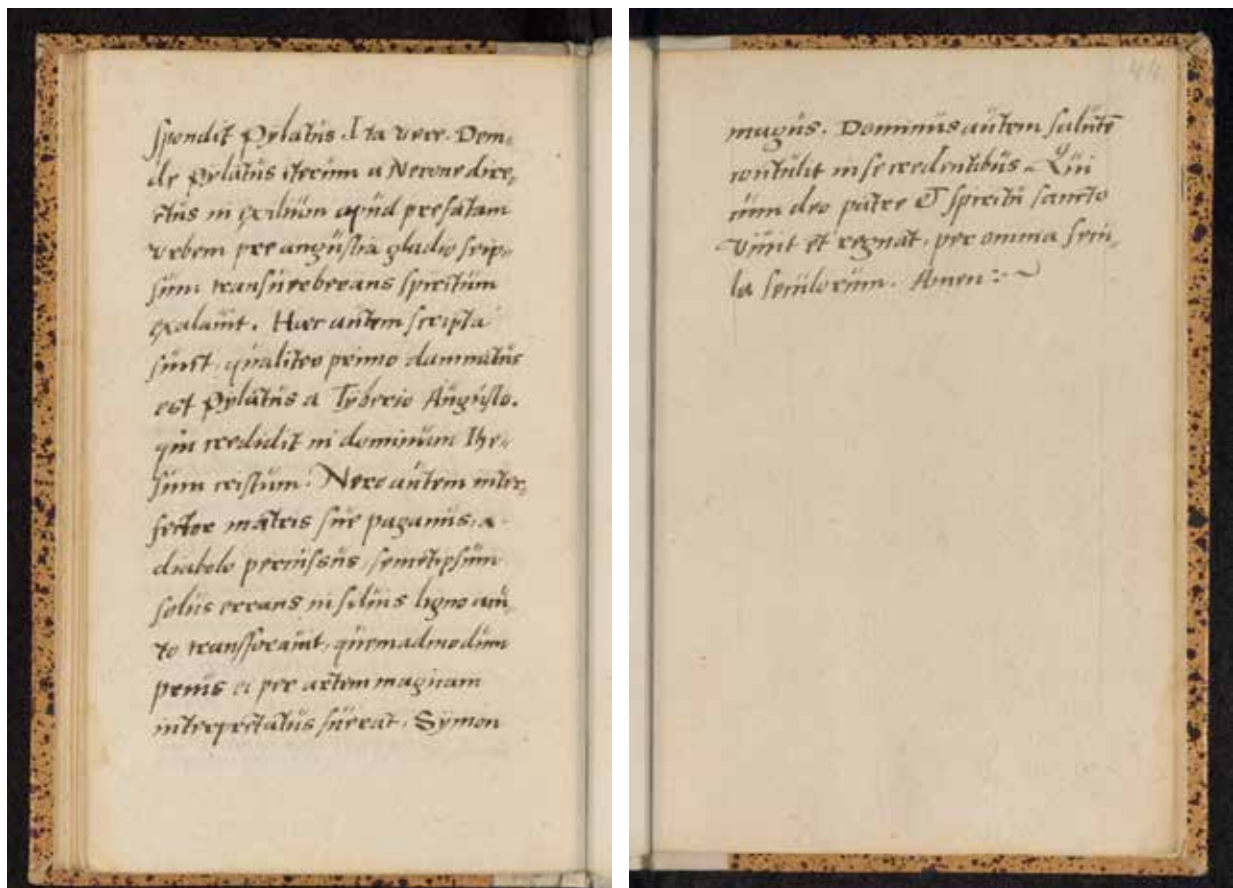
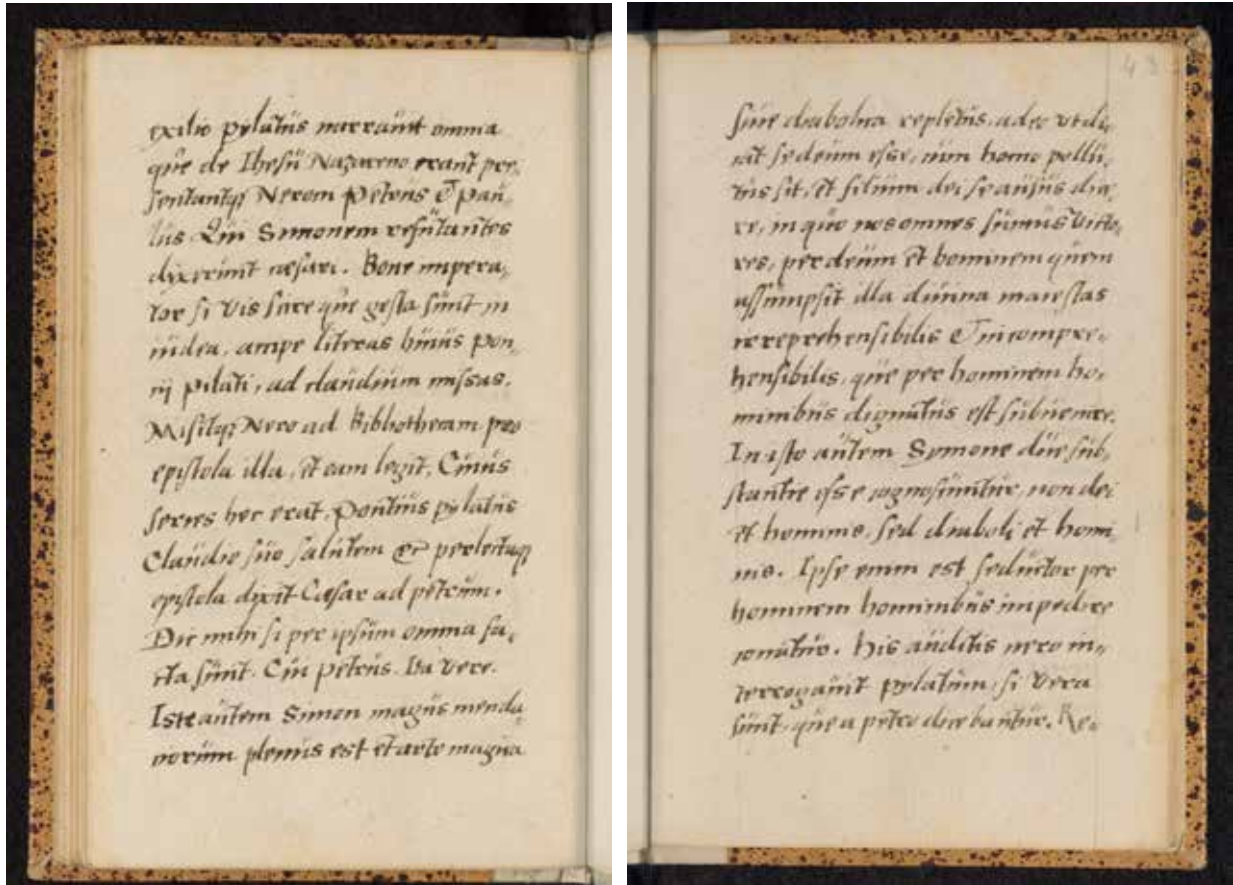
40  
 Indica mihi mulieris nomen. Et  
 dixit. Vocem dicitur et manet  
 in te. percipit Volusianus ipsa  
 mulierem addidit ad se. Cum addi-  
 ta dixit Volusianus. bonitatem  
 et prudentiam tuam multitudine  
 hi mirant. exarant. ego peritorem  
 meam et spero mihi ymaginem  
 Iesu christi. Ad hoc mulier ait. si  
 non habere ea que dicebantur. vo-  
 lusianus. Deo diligenter inquirere  
 vens ab ea. tandem obtinuit ut  
 manifestaret imaginem. Missis  
 una ea militibus inuenerunt  
 ymaginem absconditum in tabernaculo  
 ubi manebat. eamque perduxerunt  
 vixit ad Volusianum. Cum vixit  
 ymaginem adorant eam dicitur de-  
 F

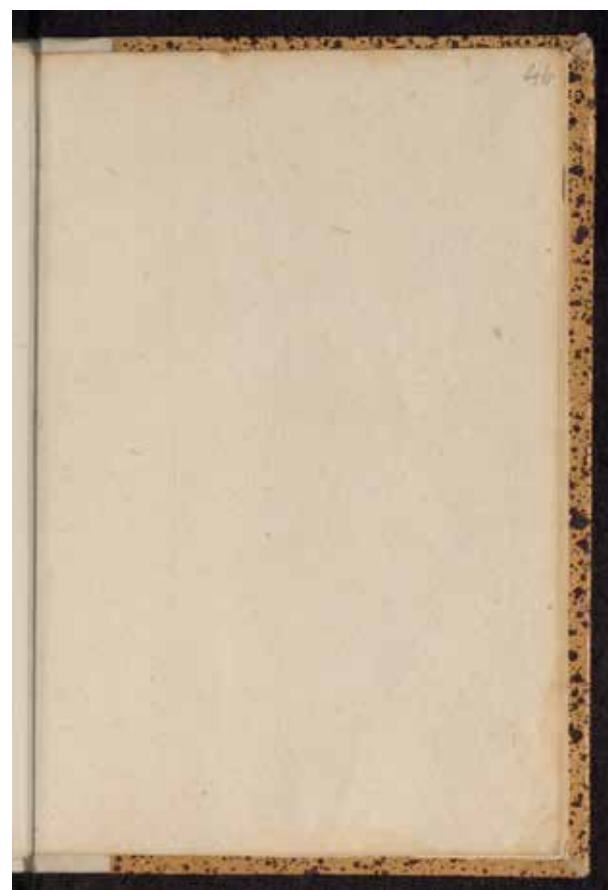
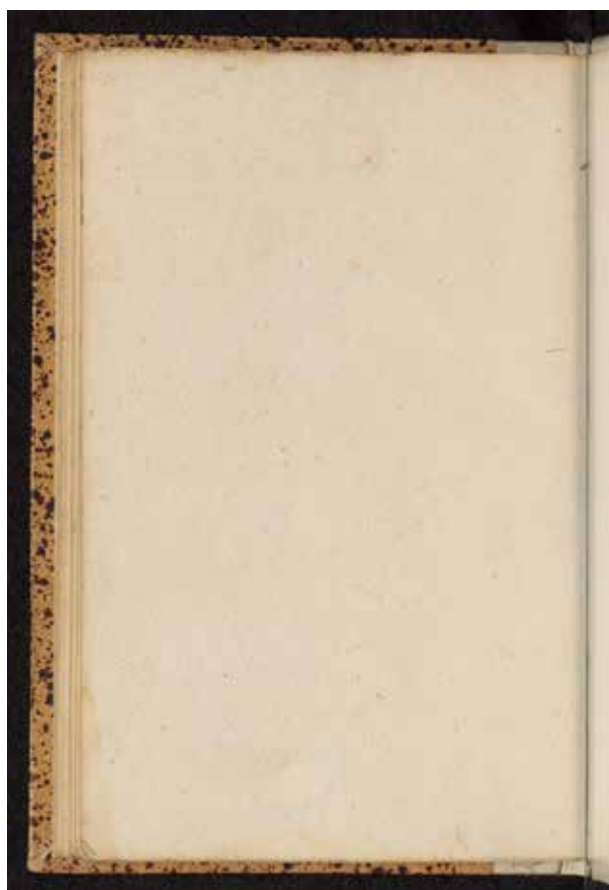
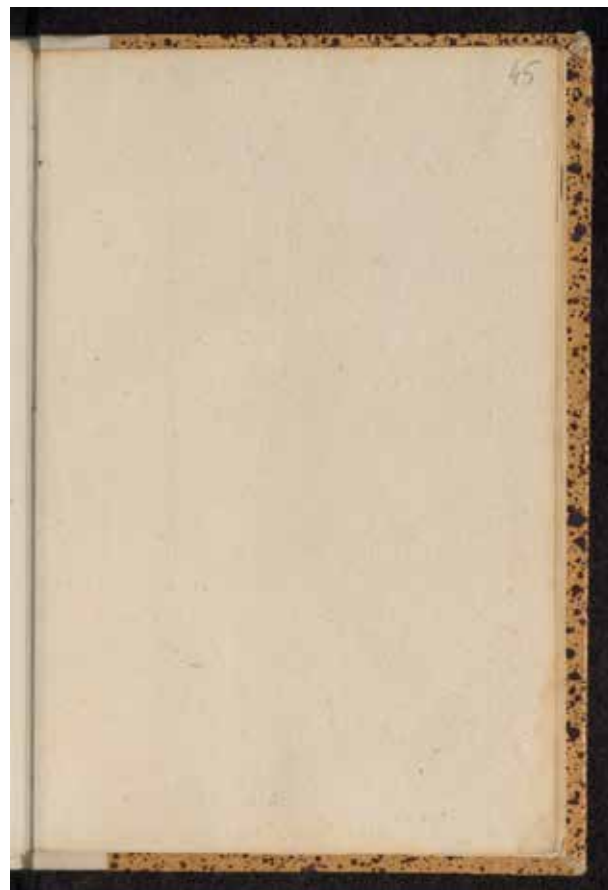
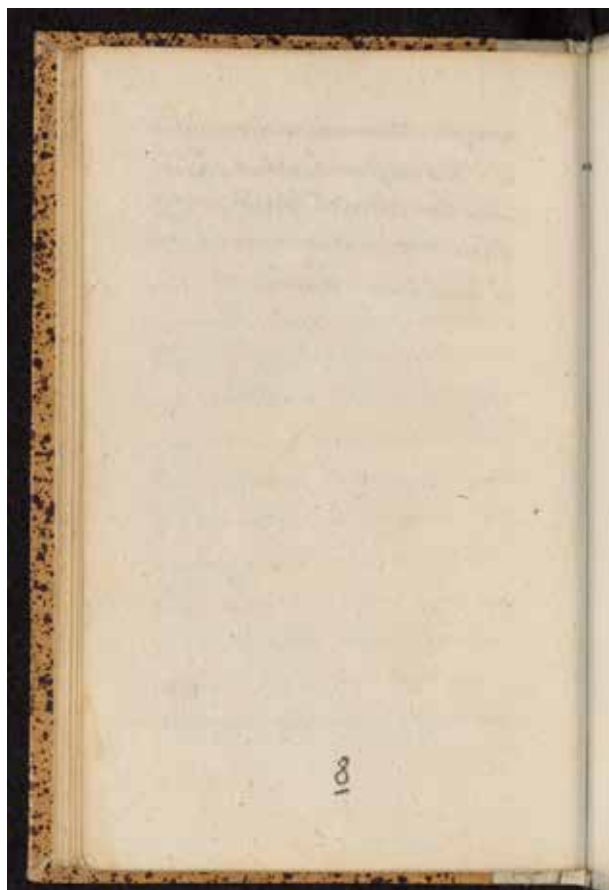
ut dicit Vobis. quod malum videtur  
 videtur accipere qui voluit hunc re-  
 spectum ad considerandum. Quibus  
 populus assensu non immo prelato  
 et muliere Terentia post non  
 mensas Romam pervenerunt  
 Ingressusque Volturnus ad hibe-  
 rum Casarem adlocans cum nar-  
 rant omnia quae gesta sunt, et  
 quomodo temperate maxime facti-  
 tate perdantur, dicit Teberem  
 quare non interitum est pulchrum  
 Respondit Volturnus. tunc offe-  
 dere pietatem suam. Sed tunc  
 cum ad te pervenisset, Teberis  
 vero ira expletis, non sanum suum  
 videtur pietatem permissit. delat  
 in eam sententiam dicens. Certe

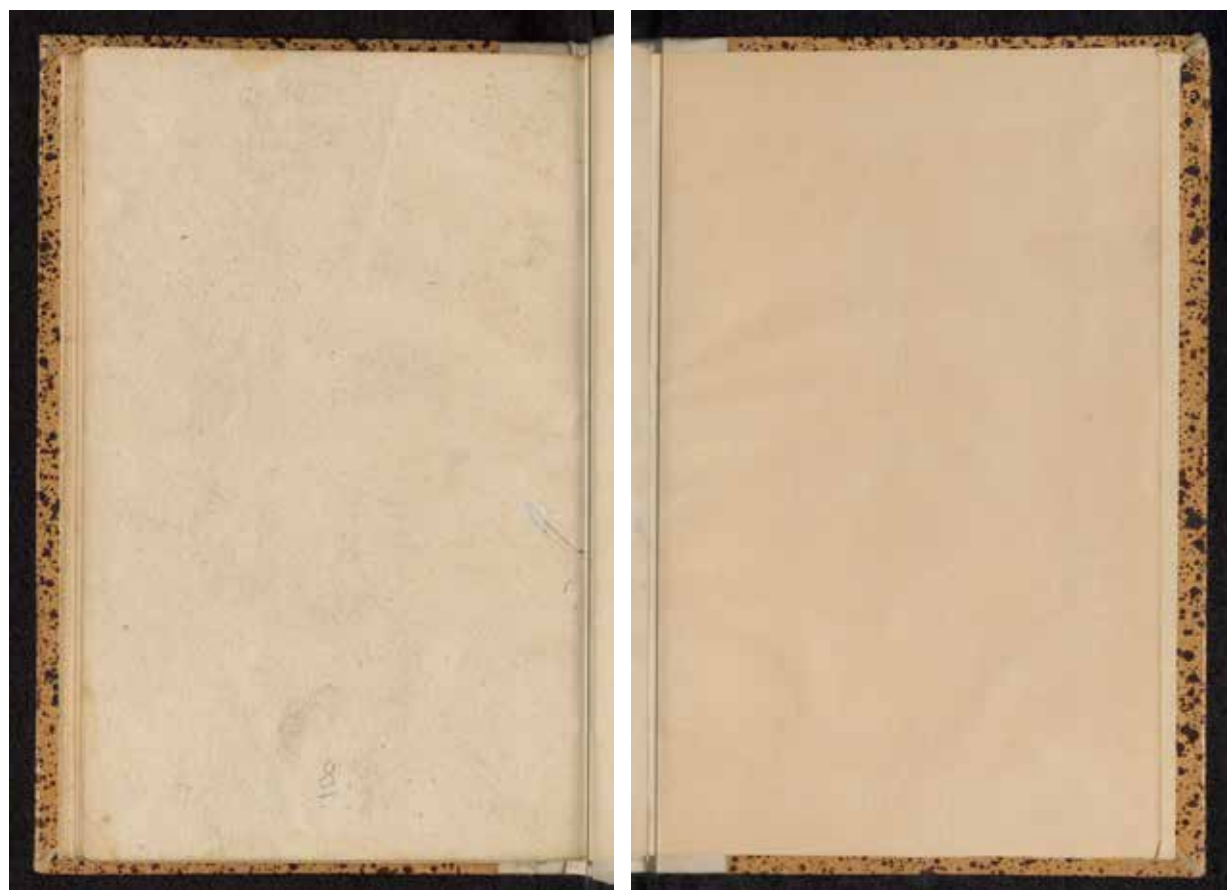
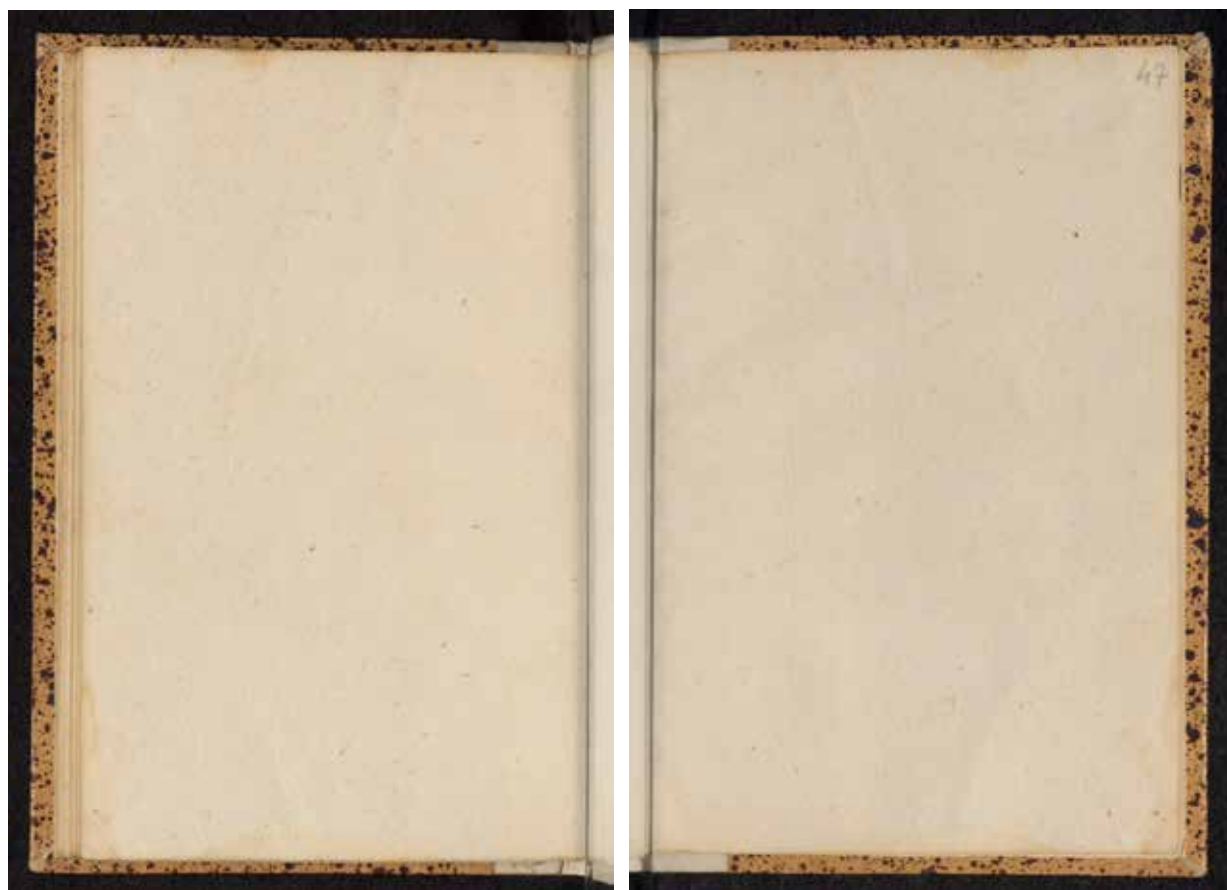
ab igitur non comedat. Et damna-  
 tum nescit in oculis dei. Tunc  
 multam Timorem ibat in capite  
 cum mibi. Adlocuta muliere Ter-  
 entia cum unquam damni loca  
 habere dicit ei. Tunc nescit tam-  
 que per Teberem usque in hunc  
 restitit, et proinde adlocuit unquam  
 cum lacrimis. quoniam statim semis sa-  
 tis est ab infirmitate et propter  
 domo Vulturnis sui interitum  
 Virtutemque dei sententia, in per-  
 fecta sumitate per Teberem unquam  
 me. sunt tam ante lapidibusque  
 permissis mibi. Muliere quare  
 multam proinde clarum. Dixitque  
 Teberis Volturno. quae est pietas  
 damni me. Respondit Volturno

in quantum dicitur. nihil aliud  
 nisi ut baptizatus unquamque  
 recedit. Certe quae sunt dei.  
 Dixitque Teberis. Ut mibi quia  
 non interitum videri unquam  
 post interitum vero non recedit  
 in restitit, permissitque in sententiam  
 cum gloria Imperialis. In hunc se-  
 natum. quod uno consensu hunc  
 adlocuit. et deum Terentia. Atque  
 unquam, super omnes unquam  
 nos adlocuit. unquam deum  
 adlocuit. quod non unquam  
 interitum Terentia. Quare et  
 indignatione minima. plures ex-  
 nobilitatis. unquam proinde pe-  
 nis. et ante sunt unquam seque  
 ex tunc unquam unquam est.

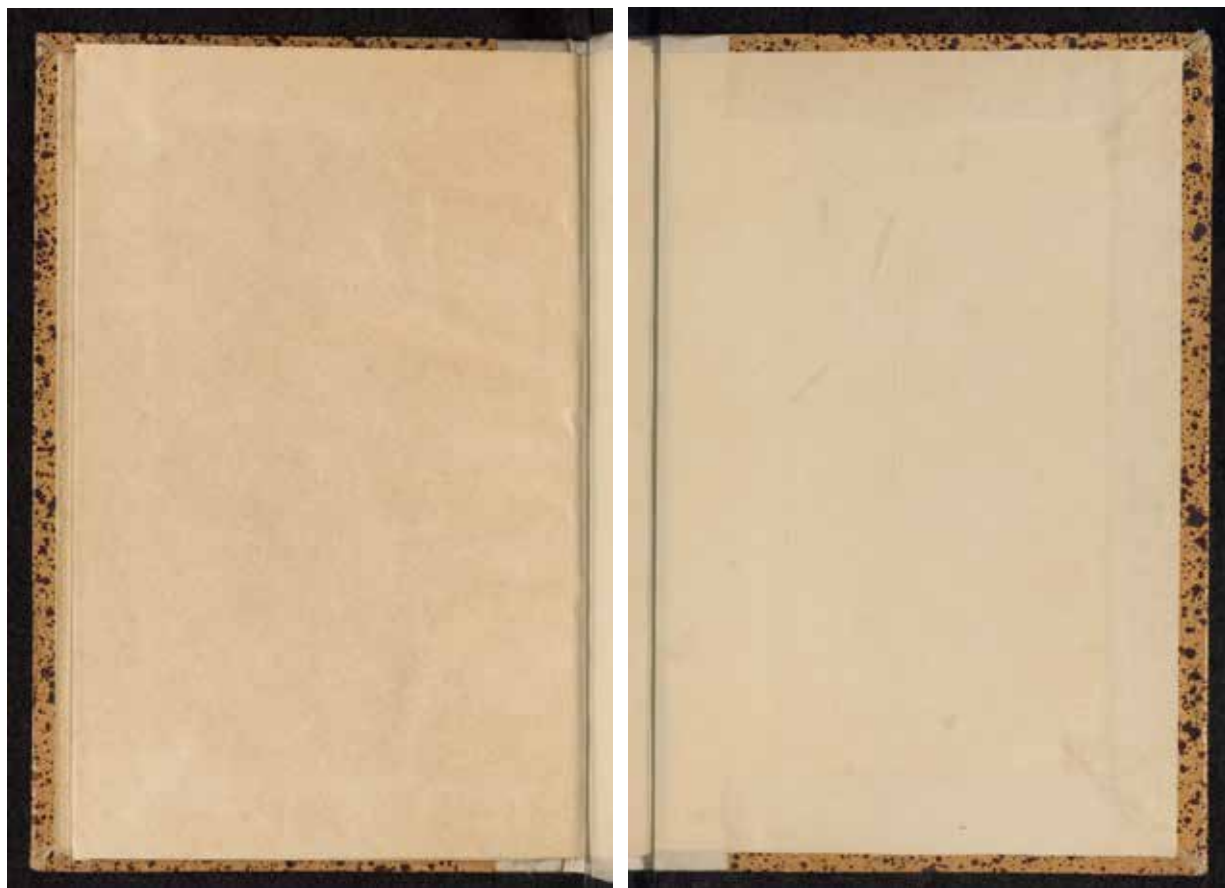
in nobilitatem Romam sententia.  
 Sed non unquam post unquam est.  
 his in Teberem unquam. claudere  
 unquam unquam. post Claudium  
 unquam in Imperium Neco. post  
 aliquos annos unquam Romam  
 unquam domum petens et paulis  
 ante eos unquam unquam. unquam  
 Samacilanis nomine Simonem  
 ante magna unquam unquam  
 plenus. quoniam sed dei filium unquam  
 unquam unquam. et apud unquam  
 unquam et unquam. et terra dei  
 unquam unquam. Sed domo Neco.  
 in de unquam unquam unquam  
 unquam. unquam et de pulchro  
 unquam unquam. Cui unquam ab











**A COLLABORATIVE COMMENTARY**



## A Collaborative Commentary on the Vienna Palimpsest: Editors' Notes

### The project

The scholars and students of *Acta Pilati* (AP) who participated in the 2014 International Summer School on Apocryphal Literature at the Faculty of Theology, University of Strasbourg, took up the challenge of exploring the relationships between the text of the palimpsest and the other ancient branches of the apocryphon's tradition. Their investigations were enabled by the unprecedented access to the resources placed at their disposal by the *Acta Pilati* Research Team preparing new editions of the apocryphon for the *Corpus Christianorum, Series Apocryphorum* (Brepols), under the auspices of the Association pour l'étude de la littérature apocryphe chrétienne. Those resources included a draft of a new edition of the Greek AP, collations of Latin manuscripts being used for a new edition of the Latin *Evangelium Nicodemi*, and transcripts and translations of the Eastern versions.

The materials gathered below were generated during or inspired by the Summer School. The chapters presented above summarize a series of lectures given by Zbigniew Izydorczyk, Anne-Catherine Baudoin, Justin Haynes, and Rémi Gounelle; they provided a general background for more narrowly focused workshops and discussions that led to the remarks and insights contained in the Collaborative Commentary. The collaborative workshops focused on the Latin translator and his Greek source-text, on the subsequent transformations of the original Latin translation, and on the translator's handling of biblical citations. The workshops were conducted in small groups, with each group focusing on a different portion of Vp. Group findings, revised to a single, consistent format, laid the foundations for the commentaries on sections III, V, VIII, IX, XII, and XIII. A more general, open discussions of the Vp text suggested the direction and served as an inspiration for the commentaries on the remaining sections, completed by Anne-Catherine Baudoin and Zbigniew Izydorczyk. The index of Latin forms that occur in Vp, with corresponding Greek equivalences, compiled by Anne-Catherine Baudoin, was prompted by the philological work done during the Summer School and developed as a tool enabling rapid comparisons between the Latin and Greek versions and systematization of commentaries on individual sections of Vp.

### The Commentary on the Vienna palimpsest

This commentary is based on Guy Philippart's diplomatic transcription of AP contained in the underwriting of Vp.<sup>1</sup> It is divided into eighteen segments, reflecting the division of the recovered fragments, introduced by Philippart. The commentary presents each segment in terms of five types of information: first, the Latin text; second, an English translation; third, an experimental back translation into Greek; fourth, codicological observations; and fifth, comparison with Greek and Latin textual traditions, including comments on the handling of biblical material.

### Latin text

The underwriting in Vp is notoriously difficult to read because many letters have been partly or entirely erased. Philippart differentiated between the different levels of legibility by placing a dot under those letters that are only partially legible; by placing a dot on the line where no letter is legible but where there is an indication that a character once existed; and by leaving empty spaces where there are no traces of any letters. In our partial reconstruction of the Latin text, we have

- retained the partially legible (dotted) letters;
- replaced the dots on the line (illegible letters) with actual letters (enclosed in square brackets [ ]) whenever the letters could be reconstituted on the basis of Greek and Latin textual traditions;

<sup>1</sup> Guy Philippart, "Les fragments palimpsestes de l'Évangile de Nicodème dans le *Vindobonensis* 563 (v<sup>e</sup> s.?)," *Analecta Bollandiana* 107 (1989), p. 171-88.

- supplied parts of words, entire words, or phrases (in angled brackets < >) where nothing is legible but where the existence of such part-words, words, or phrases could be hypothesized on the basis of Greek and Latin textual traditions; and
- expanded all abbreviations (in italics).

We have also attempted to give some indication of spaces between legible words by replacing completely or mostly illegible lines in the manuscript with <...>. Finally, we have dispensed with the upper case format (used by Philippart to represent the uncial script), and replaced it with modern presentation format, including appropriate capitalization and basic punctuation.

For chapter numbering, we have adopted the system introduced in Gounelle and Izydorczyk's French translation of *EN*.<sup>2</sup>

## English translation

The English translation is based on the full, reconstructed Latin text, and does not differentiate between partially and fully legible words. It indicates stretches of totally illegible text with a single <...>. The translation is intended to be literal rather than literary, even if it means occasional straining of the English syntax; whenever we supplied words for the sake of clarity, we have enclosed them in parentheses.

## Experimental back translation into Greek

No individual Greek manuscript preserves a text exhibiting all or most of the idiosyncrasies of Vp. Hence, the experimental back translation aims to reconstitute the putative source by working backwards from the reconstructed text of Vp and using the existing Greek manuscripts. For the most part, Vp exhibits reflexes of readings encountered in manuscripts of the main Greek family,  $\phi$ ; differences between  $\phi$  and Vp are usually minor and confined to the presence or absence of connecting words. Words present in  $\phi$  but omitted in Vp are not indicated, unless the omission is significant.

All verbal reconstructions assume post-classical usage found in later Greek manuscripts, such as, for instance, ἦμην instead of ἦν for the first person imperfect indicative, and third person plural thematic aorist ending in  $-\alpha\nu$ .

As in the Latin reconstruction and its English translation, <...> indicates the absence of legible text in Vp. Words or word forms that have no equivalents in Greek manuscripts, are enclosed in braces { }. Any portion of the text uniformly attested in Greek manuscripts but omitted by the Latin translator or scribe is enclosed in  $\tau$ . Finally, biblical quotations are indicated with *italics*.

## Codicological observations

All codicological remarks are based on Philippart's detailed description of the manuscript.<sup>3</sup> According to Philippart, the text of *AP* in Vp extended over at least nineteen quires. Eighteen of them consisted of four bifolios (that is, eight folios, or sixteen pages), while the first quire, containing the Preface, consisted of two bifolios. The different composition of the first quire, the blank space left on the recto (below the Preface) and verso of its last folio, and the more airy character of the writing, all led Philippart and Despineux to suspect that the Preface may have originally been a post-face.<sup>4</sup>

The remaining quires of the original manuscript were quaternions, which survived with different degrees of completeness (from none to two and a half bifolios). In his 1972 article, Philippart numbered the quires with Roman numerals from I to XIX. Within each quire, he designated bifolios with letters A to D (A being the external bifolio and D the inside bifolio), and the corresponding pairs of folios with A and A', B and B', C and C', D and D'. However, in his 1989 diplomatic transcript of Vp, he designated the eleven surviving quires that contain *AP* alphabetically with letters A to K, without any reference to the lost quires. Our codicological comments are based on the 1972 article, which refers to the hypothetical structure of the fifth-century manuscript; the references given in the Latin text reproduce those of the diplomatic edition. *Lacunae* are indicated with minuscule Greek letters.

2 Rémi Gounelle and Zbigniew Izydorczyk, *L'Évangile de Nicodème ou Les Actes faits sous Ponce Pilate (recension latine A) suivie de La lettre de Pilate à l'empereur Claude*, Apocryphes: Collection de poche de l'AELAC 9 (Turnout: Brepols, 1997).

3 Guy Philippart, "Fragments palimpsestes latins du Vindobonensis 563 (v<sup>e</sup> siècle?). Évangile selon S. Matthieu. Évangile de l'enfance selon Thomas. Évangile de Nicodème," *Analecta Bollandiana* 90 (1972), p. 391–411.

4 Philippart, "Les fragments palimpsestes de l'Évangile de Nicodème," p. 175, n. 12; and Myriam Despineux, "Une version latine palimpseste du v<sup>e</sup> siècle de l'Évangile de Nicodème (Vienna, ÖNB MS 563)," *Scriptorium* 42 (1988), p. 180.

## Textual commentary

The commentary focuses on three aspects of *AP* as preserved in *Vp*: its potential source(s), its Latin legacy, and its treatment of biblical quotations. In the search for the Greek source-text(s), the commentary explores the relationship between specific readings in *Vp* and those extant in the Greek manuscripts used for the new edition of the Greek versions  $\varphi$  and  $\chi$ .<sup>5</sup> The references to the Coptic, Syriac, Armenian, and Georgian versions of *AP* (consulted usually in translation) are meant to signal the existence in those versions of expressions equivalent to the Greek phrase(s) in question.<sup>6</sup>

The commentary also draws attention to the way the text of *Vp* was transmitted in Latin manuscripts of the Middle Ages. It is necessarily selective and does not attempt to construct a complete apparatus of the Latin text. Rather, it identifies specific Latin versions and manuscripts of the apocryphon which preserve intact portions of its text or which carry reflexes of its idiosyncratic readings. It also identifies words and phrases not attested in later Latin versions. The information on manuscript versions was drawn from the unpublished collations currently used for a new edition of the *Evangelium Nicodemi*, a medieval Latin equivalent of *AP*.

Finally, the commentary compares *Vp*'s treatment of biblical quotations translated from Greek as part of the apocryphon with the translations in *Vetus Latina* (VL) and in the *Vulgate* (Vg). Since the biblical quotations in *Vp* reflect a text close to what became the Byzantine text, all references will be to the edition of the Greek Majority text.<sup>7</sup> The readings of VL manuscripts are taken mainly from Jülicher's edition<sup>8</sup> and supplemented with data from Denk's repertory available on the *Vetus Latina Database* online.<sup>9</sup> To refer to individual VL manuscripts, we have used the standard sigla, well established in Biblical studies.<sup>10</sup> The *Vulgate* text (Vg) is taken from the Weber-Gryson edition.<sup>11</sup>

All manuscripts mentioned in the Commentary are identified by the numerical sigla assigned to them in the *Census*<sup>12</sup> or in section "Abbteviations and Sigla," above. References to versions of *EN* are based on the following manuscripts:

LatA	
RR	23, 25, 75, 96, 108, 112, 119, 133, 158, 199, 207, 235, 241, 263, 269, 328, 334
BT	52, 73, 179, 215, 268, 288
LatB	
LatB1	177a, 198, 230, 284, 336
LatB2	44, 145, 160, 177b, 238, 247, 286, 381, 276, 369, 382, 386, 387
LatC	12, 141, 177, 257, 262, 264, 291
TR	19, 62, 109, 248, 262
Idiosyncratic versions	
Kraków version	127, 129a
Praha group	213, 299, 322, 419a
miscellaneous	59, 129, 391

All Greek manuscripts are identified by the sigla assigned to them by the editors of the Greek text and listed in section "Abbteviations and Sigla".

References to Greek versions of the *Acts of Pilate*, unless otherwise noted, are based on the following manuscripts:

Gk $\varphi$	F, K, X; G, H, Y, L; C, Z
Gk $\chi$	O, Q, W; A, M
Non-classifiable	E, I, J, B, N

5 On the edition of the Greek text currently in progress, see Rémi Gounelle, "L'édition de la recension grecque ancienne des *Actes de Pilate*. Perspectives méthodologiques," *Apocrypha* 21 (2010), p. 31-47; on the Greek recensions and manuscripts, see Christiane Furrer, "La recension grecque ancienne des *Actes de Pilate*," *Apocrypha* 21 (2010), p. 11-30.

6 On the Eastern versions, see Bernard Outtier, "The Armenian and Georgian Versions of the *Evangelium Nicodemi*," *Apocrypha* 21 (2010), p. 49-56, and Jean-Daniel Dubois and Gérard Roquet, "Les singularités de la version copte des *Actes de Pilate*," *Apocrypha* 21 (2010), p. 57-72.

7 *The New Testament in the Original Greek. Byzantine Textform*, ed. Maurice A. Robinson and William G. Pierpont (Southborough, 2005).

8 *Itala. Das Neue Testament in altlateinischer Überlieferung*, ed. Adolf Jülicher, vol. 3: *Lukas-Evangelium*, vol. 4: *Johannes-Evangelium* (Berlin, 1954-63).

9 [brepolis.net/vld](http://brepolis.net/vld), restricted access.

10 For a complete list of manuscript sigla and the relevant bibliography, see Roger Gryson, *Altlateinische Handschriften – Manuscripts vieux latins. Répertoire descriptif. Première partie : Mss 1-275 ; d'après un manuscrit inachevé de Hermann Josef Frede †*, *Vetus Latina, Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel 1/2A* (Fribourg-en-Brigau: Herder, 1999).

11 *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*, 5th ed., ed. Robert Weber and Roger Gryson (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007).

12 Zbigniew Izydorczyk, *Manuscripts of the Evangelium Nicodemi: A Census*, *Subsidia Mediaevalia* 21 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1993).

## Graphic symbols

The following graphic symbols have been used in the commentary:

### The Latin text from Vp

ç	(dot under a letter) letter uncertain, only partly visible
[.]	illegible letter
[ ]	reconstructed letter(s), replacing a dot on the line (unidentifiable letter) in Philippart's transcription
< >	reconstructed reading, replacing blank space (unknown number of letters) in Philippart's transcription
< . >	reconstructed reading altering the uncertain letter assumed by Philippart
<...>	a full or partial line of blank space in Vp
A1(165r)	quire and folio in Philippart's 1989 transcription, followed by current folio in the manuscript
<i>italics</i>	expansion of an abbreviation marked with a legible macron
< <i>italics</i> >	expansion of an assumed (reconstructed) abbreviation (no macron legible) in a <i>nomen sacrum</i>

All punctuation in Vp is modern and editorial.

### English translation

( )	word(s) supplied for the sake of English syntax or clarity
<...>	no legible unreconstructed text in Vp

### Experimental back translation

{ }	word(s) that do not appear or do not appear in this form in any Greek manuscript
~ ~	reconstruction of the text omitted by the translator or Vp scribe but attested in other versions
<...>	no legible text in Vp
<i>italics</i>	biblical quotations

### Textual commentary

The commentary is organised by lemmas.

<b>ego—eum</b>	indicates that the comment pertains to the entire passage, extending from <b>ego</b> to <b>eum</b>
<b>mei ... mihi</b>	indicates that the comment pertains only to the first and last words of the passage

## A Commentary on the Vienna Palimpsest – Segment I (Preface)

### Latin text (A1-A7)

A1(165r) E<go> <A>E<neas> <...> <...> qui eram legis doctor, et d[e] diuīnis s[c]ribturis agnoscens D<omi>n<u>m nostrum Ie<su>m Chr<istu>m, et A2(165v) in fide procedens, et dignus baptismatis *sancti*, scrutatus sum et gesta qua acta sunt per tempus illud, quod po<sup>A3(174r)</sup>auerunt Iudei sub Pontio Pilato. Haec inueniens gesta litteris aebreis conscribta grece interpreta<sup>A4(174v)</sup>tus sum in notitia inuocantium nomine *Domini* nostri Ie<s>u Chr<rist>i, sub imperio *domini* Flauii Theodosi septies decies et A5(173r) Flauii Ualentiniani quinquies, perpetuorum augustorum, indictum nona. Omnes ergo quodquod [leg]itis e[t] A6(173v) qui transfertis in aliis codicibus seu in grecis uel latinis, recordantes mei, orate ut propitius mihi siat *Deus* et di<sup>A7(166r)</sup>mittat peccata mea quae peccabi in ipsu. Pax legentibus eum, qui audiunt ea <...>

### English translation

I, Aeneas, <...> <...> who was a doctor of the law, and recognizing our Lord Jesus Christ from the divine scriptures, and advancing in faith, and worthy of holy baptism, I searched out even the proceedings that were made at that time, which the Jews deposited under Pontius Pilate. Finding these proceedings written in Hebrew letters, I translated (them) into Greek for the information of those invoking the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the seventeenth (year) of the reign of Lord Flavius Theodosius and in the fifth of Flavius Valentinianus, eternal emperors, in the ninth indiction. Therefore all (of) you whosoever read and who copy (them) in other codices, either Greek or Latin, remembering me, pray that God may be favourable to me and may dismiss my sins which I have committed against him. Peace to those who read them, who hear them <...>

### Experimental back translation

Ἐγὼ {Αἰνέας} <...> <...> {ὁς ἤμην} νομομαθῆς καὶ ἐκ τῶν θειῶν γραφῶν {ἐπιγνοὺς} τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, καὶ πίστει προσελθὼν, {καὶ} καταξιωθεὶς τοῦ ἁγίου βαπτίσματος, ἐρεύνησ{α} καὶ τὰ ὑπομνήματα τὰ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον πραχθέντα, ὁ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι κατέθεντο ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου. Ταῦτα εὐρὼν τὰ ὑπομνήματα {τὰ} ἐν ἑβραϊκοῖς γράμμασιν {συγγραφθέντα} γράμμασιν ἑλληνικοῖς μεθερμήνευσα εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν τῶν ἐπικαλουμένων τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ δεσπότη Φλαβίου Θεοδοσίου τὸ ἑπτακαίδέκατον καὶ Φλαβίου Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ {τὸ πέμπτον}, {τῶν αἰωνίων Αὐγούστων}, Ἰνδικτον θ'. Πάντες οὖν ὅσοι ἀναγινώσκετε καὶ μεταβάλλετε εἰς ἕτερα βιβλία {}, μνημονεύοντές μου, εὐχεσθε ἵνα ἰλεῶς μοι γένηται ὁ Θεὸς καὶ ἰλάσηται τὰς ἁμαρτίας μου ἅς ἤμαρτον εἰς αὐτόν. Εἰρήνη τοῖς ἀναγινώσκουσι αὐτὸν οἱ ἀκούουσι αὐτῶν.

### Codicological information

The first segment contains the preface of the *Acta Pilati*. It covers two bifolios. The quire is a binion and not a quaternion like the others. In his description, Philippart considered it the first quire,<sup>1</sup> but he noted its peculiarities and raised the question of its original position—whether it was originally placed at the very beginning or at the very end of the text.<sup>2</sup> The text covers ff. 165, 174, 173 and 166 in modern numbering, but the bottom of f. 166r and the entire f. 166v are blank.<sup>3</sup> The writing is more spaced out than elsewhere,<sup>4</sup> which makes this quire unique. It may

1 Philippart, “Fragments palimpsestes latins,” p. 402.

2 Despineux, “Une version latine palimpseste,” p. 180, and Philippart, “Les fragments palimpsestes de l’Évangile de Nicodème,” p. 175, n. 12.

3 Philippart, “Fragments palimpsestes latins,” p. 401, n. 1.

4 Philippart, “Les fragments palimpsestes de l’Évangile de Nicodème,” p. 173.



be noted here that in Syriac,<sup>5</sup> Armenian,<sup>6</sup> and LatA<sup>379</sup>, the Preface comes at the end of the text, which seems more natural as it includes the name of the scribe (*Ego Aeneas*), a request for prayers (*qui transfertis in aliis codicibus... recordantes mei, orate ut propitius mihi siat Deus...*), and the final salutation to the readers and hearers (*Pax legentibus eum...*). It is, therefore, likely that the Preface was originally placed at the end of Vp.<sup>7</sup>

## Commentary

The Preface does not appear in  $\chi$ , but is attested in two mss of  $\phi$  (C, Z) and one of the *Narratio Iosephi rescripta* (nar<sup>R</sup>). Its full Latin text is found, besides Vp, also in *Census* 59, 252 (copied from 59), 299 and 419a; an abbreviated form occurs in LatB and in LatA<sup>36, 81, 83, 287, 379, 384</sup>.

**E<go> <A>E<neas>**: Reconstructed on the basis of LatB, 299 and 419a.

**<A>E<neas>**: All Gk mss have Ἀναβίας, but Eastern versions have an equivalent of *Aeneas*.

**qui eram legis doctor**: νομομαθής as an apposition in all Gk mss. This clause is possibly an addition by the Latin translator; attested in this form in 59, 299 and 419a. LatB and LatA<sup>287</sup> read *primus legis doctor*, while 36, 81, 83, 379, and 384 have *primus doctorum*. The missing phrase that precedes this lemma is rendered as *Hebreus* in LatB and 59, and as *de Hebreis* in 299 and 419a

**et d[e] diuinijs – Ie<su>m Chr<istu>m**: Attested with the same wording, except for the absence of *de*, in 299 and 419a.

**s[c]ribituris**: For *scripturis*, with the voicing of *p*.

**agnoscens**: All Gk mss have indicative imperfect ἐπέγνων. Cf. *scrutatus sum* below. Attested only in 299 and 419a.

**et in fide—tempus illud**: Attested in 299 and 419a; other Latin mss of the Preface alter the wording.

**et**: Not in Gk mss of AP but present in nar<sup>R</sup>.

**in fide**: No preposition needed in Gk.

**et dignus**: All Gk mss read καταξιοθεις δέ, followed by καί.

**scrutatus sum**: All Gk mss have aorist participle ἐρευνήσας, followed by δέ. As it stands, this verbal phrase could be construed either with *gesta*, as we have done, or with *dignus*.

**et gesta**: The placement of *et* is unexpected, and 299 and 419a omit it.

**qua**: For *quae*, which is attested in 299 and 419a.

**quod**: Probably refers to *gesta*, despite the mismatch in number. Tischendorf suggested here *quae appo*,<sup>8</sup> probably for grammatical reasons. Gk  $\phi^Z$  also reads  $\delta$ .

**posuerunt Iudei sub Pontio Pilato**: Attested in 59, with *apposuerunt* for *posuerunt* and *preside* after *Pilato*, but absent from 299 and 419a; other Latin mss read *statuerunt aduersum dominum nostrum Ihesum Christum*.

**Haec inueniens gesta**: Attested in 59, with *gestas* for *gesta*. 299 and 419a read *et inueni gesta*; other Latin mss that preserve the Preface alter the wording more extensively.

**conscripta**: For *conscripta*, with the voicing of *p*. Attested in Latin mss 59, 299 and 419a, but Gk mss have no equivalent to this participle.

**grece interpretatus sum**: 299 and 419a begin with *et*, but otherwise give the same wording; *interpretatus sum* is attested in 59, 81, 384, and LatB<sup>238,386,381,160</sup>.

**in notitia—Ie<s>u Chr<rist>i**: Only the first two words, *in notitiam*, are attested in 299 (419a omits them); all other mss, including 59, alter the wording to *ad cognitionem...*

**in notitia**: For *in notitiam*, with the final *-m* omitted.

**nomine**: For *nomen*, possibly through confusion between accusative and ablative.

**Domini**: The same word is used in Vp to translate Κύριος and δεσπότης.

**sub imperio—audiunt ea**: The remainder of the Preface is known in only three Latin mss, 59, 299 and 419a, with the last two reflecting Vp more closely.

**sub imperio—septies deçies**: 59 reads *sub imperio Flauii Theodosi anno xviii*; 299 and 419a, *sub Theodosio decimo septimo*.

**Theodosi**: For *Theodosii*.

**septies deçies**: As in  $\phi^Z$  and nar<sup>R</sup>.

**et Flauii Valentiniiani quinquies**: 59, 299 and 419a read *et Valentiniano*.

5 Cf. Ignace Éphrem Rahmani, *Apocrypha hypomnemata Domini Nostri seu Acta Pilati: Antiqua Versio Syria*, *Studia Syriaca* 2 (Charfat: 1908), p. 11 n. (a), p. 28, p.  $\sigma$ .

6 Outtier, "The Armenian and Georgian Versions," p. 52.

7 Cf. also Christiane Furrer and Christophe Guignard, "Titre et prologue des Actes de Pilate: nouvelle lecture à partir d'une reconstitution d'un état ancien du texte," *Apocrypha* 24 (2013), p. 187-88.

8 Constantin von Tischendorf, ed., *Evangelia apocrypha adhibitis plurimis codicibus Graecis et Latinis maximam partem nunc primum consultis atque ineditorum copia insignibus*, 2nd ed. (Lipsiae: J. C. Hinrichs, 1876), p. 334 (apparatus); cf. Philippart, "Les fragments palimpsestes de l'Évangile de Nicodème," p. 175, n. 16.

**Flauī:** For *Flauīi*.

**quinquies:** All Gk mss have τὸ ἕκτον. 299 and 419a read *quinto*.

**perpetuorum augistorum:** A common honorific,<sup>9</sup> but it does not appear in any Gk or Eastern versions. 59 has *Augustō*; 299 and 419a *perpetuis Augustis*.

**indictum:** For *indictio* or *indictione*. As in φ<sup>Z</sup>. Only 299 and 419a read *indictione*.

**nona:** Spelled out in nar<sup>R</sup> (ἐννάτης, in genitive).<sup>10</sup> *ix<sup>a</sup>* in 299 and 419a.

**Omnes ergo quodquod [leg]itis e[t] qui transfertis:** Attested in 59, 299 and 419a, with *qui* instead of *quodquod*.

**quodquod:** Possibly for *quiqui*, with loss of gender distinction, or for *quotquot*.

**[leg]itis... transfertis:** The object of the two verbs is not explicitly expressed. Conceivably, one could construe the two verbs with *quodquod* as an object, but this would strain both syntax and meaning.

**qui:** In Gk, the repetition of the relative pronoun is not necessary.

**in aliis codicibus:** Attested only in 59; 299 and 419a omit *et aliis*.

**seu in grecis uel latinis:** This phrase does not exist in any Gk mss. Since it explicitly mentions Latin, it must have come from the translator. Attested as *seu in grecis siue in latinis* in 299; *siue in latinis seu in grecis* in 419a; 59 reads *grecis seu latinis*.

**recordantes mei, orate:** In Latin, attested only in 299 and 419a; re-worded in 59, *oro ut dignemini intercedere pro me peccatore*.

**recordantes:** As in φ<sup>Z</sup>.

**ut propitius—in ipsu:** Attested in 59, 299 and 419a, with some variation.

**siat:** Possibly for *sit*,<sup>11</sup> but could also be an error for *fiat*.<sup>12</sup> Transmitted as *sit* in 299 and *fiat* in 59.

**Deus:** Not attested in 59 and 299, but present in 419a.

**peccata mea:** So also 299 and 419a; *michi omnia peccata* in 59 and 419a.

**quae peccabi in ipsu:** So also 299 and 419a; 59 reads *in quibus peccaui*.

**peccabi:** For *peccaui*, with *b* for *u*.

**ipsu:** For *ipsum*, with the final *-m* omitted.

**Pax legentibus:** So also 299 and 419a; 59 adds *sit ista* after *Pax*.

**legentibus eum:** For *legentibus ea*. Perhaps translated from a text close to φ<sup>Z</sup>, which reads τῶν ἀναγινώσκουσι εἰς αὐτόν.

**qui audiunt ea:** Rendered as *et audientibus ea* in 299 and 419a, and as *sanitas audientibus* in 59. Most Gk mss (except for φ<sup>Z</sup>) and both 59 and 299 conclude with *Amen*.

**qui audiunt:** τῶν ἀκούουσι in φ<sup>C</sup> (φ<sup>Z</sup> omits it). It would have been easy to go from τῶν ἀκούουσι (dative plural of a participle) to οἱ ἀκούουσι (third person, plural, present verb).

9 For its application to these emperors, see Vincenzo Arangio-Ruiz, *Fontes iuris Romani antejustiniani*, III (Florence: S.A.G. Barbèra, 1943), p. 552 n. 177: μετὰ τὴν ὑπατίαν τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Θεοδοσίου τὸ ιβ καὶ Οὐάλεντιανοῦ τὸ β τῶν αἰωνίων Αὐγούστων (P. Oxy. XVI.1881).

10 Cf. Despineux, “Une version latine palimpseste,” p. 183.

11 Mario A. Pei, *The Story of Latin and the Romance Languages* (New York: Hagerstown, 1976), p. 309.

12 Despineux, “Une version latine palimpseste,” p. 182.



## A Commentary on the Vienna Palimpsest – Segment II (Prologue)

### Latin text (B1-B2)

B1(152r) <...> quod est uicesima quinta mensis Marti, consulatu Rufi et Rubellionis, in anno quarto, ducentesimo secundo, sub principatus a sacerdotum B2(152v) Iudaeorum Iosi principe et Caipha, et quata post cruce et passione D<omi>ni historiatus est Nicodemus. Acta a principibus sacer[dotu]m et re<liquis> <...>

### English translation

<...> which is the 25th of the month of March, during the consulate of Rufus and Rubellius, in the fourth year, two hundred and second (Olympiad), during the principate of the priests of the Jews Joseph the prince and Caiaphas; and everything Nicodemus recorded after the cross and the passion of the Lord. The actions of chief priests and other <...>

### Experimental back translation

<...> ἥτις ἐστὶν εἰκάδι πέμπτη Μαρτίου, ἐν ὑπατεία Ῥούφου καὶ Ῥουβελίωνος, ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτει, τῆς διακοσιοστῆς δευτέρας Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέων τῶν Ἰουδαίων Ἰωσήπου καὶ Καϊάφα· καὶ ὅσα μετὰ τὸν σταυρὸν καὶ τὸ πάθος τοῦ Κυρίου ἱστῶρησεν Νικόδημος. Τὰ πεπραγμένα τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις <...>

### Codicological information

*Lacuna* α consists of the first folio of the second quire (II: A). It covers the beginning of the Prologue, which dates the Passion.

The text of segment II, which resumes at the mention of the 25th of March (equated with the 8th kalends of April), is found on the second folio of quire II (II: B), or f. 152 in modern numbering.

### Commentary

The Prologue is attested in Gk mss and Eastern versions; in Latin, it is attested in LatA and partially in LatC.

**quod:** The antecedent in Gk is the unexpressed ἡμέρα (τῆ πρό ὀκτώ καλανδῶν Ἀπριλλίου). In Latin, the date would usually be referred to as neuter.

**uicesima quinta:** Attested in some ninth- and tenth-century Latin mss, including LatA<sup>RR</sup> 334 and LatA<sup>BT</sup> 215; however, the majority of LatA mss read *uicesima prima*.

**consulatu:** ἐν ὑπατεία in φ<sup>Y</sup>, I and J. All Gk mss introduce the complement with ἐν, but Latin does not require any preposition here.

**Rufi et Rubellionis:** The Latin mss that connect the two names by means of *et* (e.g., 75, 96, 391) spell the first *Rufini*.

**Rufi:** Ῥούφου in φ<sup>YL</sup>, I, N, χ, and in Eastern versions.

**Rubellionis:** Ῥουβελίωνος in N, χ<sup>AM</sup>, Arm, Cop; cf. φ<sup>Z</sup>.

**in anno quarto, ducentesimo secundo:** Without the word *olympiadis*, the numerals are made to agree with *anno*; the word was likely omitted in Latin, and the whole phrase was harmonised.<sup>1</sup> The earliest Latin mss, including 112, 133, and 158, have the same sequence of ordinal numerals in dative but followed by the word *olympiadis*.

1 Cf. Despineux, “Une version latine palimpseste,” p. 182 and n. 43.

**principatus a sacerdotum:** ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέων in N and Arm. Possibly a result of dittography, *principatu sa sacerdotum*.<sup>2</sup>

**Iosi prince:** Most Gk mss have Ἰωσήπου; Latin mss, *Ioseph*. The word *principe* is not attested in later Latin versions, but LatA<sup>BT</sup> reads *sub principibus sacerdotum*.

**Caipha:** The ending *-a* is copied from Gk, or possibly the whole phrase *Iosi—Caipha* is to be construed with *sub*. All later Latin mss use the genitive *Caiphe*.

**quata—Nicode[m]us:** The structure of the sentence is difficult to interpret. We follow here the hypothesis of Furrer and Guignard.<sup>3</sup>

**quata:** For *quanta*, with *-n-* omitted at the end of the line. Attested in all early Latin mss.

**post cruce et passione:** For *post crucem et passionem*, with final *-m* omitted.<sup>4</sup> Cf. *post* + accusative in E8(133<sup>v</sup>) and G3(148<sup>v</sup>).

**D<omi>ni—re<liquis>:** Attested in LatA.

**historiatus est Nicode[m]us:** The majority of Gk mss have ιστορήσας Νικόδημος παρέδωκεν. Vp follows here E, Arm, Cop, and Syr, which omit παρέδωκεν.

**historiatus est:** As in φ<sup>H</sup> and E; cf. φ<sup>C</sup>.

**acta a:** Vp most likely reflects the Gk perfect participle τὰ πεπραγμένα (present in E, N, Arm, Cop, and Syr), followed by the agent.

**principus:** With one syllable syncopated.

2 Cf. Despineux, “Une version latine palimpseste,” p. 182.

3 Furrer and Guignard, “Titre et prologue des *Actes de Pilate*,” p. 171–74 and p. 186.

4 Cf. Philippart, “Les fragments palimpsestes de l’Évangile de Nicodème,” p. 174.

## A Commentary on the Vienna Palimpsest – Segment III (Ch. 1.1-1.2)

### Latin text (B3-B10)

B3(150r)<...> de Maria natum et dicit se esse filium Dei et regem. Non solum hoc, set Dei Sabbatum uiolat et paternam nostram legem uult dissoluere. Dicit B4(150v) eis Pilatus: Quae est quae agit et uult dissoluere? Dicunt [ei] Iudaei: [Lege] habemus Sabbatum non curare a[ll]i[qu]uem. Ste [au]te[m] c[on]l[aud]os, gubbos, B5(149r) surdos, paralyticos, caecos, lebrosos et demoniacos curauit in Sabbatu a malis actionibus. Dicit eis Pilatus: Qualiū malarum actionum? Dicunt ei: B6(149v) Maleficus est et in principe daemoniorum Beelzebul eicit demonia et omnia ei subiecta sunt. Dicit eis Pilatus: Istud non in spiritu immun<sup>B7(138r)</sup>do eicit demonia sed in deo Excolapio.

Dicunt Iudaei Pilato: Rogamus magnitudinem uestram ut eum iubeatis adattare ante tribunal ues<sup>B8(138v)</sup>trum et audire eum. Aduocans Pilatus cursorem d[i]c[i]t [ei]: Cum moderatione adducat[ur] [Ie<su>s]. Ex[ie]ns uero cursor, [cog]nosce[n]s [eu]m B9(147r) adorauit eum, et facialem inuolu[t]o[r]i[um] <quod> fer[ebat] c[ur]sor in manu sua, expandit [...]em in terra [dic]ens: D<omi>n[e], super hoc amb[ul]ans ingredere [qu]o<sup>B10(147v)</sup>niam preses te uocat. Uidetes autem Iudaei quod fecit cursor exclamauerunt ad Pilatum dicentes: Quare no sub uoce praeconia iussisti <...>

### English translation

<...> born of Mary, and he says he is the son of God and king. Not only this, but he violates God's Sabbath and wants to destroy the law of our fathers. Pilate says to them: What is that which he does and wants to destroy? The Jews say to him: We have a law not to heal anyone on the Sabbath. Yet he healed the lame, the crooked, the deaf, the paralytic, the blind, the leprous, and the demoniacs on the Sabbath with evil actions. Pilate says to them: What kinds of evil actions? They say to him: He is a magician, and by the prince of the demons Beelzebul he casts out demons, and all are subject to him. Pilate says to them: It is not by an evil spirit (that one) casts out demons but by god Excolapius.

The Jews say to Pilate: We ask your majesty that you command him to stand before your tribunal and to examine him. Pilate, summoning a messenger, says to him: Let Jesus be brought with temperance. Indeed, stepping outside, recognizing him, the messenger worshipped him, and the wrapping scarf that the messenger was carrying in his hand, he spread <...> on the ground saying: Lord, walking over this, enter because the governor calls you. But the Jews, seeing what the messenger did, cried out to Pilate saying: Why did you not order by a herald's voice <...>

### Experimental back translation

<...> ἀπὸ Μαρίας γεννηθέντα καὶ λέγει ἑαυτὸν εἶναι υἱὸν Θεοῦ καὶ βασιλέα – οὐ μόνον τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ {Θεοῦ} Σάββατον βεβηλοῖ καὶ τὸν πατρῶον ἡμῶν νόμον βούλεται καταλύσαι. Λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλάτος· Τίνα ἐστὶν ἃ πράττει καὶ βούλεται καταλύσαι; Λέγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· Νόμον ἔχομεν ἐν Σαββάτῳ μὴ θεραπεύσαι τινα. Οὗτος δὲ χῶλους καὶ κυρτοὺς καὶ κωφοὺς καὶ παραλυτικούς καὶ τυφλοὺς καὶ λεπροὺς καὶ δαιμονιζομένους ἐθεράπευσεν ἐν Σαββάτῳ ἀπὸ κακῶν πράξεων. Λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλάτος· Ποίων κακῶν πράξεων; Λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· Γόης ἐστὶν καὶ ἐν τῷ ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων Βεελζεβούλ ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια καὶ πάντα αὐτῷ ὑποτάσσεται. Λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλάτος· Τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν πνεύματι ἀκαθάρτῳ ἐκβαλεῖν δαιμόνια ἀλλὰ ἐν θεῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ.

Λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τῷ Πιλάτῳ· ἀξιούμεν τὸ ὑμέτερον μέγεθος ὥστε {κελεύετε} αὐτὸν παραστήναι τῷ βήματι {ὑμῶν} καὶ ἀκούσαι αὐτόν. Ἔπειτα προσκαλεσάμενος αὐτοὺς ὁ Πιλάτος λέγει· Ἐπάτέ μοι πῶς δύναμαι ἐγὼ ἡγεμῶν ὡν βασιλέα ἐξετάσαι; Λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· Ἡμεῖς οὐ λέγομεν αὐτὸν βασιλέα εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἑαυτὸν λέγει. Προσκαλεσάμενος ὁ Πιλάτος κούρσωρα λέγει αὐτῷ· Μετὰ ἐπικειρίας ἀχθήτω ὁ Ἰησοῦς. Ἐξελεθῶν δὲ ὁ κούρσωρ, γνωρίσας αὐτόν, προσεκύνησεν αὐτόν καὶ φακίολιον {καθάπλωμα} ὃ κατεῖχεν {ὁ κούρσωρ} ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ ἤπλωσεν δὲ χαμαὶ

λέγων· Κύριε, ὧδε περιπατῶν εἰσελθε ὅτι ὁ ἡγεμῶν σε καλεῖ. Ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ὁ ἐποίησεν ὁ κούρσωρ κατέκραξαν τῷ Πιλάτῳ λέγοντες· Διατί οὐκ ὑπὸ πραίκονα ἐκάλεσας <...>

## Codicological information

*Lacuna* β consists of one leaf of a bifolio (II: C). The missing text extends from the end of the Prologue to the beginning of ch. 1.1, up to and including the list of names of Jesus' accusers who bring him before Pilate.

Segment III consists of the central bifolio of quire II (II: D-D'), the surviving leaf of another bifolio (III: C', corresponding to *lacuna* β), and the second leaf of the bifolio that contains segment II (II: B'), that is, ff. 150, 149, 138, and 147 in modern numbering.

## Commentary

**de:** ἀπό in all Gk mss.

**set:** Possibly for *sed et* through haplography.<sup>1</sup>

**Dei:** The word Θεοῦ does not appear in Gk mss. In Latin, this reading occurs only in Vp.

**nostram:** As in I, J, N, χ<sup>AM</sup> and Geo; cf. Arm and Cop.

**Quae est quae agit:** This question reflects the Greek usage of a singular form of the verb after a neuter plural.<sup>2</sup> The absence of subject-verb agreement is still evident in some ninth-century LatA mss (e.g., 133, 158, 207, 334), but it is often corrected by later scribes to *Quae sunt quae agit* or to *Quid est quod agit*.

**Dīcunt [ei] Iudaei:** The reconstruction of *ei* is based on Philippart's indication of two missing letters before *Iudaei* and the evidence of Gk and Latin mss.

**[Lege] habemus:** Attested in LatA and the idiosyncratic versions (Praha group, Kraków version); LatB and LatC modify the clause.

**[Lege]:** For *Legem*, the final *-m* omitted at the end of the line. The word *legem* is amply attested in LatA.

**ῢαβῃατῡμ:** The Latin uses here accusative whereas the Gk has mostly ἐν Σαβῃάτῳ. Cf. **in Sabbatū** below, which is closer to the Greek.

**Ste:** For *Iste*.<sup>3</sup>

**ϙ[1]audos, ḡubbos, surdos, paralyticos, caecos, lebrosos et demoniacos:** This word order is not attested in any Gk or Eastern versions, but LatA shows a similar order.

**ḡubbos:** For *gibbos*. Absent from later Latin mss, but a related form, *gibbosos*, is preserved in LatB; LatA reads *curuos*.

**lebrosos:** For *leprosos*, with the voicing of the bilabial stop.

**in Sabbatū:** For *in Sabbato*; alternatively, for *in Sabbatum*, with the final *-m* omitted.

**ḡ malis actionibus:** Preposition *a*, probably translating Gk ἀπό, is not attested in later Latin traditions; *actionibus/actibus* survives in LatA and LatC but not in LatB.

**qualiu malarum aḡtionum:** A calque on the Gk Ποίῳν κακῶν πράξεων, a question that refers to the last words spoken by the Jews, ἀπὸ κακῶν πράξεων. LatA and the idiosyncratic mss (Kraków version, Praha group, 391) retain the noun phrase in genitive even though there is no justification for it in Latin.

**Qualiu:** For *Qualium*, with the final *-m* omitted at the end of the line. Later Latin mss replace it with *Quare* or *Quarum/Quorum*.

**principe daemoniorum Beelzebul:** In Greek and in Eastern versions, the proper noun comes first. In LatA and LatC, it comes last.

**principe daemoniorum:** Later LatA mss usually omit *daemoniorum*, but the word is attested in some early mss, such as 25, 75, 158; it is also present in LatC, LatB, Kraków version, and 391.

**Beelzebul:** The form with *-zebul* (reflecting the Gk) is not attested anywhere else in Latin, where the name ends in variants of *-zebul*.

**Istud non in spiritu inmundo eicit daemonia:** Latin syntax is defective here. *Istud* could belong to the previous sentence (*Dicit eis Pilatus istud*) but this is not the scribe's usual practice. The text of φ reads οὐκ ἔστιν δυνατόν... ἐκβαλεῖν; χ has τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστιν ἀκάθαρτος ἐκβαλεῖν. Vp may reflect a Greek reading similar to φ<sup>C</sup>, τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστιν... ἐκβαλεῖν, with οὐκ ἔστιν understood as "it is not possible". This is what has been chosen for the back translation. Ms 127 (Kraków version) reads *Istud non in spiritu inmundo eicere demonia*. *Istud* survives in LatA, which adds *est* (i.e., *istud non est*) and changes *eicit* to *eicere* or *eiciendi*; this may in fact have been the reading behind Vp and 127. LatC reads *Ista/iste* instead of *Istud* and retains *eicit*; LatB rephrases Pilate's response altogether.

1 Despineux, "Une version latine palimpseste," p. 182.

2 Despineux, "Une version latine palimpseste," p. 180.

3 Wallace M. Lindsay, *The Latin Language. An Historical Account of Latin Sounds, Stems and Flexions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1894), p. 167, p. 435.

**Excolapio:** In Latin, the name is attested in only one idiosyncratic ms, 391, in the form *Scolapii*.

**Pilato:** As in φ<sup>H</sup>, I, J, N, and χ<sup>AM</sup>.

**magnitudinem uestram ... tribunal uestrum:** The back translation reflects the text of Vp, but the extant Gk mss read τὸ ὑμέτερον μέγεθος... τῷ βήματί σου.

**ut eum iubeatis:** Gk mss have no equivalent for *iubeatis*. The phrase could be a translation of ἀξιούμεν... ὥστε or of κελεύετε, since elsewhere the forms of *iubeo* correspond to κελεύω; See Seg. IV C1(140<sup>r</sup>) and Seg. VII D6(136<sup>v</sup>)-D7(161<sup>v</sup>).

**adatare:** Most likely an error for *adstare*.<sup>4</sup>

**audire eum. Aduocans:** Vp omits Pilate's challenge to the Jews, present in Gk, in Eastern versions, and in several idiosyncratic Latin mss (such as 59, 391, Kraków version [127, 129a ], and Praha group [299, 322]), and in LatB: *Convocans autem Pilatus Iudeos dixit: Dicite mihi quomodo possum ego, cum sim preses, regem audire? Dixerunt ei Iudei: Nos eum non dicimus regem sed ipse se dicit* (LatB<sup>336</sup>). This is probably an eye skip from the first προσκαλεσάμενος ὁ Πιλάτος, introducing this dialogue, to the second, where Pilate summons the messenger. It could have occurred either in Greek or in Latin.

**audire eum:** The active infinitive strains the construction here, but it is abundantly attested in LatA. For *audire*, φ reads ἀκουσθῆναι, which solves the problem of construction, but N, together with Arm, Cop and Geo, has ἀκοῦσαι αὐτοῦ.<sup>5</sup>

[ei]: Reconstruction based on Gk and later Latin tradition.

**adducat[ur] [Ie<su>s]:** Most likely translates ἀχθήτω ὁ Ἰησοῦς. LatA reflects Vp most closely at this point.

[Ie<su>s]: Most likely abbreviated *IHS*, without a macron, as elsewhere in Vp.

**uero:** Preserved in LatA, LatC, Kraków version, and Prague group, but not in LatB.

**cursor, [cog]nosce[n]s:** Philippart indicates three missing letters between *cursor* and *nosce[n]s*. One might expect *et* before *cognoscens*, which is attested in Gk and in LatA, but not in LatB. *Cognoscens* is attested in LatB but *agnoscens* in LatA, Kraków version, Praha group, and 391.

[eu]m ... eum: Only two Latin mss repeat this word, 299 and 391, but this repetition is widely attested in Gk.

[eu]m: Reconstructed on the basis of Gk and LatA.

**facilem inuolutu[t]o[r]i[um]:** The usual reading in Gk mss is φακιόλιον. Dobschütz suggested that *inuolutorium* could translate καθάπλωμα,<sup>6</sup> which replaces φακιόλιον in I, J, φ<sup>C</sup>, and χ. None of the Gk manuscripts have both φακιόλιον (from φακιάλιον), Latin *faciale*, and καθάπλωμα (from καθαπλώω, “spread over”). The replacement may have originated as a gloss or a revision in Greek. The phrase *facilem inuolutorium* is preserved in LatA and in some idiosyncratic mss (299, 391).

<quod>: As in Gk and LatA.

**ϛ[ur]sor:** The word κούρσωρ is not mentioned in any Gk ms at this point.

[...].ϛm: Perhaps for *autem*, but the syntax would be strained; some ninth-century mss read here *eum/eam* corrected to *ante eum* (e.g., LatC<sup>12</sup>, LatA<sup>23,112,133,158</sup>; cf. also 299, 419a). Gk mss have αὐτό.

**in tē[rra] [dic]e[n]s:** Attested in LatA (*super terram* in LatC).

**Ϡ<omi>n[e]:** As in later Latin tradition.

**super hoc:** Translates ὡδε, present in all Greek manuscripts.

**amb[u]lans ingredere:** All Gk mss have two coordinated imperatives, except χ<sup>OQ</sup> which have εἰσελθών as the second verb. The translator may have chosen to replace the first imperative with a participle.

**amb[u]lans:** The participial form is occasionally found at this point in LatA (e.g., 75, 288) and in some idiosyncratic mss, such as Kraków version and 391.

[qu]oniam—dicentes: Attested in LatA.

[qu]oniam: Translates ὅτι attested in φ<sup>GHL</sup>, I, J and χ<sup>AM</sup>.

**Videntes:** For *Videntes*, with -n- omitted at the end of the line.

**Quare no:** For *Quare non*, with the final -n omitted at the end of the line. The placement of the negation reflects Gk mss N (διατί μή); cf. χ<sup>OQW</sup> (διατί οὐ). The same word order is attested in some LatA mss, such as 23 or 75, but later scribes often postponed the negative particle until later in the sentence.

**sub uoce praeconia:** None of the Gk mss has φωνή (*uoce*); most read ὑπὸ πραίκονα.

**praeconia:** Occasionally attested in early LatA mss, such as 112 and 288; also in 299. Most other mss read *preconis, preconaria* (Kraków version and 391), *preconi* (LatC<sup>12</sup>).

**iussisti:** The Gk verb behind *iussisti* could be ἐκάλεσας, attested in the majority of Gk mss, or ἐκέλευσας, attested in φ<sup>G</sup> (cf. also χ<sup>AM</sup>).

4 Despineux, “Une version latine palimpseste,” p. 182.

5 It is unlikely that ἀκοῦσαι should be interpreted as a middle imperative because it would then mean “obey.”

6 Cf. Ernst von Dobschütz, “Der Prozess Jesu nach den Acta Pilati,” *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums* 3 (1902), p. 95, n. 3.





## A Commentary on the Vienna Palimpsest – Segment IV (Ch. 2.5-3.1)

### Latin text (C1-C4)

C1(140r) <...> esse filium Dei et nos non credimur.

Iubens uero Pilatus omnem populum exire absque duodecim uiros qui dixerunt quoniam non est natus C2(140v) e[x] <...> <...> <...> <...> <Qua> ratione <isti> <eu>m <uolunt> occide[re]? <Dī>[cu]nt <Pil>a[t]<o>: Ζε[λ]um ha[b]e[η][t] [q]uoniam in Sabbato curat. C3(123r) Dicūt P[il]at[us]: De bon[a] opera uolun[t] [eu]m occide[re]? [Di]cunt ei: E<tiam> <Domin>e.

<...> <...> <pret>or[ium] e[t] dic[it] [e]is: T[e]stem habet solem C4(123v) quoniam nec unam culpam inbenio hominis stius. Responderunt Iudaei et dixerunt praesidi: Si non iste esset malefactor non traderemus <...>

### English translation

<...> to be the son of God and we are not believed.

And so, Pilate, ordering all the people to go out except for the twelve men who said that he was not born of <...> For what reason do they want to kill him? They say to Pilate: They are jealous because he heals on the Sabbath. Pilate says: They want to kill him on account of good deeds? They say to him: Indeed, Lord. <...>

<...> praetorium and says to them: I take the sun to witness that I find not a single fault of this man. The Jews answered and said to the governor: If he were not an evildoer, we would not have handed (him) over <...>

### Experimental back translation

εἶναι υἱὸν Θεοῦ καὶ {ἡμεῖς} οὐ πιστευόμεθα.

Κελεύ{σας} δὲ ὁ Πιλάτος ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος ἐξελεῖν ἐκτὸς τῶν δώδεκα ἀνδρῶν τῶν εἰπόντων ὅτι οὐ γεγέννηται ἐκ <...> ποίω λόγῳ {οὗτοι} αὐτὸν θέλουσιν ἀποκτεῖναι; Λέγουσιν τῷ Πιλάτῳ· Ζῆλον ἔχουσιν ὅτι ἐν Σαββάτῳ θεραπεύει. Λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος· Περὶ καλοῦ ἔργου θέλουσιν αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι; Λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· Ναὶ {Κύριε} <...>

<...> τοῦ πραιτωρίου καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· Μάρτυρα ἔχω τὸν ἥλιον ὅτι οὐδὲ μίαν αἰτίαν εὕρισκω ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τούτῳ. Ἀπεκρίθησαν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ εἶπαν τῷ ἡγεμόνι· Εἰ μὴ οὗτος ἦν κακοποιός, οὐκ ἂν παρεδώκαμεν...

### Codicological information

Lost in *lacuna* γ are the episodes of the Jews complaining about the messenger (the end of ch. 1.2), Pilate's exchange with the messenger (ch. 1.3), an explanation of the word *hosanna* (ch. 1.4), the miracle of the bowing standards (ch. 1.5-6), Pilate's wife's dream (ch. 2.1; cf. Mt 27:19), Pilate's first discussion with Jesus (ch. 2.2), the accusations of the Jews (ch. 2.3), charges that Jesus was born of fornication and the response of the righteous Jews (ch. 2.4), and Pilate's discussion with the righteous Jews and with Annas and Caiaphas (most of ch. 2.4). Given the extent of the missing text, Philippart assumes that two quires must have been lost. *Lacuna* γ would include the last folio of quire II, complete quires III and IV, and the first folio of quire V, that is, 18 folios in all.

The text of segment IV covers the second and third folios of quire V (V: B-C), ff. 140 and 123 in modern numbering.

### Commentary

**esse filium Dei:** The word order follows φ<sup>CL</sup>, J, and χ. All Gk and Latin mss add here καὶ βασιλέα / *et regem*.

**nos non credimur:** The first person plural pronoun does not appear in Gk or Eastern versions. The Gk form πιστευόμεθα could be interpreted as active or passive; the translator accurately renders it by passive voice ("we are

not believed”), relying on the context. The ninth and tenth century Latin mss uniformly read *nos non credimus*; some later mss do have the form *credimur* (e.g., LatA<sup>241</sup>, TR<sup>62,109</sup>, 59), but it may be a result of scribal correction.

**Iubens:** The participial form is not attested at this point in the Gk or Eastern versions. However, it is present in most early LatA mss (e.g., 112, 119, 133, 158, 334), Kraków version (127, 129a), and Praha group (299, 322); other mss alter it to *iussit*.

**uero:** Likely a translation of δέ as in φ<sup>FXZ</sup> and I, or of οὐν as in J. LatA and related versions read *ergo*.

**exire:** All later Latin mss add *foras / foris*, except Kraków version, which agrees with Vp.

**absque:** Reflected in LatA, TR, and the idiosyncratic versions (Kraków, Praha, 391).

**quoniam:** A translation of ὅτι introducing reported discourse (“who said that”); cf. Seg. III, ch. 1.2 B10(147v), where causal ὅτι is translated with *quoniam*; see also below. Preserved in most ninth- and tenth-century LatA mss.

**<Qua>—<Pil>[t]<o>:** These clauses are difficult to reconstruct with certainty. The space after *ratione* could be filled with *isti* (as in LatB<sup>145,160,276,369</sup>) or, perhaps, *Iudaei* (as in LatB<sup>387</sup>), but there is no equivalent for either in Gk mss. Alternatively, the space could have contained the word *uolunt*. The letter *-m* could be the ending of *eum* (as in most Gk and LatA mss) or *Iesum* (as in χ and LatB<sup>145,160,276,369</sup>). The space after *-m* could have been left empty or, if the space after *ratione* had *isti* or *Iudaei*, the one after *-m* could have contained the word *uolunt*. If the word *uolunt* indeed appeared earlier in the sentence, then the uncertain letters *uφ* could, perhaps, represent *di-*, as no Gk or Latin ms places *uolunt* after *occidere*. Hence the last clause could be reconstructed as <di>[cu]nt <Pil>[t]<o>, as in φ<sup>FXZ</sup>, I, J, and B, and LatA.

**ocdde[re]:** A scribal error for *occidere*.

**[q]uoniam:** A translation for ὅτι, this time expressing cause. Amply attested in LatA, TR, idiosyncratic versions.

**in Sabbato:** In contrast to ch. 1.1, ἐν Σαββάτῳ is here translated with a preposition. The earliest Latin mss omit the preposition, but some later ones, including LatA<sup>BT 179,268</sup>, LatB, Kraków version, and Praha group read with Vp.

**De bon[a] opera:** Only LatA<sup>119,133</sup> read with Vp; later Latin mss correct to *de bono opere* or rephrase.

**E<tiam> <Domin>e:** Reconstructed on the basis of LatA and Praha group; Kraków version and 391 read *utique*. There is no equivalent of Κύριε in Gk mss.

**<pret>orijum:** Reconstructed on the basis of Gk (ἔξω τοῦ πραιτωρίου) and Latin mss.

**e[t] diç[it] [e]is:** Reconstructed on the basis of most Gk mss and LatA.

**habę:** Possibly *habeo*.<sup>1</sup>

**quoniam:** Translates ὅτι to introduce reported discourse.

**nec unam culpam inbenio hominis stius:** This echoes multiple places in the canonical gospels (Jn 18:38b; 19:4.6; Lk 23:4.14.22). The presence of the substantive *culpa* points to John, but “this man” points to Lk 23:4.14, ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τούτῳ.

**nec unam:** The emphatic translation *nec unam* suggests an emphatic form in Gk as well, with οὐδὲ μίαν (“not even one”), as in Gk ms E. *nec unam* is found in LatA and idiosyncratic versions, while *nullam* occurs in LatB and LatB influenced mss.

**culpam:** VL and Vg read *causam*; *culpam* is found only in VL ms *q* (Jn 19:4) and *a* (Lk 23:4), and in most Latin mss of AP (except Kraków version).

**inbenio:** For *inuenio*; cf. Seg. V, C8(143v).

**hominis stius:** No Latin translation of Lk 23:4.14 uses the genitive, and no Gk or Latin ms of AP has the genitive at this point. Here Vp presents an original translation of the biblical text.

**stius:** For *istius*, as in B4(150v). The demonstrative οὗτος is normally rendered by *iste*; however, *iste* is not widely attested in Latin mss of Lk 23:4.14.<sup>2</sup>

**Si non—traderemus:** Jn 18:30.

**iste esset:** This word order is not attested in Gk biblical mss, or in Gk and Latin mss of AP.

**iste:** Gk οὗτος. *Iste* is attested in LatA, LatC, and related mss, but it is not found in Latin biblical mss. Here Vp presents an original translation of the biblical text.

**malefactor:** Gk κακοποιός, present in all Gk mss, following the Gk Majority text. Attested in LatB2 and Kraków version; LatA and LatB1 typically read *maleficus*; LatC<sup>12,264</sup> have both.

**traderemus:** The verb may have had a complement in the lacuna (*eum tibi*). The imperfect active subjunctive occurs only in VL mss *b*, *q* (*Itala*), *e* (*Afra*), the *Liber Comicus Toletanus*, and LatC<sup>141,157</sup>. All other Latin biblical and AP mss have *tradidissimus*. Here Vp presents an original translation of the biblical text.

1 Philippart, “Les fragments palimpsestes de l’Évangile de Nicodème,” p. 179, n. 30.

2 For Lk 23:4, only manuscripts *c* and *f* use *isto*; all others have *hoc*. *Isto* is, however, the Vulgate translation in Lk 23:14 and appears also in *c*, *ff*<sup>2</sup>, *f*, *aur.*, *δ*, *gat*.

## A Commentary on the Vienna Palimpsest – Segment V (Ch. 3.2-4.1)

### Latin text (C5-C8)

C5(128r) <...> resisterem ut non traditus essem Iudaeis. Nunc uero regnum meum non est hinc. Dicit ei Pilatus: Ergo rex es tu? Respondit Ie<su>s: Tu dicis quoniam rex C6(128v) s<um> <...> <...> <...> <...> <...> <...> <uerit>ate[m] aud<it> <...> Di[c]it [eis] Pilatus: In terris ueri C7(143r) tas non est? Dicit Ie<su>s Pilato: Int[e]nde uerita[t]<em> <dicentes> <in terr>a quomodo iudicantur ab his qui ahen p[ot]estatem in terris.

Relinquens Pi C8(143v) latus Ie<su>m in pretorio exiit ad Iudaeos et dicit eis: Ego nec unam culpam inuenio eum. Dicunt Iudaei: Iste dixit, Possum templum istum dissol<uere> <...>

### English translation

<...> I would have resisted so that I should not be delivered to the Jews. But now, my kingdom is not from here. Pilate says to him: So you are a king? Jesus answered: You say that I am a king <...> hears the truth <...>. Pilate says to them: Is there not truth on earth? Jesus says to Pilate: Behold those saying the truth on earth, how they are judged by those who have power on earth.

Leaving Jesus in the praetorium, Pilate went out to the Jews and says to them: I find not a single fault (in) him. The Jews say: This man said, I can destroy this temple <...>

### Experimental back translation

<...> ἠγωνιζόμεν) ἄν ἵνα μὴ παραδοθῶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις. Νῦν δὲ ἡ βασιλεία ἡ ἐμὴ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐντεῦθεν. Λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Πιλάτος· Οὐκοῦν βασιλεὺς εἶ σύ; Ἀπεκρίθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς· Σὺ λέγεις ὅτι βασιλεὺς εἰμι. <...> ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀκούει <...> Λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλάτος· Ἐπὶ γῆς ἀλήθεια οὐκ ἔστιν; Λέγει ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῷ Πιλάτῳ· Ὁρᾶς οἱ τὴν ἀλήθειαν λέγοντες {ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς} πῶς κρίνονται ἀπὸ τῶν ἐχόντων τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

Καταλιπὼν ὁ Πιλάτος τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἔσω τοῦ πραιτωρίου ἐξῆλθε πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· Ἐγὼ οὐδὲ μίαν αἰτίαν εὕρισκω {ἐν} αὐτῷ. Λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· Οὗτος εἶπεν, Δύναμαι τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον καταλύσαι <...>

### Codicological information

*Lacuna* δ reflects the loss of the central bifolio of quire V. The two missing leaves must have contained the discussion between Pilate and the Jews, based on Jn 18:30-31 (ch. 3.1), and Pilate's second interview with Jesus, based on Jn 18:33-36 (ch. 3.2).

The text of segment V covers the sixth and seventh folios of quire V (V: C'-B'), f. 128 and f. 143 in modern numbering.

### Commentary

**resisterem—aud<it>**: Cf. Jn 18:36-38.

**resisterem**: This verb is attested in LatA and related mss but in the third person plural (*ministri mei resisterent*); the final *-m* in Vp may, in fact, be an error for *-nt*. In Latin biblical mss, ἀγωνίζεσθαι is translated as *resistere* only in *q* (*resistent*).

**ut non traditus essem**: In exactly this form, attested in LatA<sup>52,96,112,179,268</sup> and Praha group (299, 322); the majority of LatA, however, read *et* instead of *ut*. In biblical mss, *ut* is found in Vg and some VL mss (most VL mss read *ne traderer*, a reading reflected also in LatA<sup>73,241</sup> and LatB).

**uero:** Reflected only in VL ms *r* (<uer>o), and in LatA, Praha group, and TR; LatB reads *autem*, as do other mss of VL and Vg.

**ei Pilatus:** The name of Pilate appears at this point in Jn 18:37, as in φ<sup>L</sup>, φ<sup>Z</sup> (without αὐτῶ), Geo, and Cop. However, the οὖν of Jn 18:37 is absent from Vp.

**Respondit:** Reflected in LatA, TR, Praha group, and LatB1.

**quoniam:** Translates ὅτι. VL ms *e*, LatA, and LatC read with Vp, but generally VL and Vg have *quia* (as do some LatA and LatB mss).

<uerit>α̅ϛ̅[m] aud<it> <...>: Back translation based on Jn 18:37 and Gk AP mss. This portion of the text is difficult to reconstruct because there is not enough space on the page for the complete text as preserved by the later Latin tradition: *Iterum dicit Iesus Pilati: Ego in hoc natus sum et in hoc ueni <ut testimonium perhibeam ueritati>. Et omnis qui est ex ueritate audit uocem meam. Dicit Pylatus: Quid est ueritas? Dicit Iesus: Veritas de caelo est.* (LatA<sup>133</sup>, with words in angled brackets supplied from LatB<sup>160</sup>). If the partially read letters are correct, Vp must have omitted Pilate's final question (*Quid est ueritas*) as well as Jesus' answer (*Veritas de caelo est*).

<uerit>α̅ϛ̅[m]: Attested with *-m* in VL ms *a* and in LatB1<sup>198</sup>.

D̅i[c]i̅t̅ [eis] P̅i̅l̅a̅t̅u̅s: The expected pronoun here is *ei*, but the transcript indicates the presence of three letters between *dicit* and *Pilatus*. The form *eis*, although a scribal error that might have arisen either in Gk or Latin, is in fact attested in the idiosyncratic 391 and LatC<sup>262</sup>. The word *Iesu*, abbreviated *IHU*, would also fit, but it is not attested in any ms.

I̅n̅ t̅e̅r̅r̅i̅s̅ u̅e̅r̅i̅t̅a̅s̅ n̅o̅n̅ e̅s̅t̅: In this form, attested in LatA and Praha group; other Latin versions typically begin Pilate's question with *ergo*.

t̅e̅r̅r̅i̅s̅: Gk, LatB, and LatC use the singular.

P̅i̅l̅a̅t̅o̅: The name occurs in φ<sup>FX</sup>, J, B, and in LatA, including Praha group.

I̅n̅[t̅e̅]̅n̅d̅e̅ u̅e̅r̅i̅t̅a̅[t̅]̅<em> <dicentes> <in terr>a: Most Gk mss read ὁρᾶς οἱ (*sic*) τὴν ἀλήθειαν λέγοντες. The word missing before *in terra* is probably *dicentes*, attested, for example, in LatB<sup>160,369,387</sup> (LatA as well as some LatB and LatC mss read *dicentis* for *dicentes*).

I̅n̅[t̅e̅]̅n̅d̅e̅: Attested in LatA, Praha group, LatC, TR against LatB *Agnosce*.

<in terr>a: Attested in LatA, Praha group, and LatC. None of the Gk mss and none of the Eastern versions has an equivalent for *in terra*.

q̅u̅i̅ a̅b̅e̅n̅t̅: Gk τῶν ἐχόντων (substantive participle) is translated with a clause.

a̅b̅e̅n̅t̅: For *habent*.

i̅n̅ t̅e̅r̅r̅i̅s̅: Singular in Gk, translated as plural. Attested in this form in LatA (including Praha group) and LatC.

R̅e̅l̅i̅q̅u̅e̅n̅s̅: All Gk and Eastern versions have here an equivalent of καί or τότε.

i̅n̅ p̅r̅e̅t̅o̅r̅i̅o̅: Attested in LatB, LatC, Kraków version (127, 129a). No Gk ms reads ἐν τῷ πραιτωρίῳ, but I and J have ἐνδὸν τοῦ πραιτωρίου. The back translation follows φ and B (ἔσω τοῦ πραιτωρίου); εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον, also attested, is less probable. LatA typically reads *intus pretorium*, but some mss, such as 59 and 235, do reflect Vp.

e̅x̅i̅i̅t̅: Here the text returns to Jn 18:38.

a̅d̅ I̅u̅d̅a̅e̅o̅s̅: Similarly LatA.

d̅i̅c̅i̅t̅: The form *dicit* after perfect *exiit* is shared by Vg and VL mss *b*, *ff*<sup>2</sup>, *q*, *aur.*, *gat*.

e̅g̅o̅—e̅u̅m̅: The word order follows the Gk Majority text.

n̅e̅c̅ u̅n̅a̅m̅ c̅u̅l̅p̅a̅m̅: Attested in most LatA and 391 (other mss read *nec ullam* or *nullam*); cf. Seg. III, C4(123<sup>v</sup>) for *culpam* and *nec unam*. Here οὐδὲ μίαν is attested in Gk mss φ<sup>ZX</sup> and χ<sup>OQM</sup>.

i̅n̅u̅e̅n̅i̅o̅: Attested consistently in LatB; LatA vacillates between *inuenio* and *inueni*.

e̅u̅m̅: One would expect here *in eum* or *in eo*. Jn 18:38 and φ have ἐν αὐτῶ, which is the most likely source text of Vp; φ<sup>L</sup> has εἰς αὐτόν, and E has ἐν αὐτόν. Most Latin biblical mss use an ablative pronoun, except VL ms *q* (*in illum*); later Latin mss of AP read either *in eum* or *in eo*.

d̅i̅c̅u̅n̅t̅ I̅u̅d̅a̅e̅i̅: As in Gk mss φ<sup>GYL</sup> and χ, and in Lat mss LatA<sup>BT</sup> 215,288, Kraków version, 391. Most Gk mss and LatA add *ei*.

I̅s̅t̅e̅ d̅i̅x̅i̅t̅: Attested in LatA.

I̅s̅t̅e̅: Gk οὗτος. From here, the text follows closely Mt 26:61 (οὗτος ἔρη· δύναμαι καταλύσαι τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ), probably influenced by Jn 2:19 (λύσατε τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον).

i̅s̅t̅u̅m̅: Gk τοῦτον. The Latin masculine demonstrative may have been influenced by the Gk form. LatA adjusts the gender and reads *istud*. The pronoun is absent from other Latin versions.

d̅i̅s̅s̅o̅l̅<u̅e̅r̅e̅>: Gk καταλύσαι. Attested in early LatA mss and in VL ms *d*. Most VL mss, Vg, and later Latin versions of AP use *destruere*. Here Vp presents an original translation of the biblical text.

## A Commentary on the Vienna Palimpsest – Segment VI (Ch. 4.2-4.3)

### Latin text (D1-D4)

D1(154v) <...> seniores et leuite Pilato: Per caesare si quis blasphemauerit dignus est morti. Iste autem aduersus Deum blasphemauit.

Iussit uero praeses D2(154r) Iudeos foras exire de praetorio et aduocans Ie<su>m dicit ei: Quid faciam tibi? Dicit Ie<su>s Pilato: S[icut] datum est. Dicit Pilatus: Quomodo datu est? Dicit ei Ie<su>s: D3(131r) Moises et prophete <pra>pheton <auerunt> <...> <...> <...> <...> <...> <resurrectio>ne m<ea>. <Audient>es Iudae[i] dicunt Pilato: [Q]uid am D4(131v) plius uis maius de blasphemia eius audire? Dicit Pilatus Iudaeis: Si iste sermo blasphemiae est, de blasphemia tollite eum uos et perducite eum ad <...>

### English translation

<...> the elders and the Levites to Pilate: If someone has blasphemed by Caesar, he is worthy of death. But this man blasphemed against God.

The governor ordered the Jews to go out of the praetorium and, summoning Jesus, says to him: What shall I do with you? Jesus says to Pilate: As it is given. Pilate says: How is it given? Jesus says to him: Moses and the prophets proclaimed <...> my resurrection. Hearing (this), the Jews say to Pilate: What else do you want to hear, greater than his blasphemy? Pilate says to the Jews: If this speech is blasphemous, you take him for blasphemy and lead him to <...>

### Experimental back translation

<...> οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ λεῦται τῷ Πιλάτῳ· Κατὰ καίσαρος ἐάν τις βλασφημίῃ ἄξιός ἐστι θανάτου. Οὗτος δὲ κατὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐβλασφήμησεν.

Ἐκέλευσεν δὲ ὁ ἡγεμὼν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐξελθεῖν ἔξω τοῦ πραιτωρίου καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν Ἰησοῦν λέγει αὐτῷ· Τί ποιήσω σοι; Λέγει ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῷ Πιλάτῳ· Οὕτως ἐδόθη. Λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος· Πῶς ἐδόθη; Λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· Μωϋσῆς καὶ οἱ προφῆται προεκήρυξαν <...> τῆς ἀναστάσεώς μου. Ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι λέγουσιν τῷ Πιλάτῳ· Τί πλέον θέλεις μείζον τῆς βλασφημίας {τούτου} ἀκοῦσαι; Λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις· Εἰ οὗτος ὁ λόγος βλάσφημὸς ἐστί, περὶ βλασφημίας λάβετε αὐτὸν ὑμεῖς καὶ ἀπαγάγετε αὐτὸν εἰς <...>

### Codicological information

*Lacuna* ε consists of the last folio of quire V and the first folio of quire VI. The missing folios must have contained the conclusion of the discussion about the temple, the dialog based on Mt 27:24-25 (ch. 4.1), and Pilate's claim that Jesus does not deserve to die (ch. 4.2).

Segment VI corresponds to ff. 154 and 131 in modern numbering (VI: B-C). Since the text begins on f. 154v and continues on to the recto, we may assume that the second scribe must have turned the folio around; consequently, the lower writing is now upside down in relation to the upper writing.

### Commentary

**seniores et leuite:** Most Gk mss read οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ λεῦται (φ), and none refers to the elders and the Levites only. Vp may be translating οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ λεῦται, or some words may have been dropped in the process of translating or copying. LatA and Prague group (299, 322) transmit the same phrase as Vp.

**per caesare ... aduersus Deum:** Gk mss have κατά twice, followed by the genitive. The translator seems to have interpreted the two expressions differently, taking the first to mean “by Caesar,” perhaps influenced by the formula *iurare per Caesarem* (cf. Tertullian, *Ad nationes* 1, 10; *Passio Polycarpi* 9, 2), and the second to mean “against God”.

**caesare:** For *caesarem*, with the final *-m* omitted at the end of the line.

**dignus est morti:** The word order follows φ<sup>FX</sup>. The dative is attested in most early Latin mss; later Latin mss use the genitive or ablative.

**morti. Iste:** It appears that a portion of the text has been omitted here through eye skip, either in Latin or more likely in Gk, since the omission is shared by Gk mss φ<sup>YLZ</sup>, B, and N (rephrased in χ). The same omission is present in LatA, LatC, and all related mss. However the full text (*Dic nobis: Si quis cesarem blasphemauerit dignus est morte aut non? Dicit eis Pilatus: Dignus est morte. Dicunt Iudei Pilato: Si cesarem quis blasphemauerit ...*, LatB1<sup>336</sup>) is preserved in LatB1 and some mss of LatB2, possibly corrected against a different Gk ms.

**Iste—Deum:** Attested in LatA.

**uero:** Probably for δέ as in N and χ<sup>AM</sup>. Present only in LatA; other versions use *autem* or *tunc*.

**Iudeos foras exire:** This word order is present only in LatA.

**de praetorio:** Attested in LatA.

**et aduocans Ie<su>m:** Most mss of LatA, in which this phrase is attested, add *Pilatus* after *aduocans*; some, however, such as 59, 96, 108, and 263, do not.

**dicit:** The use of present corresponds to Gk mss φ<sup>CL</sup>, I, J, and N.

**Dicit Ie<su>s Pilato:** Attested in LatA.

**S[icut]:** So all later Latin mss.

**datum est:** Only φ<sup>L</sup>, E, and N have the third person ἐδόθη, as do Arm, Geo and Syr. The most common reading in Gk mss is οὕτως ἐδόθη, with the verb in the first person singular.

**Quomodo datu est:** Only φ<sup>YL</sup>, E, I, J, and N have the third person ἐδόθη, as do Arm, Geo, and Syr. Here the most common reading in Gk mss is ἐδόθης, in the second person singular.

**datu:** For *datum*, with the final *-m* omitted at the end of the line.

**ei:** Attested only in LatC and Kraków version (127, 129a).

**<pr>εξον<auerunt>:** Attested in the earliest ninth- and tenth-century LatA mss, such as 112, 133, and 334.

**<resurrectio>ne η<ea>:** Although the reconstruction of these words is fairly certain, the space before them appears too large for the words *de passione ista et de* that normally occur before *resurrectione mea* in LatA. LatB has *de morte ista*, as do Gk mss, so Vp may have referred here to the passion, death, and resurrection.

**<Audient>es Iudae[i] dicunt:** Here Vp reflects more closely φ<sup>GYL</sup> and E (ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι λέγουσιν) than other Gk mss. Attested in LatA.

**[Q]uid amplius—audire?:** Vp reflects here N and χ (πλέον θέλεις καὶ μείζον... ἀκούσαι) but omits the conjunction. This question posed a challenge to later scribes, who revised it variously; the closest to Vp is LatA, which adds *ab hoc* after *amplius* and deletes *de*.

**uis:** As in Gk mss I, J, B, N, and χ.

**maius de blasphemia:** *de* introduces the complement of the comparative (μείζον τῆς βλασφημίας).

**eius:** Gk mss have ταύτης, “this blasphemy,” but the masculine pronoun may have been in the source text. Alternatively, it could be αὐτοῦ, since this pronoun is almost consistently translated by *is*.

**Dicit Pilatus Iudaeis:** Attested in LatA, including the Praha group.

**blasphemiae est:** Gk mss have the adjective βλάσφημος. Most later Latin mss read *blasphemia*, but the form with *-ae* does occur in LatA<sup>263</sup>, LatB1<sup>284</sup>, and Kraków version.

**de blasphemia:** Not attested in Latin mss, except in Kraków version as *propter blasphemiam*, and in LatB1 as *hic blasphemus est*.

**tollite eum uos:** Cf. Jn 18:31, where λάβετε αὐτὸν ὑμεῖς is translated in VL and Vg by *accipite*. Here Vp presents an original translation of the biblical text.

**perducite:** The most common form in Gk mss is the aorist imperative ἀπαγάγετε (φ<sup>FXC</sup>, E, I, B, N, and χ<sup>AM</sup>), but some mss have the present imperative ἀπάγετε (φ<sup>GYZ</sup>) or ὑπάγετε (J and χ<sup>OQW</sup>). The reading *perducite* occurs in LatA<sup>BT</sup> and LatB1; most early LatA mss read *producite*.

## A Commentary on the Vienna Palimpsest – Segment VII (Ch. 4.5-5.1)

### Latin text (D5-D8)

D5(136r) <...> <non> omnis multitudo uult eum mori. Dicunt seniores ad Pilatum: Ideoque uenimus uniuersa multitudo ut moriatur. Dicit Pilatus ad Iudaeos: Ut quid mori<sup>D6(136v)</sup>tur? Dixerunt Iudaei: Quia dixit se esse [D<e>i] filium <Chri>s<tum> <et> reg<em> <...>

Quida aute <uir> Iudaeus <nomine> Nicodemus stetit ante Pilatum et dicit: Rogo, miseri<sup>D7(161v)</sup>cors, iube me dicere paucos sermones. Dicit ei Pilatus: Dic. Dicit Nicodemus: Ego dixi senioribus et sacerdotibus et leuuitis et omni multitudini Iu<sup>D8(161r)</sup>daeorum in synagoga, Quid queritis cum homine isto? Homo iste multa signa faciebat et gloriosa qualia nullus facit nec faciet. Dimittite illum, ne uolu<eritis> <...>

### English translation

<...> not all the crowd wants him to die. The elders say to Pilate: For this reason we have come, the whole crowd, that he should die. Pilate says to the Jews: Why should he die? The Jews said: Because he said he was Christ the son of God and king <...>

But a certain Jew, named Nicodemus, stood before Pilate and says: I ask you, merciful, command me to say a few words. Pilate says to him: Speak. Nicodemus says: I said to the elders and the priests and the Levites and all the crowd of the Jews in the synagogue, What do you want with this man? This man made many and glorious signs of the kind no one makes or will make. Release him, lest you want <...>

### Experimental back translation

<...> ᾠὸν ᾗ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος βούλεται αὐτὸν ἀποθανεῖν. Λέγουσιν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τῷ Πιλάτῳ· Διὰ τοῦτο ἤλθομεν ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος ἵνα ἀποθάνῃ. Λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους· ἵνατί ἀποθάνῃ; Ἔλεγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· Ὅτι εἶπεν αὐτὸν εἶναι ᾠεοῦ υἱὸν καὶ [...] βασιλέα.

Ἰουδαῖος δὲ τις ἀνὴρ {ὀνόματι} Νικόδημος ἔστη ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ Πιλάτου καὶ λέγει· Ἄξιῳ εὐσεβῇ κέλευσόν με εἰπεῖν ὀλίγους λόγους. Λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Πιλάτος· Εἰπέ. Λέγει ὁ Νικόδημος· Ἐγὼ εἶπον τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ τοῖς λευίταις καὶ παντὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ, Τί ζητεῖτε μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τούτου; ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος πολλὰ σημεῖα {ἐ}ποιεῖ καὶ παράδοξα {οἶα} οὐδεὶς ποιεῖ οὐδὲ ποιήσει· ἄφετε αὐτὸν μὴ βούλεσθε <...>

### Codicological information

*Lacuna* ζ corresponds to the central bifolio of quire VI (VI: D-D'). It covers the Jews' insistence that Jesus be put to death (end of ch. 4.3), their demand that he be crucified (ch. 4.4), and a reference to Pilate looking around and seeing people crying (beginning of ch. 4.5).

Segment VII covers ff. 136rv and 161vr (*sic*) in modern numbering. F. 161 forms a bifolio with f. 154 (cf. Segment VI).

### Commentary

<non>: The negation appears in most Gk and Latin mss.

omnis—mori: LatA and LatB1 remain closest to Vp.



**omnis multitudo ... uniuersa multitudo:** πλήθος is repeated in Gk and translated both times as *multitudo*. The variation in the Gk adjective (πᾶν... ἅπαν) was retained by the translator: *omnis* probably translates πᾶν (attested in all Gk witnesses, except φ<sup>L</sup> which reads ἅπαν; cf. below, *omni multitudini*) and *uniuersa* translates ἅπαν (attested by all Gk witnesses).

**Dicunt—Pilatum:** Attested in this form in LatA and LatB1<sup>284</sup>.

**ad Pilatum:** As in Gk ms B, Cop, and Geo.

**Ideoque—moritur:** Attested in the earliest ninth- and tenth-century LatA mss.

**Dicit Pilatus—moritur:** In Gk, this sentence appears only in φ<sup>ZL</sup>, J, and B, but it is present in Arm, Cop, Geo, and most Latin mss.

**ad Iudaeos:** τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις is attested in Gk ms B, but πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους in φ<sup>Z</sup>. Attested in LatA and LatB1<sup>284</sup>.

**Ut quid:** *Vt quid* is likely to be a translation of ἵνα τί, which is attested as one word in Gk ms B and as two words (ἵνα τί) in φ<sup>Z</sup>. In Latin, it is present only in LatB1<sup>284</sup>; early LatA mss alter it to *quid ut*, *quid fecit ut*, *quare*, etc.

**moritur:** Probably for *moriatur*, possibly with *-a-* illegible at the end of the line.

**Dixerunt:** All Gk mss have present tense here.

[D<e>i] ... <et>: The Gk and Latin traditions are unanimous about the presence of both *Dei*, which was probably abbreviated here, and *et*.

<Chri>s<tum>: This reconstruction would account for the visible letter *s*; *Christum* is attested in Kraków version (127, 129a), where it precedes *filium*. Alternatively, the letter *s* might be part of the word *esse*, found repeated also in Cop.

reg<em> <...>: The space after the reconstructed *regem* would be sufficient for an additional short word or punctuation mark.

**Quida ... Nicodemus:** LatA and LatB1 begin the sentence with *Nicodemus*, LatB2 with *Surgens Nicodemus*, LatC alters the syntax altogether.

**Quida aute:** For *Quidam autem*, with the final *-m* omitted.

<uir>: The presence of this word in Vp is suggested by most Gk mss, LatA, LatB and the idiosyncratic mss.

<nomine> **Nicodemus:** This reconstruction is prompted by the empty space after *Iudaeus*, but it remains speculative. The word *nomine* is not attested in any early Latin mss at this point, although it can be found in Cop and in some later, revised Latin mss, such as 87. Variant readings in Gk include ἄρχων τῶν Ἰουδαίων in N and δίκαιος in G. The reading ὀνόματι is suggested by ch. 6.2; cf. Seg. IX.

**stetit ... dicit:** The use of perfect followed by present reflects Gk ἔστη... λέγει.

**Pilatum:** Pilate is named only in Kraków version and LatC (but with syntax rearranged).

**Rogo, misericors:** Attested in early LatA and Kraków version; LatB adds *te* after *Rogo*.

**misericors:** In Gk, the form of address is typically εὐσεβῆ (φ, E, B and χ<sup>OQW</sup>), or ἡγεμών (I, J), and no Gk or Eastern version (except Syr) has an equivalent to *misericors*. The Gk source text may have had ἐλεῆμων or οἰκτίρμων.

**iube—sermones:** Reflected in LatA, LatB2, Kraków version, and Praha group.

**paucos sermones:** Here Vp reads with Gk φ<sup>Z</sup> and ms B, Arm, Cop, Geo; cf. Syr. Most Gk mss read καθαροὺς λόγους.

**Dicit ei Pilatus:** Here Vp follows Gk ms N. All Gk mss, except J and N, omit the pronoun.

**Dicit Nicodemus:** Later Latin versions typically begin the sentence with *Nicodemus* or *Respondit* (LatB1).

**dixi:** Attested in LatA, some LatB2, and the idiosyncratic versions (Kraków, Praha); LatB1 and LatC read *locutus sum*.

**leuuitis:** For *leuitis*, with a geminated *u*.

**et omni – synagoga:** Attested in LatA, LatB2, and the idiosyncratic versions; modified in LatB1.

**omni multitudini:** Probably translating πλήθος, although Gk mss N and E have λαός.

**queritis:** Attested in LatA, including Praha group; amplified or altered in other versions.

**iste:** Attested in a vast majority of LatA, LatB2, and LatC.

**faciebat:** The use of imperfect is not attested in Gk (φ, E, B, and J use present ποιεῖ; χ and I have aorist ἐποίησε; and both forms are coordinated in N). The source text may have had ἐποίησε or ἐποίηι, chosen for the reconstruction. Attested in early LatA mss.

**gloriosa:** Translates παράδοξα, although Lk 5:26 translates παράδοξα as *mirabilia* (except in VL ms e, which reads *praeclara*). Attested in LatA, LatC, and the idiosyncratic versions; modified in LatB.

**qualia:** Probably a translation of οἶα, but all Gk mss have ἄ. Attested only in LatA, Kraków version, and Praha group.

**facit:** ποιεῖ is attested only in Gk ms J (most other Gk mss read ἐποίησεν).

**faciet:** Here the future active indicative reflects the most general Gk reading ποιήσει. This form is rare in later Latin mss, but it does occur sporadically in LatA (e.g., BT<sup>73,179,268</sup>), LatB1, and 391.

**illum:** Attested in LatA, LatC, 299, and 391; some LatA, LatB, and Kraków version read *eum*.

**uolu<eritis>:** Speculative reconstruction not attested in later Latin mss. Most Gk mss have βούλεσθε.

## A Commentary on the Vienna Palimpsest – Segment VIII (Ch. 5.2-6.1)

### Latin text (E1-E4)

E1(134r) <...> uerbum pro ipso facis. Dicit ad eos Nicodemus: Numquid et praeses discipulus eius factus est et probum pro ipso facit? Numquid non constituit E2(134v) eum caesar super dignitate istam? Erant uero Iudaei frementes aduersus Nicodemum. D[i]cit ad eos Pilatus: Quid strid[e]tis dentibus aduersus eum E3(139r) ueritatem audientes? Dicunt Iudaei Nicodemo: Ueritatem ipsius accipias et port[ion]em cum ipso. Dicit Nicodemus: Amen, accipiam sicuti dixistis.

E4(139v) Ex Iudaeis autem alius quidam exiliens rogabat presidem ut uerbum diceret. Dicit preses: Quod uis dicere dic. Qui dixit: Ego in triginta et octo annos <...>

### English translation

<...> you speak on his behalf. Nicodemus says to them: Has even the governor become his disciple and speaks on his behalf? Has Caesar not appointed him to this office? But the Jews were muttering against Nicodemus. Pilate says to them: Why are you gnashing your teeth against him, hearing the truth? The Jews say to Nicodemus: May you receive his truth and a share with him. Nicodemus says: Amen, may I receive as you have said.

Another one of the Jews, springing aside, asked the governor that he might speak. The governor says: Say what you want to say. He said: For thirty eight years I <...>

### Experimental back translation

<...> λόγον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ποιεῖς. Λέγει πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ Νικοδήμος· Μὴ καὶ ὁ ἡγεμὼν μαθητὴς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο; καὶ τὸν λόγον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ποιεῖ. Οὐ κατέστησεν αὐτὸν ὁ καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀξιώματος τούτου; Ἦσαν δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐμβριμούμενοι κατὰ τοῦ Νικοδήμου. Λέγει πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ Πιλάτος· Τί τοὺς ὀδόντας τρίζετε κατ'αὐτοῦ ἀλήθειαν ἀκούσαντες; Λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τῷ Νικοδήμῳ· Ἀλήθειαν αὐτοῦ λάβης καὶ τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ. Λέγει ὁ Νικόδημος· Ἀμήν, λάβω καθὼς εἶπατε.

Ἐκ δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἄλλος τις παραπηδήσας ἤξιου τὸν ἡγεμόνα λόγον {εἰπεῖν}. Λέγει ὁ ἡγεμὼν· ὃ θέλεις {εἰπεῖν} εἶπέ. Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ ἐν τριάκοντα ὀκτῶ ἔτεσιν <...>

### Codicological information

*Lacuna* η corresponds to the last folio of quire VI and the first folio of quire VII (VI: D'-VII: A). Those folios must have contained the conclusion of Nicodemus's speech (ch. 5.1) and the very first sentence of ch. 5.2, in which the Jews accuse Nicodemus of being a disciple of Jesus.

The segment covers ff. 134 and 139 in modern numbering (quire VII: B-C).

### Commentary

**uerbum—facis:** Attested in LatA and the idiosyncratic versions (Kraków, Praha); LatB and LatC rephrase.

**ipso:** Post-classical use of *ipse* to translate the pronoun αὐτός. It occurs four times in this paragraph.

**Dicit—est:** The same wording is attested in LatA; LatB and LatC show some variation.

**probum:** In error for *uerbum* (λόγον in Gk mss), which occurs in LatA and the idiosyncratic versions.

**ipso:** Attested in all earliest LatA and LatC mss, and in the idiosyncratic versions.

**Numquid...**: The first *Numquid* translates μή, which calls for a negative answer (of course the governor is not a disciple of Jesus); the second *numquid* introduces an interrogative sentence beginning in Gk with οὐ, which calls for a positive answer (of course Caesar established the governor in that position).

**super**: Attested only in LatA and the idiosyncratic versions.

**dignitate**: For *dignitatem*, with the final *-m* omitted at the end of the line.

**istam**: Attested only in LatA and the idiosyncratic versions.

**frementes**: Most Gk and Eastern as well as all Latin versions add *et stridentes*. The phrase is absent only in χ and Vp. The Gk ἐμβριμούμενοι is rendered in the Latin New Testament as *comminari* (common in the Latin translations of Mt 9:30; Mk 1:43) or *fremere* (common in Jn 11:33.38; Mk 14:5).

**aduersus**: Attested only in LatB and Kraków version (127, 129a); LatA reads *super*.

**D[i]cit—audientes**: Attested only in LatB, Kraków version, and Praha group (299, 322, 419a); omitted in LatA.

**D[i]cit**: Most Gk mss begin with καί; the conjunction is omitted in B, χ, and Vp.

**ad eos**: Attested in LatB<sup>177b,286,381,386</sup>, and Praha group; other versions read *eis* or *Iudaeis*.

**Quid**: Attested in LatB2 and the idiosyncratic versions.

**strid[e]tis dentibus**: The word order follows Gk ms N.

**dentibus**: Attested only in LatB1, LatB2<sup>247,387</sup>, and ms 87 (Bohemian redaction).

**audientes**: Attested only in LatB2 and Praha group.

**Nicodemo**: Attested in LatB1<sup>230,336</sup>, LatB2<sup>247,387</sup>, and Praha group; other versions that carry this text either omit the word or have the Jews speak to Pilate.

**accipias**: An accurate translation of λάβῃς in the sense of “receive”; see also the next sentence. Attested in LatA, LatB1, LatB2<sup>387</sup>, and LatC.

**et port[ion]em cum ipso**: Attested in the same form in LatA, LatC (which adds *habeas*), and the idiosyncratic versions.

**cum ipso**: All Gk mss have μέρος αὐτοῦ. The Gk phrase could have been rendered with a straightforward genitive pronoun as in LatB1 (177a, *partem eius*; 284, *ueritatem illius et partem*; etc.), but LatA and LatB2 mss all have *cum ipso*, sometimes followed by *habeas*.

**Dicit Nicodemus**: Attested in LatA and LatB2 (with minor modifications).

**Amen, accipiam sicuti dixistis**: LatA presents the closest parallel, with LatC greatly amplifying the response, and LatB repeating the word *Amen*; *sicuti* is not attested, with most mss reading *sicut* or *secundum quod*.

**Ex Iudaeis autem alius quidam**: Attested in some early LatA mss, such as 25, 75, 133, 263, etc.; most other mss modify the word order or omit words.

**exiliens**: παραπηδάω, which is a rare word, is taken here literally to mean “spring aside,” which is even rarer; see, however, 4 Mac 11:1. Attested only in LatA and the idiosyncratic versions.

**ut uerbum diceret**: Translates an infinitive in Gk. Attested in LatA and the idiosyncratic versions; LatB transforms this clause into a direct question.

**Dicit—dixit**: Attested in LatA and Praha group; re-worded in LatB; absent from LatC.

**Dicit**: As in φ<sup>LC</sup>, I, N, χ; other Gk mss begin with καί.

**quod uis dicere dic**: The Gk source of Vp must have carried a variant of this phrase, which is not found in extant mss. Most Gk mss include the imperative but open the sentence with a hypothetical proposition, εἴ τι θέλεις εἰπέ (φ<sup>GC</sup>, E, N; re-worded in φ<sup>FXLZ</sup>). χ has an interrogative sentence (τί θέλεις εἰπεῖν). B has εἴ τι θέλεις εἰπεῖν, εἰπέ and I ὁ θέλεις εἰπέ. It is likely that the repetition of the verb “say” interfered with the transmission of this sentence.

**Qui dixit**: The change from present to perfect tense reflects the usage in most Gk mss, which, however, introduce εἶπεν with καί. Only N has ὁ δέ (followed by μετὰ δακρύων ἔλεγεν).

**in**: The preposition may reflect ἐν used in Gk ms N. Attested in several early LatA mss, such as 75, 133, 158, 218, etc., but many later mss omit it.

## A Commentary on the Vienna Palimpsest – Segment IX (Ch. 6.2-6.4)

### Latin text (E5-E8)

E5(144r)<...> <natus> sum, uocem audiebam et faciem non uidebam. Et transeunte Iesu clamaui dicens: Miserere mei, fili Daudid. Et misertus est mihi et posuit manus E6(144v) suas super oculos meos et uidi statim. Et alius Iudaeus exiliens de turba dixit: Curbus eram et correxit me uerbo. Et alius dixit: Leprosus factus E7(133r) eram et mundauit me uerbo.

[It]e<m> <mulier> <que>dam, nomine Ueronice, de longe clamans dicit: Sanguine fluens eram et tetigi fimbriam vestis [eius] E8(133v) et stetit fluxus sanguinis mei post annos duodecim. Dicunt Iudei: Legem habemus mulierem ad testimonium non <uen>ire.

Et alius quidam ex multitudine <...>

### English translation

<...> I was born <...>. I would hear a voice but I would not see the face. And as Jesus was passing by, I cried out saying: Have mercy of me, Son of David. And he took mercy on me and put his hands over my eyes, and immediately I saw. And another Jew, springing from the throng, said: I was bent and he straightened me with a word. And another said: I had become leprous and he cleansed me with a word.

Likewise, a certain woman, called Veronica, crying out from far off, says: I was flowing with blood and I touched the hem of his garment and the flood of my blood ceased after twelve years. The Jews say: We have a law that a woman should not come to testify.

And someone else from the crowd <...>

### Experimental back translation

<...> ἐγεννήθην, φωνὴν ἤκουον καὶ πρόσωπον οὐκ ἔβλεπον· καὶ παράγοντος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἔκραξα λέγων· Ἐλέησόν με, υἱὲ Δαυίδ. Καὶ ἠλέησέ με καὶ ἐπέθηκε τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς μου, καὶ ἀνέβλεψα παραχρῆμα. Καὶ ἄλλος Ἰουδαῖος παραπηδήσας {ἐκ τοῦ ὄχλου} εἶπε· Κυρτὸς ἦμην καὶ ὠρθώσέ με λόγῳ. Καὶ ἄλλος εἶπεν· Λεπρὸς ἐγενόμην καὶ ἐκαθάρισε με λόγῳ.

Καὶ γυνὴ τις ὀνόματι Βερονίκη ἀπὸ μακρόθεν κράζουσα {λέγει}· Αἰμορροοῦσα ἦμην καὶ ἠψάμην τοῦ κρασπέδου τοῦ ἱματίου αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔστη ἡ ρύσις τοῦ αἵματος μου δι' ἐτῶν δώδεκα. Λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· Νόμον ἔχομεν γυναῖκα εἰς μαρτυρίαν μὴ ὑπάγειν.

Καὶ ἄλλος {τις} ἀπὸ τοῦ πλήθους <...>

### Codicological information

*Lacuna* θ corresponds to the central bifolio of quire VII. It must have contained the testimony of the paralytic (ch. 6.1) and the introduction of the following testimony (ch. 6.2).

Segment IX covers the sixth and seventh folios of quire VII (VII: C'-B'; ff. 144rv and 133rv in modern numbering).

### Commentary

<natus> **sum**: Most Gk mss read ἐγεννήθην. Attested in LatA, LatC, and the idiosyncratic versions (Kraków, Praha).

**uocem audiebam**: Attested in LatA; amplified in LatB.

- faciem non uidebam:** As in Gk mss. Attested in LatB but amplified. LatA reads *neminem uidebam*.
- clamaui:** After *clamaui*, all Gk mss add φωνῆ μεγάλης rendered as *uoce magna* in LatA and the idiosyncratic versions. The phrase is absent from LatB and the Latin NT accounts of the healing of the blind man.
- dicens:** λέγων in Gk mss B and N. Attested in LatB (in the form *et dixi*) and in ms 59.
- Miserere—Dauid:** Cf. Mt 9:27, 15:22, 20:30.31, Mk 10:47.48, Lk 18:38.39.
- mei ... mihi:** The biblical text uses *mei* more frequently than *mihi* (Mt 15:22, Mk 10:47.48, Lk 18:38-39). Latin mss of AP always read *mei* with *miserere* but vascillate between *mei* and *mihi* for *misertus*.
- manus suas:** Attested in LatA and Praha group (299, 322, 419a); LatB uses the singular or omits the pronoun.
- uidi statim:** Attested in LatA and the idiosyncratic versions; some mss (such as 25, 75, 96, 133, 391) have the same word order as Vp, while others (e.g., 23, 263, 215, the idiosyncratic versions) reverse it.
- statim:** Most Gk mss read παραχρήμα, but N has εὐθέως.
- Iudaeus:** Here Vp and later Latin mss correspond to Gk ms B, which omits ἄνθρωπος, present in most Gk mss.
- exiliens:** Attested in LatA and Praha group (cf. *exiens* in LatC).
- de turba:** No equivalent in any Gk and Eastern version or in LatA. LatC includes the idea of appearing before Pilate, and LatB of appearing before Pilate and the people, but neither uses the word *turba*. Since Vp translates πλήθος by *multitudo* and λαός by *populus*, the source text may have read ὄχλος. In most Latin NT mss, *de turba* translates ἐκ τοῦ ὄχλου (Mk 9:17, Lk 11:27, 12:13, Jn 7:31, Ac 19:33) or ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου (Mk 7:33, Lk 9:38).
- dixit:** Attested in LatA, LatC, and the idiosyncratic versions; LatB typically uses the word *ait*, although *dixit* occurs in 230 and 145.
- Curbus:** For *curuus*, with *b* for *u*. Attested in LatA and LatC; *gibberosus* (and variants) in LatB.
- correxit:** Attested in LatA, albeit not consistently, as some mss read *erexit* (as do LatB, LatC, and the idiosyncratic versions).
- Et alius dixit:** After ἄλλος, most Gk mss have a participle indicating movement, either παραπηδήσας again (Gk mss φ and E; cf. LatA, *Item alius exiliens*) or προσελθὼν (χ). Only N omits it (ἕτερος εἶπεν). The wording of Vp is preserved in LatB.
- factus eram:** Accurately translates ἐγενόμην in the context; cf. ἐγένετο translated by *factus est* in E1(134r) (Seg. VIII). All Latin versions read simply *eram*; *factus* appears to be unique.
- mundauit:** Most Gk mss read ἐθεράπευσεν, but χ has forms of ἐκαθάρισε. This last verb, used in Ac 10:15 and 11:19, is translated by *mundauit* in VL and in patristic sources (Vg: *purificauit* in Ac 10:15, *mundauit* Ac 11:19). Attested in LatA, the idiosyncratic versions, LatB1, and LatC; LatB2 reads *sanauit*.
- [It]e<m> <mulier> <que>δαμ: Most Gk mss have καὶ γυνή τις and none has an equivalent of *item*. However, the phrase has been reconstructed on the basis of LatB because it fits the pattern of two missing letters and *-e*.
- Ueronice:** For *Ueronica*, Gk Βερονίκη. The final *-e* is also attested in LatC<sup>12,141</sup> and LatB<sup>336</sup>.
- de longe:** In the NT, ἀπὸ μακρόθεν is usually translated by *a longe*. Among Latin AP mss, only 299 and 419a reflect the reading of Vp; LatB and Kraków version (127, 129a) read *a longe*. LatA omits this phrase.
- dicit:** No Gk or Latin ms has a present form here.
- sanguine fluens eram:** Cf. Mt 9:20. Here Vp follows Gk αἱμορροοῦσα ἤμην very closely. αἱμορροοῦσα is usually translated in VL and Vg as *sanguinis fluxum*; however, *sanguine fluens* can be found in Jerome, *Commentarius in Mattheum* I, *ad loc.*, and reused by most later commentators on Matthew. Attested in LatA, LatC, and Praha group.
- vestis:** Cf. Mt 9:20. Not attested in later Latin tradition, which uniformly reads *vestimenti*, reflecting the NT usage. However, *fimbriam uestis* can be found in this context in Hilarius of Poitiers, *Commentarius in Mattheum* 9, 6, and in Ambrose of Milan, *Explanatio Psalmi CXVIII* 19, 5.
- [eius]: Reconstructed on the basis of all Gk and Latin mss.
- fluxus ... mei:** Most Gk mss place μου in front of ἡ ῥύσις.
- fluxus:** Attested in some later LatA mss (e.g. RR<sup>235,241,263</sup>), LatB1 (e.g., 198, 284), and the idiosyncratic versions; the earliest mss either use a different but semantically related word (*fluuius*, *fluens*, *fons*) or rephrase the statement.
- post annos duodecim:** Most Gk mss have δι' ἐτῶν δώδεκα, following NT use of διά with the genitive, meaning “after” (cf. Mk 2:1, δι' ἡμερῶν translated by *post dies*). Only LatB1 and Kraków version reflect the syntax of Vp and place this phrase at the end of the sentence, immediately after *sanguinis mei*. LatA places the reference to the twelve years much earlier in the sentence.
- Dicunt—testimonium:** LatA and the idiosyncratic versions run closest to Vp; LatB replaces some words, especially prepositions, and LatC omits this passage altogether.
- dicunt:** Most Gk mss begin with τότε, except for B, N, and χ.
- <uen>ire: Speculative reconstruction based on the apparent space on the line and the predominant reading in Latin mss.
- alius:** This singular pronoun is not attested in the Gk or Latin mss (which have either the plural *alii* or *alia multitudo*).
- ex multitudo:** As in Gk mss χ (ἀπὸ τοῦ πλήθους) and N (ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους). Attested in LatA, LatB1<sup>284</sup>, Praha group, and 391.

## A Commentary on the Vienna Palimpsest – Segment X (Ch. 7.1-7.2)

### Latin text (F1-F4)

F1(146r) <...> ait se esse filium Dei et regem. Forsitan uis istum inperare et non caesarem.

Commotus autem Pilatus aduersus Iudaeos dixit: Seditiosa est gens ues<sup>F2(146v)</sup>tra et ad[iu]tor[i]b[us] <...>n [s]em[p]<er> <fuistis>. Dīcunt Iudaei ad [P]il[a]tum: Q<...>ṣa<...>ṣ ad<iutoribus> <...> ḡo<stris> eis <...> <...>ṣ <...> [uos] de ṣeruitute dura [et] eḏ[ux]it uos ex Aeg[yp]<sup>F3(153r)</sup>to et per [M]are R[u]b[ru]m eḏuxit uos per sicca ṣ[er]ra de [Aeg]y[p]<to> e<...> <ortygo>meṣ<ram ad>du[xit] <uo>bis et de petra a[q]ua p[ro]fuit uos et legem dedit uobi[s]. <Et in> <hi>s<sup>F4(153v)</sup> omnibus exaceruastis Deum uestrum et quesistis uitulum adnlatum et arguistis Deum uestrum et quesuiuit Dominus interficere uos et depre<catus est> <...>

### English translation

<...> says that he is the son of God and a king. Perhaps you wish him to be emperor and not Caesar.

And agitated against the Jews, Pilate said: Your nation is seditious and you were always <...> to your supporters <...>. The Jews say to Pilate: <...> to our supporters <...> to them <...> out of harsh servitude, and he drew you out of Egypt, and through the Red Sea he drew you out of Egypt on dry ground <...> he brought quail(s) out for you and gave you to drink water from a rock, and he gave you the law. And in all these things you provoked your God, and you sought out a calf that was hollowed out, and you challenged your God, and the Lord sought to kill you, and he interceded <...>

### Experimental back translation

<...> {λέγει} ἑαυτὸν εἶναι υἱὸν Θεοῦ καὶ βασιλέα· τάχα θέλεις τοῦτον εἶναι βασιλέα καὶ οὐ καίσαρα;

Θυμωθεὶς δὲ ὁ Πιλάτος πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους εἶπεν· Στασίαστόν ἐστι τὸ ἔθνος ὑμῶν καὶ τοῖς εὐεργέταις <...> αἰεὶ <...>. Λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι {τῷ Πιλάτῳ}· <...> εὐεργέταις <...> {ἡμῶν} {αὐτοῖς} <...> ὑμ{ᾶς} ἀπὸ δουλείας σκληρᾶς {καὶ} ἐξήγαγεν ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης {ἐρυθρᾶς} {ἐξήγαγεν} ὑμᾶς διὰ ξηρᾶς γῆς {ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου} <...> ὀρτυγομήτραν ἔδωκεν ὑμῖν καὶ ἐκ πέτρας ὕδωρ ἐπότισεν ὑμᾶς καὶ νόμον ἔδωκεν ὑμῖν. Καὶ {έν} τούτοις πᾶσιν παρωργίσατε τὸν Θεὸν ὑμῶν καὶ ἐζητήσατε μόσχον χωνευτὸν καὶ παρωξύνετε τὸν θεὸν ὑμῶν καὶ ἐζήτησεν {ὁ Κύριος} ἀποκτεῖναι ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐλιτάνευσεν... <...>

### Codicological information

*Lacuna* ι covers the last folio of quire VII and the first three folios of quire VIII. It must have included the last testimonies about Jesus' miracles (ch. 6.4) and Pilate's offer to free either Jesus or Barabbas. In response, the Jews challenge Pilate's loyalty to Caesar (ch. 7.1).

Segment X consists of the central bifolio of quire VIII (VIII: D-D'; ff. 146 and 153 in modern numbering). It covers the end of ch. 7.1 and most of 7.2. However, ff. 146v and 153r are hardly legible.

### Commentary

**ait:** None of the Gk or Latin mss uses present tense here.

**se esse:** This word order is attested only in LatA<sup>RR 235,241</sup> and LatA<sup>BT52,288</sup>; other mss of LatA and LatB place *esse* later in the sentence or omit it (LatC rephrases this passage).

**se:** Gk mss hesitate about the use of the reflexive pronoun.

**Forsitan:** τὰχα is attested in Gk mss N and χ, but Vp does not follow the word order of either. In Latin, attested only in Kraków version (127, 129a), and in 391; all other mss that have this passage read *Ne forte*.

**istum:** Attested only in 391; all other Latin mss read *hunc*.

**inperare:** All Gk mss have εἶναι βασιλέα, and most Latin mss read *regem esse*. Kraków version and 391 have *regnare/regere*.

**Commotus—Iudaeos:** This wording is reflected only in Kraków version and in 391, the former opening with *Tunc* and adding *valde* after *Pilatus*.

**Commotus:** Likely translates θυμωθεῖς (φ<sup>GHY</sup>) rather than χολωθεῖς (φ<sup>FX</sup>) or ὀργισθεῖς (I, N, Cop, Geo). In Latin, attested only in Kraków version and in 391. Most Latin mss read *furore repletus*, as Gk ms B (θυμῶ πλησθεῖς) and Syr.

**aduersus Iudaeos:** This phrase can be construed with *commotus* (as in the English translation), less easily with *dixit*; however, in all Gk mss, πρὸς is dependent on the verb εἶπεν.

**Seditiosa est gens uestra:** The syntax is echoed in Kraków version, but it expands the phrase to *Sediciosa gens et infidelis*.

**seditiosa:** Most Gk mss and all Latin versions have ἀεὶ / *semper* at the beginning of the sentence.

**gens:** ἔθνος in φ<sup>GHYLCZ</sup>, I, B, N and χ<sup>M</sup>, and γένος in φ<sup>FX</sup> and χ<sup>OQWA</sup>; either could be translated by *gens*.

**ad[iu]tor[i]b[us]:** Corresponding to Gk τοῖς εὐεργέταις. Absent from later Latin mss, which usually read *qui pro uobis fuerunt*.

**c<...>n:** Most Latin manuscripts read here *contrarii*, but the final letter *-n* seems to preclude this reading.

**[s]em[p]<er> <fuistis>:** Speculative reconstruction. The word *semper* would fit the pattern of [.]ē[.], and is attested, together with *fuistis*, in some LatB (230, 369) and LatC (12, 262, 264) mss.

**Ἰϋϋντ Ιυδαεῖ:** Attested only in Kraków version; other mss read *Responderunt*.

**ἄδ [P]il[a]tum:** Not attested in Gk or Latin mss, except for *Pilato* in LatC and Cop. The Gk back translation uses the dative rather than πρὸς plus the accusative, following the usage established in Seg. III (ch. 1.2) and Seg. VII (ch. 4.5).

**Q<...>ῥᾱ<...>ῥ ἄδ<iutoribus> <...> ἠο<stris> εἰς <...> <...>ῥ <...>:** One would expect here a question and an answer, such as *Quibus adiutoribus nostris?* or *Qui sunt adiutores nostri?* followed by *Dicit eis: Deus uester eruit uos*, but the partially recovered letter clusters leave no space for *Dicit*. The partial reconstruction as well as the back translation remain, therefore, highly speculative.

**[uos]:** Reconstructed on the basis of Gk and later Latin mss.

**ἔξ ῥῥῥῥῥῥ ἄδῥῥῥῥ:** Attested in Gk and present in LatB1 and LatB2<sup>369</sup> (other versions reserve the word order or otherwise modify the phrase).

**[et]:** Attested in many LatA mss.

**ex Aeg[yp]to:** As in Gk mss φ<sup>C</sup>, I, and N (which do not include the word γῆς). Attested in LatA, LatB1, and the idiosyncratic versions (Kraków, Praha), but always with the preposition *de*; the only ms with *ex* is LatA<sup>263</sup>.

**R[u]b[ru]m:** Absent from all Gk mss and the early LatA mss but attested in individual mss, such as LatA<sup>52</sup>, LatB1<sup>336</sup>, Kraków version, and the idiosyncratic mss 59 and 322. The source may have had ἐρυθρᾶς, as in Ex 15:22 LXX.

**ἔδῥῥῥῥῥ:** Most Gk mss read ἔσωσεν. However, B has ὀδήγησεν and N has διήγαγε; cf. Geo. The Gk reconstruction assumes the same ἐξήγαγεν as above, where it was translated as *eduxit*. Attested only in LatB1<sup>177a</sup>; other mss have *duxit*, *perduxit*, or *transduxit*.

**per sicca t[er]ra:** For *per siccam terram*. Later Latin mss normally read *sicut per aridam terram* (LatA<sup>133</sup>), reflecting the standard reading in Gk. Only Kraków version uses the word *siccis* but in a different collocation (*siccis pedibus*).

**de [Aeg]y[p]<to>:** This is a speculative reconstruction assuming repetitive usage.

**<ortygo>me[et]<ram ad>dux[it]:** Speculative reconstruction,<sup>1</sup> not supported by later Latin traditions, which at this point typically read *et in heremo cibauit/potauit uos manna et coturnices et eduxit uobis aquam...*

**<ortygo>me[et]<ram>:** Transliteration of the Gk ὀρτυγομήτραν, always singular.

Other Latin mss have *coturnices*, but *ortygometra*, in reference to the meat provided to the Hebrews in the desert, is attested in at least one book of the Vg (Wis 16:2; 19:12), in some Patristic biblical quotations, and in VL mss (Ex 16:13; Num 11:31; Ps 104:40); the word is not uncommon in Latin.

**<ad>du[xit]:** Here all Gk mss read ἔδωκεν, which—in the absence of a stricter equivalent to *adduxit*—was adopted for the experimental back translation.

**et de petra a[q]ua potauit uos:** Most LatA and LatB mss that have this passage place *et* before *potauit* rather than before *de petra*; however, Kraków version reads *et de petra aqua saciauit uos*, reflecting the word order of Vp.

1 Benjamin Gleede, *Parabiblica Latina: Studien zu den griechisch-lateinischen Übersetzungen parabiblicher Literatur unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der apostolischen Vater*, Supplements to *Vigiliae Christianae* 137 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), p. 87.

**et legem dedit uobi[s]:** Attested in Gk mss and LatA, LatB1, LatB2<sup>160,369</sup>.

**<Et in> <hi>s omnibus:** Gk mss have καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις πᾶσι, but the Gk source text may have had ἐν as a preposition. Attested in LatA, LatB1, and LatB2<sup>160,369</sup>.

**exaceruastis:** For *exacerbastis*, with *u* for *b*. In Latin, only Kraków version preserves this verb. A more obvious translation for παρωργίσατε (the only verb attested in Gk) would be *irritare*.

**quesistis:** Attested in LatA and LatB1<sup>284,336</sup>, but always followed by *uobis*, absent from most Gk mss and Vp.

**adnilatum:** Perhaps for *adnihilatam* (cf. Ex 32:4, Ne 9:18), literally “reduced to nothing,” or for *anniculatum*. However, the back translation uses χωνευτόν (“molded”), widely attested in Gk mss (may have been read as χαῦνον, “empty,” “weak?”).

**arguistis:** Gk mss read παρωξύνετε, the word chosen for the back translation. *Arguistis* is not attested in later Latin mss, which typically read *exacerbastis*; Kraków version uses *derelinquistis*.

**quesiuit:** Corresponding to ἐζήτησεν attested in most Gk mss. The word is not attested in later Latin mss, all of which read *uoluit*.

**Dominus:** The expressed subject does not appear in any Gk ms. Present only in Kraków version.

**interficere uos:** Paralleled only in Kraków version; other mss read *uos occidere / perdere*.

**depre<catus est>:** Reconstructed on the basis of the Gk and Latin traditions.





## A Commentary on the Vienna Palimpsest—Segment XI (Ch. 10.1-10.2)

### Latin text (G1-G4)

G<sup>1(148r)</sup><...> principes sacerdotum inter se dicentes: Alios saluabit, seipsum salbum facere non potest. Si filius Dei est electus. Inludabant aute G<sup>2(148v)</sup> eum et milites p̄cidentes [ei] et açetu<m> <offer>entes e[i] [et] dicentes: Tu es rex Iudāo[r]u[m], libera te te ips<um>. <Iuss>it P̄latus post senten<sup>G3(151r)</sup>tiam titulum scribi super caput eius in tribus litteris, greçis, latinis et ae[brai]çis sicu[ti] [di]xerunt Iudā[ei] quia rex e[st] Iudaeorum.

Un[u]s i[ta]quae G<sup>4(151v)</sup> de suspensis latronibus, nomine Gestas, dixit ei: Si tu es Christus, libera te i[p]sum et nos. Respodens autem alius, nomine Dismas, incre<pauit> <...>

### English translation

<...> the chief priests saying among themselves: He saved others, he cannot save himself. If he is the chosen son of God. The soldiers also were mocking him prostrating before him, and offering him vinegar, and saying: You are the King of the Jews, free yourself. After the sentence, Pilate ordered that a title be written above his head in three alphabets, Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, according to what the Jews said, that he is the king of the Jews.

And so, one of the suspended thieves, called Gestas, said to him: If you are Christ, deliver yourself and us. But the other, called Dismas, answering, rebuked <...>

### Experimental back translation

<...> οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς σὺν αὐτοῖς λέγοντες· Ἄλλους ἔσωσεν, ἑαυτὸν οὐ δύναται σῶσαι. Εἰ υἱὸς Θεοῦ ἐστὶν ὁ ἐκλεκτός. Ἐνέπαιζον δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται προσερχόμενοι {αὐτῷ} καὶ ὄξος προσφέροντες αὐτῷ καὶ λέγοντες, σὺ εἶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων, σῶσον σεαυτόν. Ἐκέλευσεν ὁ Πιλάτος μετὰ τὴν ἀπόφασιν τίτλον ἐπιγραφῆναι ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ τρεῖσιν γράμμασιν ἑλληνικοῖς ῥωμαϊκοῖς καὶ ἑβραϊκοῖς καθὼς εἶπαν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἐστὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

Εἷς {τοιγαροῦν} τῶν κρεμασθέντων κακοῦργων ὀνόματι Γέστας {εἶπε} αὐτῷ· Εἰ σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστός, σῶσον σεαυτὸν καὶ ἡμᾶς. Αποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ ἕτερος ὀνόματι Δίσμας ἐπετίμησεν <...>

### Codicological information

*Lacuna* κ covers the last three folios of quire VIII (VIII: C', B', A') and the first three folios of quire IX (IX: A, B, C). They must have contained the conclusion of Pilate's speech about Moses (ch. 7.2), the Jews claiming that it was Jesus whom Herod wanted to kill (ch. 8.1), Pilate washing his hands (ch. 8.2), the sentence against Jesus (ch. 9), and Jesus being taken to the place of the crucifixion (ch. 10.1).

Segment XI consists of the central bifolio of quire IX (IX: D-D'; ff. 148 and 151 in modern numbering). It follows closely the pericopes of the crucifixion in the canonical gospels.

### Commentary

**principes—dicentes:** The text is close to Mt 27:41, Mk 15:31, and Lk 23:35, but without strictly translating any of them. Attested verbatim in LatB2<sup>247,387</sup>; other Latin versions amplify the text.

**principes sacerdotum:** As in Gk AP φ, which reads οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες.

**inter se:** As in the Majority text of Lk 23:35. *σὺν αὐτοῖς* is usually translated by *cum eis*; however, ms *a* of VL translates it by *intra se*. Attested in most LatA and LatB1 mss as well as in LatB2<sup>247,387</sup>. Here Vp presents an original translation of the biblical text.

**Alios—electus:** The speech of the high priests is an interpolation of Mt 27:42=Mk 15:31 (ἄλλους ἔσωσεν, ἑαυτὸν οὐ δύναται σῶσαι) into Lk 23:35 (ἄλλους ἔσωσεν, σῶσατω ἑαυτὸν, **εἰ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ χριστὸς ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκλεκτός**—the words shared by Vp are bolded).

**alios saluabit:** For *saluauit*, with *b* for *u*. All Latin NT and AP mss read *saluos fecit*. Cf. Mt 27:42, Mk 15:31, Lk 23:35, ἄλλους ἔσωσεν. Here Vp is close to ms *n* of VL, *alios saluab[ita]* (Mk 15:31).

**salbum—non potest:** Cf. Mt 27:42, Mk 15:31, οὐ δύναται σῶσαι. VL mss *b* and *r* (Mt 27:42) and *ff*<sup>2</sup> (Mk 15:31) also place *potest* at the end. Attested with the same word order in LatB2<sup>160</sup>; LatB2<sup>145,247,369,387</sup> alter the word order, placing *non potest* before *saluum*. LatA and LatB1 have *saluet*, as in Lk 23:35; LatC reads *saluare non potest*.

**salbum facere:** Most VL and Vg mss also translate σῶσαι by *saluum facere*.

**salbum:** For *saluum*, with *b* for *u*.

**Si—electus:** Cf. Lk 23:35 and Gk ms I. The sentence is incomplete here since Vp has no equivalent to σῶσατω ἑαυτὸν, as in Lk 23:35 and most Gk mss of the AP, or to *descendat de cruce*, as in Mt 27:40, LatA, LatB2<sup>160</sup>, and LatC.

**filius Dei est:** Cf. Mt 27:40. The word order follows Gk ms φ<sup>Y</sup>.

**electus:** Cf. Lk 23:35 and Gk ms I. In Latin, this word is attested only in LatB1<sup>198</sup> and LatB2<sup>160,247,387</sup>; LatB1<sup>177a,284,336</sup> read *dilectus*. See Mt 3:17.

**Inludebant—teŕe ips<um>:** Cf. Lk 23:36-37, Ἐνέπαιζον δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται, προσερχόμενοι καὶ ὄξος προσφέροντες αὐτῷ, καὶ λέγοντες, Εἰ σὺ εἶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων, σῶσον σεαυτὸν.

**Inludebant:** As in VL ms *aur.* and in Vg. Attested as *illudebant* only in LatA<sup>96,241</sup> and LatB2<sup>247,387</sup>; other Latin versions read *deludebant*.

**aute:** For *autem*, with the final *-m* omitted at the end of the line.

**proŕidentes [ei]:** Attested only in LatB2<sup>247,387</sup>; LatA and LatB1 read *accedentes*, as VL and Vg mss, or *accipientes*. The pronoun αὐτῷ is not attested here in Gk mss. Here Vp presents an original translation of the biblical text.

**αŕŕtu<m>:** Only LatB2<sup>247,387</sup> refer solely to *acetum*; other versions, such as Arm, Cop, and most Latin mss add *et fel*.

**<offer>entes e[i]:** The present participle *offerentes*, as in Lk 23:36 and Gk mss, is rare in LatA, the usual form being *offerebant*; it does, however, occur in LatA<sup>BT215,288</sup>, LatB1<sup>177a,284</sup>, and LatB2<sup>145,160,247,387</sup>.

**Tu:** the omission of εἰ “if” is shared with some Gk NT mss (e.g., A), VL mss (*a*, *e*, *ff*<sup>2</sup>), and with Gk AP mss φ<sup>Z</sup>, I and B. All later Latin versions begin with the conditional *Si*.

**libera teŕe ips<um>:** All Gk NT and AP mss have σῶσον σεαυτὸν, translated *saluum te fac* in some VL mss and in Vg. *Libera te* occurs in VL ms *e* and in VL mss *c*, *ff*<sup>2</sup>, *l*, and *q*, of which only *q* has *libera te ipsum*. Here Vp presents an original translation of the biblical text.

**teŕe ips<um>:** The emphatic form *temet* is attested in some LatA mss (e.g., RR<sup>235,241</sup>, BT<sup>215,288</sup>), LatC, LatB2<sup>160</sup>, etc.; the form *tete*, however, does not occur in any later mss.

**<iuss>it Pŕilatus:** Vp omits the reference to Longinus present at this point in Gk ms B and in LatA, LatB1, some LatB2, and LatC mss.

**<iuss>it—Iudaeorum:** The *titulus* episode appears to follow the Majority text of Lk 23:38, Ἦν δὲ καὶ ἐπιγραφὴ γεγραμμένη ἐπ’ αὐτῷ γράμμασιν Ἑλληνικοῖς καὶ Ῥωμαϊκοῖς καὶ Ἑβραϊκοῖς, Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων, rather than Jn 19:19-20.

**post sententiam:** No later Latin ms reads *post* with Vp; recorded variants include *praesentia* (LatA<sup>133</sup>), *pro sententia* (LatA<sup>23</sup>), *in praesentia* (LatA<sup>235</sup>), *sententiam* (LatB1<sup>198</sup>).

**titulum scriŕibi:** Most Gk mss read εἰς τίτλον ἐπιγραφῆναι τὴν αἰτίαν. Gk mss φ<sup>HC</sup> have καὶ τίτλον..., which opens the possibility that the source text had τίτλον ἐπιγραφῆναι, without τὴν αἰτίαν, possibly under the influence of Jn 19:19, ἔγραψεν δὲ καὶ τίτλον. Attested in a number of early LatA mss (23, 25, 75, 133), in Praha group (299, 419a), and in 391.

**scriŕibi:** In Gk mss, most φ and ms B read ἐπιγραφῆναι, but φ<sup>L</sup>, I, N, and χ have γραφῆναι.

**super caput eius:** Possibly influenced by Lk 23:38, ἐπ’ αὐτῷ, but the phrase does not appear in any AP mss. The Latin mss that include this phrase precede it with *poni* (LatA<sup>241</sup>) or *posuit* (LatB2<sup>247</sup>); no ms reads exactly as Vp. Here Vp presents an original translation of the biblical text.

**in ... litteris:** VL and Vg mss translate γράμμασιν by *litteris* alone.

**tribus:** The numeral does not appear in Gk or Latin NT mss; among Gk and Latin AP mss, only LatC reads *in tribus linguis* (12).

**greŕcis, latinis et ae[brai]cis:** This is the usual order of the languages in NT mss, but the only Latin ms of AP that matches this order is LatA<sup>96</sup>.

**sicu[ti] [di]ŕerunt:** LatB2<sup>160,247</sup> read *sicut*; all other Latin mss have *secundum quod*.

**quia rex est:** Attested with exactly the same wording only in LatB2<sup>247</sup>.

**Un[u]s—incre<pauit>:** Cf. Lk 23:39-40 (except for the names), Εἷς δὲ τῶν κρεμασθέντων κακούργων ἐβλασφήμει αὐτόν, λέγων, Εἰ σὺ εἶ ὁ χριστός, σῶσον σεαυτὸν καὶ ἡμᾶς. Ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ ἕτερος ἐπέτιμα...

**itaque de suspensis:** The same wording is attested only in LatB2<sup>247,387</sup>.

**itaque:** For *itaque*<sup>1</sup>. Lk 23:39 and Gk AP mss read δέ (translated in VL or Vg by *autem* or *etiam*). Here Vp might have a different source text or, perhaps, be a witness to an original translation of the biblical text.

**suspensis:** Latin NT mss have either a relative proposition (*his qui...*) or *pendentibus* (VL mss *e, b, ff<sup>2</sup>, l, q*). Here Vp presents an original translation of the biblical text.

**Gestas:** Attested in φ<sup>FXC</sup>, I, Arm, Geo; cf. Cop. Attested extensively in Latin mss of AP.

**dixit ei:** Lk 23:39 and most Gk mss of AP introduce the direct speech with λέγων. Here Vp reflects Gk mss I or χ<sup>OQAM</sup> (ἔφη / ἔλεγεν αὐτῷ). εἶπε is not attested in any Gk ms.

**Si—Christus:** Vp reads with VL mss *aur, c, f, q* and with Vg.

**libera te i[p]sum:** The wording of Vp is attested in LatB1<sup>198</sup> (*libera temet ipsum*), LatB2<sup>247,387</sup>, LatC<sup>141</sup>, Praha group, and 391. Most Latin NT mss have *saluum fac*; however, VL mss *a, ff<sup>2</sup>* read *libera te*. *Te ipsum* is an original reading of Vp (VL and Vg mss have *temet ipsum* or *te*). Cf. G2(148v).

**Respondens:** For *Respondens*, with medial *n* omitted at the end of the line.

**alius:** ὁ ἕτερος in all Gk NT and AP mss, *alter* in most Latin NT mss. *Alius* is the reading of VL mss *a, c, d, r*; of LatB2<sup>145,160,247,387</sup>; and of LatC<sup>12,262,264</sup>.

**nomine:** Attested in Gk mss and in LatB2<sup>145,160,247,387</sup>.

**Dismas:** Cf. Gk mss I and χ, Δύσμας (cf. Arm).

**incre<pauit>:** Aorist in Gk mss φ and I, but imperfect in Gk mss B, N, χ and in Lk 23:40. Attested as *increpauit* in LatA<sup>235,241</sup> and LatB2<sup>247,387</sup>; LatB2<sup>145,160</sup>, Praha group, and 391 have *increpabat*; LatC<sup>141,177,257</sup> *increpans*. A vast majority of LatA and LatB1 mss read *conturbauit*.

1 Despigneux, “Une version latine palimpseste,” p. 181.



## A Commentary on the Vienna Palimpsest – Segment XII (Ch. 12.2-12.3)

### Latin text (H1-H2)

H1(169r) <...> <Scito quia> hora non exigit aliquid agere aduersus te quia Sabbatum inlucescit. Scito ergo quia nec sepultura dignus es sed dauimus carnes tuas H2(169v) uolatilibus caeli et bestiis terrae. Dicit eis Ioseph: Iam dixi uobis quia iste sermo superui Çoliae est.

Audientes Iudei amaricati <sunt> <...>

### English translation

<...> Know that the hour does not permit to do anything against you because the Sabbath is dawning. Know, then, that you are not even worthy of burial and that we will give your flesh to the birds of the sky and the beasts of the earth. Joseph says to them: I have already told you that this is a speech of the boastful Goliath.

Hearing <this>, the Jews grew bitter <...>

### Experimental back translation

<...> Γίνωσκε ὅτι ἡ ὥρα οὐκ ἀπαιτεῖ πράξαί τι κατὰ σοῦ ὅτι Σάββατον ἐπιφώσκει. Γίνωσκε οὖν ὅτι οὐδὲ ταφῆς ἀξιοῦσαι, ἀλλὰ δώσομεν τὰ κρέη σου τοῖς πετεινοῖς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τοῖς θηρίοις τῆς γῆς. Λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰωσήφ· Ἰὼδη εἶπον ὑμῖν ὅτι οὗτος ὁ λόγος τοῦ ὑπερηφάνου Γολιάθ ἐστίν.

Ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐπικράνθησαν <...>

### Codicological information

*Lacuna* λ extends over the last three folios of quire IX (IX: C', B', A') and the entire quire X. It covers the episode of the thieves (end of ch. 10.2), the death of Jesus (ch. 11.1), the announcement of Jesus' death to Pilate (ch. 11.2), the burial by Joseph of Arimathea (ch. 11.3), the irritation of the Jews learning about it (ch. 12.1), and their decision to imprison Joseph (beginning of ch. 12.2).

Segment XII consists of the first folio of quire XI (XI: A; f. 169 in modern numbering) and relates a part of ch. 12.2.

### Commentary

<Scito quia>—Çoliae est: In LatB2<sup>44,160,177b,238,382</sup>, the conversation between Joseph of Arimathea and the Jews is repeated twice, albeit with some variation. The phrase *iam dixi uobis*, which occurs in this segment, suggests that this might also have been the case in Vp. The Gk mss do not repeat the conversation; hence, this portion of the back translation is based on the only occurrence of the episode in Gk.

<Scito quia>: Reconstruction on the basis of Gk mss and LatB2<sup>44,160,177b,238,382</sup>.

**hora non exigit:** Attested in LatB2<sup>44,177b,382</sup>; LatB2<sup>160,238</sup> also remain close to Vp, adding only *hac/hec* or altering the word order.

**aliquid agere:** Attested in the same five LatB2 mss (382 changes the word order).

**aduersus:** Attested in LatB2<sup>44,382</sup>; the other three LatB2 mss read *aduersum*.

**inlucescit:** The Gk source may have read διαφαύει (as in Gk mss φ<sup>GC</sup>), διαφαίνει (N), ἐπιφαύει (E), or ἐπιφώσκει (used in Mt 28:1). Attested in 160 and 177b as *illucescit*; the other three mss read *elucescit*.

**Scito ergo:** Attested in all five mss.

**ergo:** Translates οὖν, present in φ<sup>FXZ</sup>.

**quia nec ... es:** Not attested in this word order in any of the five mss. Three mss, including 44, 382, and 238, read *quia ... non es*; 160 and 177b *quoniam nec ... es*; and Kraków version (127, 129a), which picks up the text at this point, reads *nec ... dignus es* (*es* omitted in 127). LatB2 mss then add a clause, *sicut / ut iam diximus*; cf. below, *Iam dixi uobis*.

**nec:** Gk adverbial οὐδέ, present in Gk mss φ<sup>GH</sup>, B, and I.

**dauimus:** For *dabimus*, with *u* for *b*.

**carnes—terrae:** The text in the five LatB2 mss is identical; 127 reads *escas* instead of *carnes*, and 129a *carnes tuas escas*; after *terrae*, both add *Et iusserunt eum custodire*.

**Dicit eis Ioseph:** The same wording is attested in the five LatB2 mss; Kraków version reads *Et respondit Ioseph*.

**Iam dixi uobis:** This clause, referring to the earlier exchange between Joseph and the Jews, is absent from LatB2 mss, which have already referred to that exchange a sentence earlier; Kraków version reads here *Dixi uobis eciam*.

**quia—est:** The same text is attested in LatB2<sup>44,177b,238,382</sup>, and Kraków version; LatB2<sup>160</sup> reads more simply *hic sermo superbus est*.

**superui:** For *superbi*, with *u* for *b*.

**Çoliae:** For *Goliae*, unless the first letter represents *G-*.<sup>1</sup>

**Audientes Iudei:** All Gk and later Latin versions have here extra words, such as *δέ / autem*, *τὸς λόγους τούτους / sermones istos*, or *hec*.

**amaricati:** Attested only in LatB2<sup>145,160,247,286,381,386</sup>, and Kraków version.

**<sunt>:** Reconstructed on the basis of Gk mss (ἐπικράνησαν), and Latin B2 and Kraków versions.

1 Cf. Philippart, “Les fragments palimpsestes de l’Évangile de Nicodème,” p. 184, n. 40.

## A Commentary on the Vienna Palimpsest – Segment XIII (Ch. 13.2-13.3)

### Latin text (H3-H4)

H3(162r) <...> <surre>xit a mortuis. Ecce precedit uos in Galilea. Ibi eum uidetis.

Dicunt Iudaei: Quibus mulieribus loquebatur? Dicunt milites: Nescimus que H4(162v) erant. Dicunt Iudaei: Quae ora fuit? Dicunt custodes: Media nocte. Dicunt Iudaei: Quare non tenuistis mulieres? Dicunt custodes Iudeis <...>

### English translation

<...> arose from the dead. Indeed, he is going before you to Galilee. There you will see him.

The Jews say: Which women was he speaking to? The soldiers say: We do not know who they were. The Jews say: What hour was it? The guards say: The middle of the night. The Jews say: Why did you not seize the women? The guards say to the Jews <...>

### Experimental back translation

<...> ἠγέρθη ἀπὸ νεκρῶν. Ἴδὸν προάγει ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, ἐκεῖ αὐτὸν ὄψεσθε.

Λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· Ποίαις γυναιξίν ἐλάλει; Λέγουσιν οἱ στρατιῶται· οὐκ οἶδαμεν ποῖαι ἦσαν. Λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· ποία ὥρα ἦν; Λέγουσιν οἱ τῆς κουστωδίας· μέσης νυκτός. Λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· Διατί οὐκ ἐκρατήσατε τὰς γυναῖκας; Λέγουσιν οἱ τῆς κουστωδίας πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους· <...>

### Codicological information

*Lacuna* μ covers three central bifolios of quire XI, that is, the imprisonment of Joseph of Arimathea (ch 12.3), the discovery of the empty prison (ch. 13.1), and the guards' account of the angel appearing to the women at the tomb (ch. 13.2).

Segment XIII is found on the final folio of quire XI (XI: A'), which is the second leaf of the bifolio that contains segment XII (f. 162 in modern numbering).

### Commentary

<surre>xit—uidetis: Cf. Mt 28:7, Ἠγέρθη ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν· καὶ ἰδοὺ, προάγει ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν· ἐκεῖ αὐτὸν ὄψεσθε. The sentence ends with ἰδοὺ, εἶπον ὑμῖν / *ecce dixi uobis* in all NT mss; it is also present in most Gk mss, and in all Latin mss of *AP* (with alternation between *ecce* and *sicut*).

**a:** Here Gk NT mss and Gk *AP* mss φ<sup>C</sup>, I, J, B, N, and χ<sup>OQAM</sup> read ἀπό, while φ<sup>GHYZ</sup>, E and χ<sup>W</sup> have ἐκ.

**ecce:** Gk NT and *AP* mss read here καὶ ἰδοὺ. Attested in LatB2<sup>44,286,381</sup> and Kraków version (127, 129a).

**precedit:** The present form is attested in NT mss, in most Gk *AP* mss, in some early LatA mss, such as 133, 215, 334, and in LatB1<sup>284</sup>; later Latin mss usually correct this to future *precedet* (cf. Gk ms J).

**Galilea:** For *Galileam*, with the final *-m* omitted, as in VL mss *d, l*, and possibly in *a*.

**uidetis:** Present tense is not attested in any other Gk or Latin ms of NT or *AP*. Possibly for *uidebitis* with the penultimate syllable elided, or an original rendering of the biblical text.

**Dicunt Iudaei:** Attested in LatB2; similarly Kraków version, which adds *eis*. LatA has a long introductory sentence.

**Quibus—loquebatur:** Attested with this wording in all LatB mss and in Kraków version.



**Dicunt milites:** As in Gk ms J. Attested in most LatB2 mss and in Kraków version.

**Nescimus que erant:** The same wording is attested in LatB2 (except for 247 and 387) and Kraków version.

**nescimus:** Gk mss φ<sup>C</sup>, E, B, and N read οὐκ οἶδαμεν, but I and J have οὐ γινώσκομεν.

**Dicunt Iudaei quae ora—media nocte:** This question and answer, although absent from the majority of Gk mss of AP, is attested in Gk mss E, B, and N, as well as in Arm, Cop, Geo, and Syr; it is also reflected in LatB (with minor lexical variations; LatB2<sup>145,169,369</sup> place this exchange somewhat later) and in Kraków version.

**ora:** For *hora*, with *h-* omitted.

**fuit:** Attested in LatB1<sup>284</sup>, LatB2<sup>44,177b,286,381,382,387</sup>, and Kraków version.

**Dicunt custodes:** Exactly the same wording is attested in LatB1<sup>284</sup> and LatB2<sup>44,177b,381,382</sup>.

**media nocte:** μέσης νυκτός in Gk mss B and N, μέσης τῆς νυκτός in E.

**Dicunt Iudaei:** The same wording is found in LatB2.

**mulieres:** Present only in LatB2<sup>145,160,247,369,387</sup>; other mss read *eas*.

**Dicunt custodes Iudeis:** Exactly the same wording is attested in LatB2<sup>44,238,382</sup>; other mss introduce variation.

## A Commentary on the Vienna Palimpsest – Segment XIV (Ch. 13.3-13.4)

### Latin text (I1-I2)

I1(163r) <...> <custo>des: Primis date uos Ioseph et nos dauimus Iesum tunc. Dicunt Iudaei custodibus: Ioseph in ciuitate sua ibit. Dicunt custodes ad Iudaeos: Et Iesus est, sicut I2(163v) audivimus ab angelo qui reuoluit lapidem quia praecedit uos in Galilea.

Audientes Iudaei sermones istos timuerunt ualde dicentes: Ne<quando> <...>

### English translation

<...> the guards: First you give Joseph and then we will give Jesus. The Jews say to the guards: Joseph went to his city. The guards say to the Jews: And Jesus is, as we have heard from the angel who rolled away the stone, that he is going before you to Galilee.

Hearing these words, the Jews were greatly afraid, saying: Never <...>

### Experimental back translation

<...> οἱ τῆς κουστωδίας· Πρῶτον δότε ὑμεῖς τὸν Ἰωσήφ καὶ ἡμεῖς δίδομεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν τότε. Λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι {τοῖς τῆς κουστωδίας}· Ὁ Ἰωσήφ εἰς τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῦ ἀπῆλθεν. Λέγουσιν οἱ τῆς κουστωδίας τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις· Καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐστὶν καθὼς ἠκούσαμεν τοῦ ἀγγέλου τοῦ ἀποκυλίσαντος τὸν λίθον ὅτι προάγει ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν.

Ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τοὺς λόγους τούτους ἐφοβήθησαν σφόδρα λέγοντες· Μήποτε <...>

### Codicological information

*Lacuna* v consists of the first two folios of quire XII (XII: A-B), which must have contained the discussion between the Jews and the guards.

Segment XIV resumes at the end of the discussion and occupies the third folio of quire XII (XII: C; f. 163 in modern numbering).

### Commentary

<custo>des—tunc: This response of the guards has been lost in the Latin tradition, except in LatB1<sup>177a,198,284,336</sup>, which preserve it with some variations: *Primum (Prius 177a) uos date (date uos 284) Ioseph and tunc nos (uobis 198) damus (dabimus 177a) Iesum*.

**Primis:** Used as an adverb, but without the expected *in*, probably to translate πρῶτον. Most LatB1 mss read *prius*.

**et nos dauimus:** Vp reflects Gk ms I, which does not have εἶθ' οὕτως after καὶ (like φ); however, the word order (the pronoun before the verb) is shared with Gk χ.

**dauimus:** For *dabimus*, with *u* for *b*.

**tunc:** The syntax is ambiguous here: some later scribes interpreted *tunc* as belonging to the following clause, but the evidence of Gk ms φ<sup>G</sup> (τότε ἡμεῖς δίδομεν) and LatB1 (which introduce this clause with *tunc*) as well as the implied chronology of what needs to happen make this syntax semantically plausible.

**Dicunt Iudaei:** LatB1 reads *Responderunt Iudaei*. LatB2 resumes at this point with *Tunc dixerunt Iudaei* (some mss omit *Tunc*).

**custodibus:** Only  $\chi$  has a complement here, τοῖς ὑπηρέταις, but the source text of Vp is more likely to have had the same expression as below, οἱ τῆς κουστωδίας.

**in ciuitate sua:** Possibly with the final *-m* omitted.

**sua:** All Gk mss have αὐτοῦ.

**ibit:** For *iuit*, with *b* for *u*. The word is not attested in LatA but appears in exactly the same position in LatB2<sup>369</sup>, and in a different position in LatB2<sup>286,381,386</sup>; it is also echoed in (LatB1) *abiit*, Kraków version (127 and 129a) *ibi*, and LatB2<sup>145,247</sup> *uiuit*.

**Dicunt:** Present tense as in Gk mss. Attested in LatB2<sup>145</sup> and Kraków version.

**custodes:** Attested in LatB and Kraków version.

**ad Iudaeos:** Attested in Gk mss  $\varphi^{CZ}$  and B. In Latin, it is found in LatB1<sup>177a</sup> and in most LatB2.

**Et Iesus:** Reflected in LatB; LatA and LatC introduce this phrase with a conditional clause (*Si Ioseph in Arimathea est...*).

**est:** Most LatA and LatB mss add *in Galilea* before or after *est*; however, LatB2<sup>177b</sup> has exactly the same wording as Vp.

**ab:** Only some Gk mss have a preposition here ( $\varphi^Y$  has ὑπό,  $\chi^{OQW}$  ἐκ).

**angelu:** For *angelo*.

**qui reuoluit lapidem:** Attested in LatB1 and LatB2<sup>177b,160,247,369,387</sup>, with some mss adding *ab hostio monumenti / a monumento*.

**qui reuoluit:** Gk participle translated by a relative clause.

**praecedit—Galilea:** Cf. Mt 28:7. Attested in LatB, with some mss retaining *praecedit* (e.g., LatB1<sup>198</sup>) and others changing it to *praecedet* (e.g., LatB2<sup>369</sup>).

**in Galilea:** Ablative as in VL mss *d* and *l*, perhaps also *a* (cf. Gk *AP* mss  $\chi$  and E). It is also possible that a macron is missing over the final *-a* of *Galilea*; the accusative is present in Gk and most Latin NT mss as well as in Gk *AP*  $\varphi$  and mss I, B, and N (εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν). All Gk mss mention *Galilea* only once at the end of the sentence.

**Audientes Iudaei sermones istos:** Attested with the same wording in LatB2 and Kraków version.

**timuerunt ualde dicentes:** Attested with the same wording in LatB2 and Kraków version; other Latin versions (and Gk  $\chi$ ) add *ad semet ipsos*, or make other alterations.

**Ne<quando>:** Reconstructed on the basis of Gk mss and later Latin versions.

## A Commentary on the Vienna Palimpsest – Segment XV (Ch. 14.1)

### Latin text (I3-I4)

I3(168r) <...> a Galilea Hierosolima rettulerunt arcisynagogis sacerdotib<us> et leutis *quanta* uiderunt quomodo Iesus sedeuat et discipuli eius I4(168v) in monte qui uocatur Mambre, et dicebat discipulis suis: Euntes in omnem saeculum adnuntiate omnia uniuersae creature. Qui crediderit <...>

### English translation

<...> from Galilee to Jerusalem reported to the leaders of the synagogue, priests, and the Levites all that they saw, how Jesus and his disciples were sitting on the mountain that is called Mambre. And he was saying to his disciples: Going into all the world, announce all to the whole creation. He who believes <...>

### Experimental back translation

<...> ἀπό τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐξηγήσαντο τοῖς ἀρχισυναγώγοις καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν καὶ τοῖς λευίταις {ᾧσα} εἶδ{αν} {πῶς} {ὁ} Ἰησοῦ{ς} {ἐ}καθίζ{ετο} καὶ {οἱ} μαθητ{αῖ} αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ καλουμένου Μανβρη καὶ ἔλεγεν τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ· Πορευθέντες εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἅπαντα κηρύξατε ἅπαντα πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει· ὁ πιστεύσας <...>

### Codicological information

*Lacuna* ξ consists of the central bifolio of quire XII (XII: D-D'). It covers the end of the discussion between the Jews and the guards, based on Mt 28:12-15 (ch. 13.4), and the arrival of the three witnesses to the Ascension (ch. 14.1).

Segment XV (quire XVI: C'; f. 168 in modern numbering) refers to their arrival and includes the beginning of their report (ch. 14.1).

### Commentary

**Hierosolima:** Without the final *-m*. Gk mss φ, E, and B have ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, N and χ<sup>QQW</sup> read εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. All later Latin versions have *Hierusalem* (or a variant). LatB1 omits the preposition, as Vp, but uses the ablative form in *-is*.

**rettulerunt:** Gk mss have here a variety of verbs and forms (φ<sup>FC</sup> διηγούντο, φ<sup>XGHYZ</sup> and I ἐξηγούντο, E and N ἐξηγήσαντο, χ<sup>QQAM</sup> διηγήσαντο). The use of perfect in Latin could imply aorist in the source text, but not necessarily. Attested in LatB and Kraków version (127, 129a).

**arcisynagogis:** Transliteration of ἀρχισυναγώγοις. Attested in LatB2 (but in the form *arcisynagoge*) and Kraków version.

**sacerdotib<us>:** Attested in LatB2 and Kraków version, but usually preceded by *et* as in Gk mss.

**leutis:** For *leuitis*. Attested in LatB.

**quanta—Jesus:** Reflected in LatB2, but with minor variants, such as *que et quanta*, or a different tense.

**quanta:** Most Gk mss have here ὅτι (N πῶς). Since Vp usually translates ὅτι by *quia*, it is likely that *quanta* translates ᾧσα.

**quomodo:** There is no such construction in Gk mss or in Eastern versions. This is specific to Vp and is shared by LatB2 mss.

**Iesus:** Since the construction is different in Gk (with the supplementary participle proposition), none of the Gk mss has the name in the nominative.

**sedeuat:** For *sedebat*, with *u* for *b*. Most Gk mss have a form of καθέζομαι (or κάθημαι in E and I). Attested as *sedebat* in LatB2<sup>145,160,369,386,387</sup> and Kraków version.

**et discipuli eius:** Most closely reflected in LatB2<sup>386</sup> and Kraków version; other LatB2 mss make small alterations, such as *cum discipulis* (LatB2<sup>369</sup>), or amplify.

**in monte—Mambre:** Attested in LatB2 and Kraków version, but with an additional reference to the Mount of Olives (the usual reading of LatA); LatB1 has only one name for the mountain, *Ma(n)lech*. All LatB mss then add an explanation, beginning: *quod interpretatur...* (LatB1), *alii uocant eum...* (most LatB2), or both (LatB2<sup>145,160,369</sup>).

**in monte:** Most Gk mss read εἰς, but some have ἐπί; φ<sup>GH</sup> follow ἐπί with the genitive, while E, B, and N follow it with the accusative. The text has been reconstructed using a form that is both grammatical and likely to have led to a translation with an ablative.

**Mambre:** Here Gk mss have various forms. The closest is Μαμβρήχ (B). The form adopted in the reconstruction follows Gn 18:1 (LXX Μαμβρη, Vg Mambre).

**Et dicebat discipulis suis:** Attested in LatB1 and LatB2<sup>44,177b,238,382,386</sup>.

**Euntes—crediderit:** Cf. Mk 16:15-16.<sup>1</sup>

**Euntes—saeculum:** Attested in LatB2<sup>44,160,177b,238,369,386</sup>.

**Euntes:** Translation similar to to VL mss *a*, *ff*<sup>2</sup>, *l*, *o*, and Vg.

Vg and many VL mss.

**in omnem saeculum:** Neither *omne* (*omnem*) nor *saeculum* appears anywhere in Latin mss of Mk 16:15. None of the Gk mss of NT or AP has variants of εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἅπαντα. Here Vp presents an original translation of the biblical text.

**omnem:** For *omne*, with the superfluous *-m*.<sup>2</sup>

**adnuntiate:** Attested in LatB2 and Kraków version. Occurs as *praedicate* in VL and Vg, as well as in LatA and LatB. None of the Gk mss (NT or AP) has variants of κηρύξατε. Here Vp presents an original translation of the biblical text.

**omnia:** Gk and Latin NT have τὸ εὐαγγέλιον as the direct object (as φ<sup>F<sup>X</sup>H</sup> and χ), but there is no obvious direct object in most Gk mss of AP. Either the source text of Vp repeated ἅπαντα (εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἅπαντα κηρύξατε ἅπαντα) or the translator did.

**omnia:** Attested only in LatB2<sup>44,238,382,387</sup>.

**uniuersae creature:** Attested in most LatB2 mss. LatB1, LatB2<sup>177b</sup>, and Kraków version read *omni creature*. All LatB mss then refer to the *euangelium regni Dei*, echoing the NT.

**uniuersae:** Reading shared only with VL (mss *c*, *ff*<sup>d</sup>, *q*, and *o* (others read *omni*)).

1 Cf. Anne Catherine Baudoin, “Le premier témoin manuscrit des *Actes de Pilate* (ÖNB, cod. 563): Antiquité et autorité de la traduction latine d’un texte grec”, *Revue des études grecques* 129.2 (2016), p. 363-64.

2 Despineux, “Une version latine palimpseste,” p. 183.

## A Commentary on the Vienna Palimpsest – Segment XVI (Ch. 15.6-16.1.1)

### Latin text (J1-J4)

J<sup>1(167r)</sup> <...> et pausauit me in lecto meo et dixit mihi: Pax tibi. Et osculatus est m[e] [et] dixit mihi: Usque [a]d quad[ra]ginta [d]ies n[on] exeat de domo J<sup>2(167v)</sup> tua. Et ecce ego uado ad fratres meos in Galilea.

Audientes autem arcsynagogae et sacerdotes et leuitae et uerba ista a Ioseph fac<sup>J<sup>3(126r)</sup></sup>ti sunt tamquam mortui et ceciderunt in terra et ieiunauerunt usque ad horam nonam. Et rogauerunt eos Nicodemus et Ioseph Annam J<sup>4(126v)</sup> et Caiapham et sacerdotes et leuitae dicentes: [Exs]urgete et state super pedes uestros et gustate panem et confortate animas ues<tras> <...>

### English translation

<...> and he rested me in my bed and said to me: Peace be with you. And he kissed me and said to me: Until the fortieth day, you should not go out of your house. And behold, I am going to my brothers in Galilee.

Hearing these words from Joseph, the leaders of the synagogue and the priests and the Levites became as if dead and fell to the ground and fasted until the ninth hour. And Nicodemus and Joseph besought them, (that is) Annas and Caiaphas and the priests and the Levites, saying: Arise and stand upon your feet and taste the bread and strengthen your souls <...>

### Experimental back translation

<...> και ἀνέπαυσέ με ἐν τῇ κλίνῃ μου και εἶπέ μοι· Εἰρήνη σοι. Καὶ κατεφίλησέ με και εἶπέ μοι· Ἔως τεσσαράκοντα ἡμερῶν μὴ ἐξέλθῃς ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου σου· και ἰδοὺ {ἐγὼ} πορεύομαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφούς μου εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν.

Ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ ἀρχισυνάγωγοι και οἱ ἱερεῖς και λευῖται {και} τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα παρὰ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ ἐγένοντο ὡσπερ νεκροὶ και ἔπεσαν χαμαὶ και ἐνήστευσαν ἕως ὥρας ἐνάτης. Καὶ παρεκάλεσ{αν} αὐτοὺς ὁ Νικόδημος και Ἰωσήφ τὸν Ἄνναν και τὸν Καϊάφαν και τοὺς ἱερεῖς και λευῖτας λέγοντες· Ἀνάστητε και στήτε ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας ὑμῶν και γεύσασθε ἄρτον και ἐνισχύσατε τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν. <...>

### Codicological information

*Lacuna* o consists of the two final folios of quire XII (XII: B'-A') and probably four full quires (XIII, XIV, XV, XVI), that is, 32 folios in all. It covers the description of the Ascension (ch. 14.1), the reaction of the Jews (ch. 14.2) and their discussion among themselves (ch. 14.3), Nicodemus's suggestion to organise a search (ch. 15.1), the discovery of Joseph in Arimathia (ch. 15.2), the request that he come back to Jerusalem (ch. 15.3), his arrival and meeting with the Jews (ch. 15.4), who ask him how he was released from prison (ch. 15.5), and Joseph's account of the events (ch. 15.6).

Segment XVI resumes at the end of Joseph's speech, as he explains that Jesus took him to his home (quire XVII: A, B; ff. 167 and 126 in modern numbering).

### Commentary

**pausauit:** Likely translates ἀνέπαυσε ("make to cease, to halt") attested in most Gk mss. In Latin, attested only in LatB2<sup>387</sup> (as *pausciuit*) and Kraków version (127, 129a); other LatB2 mss read *posuit*, and LatB1 *requieuit*. LatA abbreviates the text here.

**in lecto:** Possibly translating ἐν τῇ κλίνῃ, present only in Gk ms  $\chi^W$ . Most Gk mss have an indication of movement (εἰς or ἐπὶ τὴν κλίνην). In Latin, attested in LatB1, LatB2<sup>145,169,369</sup>, and Kraków version (as *in lectum*).

**Et osculatus est m[e]:** Attested in LatB and Kraków version (with *iterum* after *et*).

**dixit mihi:** Here Vp follows Gk mss E, B, and N. Attested in LatB2<sup>44,160,177b,238,369,382</sup>; other LatB2 mss simplify to *dicens* or *dixit*. LatB1 amplifies the text.

**Usque [a]d:** So also LatA<sup>73,235</sup>, LatB1<sup>177a,198</sup>, LatC<sup>12</sup>, Praha group (299, 322), and 391; LatB2, however, omits it.

**quad[ra]ginta:** The cardinal numeral is preserved only in LatB2.

**de domo:** Most Gk mss have ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου; but some read ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας.

**et ecce:** Here Vp follows Gk ms N. *Ecce* is preserved in LatB2, but without the initial *Et*.

**ad fratres:** Attested in LatB and Kraków version; LatA and LatC read *discipulos*.

**ego:** The emphatic pronoun can be found in Syr and in all Latin versions, but not in Gk.

**in Galilea:** Most Gk mss have εἰς (cf. Mt 28:7), which is more likely to have been the source of Vp than ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ, attested in  $\chi^W$ . In Latin, attested in LatB2, LatC, and 299.

**autem:** Most Gk mss read καὶ ἀκούσαντες, and only  $\chi^M$  has δέ.

**arcisynagogae:** In Latin, attested only in LatB2 and Kraków version.

**leuitae:** Without an article in most Gk mss. Attested only in LatB1.

**et uerba:** *et* does not appear in Gk mss of AP. It appears to be intrusive, or equivalent to *etiam*, or a result of dittography in the source text (λευῖται καί).

**uerba ista:** Attested in LatB2<sup>145,160,177b,286,369,381,386,387</sup>; other LatB2 mss omit *uerba*. LatB1 reads *uerba hec*, LatA *hec omnia*.

**facti sunt tamquam mortui:** Cf. Mt 28:4.

**tamquam:** ὡσεὶ or ὡς in Mt 28:4, translated by *uelut* or *sicut* in Latin NT mss (*tamquam* in VL ms *d*). Attested only in LatB2.

**ceciderrunt:** Attested in LatA and LatB1, where it is followed by *super/in facies suas*.

**et ieiunauerunt—nonam:** Attested in LatB2, Kraków version, and 299.

**Et rogauerunt—ues<tras>:** Attested, with some variation, in LatB, Kraków version, and 299.

**Et rogauerunt eos Nicodemus et Ioseph:** Attested with the same word order in LatB2<sup>160,369</sup> (which begin, however, with *Et post horam nonam*) and 299; LatB2<sup>44,177b,382,386</sup> reverse the order of the names.

**rogauerunt ... dicentes:** Here Vp is closest to Gk mss E and B (παρεκάλεσεν ... λέγοντες), or N (παρεκάλει ... λέγοντες); other Gk mss have προσκαλεσάμενος ... λέγουσιν.

**Ioseph:** Most Gk mss omit the article.

**Annam—dicentes:** Attested in LatB1, especially 284 and 336, with only minor variation in endings.

**leuitae:** The nominative form is used here in place of the accusative. Most Gk mss omit the article.

**[Exs]urgete:** Speculative reconstruction based on the prefix in the Gk verb (ἐνισχύσατε); all Latin mss read *Surgite*.

**et state—ues<tras>:** Attested, with alternation between *super* and *supra*, in LatB, Kraków version, and 299.

## A Commentary on the Vienna Palimpsest – Segment XVII (Ch. 16.1.2-16.1.3)

### Latin text (J5-J8)

J5(125r)<...> iste iacet in ruina et resurrectione mortuorum in Israhel et signum contradic[tum]. Et tuam animam consumet romphea [qu]omo J6(125v)do reuelentur de multorum cordibus cogitationes.

Dicunt didascali et leuitae: Haec ista quomodo audisti? Dicit Leui: Non scitis quoniam J7(164r) ab ipso didici legem? Dicunt ipsi de concilio: Patrem tuum uolumus uidere. Et scrutati sunt patrem eius et didicerunt ab eo. Dixit pater eius J8(164v) ad eos: Quid quod non credistis filio meo? Beatus et iustus Simeon, ipse eum didicit legem. Dicit concilium ad rebbitem Leui: Verus est <sermo> <...>

### English translation

<...> he lies down for the destruction and resurrection of the dead in Israel and for a sign (that has been) gainsaid. And a sword will consume your soul whereby the thoughts of many hearts will be revealed.

The teachers and the Levites say: How have you heard these things? Levi says: Do you not know that I have learnt the law from him? Those of the council say: We wish to see your father. And they searched for his father and learnt from him. His father said to them: Why do you not believe my son? The blessed and just Simeon, he taught him the law. The council says to rabbi Levi: Your words are true <...>

### Experimental back translation

<...> οὗτος κεῖται εἰς πτώσιν καὶ ἀνάστασιν πολλῶν ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ ἑῖς ἑὸν σημεῖον ἀντιλεγόμενον· καὶ σοῦ ἑὸν αὐτῆς τὴν ψυχὴν διελεύσεται ῥομφαία, ὅπως ἂν ἀποκαλυφθῶσιν ἐκ πολλῶν καρδιῶν διαλογισμοί. Λέγουσιν {οἱ διδάσκαλοι καὶ οἱ λεῦῖται}· ταῦτα πῶς ἤκουσας; Λέγει Λεῦῖς· οὐκ οἶδατε ὅτι παρ'αὐτοῦ ἔμαθον τὸν νόμον; Λέγουσιν {αὐτοὶ ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου}· Τὸν πατέρα σου θέλομεν ἰδεῖν. Καὶ μετεστειλαντο τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπυνθάνετο παρ'αὐτοῦ. Εἶπεν ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ πρὸς αὐτούς· Τί ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιστεύσατε τῷ υἱῷ μου; Ὁ μακάριος καὶ δίκαιος Συμεὼν αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ἐδίδαξεν τὸν νόμον. Λέγει τὸ συνέδριον ῥαββὶ Λεῦῖ· Ἀληθ{ές} ἐστι τὸ ῥῆμα <...>

### Codicological information

*Lacuna* π consists of the two central bifolios of quire XVII (XVII: C, D, D', C'). It covers the mention of the Sabbath meal (end of ch. 16.1.1) and the discussion on the Sabbath day concerning Jesus' family, including Levi's reference to the presentation in the temple and Symeon's prophecy, referring to Lk 2:22-35 (ch. 16.1.2).

Fragment XVII resumes at Lk 2:34 and covers ff. 125 and 164 (quire XVII: B', A') in modern numbering.

### Commentary

**iste—cogitationes:** Cf. Lk 2:34-35.<sup>1</sup>

**iste:** Most likely translates οὗτος attested in Gk NT and AP mss; however, VL and Vg mss translate it as *hic*. In Latin mss of AP, attested only in Kraków version (127, 129a). Here Vp presents an original translation of the biblical text.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Anne Catherine Baudoin, "Le premier témoin manuscrit des *Actes de Pilate* (ÖNB, cod. 563): Antiquité et autorité de la traduction latine d'un texte grec", *Revue des études grecques* 129.2 (2016), p. 352, 364-66.



**iacet:** Vg and VL have *positus est*. In Latin mss of AP, attested only in Kraków version. Here Vp presents an original translation of the biblical text.

**in ruina ... resurrectione:** Possibly for *in ruinam et resurrectionem*, with the final *-m* omitted on both nouns. VL ms *r* shares the omission of *-m*. Cf. Seg. XVIII K3(130r).

**mortuorum:** The expected reading is *multorum*; the scribe may have written *mortuorum* through association with *resurrectione*.<sup>2</sup> Not attested in later Latin versions.

**in Israhel:** Attested sporadically in LatA and consistently in LatB; the passage is omitted from LatC.

**signum contradic[tum]:** Vp omits *in* before *signum*, but see Seg. XVIII K3(130r). Three unresolved letters after *contradic* suggest the reconstruction to *contradic[tum]* rather than to *contradictionis* present in LatA (cf. Junillus Africanus, *Instituta regularia diuinae legis* 2, 24); the form *contradictum* may, in fact, be a calque on the Greek.<sup>3</sup> It should be noted that Vp is not alone in avoiding the usual Latin NT reading *cui contradicetur* (attested also in LatB and idiosyncratic mss); see *contradicientem* in VL ms *d*, and *signum contradicibile* in Tertullian, *De carne Christi* 23. Vp is unique in giving ἀντιλεγόμενον a passive meaning. Here Vp presents an original translation of the biblical text.

**Et tuam animam consumet romphea:** Attested in LatB2<sup>145,160,387</sup> with only minor variants (omission of *Et*, addition of *uero* and *eius*).

**tuam animam:** Most Gk mss, following Lk 2:35, have σοῦ δὲ αὐτῆς. Not all Latin NT mss translate δέ, but all have *ipsius*. Hence its absence is remarkable in Vp.

**consumet:** All Latin NT mss have a form of *pertranseo*, which is closer to the Gk. Here Vp presents an original translation of the biblical text.

**romphea:** This transliteration of the Gk ῥομφαία is attested in Latin, especially in reference to Gn 3:24, τὴν φλογίνην ῥομφαίαν, which appears in Latin as *flammea romphea*. Perhaps *consumere* used earlier hints at just such an association between the sword and fire. Here Vp presents an original translation of the biblical text.

**[qu]omodo:** Latin NT mss read *ut* (*uti* in VL ms *a*, and *et* in VL ms *l*). Here Vp presents an original translation of the biblical text.

**de multorum cordibus:** The use of genitive for *multorum*, presented as a complement of *cordibus*, does not appear in any Latin NT ms. In Latin AP tradition, it is echoed only in 127 as *multorum de (corporibus cancelled) cordibus*; most other Latin mss omit the preposition and read *multorum cordium* (and variants). Here Vp presents an original translation of the biblical text.

**de:** Only VL ms *e* (*Afra*) shares this reading with Vp.

**dicunt didascali—didici legem:** This section is omitted in Gk mss φ but present in Gk mss E, B, N, and χ, and in the Eastern versions.

**didascali et leuitae:** Gk mss E, B, N, and χ have τῷ διδασκάλῳ Λευί as an indirect complement of λέγουσιν (cf. below *Dicit Leui*). Although the wording of Vp is attested in LatB2, the phrase is clearly a corruption rationalized by Latin scribes. Traces of the correct reading are preserved in Kraków version, *Dicunt didascoli ad Leui: Tu quomodo*, where *Leui* is still the addressee; and in a slightly amplified version in LatB2<sup>387</sup>, *dixerunt autem iudei ad leui. Et tu hec quomodo*. Traces of the original reading can also be seen in LatB1 (e.g., 177a). The corruptions in Vp may have been partly phonological and partly visual.

**haec ista:** Pleonastic usage (cf. *TLL* vol. VI, c. 2743, l. 11), not attested in later Latin versions. *Ista* by itself is found in several Latin mss of AP, including LatB2<sup>145,165,286,381,386</sup> and Kraków version.

**Dicit—legem:** In Latin, attested in LatB, Kraków version, and 299; some mss show small variations, such as *nescitis* for *non scitis* or *quia* for *quoniam*.

**audisti:** Attested in LatB1<sup>284,336</sup> and Kraków version; other LatB mss read *uidisti* (387 *nosti*).

**ipsi de concilio:** Gk mss have αὐτῶ τὸ συνέδριον; cf. LatB1, *ei concilium*. It is likely that αὐτῶ has been taken for αὐτοί, leading to a change of case for τὸ συνέδριον. Attested in LatB2<sup>44,177b,238,382,386</sup> and in ms 299.

**Patrem—uidere:** In Latin, attested in LatB and ms 299; Kraków version amplifies.

**Et scrutati sunt patrem eius:** Attested in LatB2<sup>286,381</sup>, Kraków version, and 299; LatB2<sup>387</sup> has *exscrutati sunt*, while LatB2<sup>44,177b,238,382</sup> read *scrutauerunt*. LatB1 reads differently, *mandauerunt*.

**scrutati sunt:** Understood as “searched for”; cf. Gk μετεστείλαντο, “send for” (Gk mss φ<sup>Z</sup> and N; most other Gk mss use the singular). Alternatively, “examined.”

**Dixit pater eius:** The same wording (except for the addition of *Et* and the change of *Dixit* to *dicit*) occurs in LatB1, LatB2<sup>44,177b,238,382</sup>, and 299.

**ad eos:** Attested in LatB2<sup>44,177b,238,382</sup>, and 299; LatB1 reads *illos*.

**Quid quod:** Present as *quidquid* in LatB1<sup>284,336</sup> and 299, and as *quid est quod* in LatB2<sup>160</sup>.

**credistis:** For *credidistis*; transmitted in Latin as *credidistis* (LatB1<sup>284</sup>) or *credititis* (LatB2<sup>386</sup>).

2 Cf. Despineux, “Une version latine palimpseste,” p. 182.

3 Cf. Despineux, “Une version latine palimpseste,” p. 180.

**Iipse:** Attested in LatB1 and LatB2<sup>160,177b</sup>.

**eum didicit:** The word order follows Gk mss φ<sup>GY</sup>, B, and N.

**didicit:** All mss that preserve this segment read *docuit*.

**Dicit concilium:** Attested in LatB and 299.

**ad rebbitem Leui:** Cf. Gk mss B and E, and Arm. Most Gk mss read λέγει αὐτῷ τὸ συνέδριον· Ἄρα Λεὺ ἀληθὲς ἐστι...

**rebbitem:** This title appears in Gk mss B and N. The form is attested in bilingual inscriptions for “Rabbi”. The root *rebb-* is not common; the ending with *-item* for accusative is less frequent than the indeclinable form. Only Latin ms 299 reads *ad Rabythen*; LatB2 reads *ad rebi / rabi* (and variants). LatB1 turns the phrase into direct address, *Magister...*

**uerus est <sermo>:** Reconstructed on the basis of Gk and Latin mss. Attested in LatB2, Kraków version, and 299.



## A Commentary on the Vienna Palimpsest – Segment XVIII (Ch. 16.3.2-16.4)

### Latin text (K1-K8)

<sup>K1(177r)</sup> <...> <po>ταϋεϋϋντ̄ φε<lle> <...> <...> <...> <...> <...> <...> <...> <...> <...> <...> <sup>K2(177v)</sup> noster et sicuti dicit resurrexit e[t] quia sicuti dicunt tres didascali uiderunt eum adsumtum in celo et quia rebbi Leui dixit tes<sup>K3(130r)</sup>tificans quae dicta sunt a rebbi Simeone et quia dixit: Ecce iste iacet in ruina et resurrectio multorum Israhel et in signum con<sup>K4(130v)</sup>tradictum est. D[ix]erunt diḏaṣṣ[a]lī aḏ oḡm<nem> <populum> dis[.]a[.]r[.]o[.]ae ḡa eṣṡ cc[.]s <...> o<culi>s n<ostris> aḡnoscentes <...> <domu>s <sup>K5(137r)</sup> Iacob [qui]a [...]b ḡ <...> <m>a[e] dictus <...> <...> <...> <...> <...> <...> <...> <non fecerun>t per[ib]u[n]t. Et di<sup>K6(137v)</sup>xerunt sacerdotes et leuitae ad inuice: Si usque Summum qui dicitur Idu[l] memorja eius est, quid intellegitis qui[a] retinentia <sup>K7(170r)</sup> usque in saeculum, resuscitas tibi populum. Et dederunt adnuntiationem arcisinagogae et sacerdotes et leuitae omni populo <sup>K8(170v)</sup> Isra[h]ael diceṡes: <Male>dīc<...> <...> <...> <...> <...> a[.]e <...> popu<...> <...>daṡ: Ame<n>, Aḡeṡ.

[Et] ben[e]dix[it] [D<omi>n<u>m] oṡis <populus> <...>

### English translation

<...> gave gall <...> to drink <...> our <...> and as he says he arose and that, as the three teachers say, they saw him assumed into heaven, and that Rabbi Levi said, testifying to what was said by Rabbi Simeon, and that he said: Behold, he lies down for the destruction and resurrection of many (in) Israel and for the sign (that) is gainsaid. The teachers said to all the people <...> is <...> our eyes <...> knowing <...> the house of Jacob that <...> cursed <...> did not make will perish. And the priests and the Levites said to one another: If his memory extends to the Highest that is called Idul, by which you understand that (his) persistence (extends) to eternity, you will raise for yourself a people. And the leaders of the synagogue, and the priests, and the Levites made a pronouncement to all the people of Israel saying: Cursed <...> people <...> Amen. Amen.

And all the people blessed the Lord <...>

### Experimental back translation

<...> ἐπότισαν <...> μετὰ χολῆς <...> ἡμῶν καὶ καθὼς λέγ[ει] ἀνέστη καὶ ὅτι καθὼς λέγουσιν οἱ τρεῖς διδάσκαλοι εἶδαν αὐτὸν ἀναληφθέντα εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ὅτι ῥαββίς Λεὺῖς εἶπεν μαρτυρήσας τὰ λεχθέντα παρὰ ῥαββί Συμεῶνος καὶ ὅτι εἶπεν· Ἴδου οὗτος κείται εἰς πτώσιν καὶ ἀνάστασιν πολλῶν ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ εἰς σημεῖον ἀντιλεγόμενον. Εἶπαν οἱ διδάσκαλοι πρὸς πάντα τὸν λαόν <...> ἐστὶ <...> ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν <...> γινώσκοντες <...> οἶκος τοῦ Ἰακώβ, ὅτι <...> ἐπικατάρατος <...> οὐκ ἐποίησαν ἀπολοῦνται. Καὶ εἶπαν οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ λεῦῖται πρὸς ἀλλήλους· Εἰ ἕως τοῦ Σουμμοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου Ἰωβὴλ τὸ μνημόσυνον αὐτοῦ, {τί} γινώσκετε ὅτι ἐπικρατ[οῦντα] ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐγείρει[ς] {σε}αὐτῷ λαόν. Καὶ παρήγγειλαν οἱ ἀρχισυνάγωγοι καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ λεῦῖται παντὶ τῷ λαῷ Ἰσραὴλ λέγοντες· Ἐπικατάρατος <...> ὁ λαός <...> ἀμήν, ἀμήν.

Καὶ {εὐλόγησεν} τὸν Κύριον πᾶς ὁ λαός <...>

### Codicological information

Lacuna ρ consists of quire XVIII and the first two folios of quire XIX (XIX: A, B). It covers the decision of the Jews to recall the three witnesses of the Ascension from Galilee (ch. 16.2.1), their arrival (ch. 16.2.2), and their second testimony (ch. 16.2.3), followed by their second examination (ch. 16.3.1). That lacuna extends to Annas and Caiaphas recalling the events of the Passion and acknowledging the testimonies they have heard. Segment XVIII resumes at this point.

Segment XVIII consists of the two central bifolios of quire XIX (XIX: C, D, D', C'; ff. 177, 130, 137, 170 in modern numbering). *Lacuna* σ corresponds to the last two folios (XIX: B', A') that must have covered the end of the text, containing the final hymn of the people (ch. 16.4).

## Commentary

<po>ϣαϣεϣϣϣ <...> ϣε<lle>: Active form as in Gk mss φ<sup>C</sup>, B, and N (ἐπότισαν αὐτόν); Gk mss φ, I, and B read μετὰ χολῆς, but N has χολήν. Reconstructed on the basis of LatB2<sup>44,238,382</sup>, which read *eum felle et aceto potauerunt*.

**noster**: Attested in Gk mss φ<sup>C</sup> and in LatB2 as part of the phrase *pater noster Ioseph*.

**et sicuti dicit**: All Gk mss have ὅτι before καθώς, except I and N; cf. Cop. In Latin, attested only in Kraków version (127, 129a), but with *sicut* instead of *sicuti*.

**dicit**: Here all Gk mss have λέγουσιν, implying that the subject is “the guards.” The reading of Vp may have been influenced by Mt 28:6, ἠγέρθη γὰρ καθὼς εἶπεν. Cop also has an equivalent of *dicit*.

**e[t] quia—uiderunt**: Attested in LatB1 but with variation in word order and morphology.

**quia**: Likely translating ὅτι in φ<sup>Z</sup>.

**tres didascali**: This word order is attested in LatB1 and LatB2<sup>369</sup>; other mss transpose the words.

**uiderunt eum adsumtum**: Best reflected in LatB2<sup>44,177b,238,382,386</sup>. LatB2<sup>160,369</sup> change the word order, LatB2<sup>387</sup> replaces *eum* with *ipsum*, and other LatB mss make additional changes.

**uiderunt**: Third person plural, as in Gk mss φ<sup>Y</sup>, E, I, and N; first person plural in other Gk mss and Eastern versions.

**in celo**: All Gk mss have εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, and later Latin mss uniformly read *in celum*.

**et quia**: Found in LatB1 and LatB2<sup>160,369</sup>.

**rebbi Leui**: Later Latin mss either reverse the word order, or omit one of the words.

**rebbi**: ραββίς in Gk mss φ and E, but ραββί in I and N.

**Leui**: Λευίς in Gk mss φ, E, and N; Λευί in I.

**dixit—sunt**: Attested in most LatB2 mss.

**quae dicta sunt**: Gk τὰ λεχθέντα (substantive participle) is translated by a relative clause.

**a rebbi Simeone**: LatB2 mss consistently read *a Simeone seniore*.

**Simeone**: Inflected form in Gk mss φ<sup>G</sup>, E, and N, but indeclinable in φ<sup>FXCZ</sup> and I.

**et quia dixit**: LatB1 reads only *quia*, and LatB2<sup>387</sup> *quoniam*. Other mss do not transmit this text.

**Ecce—contradictum est**: Cf. Lk 2:34, and Seg. XVII J5(125r). Present in LatB1<sup>177b,284,336</sup> and LatB2<sup>387</sup> in the form, *hic positus est in ruinam et in resurrectionem multorum in Israel* (with some variation) *et in signum quod contradicetur*.

**iste—contradictum**: See Seg. XVII J5(125r).

**resurrectio**: For *resurrectione*.

**est**: See Seg. XVII J5(125r). The function of *est* is unclear here. It is likely an addition made by the copist, surprised by this unusual choice of words for Lk 2:35; hence, it is not included in the Gk reconstruction. In a similar manner, LatB1<sup>284,336</sup> add *ad eos* at the end of the quotation.

**ϣ[ix]erunt—n<ostris>**: Attested in Kraków version, Prague group (299, 213, 322), and ms 129; in a highly abridged and altered form present also in LatB.

**ϣ[ix]erunt διδάσϣ[a]λλῖ ad φμ<nem populum>**: Reconstruction based on Kraków version, Prague group, and ms 129.

**διδάσϣ[a]λλῖ**: As in Gk ms E (other mss usually read πάντες οἱ διδάσκαλοι).

**ad φμ<...>**: Probably translates πρὸς πάντα τὸν λαόν attested in Gk mss φ and N.

**<populum>**: Reconstructed on the basis of the six idiosyncratic Latin mss that carry this passage, namely 127 and 129a (Kraków version); 213, 299, and 322 (Praha group); and 129.

**dis[.a][.r][.o][.ae ϣα ϣῥ cc[.]s <...> o<culi>s n<ostris>**: Insufficient information for complete reconstruction. The passage, as attested in 299 and 322 of the Praha group, reads *si ad nos facta hec est (sunt 322) et est mirabile in oculis nostris*; Kraków version reads, *Si autem ad nos factum est (esset 127) hec res, mirabilis in oculis nostris*; and 129 and 213 read, *A domino factum est istud et est mirabile in oculis nostris*.

**agnoscentes—ōnis**: The conclusion of ch. 16 is known in only six later Latin mss mentioned above, namely 127 and 129a (Kraków version); 213, 299, and 322 (Praha group), and ms 129.

**agnoscentes <...> <domu>s Iacob**: A variant of this passage occurs only in 299 and 322, which read *Scitote domus Iacob*. Vp must have had an extra word before *domus*.

**[qui]a [...]br<...>**: Kraków version, 299 and 322 of the Praha group read *quia scriptum est*; 129 and 213 have *Et dixerunt didascali*. The text in Vp may have been closer to the first variant, but the deciphered letters do not fit the phrase.

<math>\mathbf{m}>\mathbf{a}[\mathbf{e}]\mathbf{dictus}—\mathbf{per}[\mathbf{ib}]\mathbf{un}[\mathbf{t}]</math>: Cf. Dt 21:23 and Jer 10:11. This passage is preserved in all six mss: *Maledictus homo* (Omnis 127, 129a) *qui pendet in ligno* (add. etc. 127, 129a). *Et similiter* (iterum 127, 129a) *scriptura dicit: Dii qui celum et terram non fecerunt* (non fecerunt... terram 129, 213) *peribunt*.

**per[ib]un[t]**: Aorist subjunctive ἀπολέσθωσαν in LXX and most Gk mss, but future indicative ἀπολοῦνται in φ<sup>G</sup> and in the six Latin mss.

**Et dixerunt—inuice**: Attested in all six Latin mss.

**inuice**: For *inuicem*, with the final *-m* omitted at the end of the line.

**Si usque Summum**: Most Gk mss read Εἰ ἕως τοῦ Σουμμοῦ. The six Latin mss try to rationalize this phrase (*Si usque sub eum*, 299 and 322; *Si usque ad deum*, 129; *Set vsque ad eum*, 213; *Et si ... vsque ad summum est*, 127 and 129a).

**qui dicitur**: Gk τοῦ λεγομένου (substantival participle) is translated by a relative proposition. Attested in Praha group and ms 129.

**Idu[l]**: Most Gk mss have Ἰωβήλ (or a variant); so also Latin mss 299 and 322. The name appears as *Iohel* in Latin mss 129 and 213. Vp is the only witness to the form *Idul*.

**memoria eius**: Likely translating Gk τὸ μνημόσυνον αὐτοῦ. Attested in all six Latin mss.

**est**: As in Gk ms E; cf. Geo. In Latin, reflected only in 127 and 299.

**quid intellegitis**: Attested as *qui intelligitis* in Latin ms 129 and Praha group; Kraków version reads *scietis*.

**quid**: No equivalent in Gk mss or Eastern versions. It may have resulted from dittography in uncial Greek: ΓΙΝΩΣΚΕΤΕ (γινώσκετε) could have been read ΤΙ ΓΙΝΩΣΚΕΤΕ (τί γινώσκετε).

**qui[a] retinentia usque in saeculum**: Attested in the same form in 299 and 322. Two other mss, 129 and 213, read *quod renuntia* (*reti..tia* 213) *usque in seculum*, while Kraków version has *retinenciam eius vsque in seculum seculi*.

**retinentia**: Present participle of *retineo*, neuter plural. Most Gk mss have ἐπικρατεῖ, and no variant can explain this form.

**resuscitas tibi**: Most Gk mss and Eastern versions have καὶ ἐγείρει ἑαυτόν. Attested in Latin mss 129, 213, and 322 as *resuscitabis* (*resuscitabit* in 299); cf. Gk ms N. Kraków version lacks this passage.

**populum—populo**: Attested in Latin ms 129 and in Praha group.

**populum**: All Gk and Eastern mss have λαόν followed by καινόν.

**et**: As in Gk ms E.

**dederunt adnuntiationem**: Likely translates παρήγγελαν attested in most Gk mss.

**Isra[hael]**: As in most Gk mss; not attested in Latin mss.

**dicetes**: For *dicentes*, with *-n-* omitted at the of the line.

<math>\mathbf{Male}>\mathbf{d}[\mathbf{j}]\mathbf{c}<\dots></math>: Reconstructed on the basis of 129, 213, 322. Cf. Dt 21:23.

<math>\dots>\mathbf{a}[\mathbf{.}]\mathbf{e}<\dots>\mathbf{popu}<\dots><\dots>\mathbf{d}[\mathbf{a}]\mathbf{t}</math>: In ms 129 and Praha group, the text continues: (*ille* 299, 322) *qui fabricam a fabricatione adorat. Et dixit omnis populus...*, but, with the exception of the word *populus*, the characters deciphered in Vp are difficult to match with this text.

**Ame<n>**, **Ἀμήν**. [**Et**] **ben[e]dix[it]** [**D<omi>n<u>m**] **onis** <math>\mathbf{populus}></math>: Most Gk mss read here Ἀμήν, Ἀμήν. Καὶ λοιπὸν ἕμνησε πᾶς ὁ λαὸς τὸν Κύριον. Reconstructed on the basis of Kraków version and mss 129, 213, and 322, which read: *Amen*. (om. 127, 129a) *Et benedixit omnis populus dominum* (*domini* 322)... (*amen et benedictus dominus* 299).

**onis**: For *omnis*, with the abbreviating macron illegible.



## Some Observations on Sources and Legacies of the Vienna Palimpsest

Dated to the fifth century, the Vienna palimpsest (Vp; Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek MS 563) is the oldest manuscript discovered so far with fragments of the original Latin translation of the Greek *Acts of Pilate*. Its venerable age does not mean, however, that it is the translator's autograph: in fact, the presence in it of scribal errors,<sup>1</sup> such as the omission of the word *Olympiadis* from the Prologue and the use of *probum* instead of *uerbum* in ch. 5.2 (Seg. VIII), suggests that Vp is a scribal copy. Since Vp is the only known copy from the period, neither its relationship to the text actually recorded by the translator nor the distance – in copies – between the two can be established with certainty. The translator's source-text has not survived, either. It might, therefore, be useful to confront the text of Vp with the surviving Greek manuscripts and with the Eastern versions of the *Acts of Pilate* in order to shed some light on the ancient Greek text that stood behind the original Latin translation.

### A literal translation<sup>2</sup>

Such a confrontation looks especially promising since it can be amply demonstrated that the translator was extremely faithful to his Greek source, to the point of translating verbatim and adopting various kinds of Hellenisms. One type of lexical Hellenism involves actual transliteration of Greek terms; for example, the translator transliterated ἀρχισυνάγωγοι<sup>3</sup> into *arcisynagogae*,<sup>4</sup> which later Latin manuscripts of the *Evangelium Nicodemi* (EN) usually render as *principes sacerdotum*. In the context of a quotation from Lk 2:25, in which Simeon addresses Mary during the presentation of Jesus in the temple, ῥομφαία is transliterated as *romphea*,<sup>5</sup> even though manuscripts of the New Testament usually translate it as *gladius*.<sup>6</sup>

The adoption of proper names could also be seen as a special case of transliteration. Most of them do not offer any significant insights, but they foreground the translator's (and/or the scribe's) desire to retain the Greek forms; for example, Αἰγύπτου is transcribed as *Aeg[yp]to*; and the φ of Caiaphas' name is transcribed as *ph*.<sup>7</sup> On one occasion, a Greek inflectional ending may have been transferred into Latin as well, when *Caipha* appears to have been used as a genitive of *Caiphas* (Gk Καϊάφα).<sup>8</sup>

Indeed, perhaps the most striking Hellenisms in Vp are those that import features of Greek syntax. One example is offered by the phrase *signum contradictum*<sup>9</sup> used to translate σημεῖον ἀντιλεγόμενον that occurs

1 Cf. also Myriam Despineux, "Une version latine palimpseste du v<sup>e</sup> siècle de l'Évangile de Nicodème (Vienne, ÖNB MS 563)," *Scriptorium* 42 (1988), p. 182.

2 For a fuller exposition of the points raised in this sections, see Anne-Catherine Baudoin, "Le premier témoin manuscrit des *Actes de Pilate* (ÖNB, cod. 563): Antiquité et autorité de la traduction latine d'un texte grec," *Revue des études grecques* 129.2 (2016), p. 349-368.

3 Greek quotations are taken from the text of the new edition of the *Acts of Pilate* (family φ, without further specification), currently in course of preparation by the members of the *Acta Pilati* Research Team (AELAC) for the *Corpus Christianorum, Series Apocryphorum*.

4 Seg. XVI, ch. 16.1.1, J2(167v); cf. Seg. XV, ch. 14.1, I3(168r) and Seg. XVIII, ch. 16.3.2, K7(170r). The elements of each reference include the number of the segment in Philippart's transcription of Vp (G. Philippart, "Les fragments palimpsestes de l'Évangile de Nicodème dans le *Vindobonensis* 563 (v<sup>e</sup> siècle?)," *Analecta Bollandiana* 107 [1989], p. 171-188), the number of the chapter according to the numbering system adopted in Rémi Gounelle and Zbigniew Izydorczyk, *L'Évangile de Nicodème ou les Actes faits sous Ponce Pilate (recension latine A)*, Apocryphes: Collection de poche de l'AELAC 9, (Brepols, 1997), page number within the re-ordered quires, and the number of the actual folio in the manuscript.

5 Seg. XVII, ch. 16.1.2, J5(125r).

6 Cf. Adolf Jülicher, Walter Mazkow, and Kurt Aland, *Itala. Das neue Testament in altlateinischer Überlieferung*, vol. 3: *Lucas-Evangelium* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1954), *ad loc.*

7 Vp is not entirely consistent in this respect; for example, Συμεῶνος is rendered as *Simeone* in Seg. XVIII, ch. 16.3.2, K3(130r).

8 Seg. II, Prol., B2(152v). It should be noted, however, that the syntax of this passage is rather chaotic.

9 Seg. XVIII, ch. 16.3.2, K3-4(130r-v), cf. Seg. XVII, ch. 16.1.2, J5(125r).



in the quotation from Lk 2:34, οὗτος κείται εἰς πτώσιν καὶ ἀνάστασιν πολλῶν ἐν τῷ Ἰσραήλ, καὶ εἰς σημεῖον ἀντιλεγόμενον. This obscure expression is rendered as *signum cui contradicetur* in the Vulgate and by similar phrases in the Vetus Latina.<sup>10</sup> A phrase with a participle is found only in a single manuscript of Vetus Latina, which reads *contradicentem*,<sup>11</sup> and in Tertullian (*De carne Christi* 23), *contradicibile*. Vp is thus the only Latin witness to give ἀντιλεγόμενον a passive sense (“a sign gainsaid”).

An equally striking Hellenism occurs in ch. 1.1, in which one of the questions posed by Pilate to the Jews is *qualiu malarum actionum*.<sup>12</sup> In Greek, this question, Ποίων κακῶν πράξεων, is directly linked to the earlier words spoken by the Jews, ἐθεράπευσεν ... ἀπὸ κακῶν πράξεων, from which it picks up the genitive. In the Latin text, however, the Jews’ words are translated as *curauit ... a malis actionibus*, so there is no reason for the genitive in Pilate’s question. Another grammatical calque occurs two sentences earlier, also as part of Pilate’s inquiry, *Quae est quae agit*.<sup>13</sup> This question reflects the Greek usage of a singular verb form after the plural neuter subject, Τίνα ἐστὶν ἃ πράττει;

### The elusive source-text

The Latin text of Vp, despite its fragmentary nature, is far from extraordinary: one can easily establish correspondences between its elements and those of the Greek, Latin, and Eastern traditions. The problem is, however, that none of the known Greek manuscript families, nor any individual manuscript, preserves a text that would be identical, or even similar, to the form of the text that must have served as the fifth-century Latin translator’s Greek copy. The following examples illustrate the complexity of the relationships among the extant texts of the *Acts of Pilate* and the difficulties involved in disentangling from them the source-text of the original Latin translation as preserved in Vp.

### Abridgement or amplification?

The basic question is as simple as the answer is impossible: when a passage that is absent from Vp and from certain versions of the apocryphon is present in other versions, is it a case of abridgement (inadvertent or deliberate omission) in the former or of amplification in the latter? The question becomes even more complex if we factor in a chronological dimension, particularly relevant here since all Greek manuscripts postdate Vp by some seven centuries.

In ch. 4.2, the Jews accuse Jesus of blasphemy, saying, *Per caesare si quis blasphemauerit dignus est morti. Iste autem aduersus Deum blasphemauit*. This argument makes sense, even if it skips some steps in the chain of reasoning. It is found not only in Vp but also in LatA, LatC, Greek witnesses φ<sup>YLZ</sup>, and in non-classifiable Greek manuscripts B and N. However, other Greek manuscripts as well as the Armenian, Coptic, Georgian, Syriac, and LatB texts present a longer version in which the Jews first ask Pilate if someone who blasphemes against Caesar deserves to die (... ἄξιός θανάτου ἐστὶ ἢ οὐ). Having received an affirmative response, the Jews lay out their argument: if he who blasphemes against Caesar is worthy of death (ἄξιός ἐστιν θανάτου), he who blasphemes against God must be even more so. Have Vp and the related witnesses inherited a text affected by *un saut du même au même*? Or has the passage been amplified to spell out the argument in the source of the other witnesses? The former hypothesis might be supported by the venerable age of Vp, but the convergence of some Greek and Eastern versions might point to the latter.

Occasionally, however, external considerations may help decide which hypothesis is the stronger. This is the situation in ch. 13.3, which presents an exchange between the guards and the Jews concerning the appearance of an angel to the women at the sepulchre. The text of the Greek recension φ reads as follows:

Λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· Ποίαις γυναιξίν ἐλάλει;  
Οἱ τῆς κουστωδίας· Οὐκ οἶδαμεν ποῖαι ἦσαν.  
Λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· Διατί οὐκ ἐκρατήσατε τὰς γυναῖκας;  
Λέγουσιν οἱ τῆς κουστωδίας· Τοσαῦτα σημεῖα εἶδετε εἰς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐκεῖνον καὶ οὐκ ἐπιστεύσατε...

This dialogue, full of speaker introductions, “The Jews say” and “The guards say,” could easily have led to an eye-skip. In fact, the text of φ presented above may have been affected by it because Vp, Greek manuscripts E, B, and N, as well as the Coptic, Armenian, Georgian, and Syriac versions all contain an additional question-and-answer:

*Dicunt Iudaei: Quae ora fuit?*  
*Dicunt custodes: Media nocte.*<sup>14</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Jülicher, Mazkow, and Aland *Itala*, vol. 3: *Lucas-Evangelium, ad loc.*

<sup>11</sup> *Codex Bezae* (Cambridge, University Library, Nn. II. 41, v. 400, traditionally designated as codex *d*).

<sup>12</sup> Seg. III, ch. 1.1, B5(149r).

<sup>13</sup> Seg. III, ch. 1.1, B4(150v). Cf. Despineux, “Une version latine palimpseste,” p. 180.

<sup>14</sup> Seg. XIII, ch. 13.3, H3(162r).

The Greek text behind these two lines can be reconstructed on the basis of manuscript B:

Λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· Ποία ὥρα ἦν;  
Λέγουσιν οἱ τῆς κουστωδίας· Μέσης νυκτός,<sup>15</sup>

but, since B diverges from Vp both before and after, it cannot be identified as its actual source. *Un saut du même au même* could indeed explain the absence of these lines from φ, yet the omission may also have been deliberate. The significance of this exchange lies in the fact that it pertains to the moment of Christ's Resurrection, assuming that the appearance of the angel and the Resurrection are connected. At the beginning of Mt 28, the narrator situates that appearance with a formula that provoked many commentaries, both ancient and modern, ὡς δὲ σαββάτων, τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ εἰς μίαν σαββάτων. This canonical reference to the light of the first day of the week raises the possibility that the disappearance of the two lines from many textual families of the *Acts of Pilate* may have been prompted by a tentative attempt to render the text more orthodox and to avoid any conflict with the canonical account. One could, then, assume that the early Latin and Eastern translations preserve the original text of the *Acts of Pilate*, whereas later Latin and Greek versions deleted the lines in the interests of orthodoxy.

### Poorly attested and unique readings

Some readings present in Vp are only poorly attested in Greek manuscripts. For example, when Nicodemus requests Pilate's permission to speak in Jesus' defence, he asks to be allowed to say *paucos sermones*.<sup>16</sup> The corresponding Greek phrase, ὀλίγους λόγους, occurs only in φ<sup>Z</sup> and in B, but equivalent expressions can be found in Coptic, Armenian, Georgian, and Syriac. All other Greek manuscripts, in contrast, read καθαροὺς λόγους. Thus, although the latter phrase is present in the majority of extant Greek witnesses, the antiquity of Vp's reflex of the rare phrase ὀλίγους λόγους and its presence in Eastern versions suggest that it should probably be considered as original, its status as *lectio facilior* notwithstanding.

Some of Vp's unique readings were, no doubt, introduced by the translator. Concluding the Preface, the speaker who claims to have translated the *Acts of Pilate* from Hebrew into Greek addresses all who may copy his work *in aliis codicibus seu in grecis uel latinis*.<sup>17</sup> The Greek text reads (φ<sup>CZ</sup>), Πάντες οὖν ὅσοι ... μεταβάλλετε εἰς ἕτερα βιβλία, making no reference to Latin; a reference to Latin could have originated only with the translator.<sup>18</sup>

Elsewhere, in the discussion between Jesus and Pilate regarding truth, Jesus says, *In[e]nde uerita[t] <em><dicentes> <in terr>a*.<sup>19</sup> Most Greek manuscripts that carry a similar text read ὁρᾶς οἱ (*sic*) τὴν ἀλήθειαν λέγοντες, but none includes a complement of the type ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. Since the Eastern versions also lack such a complement, the phrase may be of Latin origin, perhaps prompted by the conclusion of the passage, *quomodo iudicantur ab his qui abent p[ot]estatem in terris*.

Now and then, Vp may reflect and help reconstitute readings entirely lost in the Greek tradition. In ch. 6.1, one of the witnesses approaches Pilate and requests permission to speak. Pilate answers, *Quod uis dicere dic*.<sup>20</sup> No Greek manuscript preserves an exact equivalent of this phrase. The majority have an imperative at the end, εἰπέ, but open the phrase with a conditional, εἴ τι θέλεις εἰπέ (φ<sup>GC</sup>, E, N; reformulated in φ<sup>FXLZ</sup>). In family χ, Pilate's utterance is phrased as a question, τί θέλεις εἰπεῖν; The formulations closest to what must have been Vp's source-text are found in the non-classifiable manuscripts B, εἴ τι θέλεις εἰπεῖν, εἰπέ, and I, ὃ θέλεις εἰπέ. It is clear that the repetition of the verb "to say" and of the visually similar forms εἰπεῖν and εἰπέ seriously interfered with the transmission of the entire phrase. The palimpsest's source-text probably read ὃ θέλεις εἰπεῖν εἰπέ, or ὅτι θέλεις εἰπεῖν εἰπέ (the ὅτι accounting for the uncial form of εἴ τι). In Greek, the disappearance of one of the forms of the verb "to say" could lead to the reformulation as a question, τί θέλεις εἰπεῖν, or to the change of sense, εἴ τι θέλεις εἰπέ. The form reconstructed with the help of the palimpsest could thus be the source of all surviving Greek forms.

During the seven centuries that separate Vp from the earliest Greek manuscripts of the *Acts of Pilate*, the apocryphon evolved a number of textual forms through complex revision and merging practices. The text of Vp has preserved some features of what must have been their common archetype, for its individual readings find parallels in all the different versions, including the ancient translations into Eastern languages. This means, in effect, that the source-text of Vp is now diffused across the entire Greek tradition and no longer exists as a single manuscript text or version. If the readings of Vp urge further inquiry, they do so not in the hope of finding a single elusive text but of shedding more light on the tangle of versions that survive to this day.

15 All the words are attested in E, B, and N (with some variation).

16 Seg. VII, ch. 5.1, D7(161v).

17 Seg. I, Preface, A6(173rv).

18 Another addition by the translator may be the expression *Dei Sabbatum* (Seg. III, ch. 1.1, B3[150r]).

19 Seg. V, ch. 3.2, C7(143r). The reconstructions are based on LatB<sup>160,369,387</sup>.

20 Seg. VIII, ch. 6.1, E4(139v).

## Originality of biblical quotations

The text of the *Acts of Pilate* is saturated with biblical echoes and quotations, the majority from the New Testament. The Latin translator whose work is preserved in Vp handled the quotations in a highly original manner:<sup>21</sup> he did not rely on the forms known from the *Vetus Latina* or the Vulgate but presented his own literal translations for some twenty verses. Here, two examples must suffice.

In ch. 14.1, three witnesses recount how they saw Jesus speaking with his disciples upon a mountain; the scene, which is fragmentary in Vp, comes right before a reference to the Ascension. In that scene, Jesus actually quotes a verse from Mark (16:15), *Euntes in omnem saeculum adnuntiate omnia uniuersae creature. Qui crediderit <...>*.<sup>22</sup> The received Greek text of this verse reads πορευθέντες εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἅπαντα κηρύξατε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει. Ὁ πιστεύσας..., and in the Greek witnesses of the *Acts of Pilate* it remains relatively stable.

Three elements of this Latin translation attract attention. First of all, the phrase in *omnem saeculum* does not appear in any Latin manuscript of Mk 16:15; the word ἅπαντα is usually translated as *universum*, and κόσμον as *mundum* or *orbem*. Second, κηρύξατε appears in Vp—and in LatB2 and the Kraków version—as *adnuntiate* rather than in its usual form, *praedicate*, to which LatA and LatB1 appear to have reverted. And finally, the object of that verb in Vp is *omnia*, in contrast to the εὐαγγέλιον found in the manuscripts of the Greek New Testament and in φ<sup>FXH</sup> and E (and χ) of the *Acts of Pilate* (φ<sup>GYCZ</sup>, I, B, and N do not have any object). The Latin translator's Greek exemplar may have read εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἅπαντα κηρύξατε ἅπαντα, with ἅπαντα repeated twice; or he may have translated ἅπαντα twice in a formula like εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἅπαντα κηρύξατε, in which that word could be taken as a masculine epithet of κόσμον, or as the neuter plural object of κηρύξατε.

The second quotation, invoked twice in the text, has already been mentioned earlier. In an allusion to the presentation in the Temple, the *Acts of Pilate* cite Lk 2:34-35, *Iste iacet in ruina et resurrectione mortuorum in Israhel et signum contradic[tum]. Et tuam animam consumet romphea [qu]omodo reuelentur de multorum cordibus cogitationes*. The first verse is cited again a few lines later, *Ecce iste iacet in ruina et resurrectio multorum Israhel et in signum contradictum est*. Both harken back to the Greek text, Ἴδού, οὗτος κείται εἰς πτώσιν καὶ ἀνάστασιν πολλῶν ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ εἰς σημεῖον ἀντιλεγόμενον· καὶ σοῦ δὲ αὐτῆς τὴν ψυχὴν διελεύσεται ῥομφαία· ὅπως ἂν ἀποκαλυφθῶσιν ἐκ πολλῶν καρδιῶν διαλογισμοί. The translation in Vp is both original and marred by what seem to be scribal errors. Its originality is due not only to the use of *romphea* and *contradic[tum]*, but also to the presence of *est* in the repetition (a scribal correction?), which appears to belong together with *contradictum*. The absence of *in* before *Israhel* in the repetition is definitely a scribal error, as is the use of the nominative *resurrectio*.

Moreover, the words *iste*, *iacet*, and *quomodo* are never encountered in the Latin biblical manuscripts, which prefer *hic*, *positus*, and *ut*; in the manuscripts of the *Acts of Pilate*, the former set resurfaces only in the Kraków version. The variant *mortuorum* is also unattested, but it appears to be, again, a scribal error due to the association with *resurrectione*.<sup>23</sup> The translation of καὶ σοῦ δὲ, αὐτῆς by the simple *et tuam animam* is somewhat surprising: no Latin translation of this verse offers any counterpart to δὲ, but all render αὐτῆς as *ipsius*. Not so the palimpsest. Furthermore, διελεύσεται ῥομφαία is rendered in Vp as *consumet romphea* even though *consumet* conjures up an image absent from διελεύσεται. All Latin manuscripts of the New Testament have at this point a variant of *pertranseo*, which is closer to the Greek. It is possible that the image of consummation was suggested through the noun *romphea*: this transliteration of the Greek ῥομφαία is attested in Latin patristic sources that allude to Gn 3:24 and describe the weapon of the cherubim guarding the paradise as *flammea romphea*. Could the verb *consumere* be then an allusion to the association between a sword and fire? Finally, in the expression *de multorum cordibus cogitationes*, the use of the genitive *multorum* as a complement of *cordibus* is peculiar to the palimpsest. The Latin manuscripts of the New Testament follow the Greek and place the adjective in the same case as the noun (*multorum cordium* or *ex / de multis cordibus*).

The translations of Mk 16:15 and Lk 2:34-35 inserted into the Vp version of the *Acts of Pilate* are thus unique. They present original lexical and syntactic choices without parallels either in the Latin manuscripts of the New Testament or in the patristic tradition. Their idiosyncrasy does not necessarily imply any anomalies in the Greek source-text: rather, it prompts questions about the identity of the translator. Who in the fifth century would still be at liberty to handle the biblical text in this fashion? Are we dealing with a translator who had no regular exposure to the Latin text of the Bible and who was ignorant of its standard translations?

21 Mt 26:61; Mk 16:15; Mk 16:16; Lk 2:34; Lk 2:35; Lk 23:4; Lk 23:35; Lk 23:36; Lk 23:37; Lk 23:38; Lk 23:39; Lk 23:40; Jn 18:30; Jn 18:31. Exception: Jn 18:38.

22 Seg. XV, ch. 14.1, I4(168v).

23 Despigneux, "Une Version latine palimpseste," p. 182.

## The Latin legacy

Since Vp is not the translator's autograph and since it exhibits a number of copying errors, one can probably assume that, already in the fifth century, there existed at least two—but possibly multiple—copies of the original Latin translation. It is this pool of manuscripts that provided exemplars for the sixth- to eighth-century scribes who transmitted, revised, and expanded the apocryphon. Some copies from that pool may have survived into the later Middle Ages and may have continued to influence scribes long after the new text-types had become firmly established.

Vp was available for copying for over three centuries before it was dismembered, erased, and reused in the eighth century for excerpts from the Fathers. Unfortunately, none of the extant manuscripts can be proven to be a direct copy of Vp, as none preserves all, or even most, of its narrative, lexical, and syntactic peculiarities. Many readings attested in Vp, which were likely shared by other manuscripts in the fifth-century pool, are scattered throughout the Latin tradition, with its different branches exhibiting different degrees of affinity to different portions of the original translation.

## Spelling and grammar

The earliest history of the original Latin translation preserved in Vp coincides with the period when classical norms of written discourse were under pressure from spoken registers. Hence, certain orthographic practices of Vp scribe, including, for instance, the use of *b* for *u* (e.g., *curbus*<sup>24</sup>), *u* for *b* (e.g., *dauimus*<sup>25</sup>), or *b* for *p* (e.g., *lebrosos*<sup>26</sup>), elision of *i* (e.g., *ste*<sup>27</sup>), or loss of initial *h* (e.g., *abent*<sup>28</sup>), deviate from the classical standards.<sup>29</sup> Later scribes, however, routinely corrected such orthographic anomalies either by replacing them with forms current in their time or by restoring the classical ones. The same applies to some features of syntax, such as the confusion of accusative and ablative, which medieval scribes tended to correct. Therefore, peculiarities of Vp's spelling and inflections were not, as a rule, passed on to medieval copies.

However, one type of grammatical peculiarities did leave a long lasting legacy: non-native constructions modeled on Greek. The translator followed his source-text very closely and occasionally translated word form for word form, in the process transferring features of Greek syntax into Latin. For example, *Quae est quae agit*<sup>30</sup> reflects the Greek usage of a singular verb after a neuter plural, and *Qualiu malarum actionum*?<sup>31</sup> is a calque on Ποίωv κακῶν πράξεων; The former is common in the ninth-century LatA manuscripts (e.g., *Census* 133, 158, 207, 334)<sup>32</sup> but often corrected to *sunt* in later ones; the latter became a permanent feature of LatA, which replaced *Qualiu* with *Quare* or *Quarum/Quorum* but retained the rest of the original phrase in genitive, even though there is no obvious reason for it in Latin. The word *Qualiu* is one of a handful of forms which do not appear to be attested in any later Latin copies, and which include also the words *de turba* and *vestis* in segment IX,<sup>33</sup> *ad<i>iutoribus</i>*, *arguistis*, and *quesiuit* in Seg. X,<sup>34</sup> and *mortuorum* in Seg. XVII.<sup>35</sup>

## The Preface (Seg. I)

VP preserves extensive fragments of the Preface, in which one Aeneas claims to have translated the text from Hebrew and asks for the readers' prayers; it may have originally followed the body of the text, both in the Greek model and in the original Latin translation.<sup>36</sup> It did not pass on to the mainstream LatA tradition, which moves directly from the title to the Prologue that dates the Passion. However, a truncated version of the Preface, ending just before the dating of Aeneas's translation and, therefore, missing his plea for prayers and the commendation of the readers, is preserved in LatB manuscripts. It is introduced with a homiletic opener, *Audistis fratres karissimi que acta sunt...*, and followed immediately by the main body of the text, omitting the Prologue. The wording, too, is considerably altered in relation to Vp, prompting the question—still awaiting an answer—whether it actually

24 Seg. IX, ch. 6.2, E6(144v).

25 Seg. XII, ch. 12.2, H1(169r).

26 Seg. III, ch. 1.1, B5(149r).

27 Seg. 3, ch. 1.1, B4(150v).

28 Seg. V, ch. 3.2, C7(143r).

29 Despigneux, "Une version latine palimpseste," p. 181-83.

30 Seg. III, ch. 1.1 B4(150v).

31 Seg. III, ch. 1.1, B5(149r).

32 The manuscripts of *EN* will be referred to by their number in Zbigniew Izydorczyk, *Manuscripts of the "Evangelium Nicodemii": A Census*, Subsidia Mediaevalia 21 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1993).

33 Seg. IX, ch. 6.2, E6(144v) and ch. 6.3, E7(133r).

34 Seg. X, ch. 7.2, F2(146v), ch. 7.2, F4(153v), ch. 7.2, F4(153v).

35 Seg. XVII, ch. 16.1.2, J5(125r).

36 See above, p. 84, and Christiane Furrer and Christophe Guignard, "Titre et prologue des *Actes de Pilate* : nouvelle lecture à partir d'une reconstitution d'un état ancien du texte," *Apocrypha* 24 (2013), p. 178-88.

comes from the same translation as Vp. The same form of the Preface, but without the homiletic opener, occurs in a small group of LatA texts (*Census* 36, 81, 83, 287, 379, 384). Usually, it is placed before the Prologue, but in one manuscript (*Census* 379), the scribe positioned it at the end of the apocryphon, as if recognizing its suitability as a colophon. Finally, a reflex of the LatB Preface surfaces also in the Bohemian redaction, but it is reduced to a single sentence at the end of the Prologue.

Only four late medieval manuscripts preserve the same form of the Preface and with largely the same wording as Vp: *Census* 59, 252 (copied from 59), 299 and 419a.<sup>37</sup> Although they share also Pilate's question about his ability to judge a king (ch. 1.1), absent from Vp and LatA but attested in LatB, *Census* 59, 299 and 419a do not appear to be directly related.<sup>38</sup> They probably acquired the Preface independently of one another through horizontal transfer (editorial activity). All three *Census* 59, 299 and 419a represent the LatA text-type, but the latter embed in it many other reflexes of the original translation, absent from *Census* 59.

## The Prologue (Seg. II)

The Prologue of the original translation as preserved in Vp was inherited by tradition LatA, including the LatA-based idiosyncratic manuscripts, such as *Census* 59 and 299; in an abridged and altered form, it was also retained by LatC. One of its characteristic features, the dating of the Passion to the 25th day of March, remains visible in only certain portions of LatA<sup>RR</sup> (e.g., *Census* 241, 334, 299), and in LatA<sup>BT</sup>; elsewhere, the date was changed, usually to the 21st of March.

Dating the Passion in the Prologue, Vp omits the reference to the Olympiad; this omission is not reflected in any later Latin manuscript, and neither is Vp's use of the name *Iosi*<sup>39</sup> in place of *Ioseph*. The fact that later witnesses retain the words *Olympiadis* and *Ioseph* appears to suggest that they did not descend directly from Vp, or that Vp's idiosyncrasies were corrected using other early copies.

## The body of the text (Seg. III–XVIII)

A comparison of the main body of the original translation as preserved in Vp with later Latin traditions reveals a complex story of textual survival, marked by intense scribal/editorial activity. That translation appears to have seeded all medieval versions, but no version remained entirely faithful to it.

The opening chapters, covering the story from the initial accusations of Jesus before Pilate (Seg. III, ch. 1.1) to Pilate's harangue against the Jews (Seg. X, ch. 7.2), are reflected most consistently in LatA. Not only does LatA retain most words of Vp, but it also shares with Vp two omissions, one in ch. 1.2, in which Pilate asks about his suitability to judge a king (Seg. III), and the other in ch. 4.2, in which the Jews attempt to demonstrate to Pilate the enormity of Jesus' blasphemy (Seg. VI). The correspondence between the two, however, is not perfect, for Vp omits also the passage about the nature of truth preserved in LatA (Seg. V, ch. 3.2), while LatA omits Pilate's remark about the Jews gnashing their teeth at Nicodemus, preserved in Vp (Seg. VIII, ch. 5.2). However, Pilate's remark is attested in LatB, in the Kraków version (*Census* 127, 129a), and in the idiosyncratic manuscripts of the Praha group (*Census* 299, 322 and 419a). Moreover, a number of individual words and phrases that do not find counterparts in LatA can be paralleled from the other versions. Thus, a reflex of Vp *gūbbos*<sup>40</sup> may be found in LatB *gibbosos*, and Vp *Excolapio*<sup>41</sup> is attested as *Scolapii* in only one idiosyncratic manuscript, *Census* 391. In ch. 3.1 of Vp, the Jews call Jesus a *malefactor*,<sup>42</sup> and the same term occurs in LatB2 and in the Kraków version, but not in LatA, which reads at this point *maleficus* (LatC has both terms). A phrase related to Vp's *de blasphemia*<sup>43</sup> survives only in the Kraków version, which reads *propter blasphemiam*, and possibly in LatB1, which has *hic blasphemus est*. It appears, therefore, that, while LatA offers the best parallel to Vp in the early chapters, it does not have a monopoly for all its readings. Although it seems to be the least removed from the original translation, the other versions also sporadically retain its vestiges, as is apparent, for instance, in segment X (ch. 7.1-2).

The situation begins to change in ch. 10 (segment XI), which features an account of the Crucifixion. There, parallels between to Vp and LatB2 and, especially, *Census* 247 and 387, become more pronounced. Vp's proximity to LatA dissipates almost completely by ch. 12 (Seg. XII), as LatA appears to have been extensively revised from this point onwards. Instead, most of the palimpsest readings begin to surface in LatB1, LatB2, and the Kraków version. Although reflexes and echoes of Vp seem to be most numerous in LatB2, occasionally LatB1 is the only version to

37 The Preface from *Census* 299 is printed in Zbigniew Izydorczyk and Wiesław Wydra, *A Gospel of Nicodemus Preserved in Poland*, CC SA, Instrumenta 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), p. 19.

38 *Census* 59 was written in England in the fourteenth century; *Census* 299 was completed in Bohemia in 1478.

39 Seg. II, Prol., B2(152v).

40 Seg. III, ch. 1.1, B4(150v).

41 Seg. III, ch. 1.1, B7(138r).

42 Seg. IV, ch. 3.1, C4b(123v).

43 Seg. VI, ch. 4.3, D4(131v).

carry a variant of the original text, as is the case in ch. 13.3 (<custo>des: *Primis date uos Ioseph et nos dauimus Iesum tunc*<sup>44</sup>). The Kraków version usually coincides with LatB2, but now and then it, too, becomes the sole witness to the text of Vp, as, for example, in ch. 16.1.2, where it alone among later Latin manuscripts reads with Vp *iste iacet*,<sup>45</sup> and only minimally alters Vp *de multorum cordibus*<sup>46</sup> into *multorum de cordibus*.

The final chapter of Vp preserves remnants of the original conclusion of the Greek *Acts of Pilate* (ch. 16.3.2-16.4). This part of the text survives in only six Latin manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, two of the Kraków version (*Census* 127, 129a), three of the Praha group (*Census* 213, 299, and 322)<sup>47</sup>, and *Census* 129. Only in the Kraków version does the conclusion (*Dixerunt didascoli ad omnem populum...—...Et benedixit Dominum omnis populus...*) emerge organically from ch. 16 and bring closure to the entire apocryphon the same way as in Vp. In *Census* 129 and the Praha group, it appears to be an afterthought, placed after the *Descensus* and Pilate's letter (both absent from Vp); it is clearly derived from a different source than their main exemplar. However, although the Kraków version shares the shape of the narrative with Vp, it alters and amplifies its text. *Census* 129, 213, 299, and 322, in contrast, stay much closer to Vp's own wording.

## Conclusion

A comparison of the original Latin translation of the *Acts of Pilate* as attested in Vp with the extant Greek and Eastern witnesses of the apocryphon has confirmed that the translator aimed to render his source-text very literally, *verbum pro verbo*. His source-text, which probably still retained many features of the Greek archetype, has unfortunately been lost: no single manuscript or group of manuscripts supports all or even most of Vp's readings. However, reflexes of that source-text can still be gleaned from various Greek versions and Eastern translations. The originality of biblical translations in Vp suggests that the translator was not habituated to the standard Latin translations, which might in turn point in the direction of a Greek-speaking monastic milieu.

The original translation as preserved in Vp is amply attested in the later Latin tradition but in a diffused fashion. The Preface shows up most fully in the idiosyncratic manuscripts *Census* 59, 299 and 419a, but with its traces present also in LatB. The Prologue is inherited by LatA and all versions based on it, but it is absent from LatB. Readings from the first ten chapters appear most consistently in LatA, but their reflexes can also be found in LatB, Kraków version, and some idiosyncratic manuscripts. From ch. 12, LatB becomes the principal carrier of Vp readings, LatA having been thoroughly revised. The Kraków version continues to pick up the ancient readings all through the end of the apocryphon, and its two manuscripts are the only ones to parallel Vp frequently both in ch. 1-10 and 12-16. The conclusion of the original translation appears also in four idiosyncratic manuscripts, *Census* 129, 213, 299, and 322, which append it after an essentially LatA text. No single version of the *Evangelium Nicodemi* is thus a direct or sole descendant of the original Latin translation of the Greek *Acts of Pilate* as attested in the Vienna palimpsest; rather, reflexes of that translation are scattered across the entire Latin tradition.

44 Seg. XIV, ch. 13.3, I1(163r).

45 Seg. VII, ch. 16.1.2, J5(125r).

46 Seg. XVII, ch. 16.1.3, J6(125v).

47 419a ends in ch. 13.4.



## An Index of Forms Occurring in the Vienna Palimpsest

The first column provides the Latin forms that occur in Vp, as reconstructed for the commentary. The second column gives the corresponding Greek equivalence as offered in the back translation. It is followed by the reference to the folio, the chapter number, and the segment number. To avoid ambiguity, when possible, a preposition or a conjunction is followed by an indication of case or mode following it. When the same word occurs twice or more on the same folio, a number is used to discriminate between occurrences.

Vp Form or Reconstruction	Experimental Back Translation	Folio Reference	Chapter	Segment
ø	ῥεις2	J5(125r)	16.1.2	Seg. XVII
[...]b	<...>	K5(137r)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
<...>dat	<...>	K8(170v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
a[.]e	<...>	K8(170v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
a	ἀπό	H3(162r)	13.2	Seg. XIII
a	ἀπό	I3(168r)	14.1	Seg. XV
a	παρά + x	J2(167v)	16.1.1	Seg. XVI
a	παρά + gen	K3(130r)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
a	ἀπό	B5(149r)	1.1	Seg. III
ab1	παρ'1 + gen.	J7(164r)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
ab2	παρ'2 + gen.	J7(164r)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
ab	ἀπό	C7(143r)	3.2	Seg. V
absque	ἐκτός	C1(140r)	2.6	Seg. IV
accipiam	λάβω	E3(139r)	5.2	Seg. VIII
accipias	λάβης	E3(139r)	5.2	Seg. VIII
αϛϛtu<m>	ὄξος	G2(148v)	10.1	Seg. XI
acta	πεπραγμένα (τὰ -)	B2(152v)	prol.	Seg. II
actionibus	πράξεων	B5(149r)	1.1	Seg. III
aϛtionum	πράξεων	B5(149r)	1.1	Seg. III
ad	πρός	C8(143v)	4.1	Seg. V
ad	εἰς	D4(131v)	4.3	Seg. VI
ad	πρός	D5(136r)	4.5	Seg. VII
ad	πρός	E1(134r)	5.2	Seg. VIII
ad	πρός	E2(134v)	5.2	Seg. VIII
ad	εἰς	E8(133v)	6.3	Seg. IX
ad	πρός	J2(167v)	15.6	Seg. XVI
ad	πρός	J8(164v)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
ad	πρός	K6(137v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
ad	πρός	K4(130v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
adattare ante	παραστήναι	B7(138r)	1.2	Seg. III
adducatur	ἀχθήτω	B8(138v)	1.2	Seg. III
<ad>du[xit]	ἔδωκεν	F2(146v)	7.2	Seg. X
ad[iu]tori[b]us	εὐεργέταις	F2(146v)	7.2	Seg. X
ad<iutoribus>	εὐεργέταις	F2(146v)	7.2	Seg. X
adnilatum	χωνευτόν (?)	F4(153v)	7.2	Seg. X
adnuntiate	κηρύξατε	I4(168v)	14.1	Seg. XV
adorauit	προσεκύνεσεν	B9(147r)	1.2	Seg. III
adsumtum	ἀναληφθέντα	K2(177v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
aduersus	κατά + gen	H1(169r)	12.2	Seg. XII
aduersus	κατά + gen	D1(154v)	4.2	Seg. VI



Vp Form or Reconstruction	Experimental Back Translation	Folio Reference	Chapter	Segment
aduersus	κατά + gen	E2(134v)	5.2	Seg. VIII
aduersus	κατ' + gen	E2(134v)	5.2	Seg. VIII
aduersus	πρός	F1(146r)	7.2	Seg. X
aduocans	προσκαλεσάμενος	B8(138v)	1.2	Seg. III
aduocans	προσκαλεσάμενος	D2(154r)	4.3	Seg. VI
ae[brai]cis	ἐβραϊκοῖς	G3(151r)	10.1	Seg. XI
aebreis	ἐβραϊκοῖς	A3(174r)	0pref.	Seg. I
Aeg[yp]to	Αἰγύπτου	F2(146v)-F3(153r)	7.2	Seg. X
[Aeg]y[p]<to>	{Αἰγύπτου}	F3(153r)	7.2	Seg. X
agere	πράξει	H1(169r)	12.2	Seg. XII
agit	πράττει	B4(150v)	1.1	Seg. III
agnoscens	{ἐπιγινούς}	A1(165r)	0pref.	Seg. I
agnoscentes	γινώσκοντες	K4(130v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
ait	{λέγει}	F1(146r)	7.1	Seg. X
alj[qu]em	τινα	B4(150v)	1.1	Seg. III
aliis	ἕτερα	A6(173v)	0pref.	Seg. I
alios	ἄλλους	G1(148r)	10.1	Seg. XI
aliquid	τι	H1(169r)	12.2	Seg. XII
alius	ἄλλος	E4(139v)	6.1	Seg. VIII
alius1	ἄλλος1	E6(144v)	6.2	Seg. IX
alius2	ἄλλος2	E6(144v)	6.2	Seg. IX
alius	ἄλλ{ος}	E8(133v)	6.4	Seg. IX
alius	ἕτερος	G4(151v)	10.2	Seg. XI
amaricati <sunt>	ἐπικράνθησαν	H2(169v)	12.3	Seg. XII
amb[u]ans	περιπατῶν	B9(147r)	1.2	Seg. III
amen	ἀμήν	E3(139r)	5.2	Seg. VIII
ame<n>1	ἀμήν1	K8(170v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
ame<n>2	ἀμήν2	K8(170v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
amplius	πλέον	D3(131r)-D4(131v)	4.3	Seg. VI
angelu (ab -)	ἄγγελοῦ	I2(163v)	13.3	Seg. XIV
animam	ψυχὴν	J5(125r)	16.1.2	Seg. XVII
animas	ψυχάς	J4(126v)	16.1.1	Seg. XVI
Annam	Ἄνναν	J3(126r)	16.1.1	Seg. XVI
anno	ἔτει	B1(152r)	prol.	Seg. II
annos	ἔτεσιν	E4(139v)	6.1	Seg. VIII
annos	ἐτῶν	E8(133v)	6.3	Seg. IX
ante	ἔμπροσθεν + gen.	D6(136v)	5.1	Seg. VII
a[qu]a	ὕδωρ	F3(153r)	7.2	Seg. X
arcisynagogae	ἀρχισυναγωγοί	J2(167v)	16.1.1	Seg. XVI
arcisynagogae	ἀρχισυναγωγοί	K7(170r)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
arcisynagogis	ἀρχισυναγωγῶν	I3(168r)	14.1	Seg. XV
arguistis	παρωξύνετε	F4(153v)	7.2	Seg. X
aud<it>	ἀκούει	C5(128v)	3.2	Seg. V
audiebam	ἤκουον	E5(144r)	6.2	Seg. IX
<audient>es	ἀκούσαντες	D3(131r)	4.3	Seg. VI
audientes	ἀκούσαντες	E3(139r)	5.2	Seg. VIII
audientes	ἀκούσαντες	H2(169v)	12.3	Seg. XII
audientes	ἀκούσαντες	I2(163v)	13.4	Seg. XIV
audientes	ἀκούσαντες	J2(167v)	16.1.1	Seg. XVI
audire	ἀκοῦσαι	B8(138v)	1.2	Seg. III
audire	ἀκοῦσαι	D4(131v)	4.3	Seg. VI
audisti	ἤκουσας	J6(125v)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
audiunt	ἀκούουσι	A7(166r)	0pref.	Seg. I
audivimus	ἤκουσαμεν	I2(163v)	13.3	Seg. XIV
augustorum	{αὐγούστων}	A5(173r)	0pref.	Seg. I
aute	δέ	D6(136v)	5.1	Seg. VII
aute	δέ	G1(148r)	10.1	Seg. XI
[au]te[m]	δέ	B4(150v)	1.1	Seg. III
autem	δέ	B10(147v)	1.2	Seg. III
[aut]em	δέ	B9(147r)	1.2	Seg. III

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autem	δέ	D1(154v)	4.2	Seg. VI
autem	δέ	E4(139v)	6.1	Seg. VIII
autem	δέ	F1(146r)	7.2	Seg. X
autem	δέ	G4(151v)	10.2	Seg. XI
autem	δέ	J2(167v)	16.1.1	Seg. XVI
baptismatis	βαπτίσματος	A2(165v)	0pref.	Seg. I
beatus	μακάριος	J8(164v)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
Beelzebul	Βεελζεβούλ	B6(149v)	1.1	Seg. III
ben[e]dix[it]	{εὐλόγησεν}	K8(170v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
bestiis	θηρίοις	H2(169v)	12.2	Seg. XII
blasphemauerit	βλασφημήση	D1(154v)	4.2	Seg. VI
blasphemaui	έβλασφήμησεν	D1(154v)	4.2	Seg. VI
blasphemia	βλασφημίας	D4(131v)	4.3	Seg. VI
blasphemia (de -)	βλασφημίας	D4(131v)	4.3	Seg. VI
blasphemiae	βλάσφημος	D4(131v)	4.3	Seg. VI
bon[a]	καλοῦ	C3(123r)	2.6	Seg. IV
ç[l]audos	χάλους	B4(150v)	1.1	Seg. III
ç[u]rsor	{κούρσωρ}	B9(147r)	1.2	Seg. III
caecos	τυφλοῦς	B5(149r)	1.1	Seg. III
caeli	οὐρανοῦ	H2(169v)	12.2	Seg. XII
caesar	καῖσαρ	E1(134r)	5.2	Seg. VIII
caesare	καίσαρος	D1(154v)	4.2	Seg. VI
caesarem	καίσαρα	F1(146r)	7.1	Seg. X
Caipha	Καϊάφα	B2(152v)	prol.	Seg. II
Caipham	Καϊάφαν	J4(126v)	16.1.1	Seg. XVI
caput	κεφαλῆς	G3(151r)	10.1	Seg. XI
carnes	κρέη	H1(169r)	12.2	Seg. XII
cc[...s]	<...>	K4(130v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
ceciderrunt	έπεσαν	J3(126r)	16.1.1	Seg. XVI
celo	οὐρανόη	K2(177v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
Chr<istu>m	Χριστόη	A1(165r)	0pref.	Seg. I
Chr<rist>i	Χριστοῦ	A4(174v)	0pref.	Seg. I
Christus	Χριστός	G4(151v)	10.2	Seg. XI
ciuitate	πόλιν	I1(163r)	13.3	Seg. XIV
clamans	κράζουσα	E7(133r)	6.3	Seg. IX
clamaui	έκραξα	E5(144r)	6.2	Seg. IX
codicibus	βιβλία	A6(173v)	0pref.	Seg. I
cogitationes	διαλογισμοί	J6(125v)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
[cog]nosce[n]s	γνωρίσας	B8(138v)	1.2	Seg. III
Çoliae	Γολιάθ	H2(169v)	12.2	Seg. XII
commotus	θυμωθείς	F1(146r)	7.2	Seg. X
concilio	{συνεδρίου}	J7(164r)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
concilium	συνέδριον	J8(164v)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
confortate	ένισχύσατε	J4(126v)	16.1.1	Seg. XVI
conscribta	{συγγραφθέντα} {τὰ -}	A3(174r)	0pref.	Seg. I
constituit	κατέστησεν	E1(134r)	5.2	Seg. VIII
consulatu	ύπατεία (έν -)	B1(152r)	prol.	Seg. II
consumet	διελεύσεται	J5(125r)-J6(125v)	16.1.2	Seg. XVII
contradiç[tum].	άντιλεγόμενον·	J5(125r)	16.1.2	Seg. XVII
contradictum est	άντιλεγόμενον	K3(130r)-K4(130v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
cordibus	καρδιών	J6(125v)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
correxit	ώρθωσε	E6(144v)	6.2	Seg. IX
creature	κτίσει	I4(168v)	14.1	Seg. XV
crediderit (qui -)	πιστεύσας (ό -)	I4(168v)	14.1	Seg. XV
credimur	πιστευόμεθα	C1(140r)	2.5	Seg. IV
credistis	έπιστεύσατε	J8(164v)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
cruce	σταυρόη	B2(152v)	prol.	Seg. II
culpam	αίτίαν	C4(123v)	3.1	Seg. IV
culpam	αίτίαν	C8(143v)	4.1	Seg. V
cum + abl	μετά + γέν	B8(138v)	1.2	Seg. III

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cum + abl	μετά + gen	D8(161r)	5.1	Seg. VII
curare	θεραπεύσαι	B4(150v)	1.1	Seg. III
curat	θεραπεύει	C2(140v)	2.6	Seg. IV
curauit	ἐθεράπευσεν	B5(149r)	1.1	Seg. III
curbus	κυρτός	E6(144v)	6.2	Seg. IX
cursor	κούρσωρ	B8(138v)	1.2	Seg. III
cursor	κούρσωρ	B10(147v)	1.2	Seg. III
cursorum	κούρσωρα	B8(138v)	1.2	Seg. III
custodes1	κουστωδίας1 (οἱ τῆς -)	H4(162v)	13.3	Seg. XIII
custodes2	κουστωδίας2 (οἱ τῆς -)	H4(162v)	13.3	Seg. XIII
<custo>des1	κουστωδίας1 (οἱ τῆς -)	I1(163r)	13.3	Seg. XIV
custodes2	κουστωδίας2 (οἱ τῆς -)	I1(163r)	13.3	Seg. XIV
custodibus	{κουστωδίας (τοῖς τῆς -)}	I1(163r)	13.3	Seg. XIV
daemonia	δαίμονια	B6(149v)	1.1	Seg. III
daemoniorum	δαίμονιων	B6(149v)	1.1	Seg. III
date	δότε	I1(163r)	13.3	Seg. XIV
datu est2	ἐδόθη2	D2(154r)	4.3	Seg. VI
datum est1	ἐδόθη1	D2(154r)	4.3	Seg. VI
Dauid	Δαυίδ	E5(144r)	6.2	Seg. IX
dauimus	δώσομεν	H1(169r)	12.2	Seg. XII
dauimus	δώσομεν	I1(163r)	13.3	Seg. XIV
d[e]	ἐκ	A1(165r)	0pref.	Seg. I
de	ἀπό	B3(150r)	1.1	Seg. III
de	περί + gen	C3(123r)	2.6	Seg. IV
de	περί + gen	D4(131v)	4.3	Seg. VI
de	{ἐκ}	E6(144v)	6.2	Seg. IX
de	ἀπό	E7(133r)	6.3	Seg. IX
de	ἀπό	F2(146v)	7.2	Seg. X
de1	{ἐκ}1	F3(153r)	7.2	Seg. X
de2	ἐκ2	F3(153r)	7.2	Seg. X
de	ἐκ	J1(167r)	15.6	Seg. XVI
de	ἐκ	J6(125v)	16.1.2	Seg. XVII
de	{ἐκ}	J7(164r)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
dediit	ἔδωκεν	F3(153r)	7.2	Seg. X
Dei1	Θεοῦ1	B3(150r)	1.1	Seg. III
Dei2	{Θεοῦ}2	B3(150r)	1.1	Seg. III
Dei	Θεοῦ	C1(140r)	2.5	Seg. IV
[D<e>i]	᾿Θεοῦ	D6(136v)	4.5	Seg. VII
Dei	Θεοῦ	F1(146r)	7.1	Seg. X
Dei	Θεοῦ	G1(148r)	10.1	Seg. XI
demonia	δαίμονια	B6(149v)	1.1	Seg. III
demoniacos	δαίμονιζομένους	B5(149r)	1.1	Seg. III
dentibus	ὀδόντας	E2(134v)	5.2	Seg. VIII
deo	θεῶ	B7(138r)	1.1	Seg. III
depre<catus>	ἐλιτάνευσεν	F4(153v)	7.2	Seg. X
Deum	Θεοῦ	D1(154v)	4.2	Seg. VI
Deum1	Θεόν1	F4(153v)	7.2	Seg. X
Deum2	Θεόν2	F4(153v)	7.2	Seg. X
Deus	Θεός	A6(173v)	0pref.	Seg. I
di[c]iit	λέγει	C5(128v)	3.2	Seg. V
dic	εἶπέ	D7(161v)	5.1	Seg. VII
dic	εἶπέ	E4(139v)	6.1	Seg. VIII
dicebat	ἔλεγεν	I4(168v)	14.1	Seg. XV
[dic]ens	λέγων	B9(147r)	1.2	Seg. III
dicens	λέγων	E5(144r)	6.2	Seg. IX
dicentes	λέγοντες	B10(147v)	1.2	Seg. III
<dicentes>	λέγοντες (οἱ -)	C7(143r)	3.2	Seg. V
dicentes	λέγοντες	G1(148r)	10.1	Seg. XI
dicentes	λέγοντες	G2(148v)	10.1	Seg. XI
dicentes	λέγοντες	I2(163v)	13.4	Seg. XIV

Vp Form or Reconstruction	Experimental Back Translation	Folio Reference	Chapter	Segment
dicentes	λέγοντες	J4(126v)	16.1.1	Seg. XVI
dice<n>tes	λέγοντες	K8(170v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
dicere	εἰπεῖν	D7(161v)	5.1	Seg. VII
dicere	{εἰπεῖν}	E4(139v)	6.1	Seg. VIII
dicis	λέγεις	C5(128r)	3.2	Seg. V
dicit1	λέγει	B3(150r)	1.1	Seg. III
dicit2	λέγει	B3(150r)	1.1	Seg. III
dicit	λέγει	B6(149v)	1.1	Seg. III
d[i]çit	λέγει	B8(138v)	1.2	Seg. III
dicit	λέγει	C3(123r)	2.6	Seg. IV
diç[it]	λέγει	C3(123r)	3.1	Seg. IV
diçit	λέγει	C7(143r)	3.2	Seg. V
dicit	λέγει	C5(128r)	3.2	Seg. V
dicit	λέγει	C8(143v)	4.1	Seg. V
dicit1	λέγει1	D2(154r)	4.3	Seg. VI
dicit2	λέγει2	D2(154r)	4.3	Seg. VI
dicit3	λέγει3	D2(154r)	4.3	Seg. VI
dicit4	λέγει4	D2(154r)	4.3	Seg. VI
dicit	λέγει	D4(131v)	4.3	Seg. VI
dicit	λέγει	D5(136r)	4.5	Seg. VII
dicit	λέγει	D6(136v)	5.1	Seg. VII
dicit1	λέγει1	D7(161v)	5.1	Seg. VII
dicit2	λέγει2	D7(161v)	5.1	Seg. VII
dicit	λέγει	E1(134r)	5.2	Seg. VIII
d[i]çit	λέγει	E2(134v)	5.2	Seg. VIII
dicit	λέγει	E3(139r)	5.2	Seg. VIII
dicit	λέγει	E4(139v)	6.1	Seg. VIII
dicit	{λέγει}	E7(133r)	6.3	Seg. IX
dicit	λέγει	H2(169v)	12.2	Seg. XII
dicit	λέγει	J6(125v)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
dicit	λέγει	J8(164v)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
dicta sunt (quae -)	λεχθέντα (τὰ -)	K3(130r)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
dicunt	λέγουσιν	B5(149r)	1.1	Seg. III
diçunt	λέγουσιν	B4(150v)	1.1	Seg. III
dicunt	λέγουσιν	B7(138r)	1.2	Seg. III
<di>[cu]nt	λέγουσιν	C2(140v)	2.6	Seg. IV
[di]çunt	λέγουσιν	C3(123r)	2.6	Seg. IV
dicunt	λέγουσιν	C8(143v)	4.1	Seg. V
dicunt	λέγουσιν	D3(131r)	4.3	Seg. VI
dicunt	λέγουσιν	D5(136r)	4.5	Seg. VII
dicunt	λέγουσιν	E3(139r)	5.2	Seg. VIII
dicunt	λέγουσιν	E8(133v)	6.3	Seg. IX
diçunt	λέγουσιν	F2(146v)	7.2	Seg. X
dicunt1	λέγουσιν1	H3(162r)	13.2	Seg. XIII
dicunt2	λέγουσιν2	H3(162r)	13.2	Seg. XIII
dicunt1	λέγουσιν1	H4(162v)	13.3	Seg. XIII
dicunt1	λέγουσιν1	H4(162v)	13.3	Seg. XIII
dicunt3	λέγουσιν3	H4(162v)	13.3	Seg. XIII
dicunt4	λέγουσιν4	H4(162v)	13.3	Seg. XIII
dicunt1	λέγουσιν1	I1(163r)	13.3	Seg. XIV
dicunt2	λέγουσιν2	I1(163r)	13.3	Seg. XIV
dicunt	λέγουσιν	J7(164r)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
dicunt	λέγουσιν	J6(125v)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
didascali	{διδάσκαλοι}	J6(125v)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
diçaç[a]li	διδάσκαλοι	K4(130v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
didascali	διδάσκαλοι	K2(177v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
didicerunt	ἐπυνθάνετο	J7(164r)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
didici	ἔμαθον	J7(164r)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
didicit	ἐδίδαξεν	J8(164v)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
dignitate	ἀξιώματος	E1(134r)	5.2	Seg. VIII

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dignus	καταξιοθεΐς	A2(165v)	0pref.	Seg. I
dignus	ἀξιος	D1(154v)	4.2	Seg. VI
dignus es	ἀξιοῦσαι	H1(169r)	12.2	Seg. XII
dimittat	ιλάσηται	A6(173v)-A7(166r)	0pref.	Seg. I
dimittite	ἄφετε	D8(161r)	5.1	Seg. VII
dis[.].a[.]r[?]o[.]ae ça	<...>	K4(130v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
discipuli	μαθητ{αί}	I3(168r)	14.1	Seg. XV
discipulis	μαθηταΐς	I4(168v)	14.1	Seg. XV
discipulus	μαθητής	E1(134r)	5.2	Seg. VIII
Dismas	Δίσμας	G4(151v)	10.2	Seg. XI
dissoluere	καταλῦσαι	B3(150r)	1.1	Seg. III
dissoluere	καταλῦσαι	B4(150v)	1.1	Seg. III
dissol<uere>	καταλῦσαι	C8(143v)	4.1	Seg. V
diuīnīs	θειῶν	A1(165r)	0pref.	Seg. I
dixerunt	εἶπαν	C4(123v)	3.1	Seg. IV
dixerunt	᾿λέγουσιν᾿	D6(136v)	4.5	Seg. VII
[di]xerunt	εἶπαν	G3(151r)	10.1	Seg. XI
ɖ[ix]erunt	εἶπαν	K4(130v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
dixerunt	εἶπαν	K5(137r)-K6(137v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
dixi	εἶπον	D7(161v)	5.1	Seg. VII
dixi	{εἶπον}	H2(169v)	12.2	Seg. XII
dixistis	εἶπατε	E3(139r)	5.2	Seg. VIII
dixit	εἶπεν	C8(143v)	4.1	Seg. V
dixit	εἶπεν	D6(136v)	4.5	Seg. VII
dixit	εἶπεν	E4(139v)	6.1	Seg. VIII
dixit1	εἶπε1	E6(144v)	6.2	Seg. IX
dixit2	εἶπεν2	E6(144v)	6.2	Seg. IX
dixit	εἶπεν	F1(146r)	7.2	Seg. X
dixit	{εἶπε}	G4(151v)	10.2	Seg. XI
dixit1	εἶπε1	J1(167r)	15.6	Seg. XVI
dixit2	εἶπε2	J1(167r)	15.6	Seg. XVI
dixit	εἶπεν	J7(164r)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
dixit	εἶπεν	K2(177v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
dixit	εἶπεν	K3(130r)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
D<omi>ne	Κύριε	B9(147r)	1.2	Seg. III
<Domin>e	{Κύριε}	C3(123r)	2.6	Seg. IV
Domini	Κυρίου	A4(174v)	0pref.	Seg. I
domini	δεσπότου	A4(174v)	0pref.	Seg. I
D<omi>ni	Κυρίου	B2(152v)	prol.	Seg. II
D<omi>n<u>m	Κύριον	A1(165r)	0pref.	Seg. I
<Dominum>	Κύριον	K8(170v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
Dominus	{Κύριος}	F4(153v)	7.2	Seg. X
ɖomo	οἴκου	J1(167r)	15.6	Seg. XVI
<domu>s	οἶκος	K4(130v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
ducentesimo	διακοσιοστής ᾿ὄλυμπιάδος᾿	B1(152r)	prol.	Seg. II
duodecim	δώδεκα	C1(140r)	2.6	Seg. IV
duodecim	δώδεκα	E8(133v)	6.3	Seg. IX
ɖura	σκληρᾶς	F2(146v)	7.2	Seg. X
ea	αὐτῶν	A7(166r)	0pref.	Seg. I
ecce	ιδού	H3(162r)	13.2	Seg. XIII
ecce	ιδού	J2(167v)	15.6	Seg. XVI
ecce	ιδού	K3(130r)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
ɛd[ux]it	ἐξήγαγεν	F2(146v)	7.2	Seg. X
ɛɖuxit	{ἐξήγαγεν}	F3(153r)	7.2	Seg. X
e<go>	ἐγώ	A1(165r)	0pref.	Seg. I
ego	ἐγώ	C8(143v)	4.1	Seg. V
ego	ἐγώ	D7(161v)	5.1	Seg. VII
ego	ἐγώ	E4(139v)	6.1	Seg. VIII
ego	{ἐγώ}	J2(167v)	15.6	Seg. XVI
[ei]	αὐτῶ	B4(150v)	1.1	Seg. III

Vp Form or Reconstruction	Experimental Back Translation	Folio Reference	Chapter	Segment
ei	αὐτῶ	B5(149r)	1.1	Seg. III
ei	αὐτῶ	B6(149v)	1.1	Seg. III
[ei]	αὐτῶ	B8(138v)	1.2	Seg. III
ei	αὐτῶ	C3(123r)	2.6	Seg. IV
ei	αὐτῶ	C5(128r)	3.2	Seg. V
ei1	αὐτῶ1	D2(154r)	4.3	Seg. VI
ei2	αὐτῶ2	D2(154r)	4.3	Seg. VI
ei	αὐτῶ	D7(161v)	5.1	Seg. VII
[ei]1	{αὐτῶ}1	G2(148v)	10.1	Seg. XI
e[i]2	αὐτῶ2	G2(148v)	10.1	Seg. XI
ei	αὐτῶ	G4(151v)	10.2	Seg. XI
eicit1	ἐκβάλλει	B6(149v)	1.1	Seg. III
eicit2	ἔστιν ἑκβαλεῖν	B6(149v)	1.1	Seg. III
eis	αὐτοῖς	B4(150v)	1.1	Seg. III
eis	αὐτοῖς	B5(149r)	1.1	Seg. III
eis	αὐτοῖς	B6(149v)	1.1	Seg. III
[e]is	αὐτοῖς	C3(123r)	3.1	Seg. IV
[eis]	αὐτ{οῖς}	C5(128v)	3.2	Seg. V
eis	αὐτοῖς	C8(143v)	4.1	Seg. V
eis	{αὐτοῖς}	F2(146v)	7.2	Seg. X
eis	αὐτοῖς	H2(169v)	12.2	Seg. XII
eius	{τούτου}	D4(131v)	4.3	Seg. VI
eius	αὐτοῦ2	E1(134r)	5.2	Seg. VIII
[eius]	[αὐτοῦ]	E7(133r)	6.3	Seg. IX
eius	αὐτοῦ	G3(151r)	10.1	Seg. XI
eius	αὐτοῦ	I3(168r)	14.1	Seg. XV
eius1	αὐτοῦ2	J7(164r)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
eius2	αὐτοῦ2	J7(164r)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
electus	ἐκλεκτός	G1(148r)	10.1	Seg. XI
E<neas>	{Αινέας}	A1(165r)	0pref.	Seg. I
eo	αὐτοῦ3	J7(164r)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
eos	αὐτούς	E1(134r)	5.2	Seg. VIII
eos	αὐτούς	E2(134v)	5.2	Seg. VIII
eos	αὐτούς	J3(126r)	16.1.1	Seg. XVI
eos	αὐτούς	J8(164v)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
eram	{ἤμην}	A1(165r)	0pref.	Seg. I
eram	ἤμην	E6(144v)	6.2	Seg. IX
eram	ἤμην	E7(133r)	6.3	Seg. IX
erant	ἦσαν	E2(134v)	5.2	Seg. VIII
erant	ἦσαν	H4(162v)	13.3	Seg. XIII
ergo	οὖν	A5(173r)	0pref.	Seg. I
ergo	οὐκοῦν	C5(128r)	3.2	Seg. V
ergo	οὖν	H1(169r)	12.2	Seg. XII
es	εἶ	C5(128r)	3.2	Seg. V
es	εἶ	G2(148v)	10.1	Seg. XI
es	εἶ	G4(151v)	10.2	Seg. XI
esse	εἶναι	B3(150r)	1.1	Seg. III
esse	εἶναι	C1(140r)	2.5	Seg. IV
ess[e]	εἶναι	D6(136v)	4.5	Seg. VII
esse	εἶναι	F1(146r)	7.1	Seg. X
esset	ἦν	C4(123v)	3.1	Seg. IV
est	ἐστιν	B1(152r)	prol.	Seg. II
est	ἐστιν	B4(150v)	1.1	Seg. III
est	ἐστιν	B6(149v)	1.1	Seg. III
est	ἐστιν	C5(128r)	3.2	Seg. V
est	ἐστιν	C7(143r)	3.2	Seg. V
est	ἐστι	D1(154v)	4.2	Seg. VI
est	ἐστι	D4(131v)	4.3	Seg. VI
est	ἐστι	F1(146r)	7.2	Seg. X
est	ἐστιν	G1(148r)	10.1	Seg. XI

Vp Form or Reconstruction	Experimental Back Translation	Folio Reference	Chapter	Segment
eʃt	ἐστὶ	G3(151r)	10.1	Seg. XI
est	ἐστὶν	H2(169v)	12.2	Seg. XII
est	ἐστὶν	I1(163r)	13.3	Seg. XIV
est	ἐστὶ	J8(164v)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
eʃt	ἐστὶ	K4(130v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
est	ἐστὶ	K6(137v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
et1	καί1	A1(165r)	0pref.	Seg. I
et2	καί2	A1(165r)	0pref.	Seg. I
et1	{καί}	A2(165v)	0pref.	Seg. I
et2	καί2	A2(165v)	0pref.	Seg. I
et2	καί2	A2(165v)	0pref.	Seg. I
et	καί	A4(174v)	0pref.	Seg. I
e[t]	καί	A5(173r)	0pref.	Seg. I
et	καί	A6(173v)	0pref.	Seg. I
et	καί	B1(152r)	prol.	Seg. II
et1	καί1	B2(152v)	prol.	Seg. II
et2	καί2	B2(152v)	prol.	Seg. II
et3	καί3	B2(152v)	prol.	Seg. II
et4	καί4	B2(152v)	prol.	Seg. II
et1	καί1	B3(150r)	1.1	Seg. III
et2	καί2	B3(150r)	1.1	Seg. III
et3	καί3	B3(150r)	1.1	Seg. III
et	καί	B4(150v)	1.1	Seg. III
et	καί	B5(149r)	1.1	Seg. III
et1	καί1	B6(149v)	1.1	Seg. III
et2	καί2	B6(149v)	1.1	Seg. III
et	καί	B8(138v)	1.2	Seg. III
et	καί	B9(147r)	1.2	Seg. III
et	καί	C1(140r)	2.5	Seg. IV
e[t]	καί	C3(123r)	3.1	Seg. IV
et	καί	C4(123v)	3.1	Seg. IV
et	καί	C8(143v)	4.1	Seg. V
et	καί	D1(154v)	4.2	Seg. VI
et	καί	D2(154r)	4.3	Seg. VI
eʃt	καί	D3(131r)	4.3	Seg. VI
et	καί	D4(131v)	4.3	Seg. VI
<et>	καί	D6(136v)	4.5	Seg. VII
et	καί	D6(136v)	5.1	Seg. VII
et1	καί1	D7(161v)	5.1	Seg. VII
et2	καί2	D7(161v)	5.1	Seg. VII
et3	καί3	D7(161v)	5.1	Seg. VII
et	καί	D8(161r)	5.1	Seg. VII
et1	καί1	E1(134r)	5.2	Seg. VIII
et2	καί2	E1(134r)	5.2	Seg. VIII
et	καί	E3(139r)	5.2	Seg. VIII
et1	καί1	E5(144r)	6.2	Seg. IX
et2	καί2	E5(144r)	6.2	Seg. IX
et3	καί3	E5(144r)	6.2	Seg. IX
et4	καί4	E5(144r)	6.2	Seg. IX
et1	καί1	E6(144v)	6.2	Seg. IX
et2	καί2	E6(144v)	6.2	Seg. IX
et3	καί3	E6(144v)	6.2	Seg. IX
et4	καί4	E6(144v)	6.2	Seg. IX
et1	καί1	E7(133r)	6.2	Seg. IX
et2	καί2	E7(133r)	6.3	Seg. IX
et3	καί3	E7(133r)	6.3	Seg. IX
et	καί	E8(133v)	6.4	Seg. IX
et1	καί1	F1(146r)	7.1	Seg. X
et2	καί2	F1(146r)	7.1	Seg. X
et1	καί1	F2(146v)	7.2	Seg. X

Vp Form or Reconstruction	Experimental Back Translation	Folio Reference	Chapter	Segment
[et]2	{καί}2	F2(146v)	7.2	Seg. X
et1	καί1	F3(153r)	7.2	Seg. X
et2	καί2	F3(153r)	7.2	Seg. X
et3	καί3	F3(153r)	7.2	Seg. X
<et>	καί	F3(153r)	7.2	Seg. X
et1	καί1	F4(153v)	7.2	Seg. X
et2	καί2	F4(153v)	7.2	Seg. X
et3	καί3	F4(153v)	7.2	Seg. X
et4	καί4	F4(153v)	7.2	Seg. X
et1	καί1	G2(148v)	10.1	Seg. XI
et2	καί2	G2(148v)	10.1	Seg. XI
[et]3	καί3	G2(148v)	10.1	Seg. XI
et	καί	G3(151r)	10.1	Seg. XI
et	καί	G4(151v)	10.2	Seg. XI
et	καί	H2(169v)	12.2	Seg. XII
et1	καί1	I1(163r)	13.3	Seg. XIV
et2	καί2	I1(163r)	13.3	Seg. XIV
et2	καί2	I3(168r)	14.1	Seg. XV
et1	καί1	I3(168r)	14.1	Seg. XV
et	καί	I4(168v)	14.1	Seg. XV
et1	καί1	J1(167r)	15.6	Seg. XVI
et2	καί2	J1(167r)	15.6	Seg. XVI
et3	καί3	J1(167r)	15.6	Seg. XVI
[et]4	καί4	J1(167r)	15.6	Seg. XVI
et1	καί1	J2(167v)	15.6	Seg. XVI
et2	καί2	J2(167v)	16.1.1	Seg. XVI
et3	καί3	J2(167v)	16.1.1	Seg. XVI
et4	{καί}4	J2(167v)	16.1.1	Seg. XVI
et1	καί1	J3(126r)	16.1.1	Seg. XVI
et2	καί2	J3(126r)	16.1.1	Seg. XVI
et3	καί3	J3(126r)	16.1.1	Seg. XVI
et1	καί1	J4(126v)	16.1.1	Seg. XVI
et2	καί2	J4(126v)	16.1.1	Seg. XVI
et3	καί3	J4(126v)	16.1.1	Seg. XVI
et4	καί4	J4(126v)	16.1.1	Seg. XVI
et5	καί5	J4(126v)	16.1.1	Seg. XVI
et6	καί6	J4(126v)	16.1.1	Seg. XVI
et	{καί}	J6(125v)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
et	καί	J8(164v)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
et1	καί1	J5(125r)	16.1.2	Seg. XVII
et1	καί1	J7(164r)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
et2	καί2	J5(125r)	16.1.2	Seg. XVII
et2	καί2	J7(164r)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
et3	καί3 'δέ'	J5(125r)	16.1.2	Seg. XVII
et	καί	K5(137r)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
et	καί	K6(137v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
et1	καί1	K7(170r)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
et2	καί2	K7(170r)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
et3	καί3	K7(170r)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
[et]	καί	K8(170v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
et4	καί4	J3(126r)	16.1.1	Seg. XVI
e-<tiam>	ναί	C3(123r)	2.6	Seg. IV
eum	αὐτόν	A7(166r)	0pref.	Seg. I
eum	αὐτόν	B7(138r)	1.2	Seg. III
eum1	αὐτόν1	B8(138v)	1.2	Seg. III
[eu]m2	αὐτόν2	B8(138v)	1.2	Seg. III
eum	αὐτόν	B9(147r)	1.2	Seg. III
[eu]m	αὐτόν	C3(123r)	2.6	Seg. IV
eum	αὐτῷ {ἐν -}	C8(143v)	4.1	Seg. V
eum1	αὐτόν1	D4(131v)	4.3	Seg. VI



Vp Form or Reconstruction	Experimental Back Translation	Folio Reference	Chapter	Segment
eum2	αὐτόν2	D4(131v)	4.3	Seg. VI
eum	αὐτόν	D5(136r)	4.5	Seg. VII
eum	αὐτόν	E1(134r)	5.2	Seg. VIII
eum2	αὐτοῦ	E2(134v)	5.2	Seg. VIII
eum	αὐτόν	G2(148v)	10.1	Seg. XI
eum	αὐτόν	H3(162r)	13.2	Seg. XIII
eum	αὐτόν	J8(164v)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
eum	αὐτόν	K2(177v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
euntes	πορευθέντες	I4(168v)	14.1	Seg. XV
e[x]	ἐκ	C2(140v)	2.6	Seg. IV
ex	ἐκ	E4(139v)	6.1	Seg. VIII
ex	ἀπό	E8(133v)	6.4	Seg. IX
ex	ἐκ	F2(146v)	7.2	Seg. X
ex[ie]ns	ἐξελθών	B8(138v)	1.2	Seg. III
exaceruastis	παρωργίσατε (?)	F4(153v)	7.2	Seg. X
exclamaerunt	κατέκραξαν	B10(147v)	1.2	Seg. III
Excolapio	Ἀσκληπιῶ	B7(138r)	1.1	Seg. III
exeaş	ἐξέλθης	J1(167r)	15.6	Seg. XVI
exigit	ἀπαιτεῖ	H1(169r)	12.2	Seg. XII
exiit	ἐξῆλθε	C8(143v)	4.1	Seg. V
exiliens	παραπηδήσας	E4(139v)	6.1	Seg. VIII
exiliens	παραπηδήσας	E6(144v)	6.2	Seg. IX
exire	ἐξελθεῖν	C1(140r)	2.6	Seg. IV
exire	ἐξελθεῖν	D2(154r)	4.3	Seg. VI
expandit	ἤπλωσεν	B9(147r)	1.2	Seg. III
[exs]urgete	ἀνάστητε	J4(126v)	16.1.1	Seg. XVI
facialem	φακίολιον	B9(147r)	1.2	Seg. III
faciam	ποιήσω	D2(154r)	4.3	Seg. VI
faciebat	{ἐ}ποιεῖ	D8(161r)	5.1	Seg. VII
faciem	πρόσωπον	E5(144r)	6.2	Seg. IX
faciet	ποιήσει	D8(161r)	5.1	Seg. VII
facis	ποιεῖς	E1(134r)	5.2	Seg. VIII
facit	ποιεῖ	D8(161r)	5.1	Seg. VII
facit	ποιεῖ	E1(134r)	5.2	Seg. VIII
facti sunt	ἐγένοντο	J2(167v)-J3(126r)	16.1.1	Seg. XVI
factus eram	ἐγενόμην	E6(144v)	6.2	Seg. IX
factus est	ἐγένετο	E1(134r)	5.2	Seg. VIII
fē[llē]	χολῆς (μετὰ -)	K1(177r)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
<fecerun>t	ἐποίησαν	K5(137r)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
fecit	ἐποίησεν	B10(147v)	1.2	Seg. III
fer[ebat]	κατεῖχεν	B9(147r)	1.2	Seg. III
fide (in -)	πίστει	A2(165v)	0pref.	Seg. I
fili	υἰέ	E5(144r)	6.2	Seg. IX
filio	υἰῶ	J8(164v)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
filium	υἰόν	B3(150r)	1.1	Seg. III
filium	υἰόν	C1(140r)	2.5	Seg. IV
filium	υἰόν	D6(136v)	4.5	Seg. VII
filium	υἰόν	F1(146r)	7.1	Seg. X
filius	υἰός	G1(148r)	10.1	Seg. XI
fimbriam	κρασπέδου	E7(133r)	6.3	Seg. IX
F laur	Φλαβίου	A5(173r)	0pref.	Seg. I
Flaur	Φλαβίου	A4(174v)	0pref.	Seg. I
fluxus	ρύσις	E8(133v)	6.3	Seg. IX
foras	ἔξω	D2(154r)	4.3	Seg. VI
forsitan	τάχα	F1(146r)	7.1	Seg. X
fratres	ἀδελφούς	J2(167v)	15.6	Seg. XVI
frementes	ἐμβριμούμενοι	E2(134v)	5.2	Seg. VIII
fuit	ἦν	H4(162v)	13.3	Seg. XIII
Galilea	Γαλιλαίαν	H3(162r)	13.2	Seg. XIII
Galilea	Γαλιλαίαν	I2(163v)	13.3	Seg. XIV

Vp Form or Reconstruction	Experimental Back Translation	Folio Reference	Chapter	Segment
Galilea (abl.)	Γαλιλαίας	I3(168r)	14.1	Seg. XV
Galilea	Γαλιλαίαν	J2(167v)	15.6	Seg. XVI
gens	ἔθνος	F1(146r)	7.2	Seg. X
gesta	ὑπομνήματα	A2(165v)	0pref.	Seg. I
gesta	ὑπομνήματα	A3(174r)	0pref.	Seg. I
Gestas	Γέστας	G4(151v)	10.2	Seg. XI
gloriosa	παράδοξα	D8(161r)	5.1	Seg. VII
grece	ἑλληνικοῖς (γράμμασιν -)	A3(174r)	0pref.	Seg. I
greçis	{}	A6(173v)	0pref.	Seg. I
greçis	ἑλληνικοῖς	G3(151r)	10.1	Seg. XI
gubbos	κυρτούς	B4(150v)	1.1	Seg. III
gustate	γεύσασθε	J4(126v)	16.1.1	Seg. XVI
habe	ἔχω	C3(123r)	3.1	Seg. IV
habemus	ἔχομεν	B4(150v)	1.1	Seg. III
habemus	ἔχομεν	E8(133v)	6.3	Seg. IX
ha[b]en[t]	ἔχουσιν	C2(140v)	2.6	Seg. IV
haec	ταῦτα	A3(174r)	0pref.	Seg. I
haec ista	ταῦτα	J6(125v)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
Hierosolima	Ἱεροσολύμοις (ἐν -)	I3(168r)	14.1	Seg. XV
hinc	ἐντεῦθεν	C5(128r)	3.2	Seg. V
<hi>s	τούτοις	F3(153r)	7.2	Seg. X
his qui abent	ἐχόντων (τῶν -)	C7(143r)	3.2	Seg. V
historiatus est	ιστόρησεν	B2(152v)	prol.	Seg. II
hoc	τοῦτο	B3(150r)	1.1	Seg. III
homine	ἀνθρώπου	D8(161r)	5.1	Seg. VII
hominis	ἀνθρώπῳ (ἐν τῷ -)	C4(123v)	3.1	Seg. IV
homo	ἄνθρωπος	D8(161r)	5.1	Seg. VII
hora	ὥρα	H1(169r)	12.2	Seg. XII
horam	ὥρας	J3(126r)	16.1.1	Seg. XVI
iacet	κεῖται	K3(130r)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
iacet	κεῖται	J5(125r)	16.1.2	Seg. XVII
Iacob	Ἰακώβ	K5(137r)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
iam	{ἤδη}	H2(169v)	12.2	Seg. XII
ibi	ἐκεῖ	H3(162r)	13.2	Seg. XIII
ibit	ἀπῆλθεν	I1(163r)	13.3	Seg. XIV
ideoque	διὰ τοῦτο	D5(136r)	4.5	Seg. VII
Idu[l]	Ἰωβήλ	K6(137v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
Ie<s>u	Ἰησοῦ	A4(174v)	0pref.	Seg. I
Iesu	Ἰησοῦ	E5(144r)	6.2	Seg. IX
Ie<su>m	Ἰησοῦν	A1(165r)	0pref.	Seg. I
<Iesu>m	Ἰησοῦν	C2(140v)	2.6	Seg. IV
Ie<su>m	Ἰησοῦν	C8(143v)	4.1	Seg. V
Ie<su>m	Ἰησοῦν	D2(154r)	4.3	Seg. VI
Iesum	Ἰησοῦν	I1(163r)	13.3	Seg. XIV
<Iesus>	Ἰησοῦς	B8(138v)	1.2	Seg. III
Ie<su>s	Ἰησοῦς	C5(128r)	3.2	Seg. V
Ie<su>s	Ἰησοῦς	C7(143r)	3.2	Seg. V
Ie<su>s	Ἰησοῦς	D2(154r)	4.3	Seg. VI
Ie<su>s	Ἰησοῦς	D2(154r)	4.3	Seg. VI
Iesus	Ἰησοῦς	I1(163r)	13.3	Seg. XIV
Iesus	Ἰησοῦ{ς}	I3(168r)	14.1	Seg. XV
iciuauerunt	ἐνήστευσαν	J3(126r)	16.1.1	Seg. XVI
illud	ἐκεῖνον	A2(165v)	0pref.	Seg. I
illum	αὐτόν	D8(161r)	5.1	Seg. VII
imperio	βασιλείας	A4(174v)	0pref.	Seg. I
<in> + abl	{ἐπί + gen}	C7(143r)	3.2	Seg. V
in1 + abl	εἰς1	A6(173v)	0pref.	Seg. I
in2 + abl	{}	A6(173v)	0pref.	Seg. I
in + abl	εἰς	A4(174v)	0pref.	Seg. I
in + abl	ἐν	B1(152r)	prol.	Seg. II

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in + abl	έν	B5(149r)	1.1	Seg. III
in + abl	έν	B6(149v)	1.1	Seg. III
in + abl	έν	B6(149v)	1.1	Seg. III
in + abl	έν	B7(138r)	1.1	Seg. III
in + abl	έν	B9(147r)	1.2	Seg. III
in + abl	έν	C2(140v)	2.6	Seg. IV
in + abl	ἐπί + gen	C5(128v)	3.2	Seg. V
in + abl	ἐπί + gen	C7(143r)	3.2	Seg. V
in + abl	ἔσω	C8(143v)	4.1	Seg. V
in + abl	έν	D8(161r)	5.1	Seg. VII
<in> + abl	{έν}	F3(153r)	7.2	Seg. X
in + abl	ø	G3(151r)	10.1	Seg. XI
in + abl	εις	H3(162r)	13.2	Seg. XIII
in + abl	εις	I1(163r)	13.3	Seg. XIV
in + abl	εις	I2(163v)	13.3	Seg. XIV
in + abl	ἐπί + gen	I4(168v)	14.1	Seg. XV
in + abl.	έν	J1(167r)	15.6	Seg. XVI
in + abl. (?)	εις	J2(167v)	15.6	Seg. XVI
in1 + abl.	εις1	J5(125r)	16.1.2	Seg. XVII
in2 + abl. (?)	έν	J5(125r)	16.1.2	Seg. XVII
in1 + abl (?)	εις	K3(130r)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
in + acc (?)	εις	A7(166r)	0pref.	Seg. I
in + acc	έν	E4(139v)	6.1	Seg. VIII
in + acc	εις	I4(168v)	14.1	Seg. XV
in2 + acc	εις	K3(130r)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
inbenio	εὕρισκω	C4(123v)	3.1	Seg. IV
incre<pauit>	ἐπετίμησεν	G4(151v)	10.2	Seg. XI
indictum	ἴνδικτον	A5(173r)	0pref.	Seg. I
ingredere	εἶσελθε	B9(147r)	1.2	Seg. III
inlucescit	ἐπιφώσκει	H1(169r)	12.2	Seg. XII
inludebant	ἐνέπαιζον	G1(148r)	10.1	Seg. XI
inmundo	ἀκαθάρτω	B6(149v)-B7(138r)	1.1	Seg. III
inperare	εἶναι βασιλέα	F1(146r)	7.1	Seg. X
int[e]nde	ὄραξ	C7(143r)	3.2	Seg. V
intellegitis	γινώσκετε	K6(137v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
inter	σύν	G1(148r)	10.1	Seg. XI
interficere	ἀποκτεῖναι	F4(153v)	7.2	Seg. X
interpretatus sum	μεθερμήνευσα	A3(174r)-A4(174v)	0pref.	Seg. I
inueniens	εὐρών	A3(174r)	0pref.	Seg. I
inuenio	εὕρισκω	C8(143v)	4.1	Seg. V
inuice	ἀλλήλους	K6(137v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
inuocantium	ἐπικαλουμένων (τῶν -)	A4(174v)	0pref.	Seg. I
inuolu[t]o[r]i[um]	{καθάπλωμα}	B9(147r)	1.2	Seg. III
Ioseph	Ἰωσήφ	H2(169v)	12.2	Seg. XII
Ioseph1	Ἰωσήφ1	I1(163r)	13.3	Seg. XIV
Ioseph2	Ἰωσήφ2	I1(163r)	13.3	Seg. XIV
Ioseph	Ἰωσήφ	J2(167v)	16.1.1	Seg. XVI
Ioseph	Ἰωσήφ	J3(126r)	16.1.1	Seg. XVI
Iosi principe	Ἰωσή που´	B2(152v)	prol.	Seg. II
ipse	αὐτός	J8(164v)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
ipsi	{αὐτοί}	J7(164r)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
ipsius	αὐτοῦ	E3(139r)	5.2	Seg. VIII
ipso1	αὐτοῦ1	E1(134r)	5.2	Seg. VIII
ipso2	αὐτοῦ3	E1(134r)	5.2	Seg. VIII
ipso (cum -)	αὐτοῦ	E3(139r)	5.2	Seg. VIII
ipso	αὐτοῦ1	J7(164r)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
ipsu	αὐτόν	A7(166r)	0pref.	Seg. I
ire	ὑπάγειν	E8(133v)	6.3	Seg. IX
Isra[hael]	Ἰσραήλ	K8(170v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
Israhel	Ἰσραήλ	J5(125r)	16.1.2	Seg. XVII

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Israhel	Ἰσραήλ (᾽έν᾽ -)	K3(130r)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
ista	ταῦτα	J2(167v)	16.1.1	Seg. XVI
istam	τούτου	E2(134v)	5.2	Seg. VIII
iste	οὗτος	C4(123v)	3.1	Seg. IV
iste	οὗτος	C8(143v)	4.1	Seg. V
iste	οὗτος	D1(154v)	4.2	Seg. VI
iste	οὗτος	D4(131v)	4.3	Seg. VI
iste	οὗτος	D8(161r)	5.1	Seg. VII
iste	οὗτος	H2(169v)	12.2	Seg. XII
Iste	οὗτος	J5(125r)	16.1.2	Seg. XVII
iste	οὗτος	K3(130r)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
<isti>	{οὔτοι}	C2(140v)	2.6	Seg. IV
isto	τούτου	D8(161r)	5.1	Seg. VII
istos	τούτους	I2(163v)	13.4	Seg. XIV
istud	τούτο	B6(149v)	1.1	Seg. III
istum	τούτον	C8(143v)	4.1	Seg. V
istum	τούτον	F1(146r)	7.1	Seg. X
iŕaquaē	{τοιγαροῦν}	G4(151v)	10.2	Seg. XI
[it]e<m>	καί2	E7(133r)	6.3	Seg. IX
iube	κέλευσον	D6(136v)-D7(161v)	5.1	Seg. VII
iubeatis	{κελεύετε}	B7(138r)	1.2	Seg. III
iubens	κελεύ{σας}	C1(140r)	2.6	Seg. IV
Iudaei	Ἰουδαῖοι	B4(150v)	1.1	Seg. III
Iudaei	Ἰουδαῖοι	B10(147v)	1.2	Seg. III
Iudaei	Ἰουδαῖοι	B7(138r)	1.2	Seg. III
Iudaei	Ἰουδαῖοι	C4(123v)	3.1	Seg. IV
Iudaei	Ἰουδαῖοι	C8(143v)	4.1	Seg. V
Iudae[i]	Ἰουδαῖοι	D3(131r)	4.3	Seg. VI
Iudaei	Ἰουδαῖοι	D6(136v)	4.5	Seg. VII
Iudaei	Ἰουδαῖοι	E2(134v)	5.2	Seg. VIII
Iudaei	Ἰουδαῖοι	E3(139r)	5.2	Seg. VIII
Iudaei	Ἰουδαῖοι	F2(146v)	7.2	Seg. X
Iuda[ei]	Ἰουδαῖοι	G3(151r)	10.1	Seg. XI
Iudaei	Ἰουδαῖοι	H3(162r)	13.2	Seg. XIII
Iudaei	Ἰουδαῖοι	I1(163r)	13.3	Seg. XIV
Iudaei1	Ἰουδαῖοι1	H4(162v)	13.3	Seg. XIII
Iudaei2	Ἰουδαῖοι2	H4(162v)	13.3	Seg. XIII
Iudaei	Ἰουδαῖοι	I2(163v)	13.4	Seg. XIV
Iudaeis	Ἰουδαίους	C5(128r)	3.2	Seg. V
Iudaeis	Ἰουδαίους	D4(131v)	4.3	Seg. VI
Iudaeis	Ἰουδαίων	E4(139v)	6.1	Seg. VIII
Iudaeorum	Ἰουδαίων	B2(152v)	prol.	Seg. II
Iudaeorum	Ἰουδαίων	D7(161v)-D8(161r)	5.1	Seg. VII
Iudaeo[ru]m	Ἰουδαίων	G2(148v)	10.1	Seg. XI
Iudaeorum	Ἰουδαίων	G3(151r)	10.1	Seg. XI
Iudaeos	Ἰουδαίους	C8(143v)	4.1	Seg. V
Iudaeos	Ἰουδαίους	D5(136r)	4.5	Seg. VII
Iudaeos	Ἰουδαίους	F1(146r)	7.2	Seg. X
Iudaeos (ad -)	Ἰουδαίους	I1(163r)	13.3	Seg. XIV
Iudaeus	Ἰουδαῖος	D6(136v)	5.1	Seg. VII
Iudaeus	Ἰουδαῖος	E6(144v)	6.2	Seg. IX
Iudei	Ἰουδαῖοι	A3(174r)	0pref.	Seg. I
Iudei	Ἰουδαῖοι	E8(133v)	6.3	Seg. IX
Iudei	Ἰουδαῖοι	H2(169v)	12.3	Seg. XII
Iudeis	Ἰουδαίους (πρὸς τοὺς -)	H4(162v)	13.3	Seg. XIII
Iudeos	Ἰουδαίους	D2(154r)	4.3	Seg. VI
iudicantur	κρίνονται	C7(143r)	3.2	Seg. V
iussisti	ἐκάλεσας	B10(147v)	1.2	Seg. III
iussit	ἐκέλευσεν	D1(154v)	4.3	Seg. VI
<iuss>it	<ἐκέλευσεν>	G2(148v)	10.1	Seg. XI

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iustus	δίκαιος	J8(164v)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
lapidem	λίθον	I2(163v)	13.3	Seg. XIV
latinis	{}	A6(173v)	0pref.	Seg. I
latinis	ῥωμαϊκοῖς	G3(151r)	10.1	Seg. XI
latronibus	κακούργων	G4(151v)	10.2	Seg. XI
lebrosos	λεπρούς	B5(149r)	1.1	Seg. III
lecto	κλίνη	J1(167r)	15.6	Seg. XVI
[lege]	[νόμον]	B4(150v)	1.1	Seg. III
legem	νόμον	B3(150r)	1.1	Seg. III
legem	νόμον	E8(133v)	6.3	Seg. IX
legem	νόμον	F3(153r)	7.2	Seg. X
legem	νόμον	J7(164r)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
legem	νόμον	J8(164v)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
legis doctor	νομομαθής	A1(165r)	0pref.	Seg. I
[leg]itis	ἀναγινώσκετε	A5(173r)	0pref.	Seg. I
leprosus	λεπρός	E6(144v)	6.2	Seg. IX
Leui	Λευί	J6(125v)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
Leui	Λευί	J8(164v)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
leuitae	λευῖται	J2(167v)	16.1.1	Seg. XVI
leuitae	λευῖτας	J4(126v)	16.1.1	Seg. XVI
leuitae	{λευῖται}	J6(125v)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
leuitae	λευῖται	K6(137v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
leuitae	λευῖται	K7(170r)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
leuite	λευῖται	D1(154v)	4.2	Seg. VI
leutis	λευῖταις	I3(168r)	14.1	Seg. XV
leuuitis	λευῖταις	D7(161v)	5.1	Seg. VII
libera	σῶσον	G2(148v)	10.1	Seg. XI
libera	σῶσον	G4(151v)	10.2	Seg. XI
litteris	γράμμασιν (ἐν -)	A3(174r)	0pref.	Seg. I
litteris	γράμμασιν	G3(151r)	10.1	Seg. XI
longe	μακρόθεν	E7(133r)	6.3	Seg. IX
loquebatur	ἐλάλει	H3(162r)	13.2	Seg. XIII
magnitudinem	μέγεθος	B7(138r)	1.2	Seg. III
maius	μεῖζον	D4(131v)	4.3	Seg. VI
malarum	κακῶν	B5(149r)	1.1	Seg. III
<m>al[e]dictus	ἐπικατάρατος<	K5(137r)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
<male>dīc<tus>	ἐπικατάρατος	K8(170v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
malefactor	κακοποιός	C4(123v)	3.1	Seg. IV
maleficus	γότης	B6(149v)	1.1	Seg. III
malis	κακῶν	B5(149r)	1.1	Seg. III
Mambre	Μαμβρ{η}	I4(168v)	14.1	Seg. XV
manu	χειρί	B9(147r)	1.2	Seg. III
manus	χεῖρας	E5(144r)	6.2	Seg. IX
[m]are	θαλάσσης	F3(153r)	7.2	Seg. X
Maria	Μαρία	B3(150r)	1.1	Seg. III
me	με	D7(161v)	5.1	Seg. VII
me	με	E6(144v)	6.2	Seg. IX
me	με	E7(133r)	6.2	Seg. IX
me1	με1	J1(167r)	15.6	Seg. XVI
m[e]2	με2	J1(167r)	15.6	Seg. XVI
mea	μου	A7(166r)	0pref.	Seg. I
m<ea>	μου	D3(131r)	4.3	Seg. VI
media	μέσης	H4(162v)	13.3	Seg. XIII
mei	μου	A6(173v)	0pref.	Seg. I
mei	με	E5(144r)	6.2	Seg. IX
mei	μου	E8(133v)	6.3	Seg. IX
memoria	μνημόσυνον	K6(137v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
mensis Marti	Μαρτίου	B1(152r)	prol.	Seg. II
meo	μου	J1(167r)	15.6	Seg. XVI
meo	μου	J8(164v)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII

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meos	μου	J2(167v)	15.6	Seg. XVI
meos	μου	E6(144v)	6.2	Seg. IX
meum	ἐμή (ή -)	C5(128r)	3.2	Seg. V
mihi	μοι	A6(173v)	0pref.	Seg. I
mihi	με	E5(144r)	6.2	Seg. IX
mihi1	μοι1	J1(167r)	15.6	Seg. XVI
mihi2	μοι2	J1(167r)	15.6	Seg. XVI
militēs	στρατιῶται	G2(148v)	10.1	Seg. XI
militēs	στρατιῶται	H3(162r)	13.2	Seg. XIII
miserere	ἐλέησον	E5(144r)	6.2	Seg. IX
misericors	εὐσεβῆ (?)	D6(136v)	5.1	Seg. VII
misertus est	ἠέλησε	E5(144r)	6.2	Seg. IX
moderatione	ἐπιεικείας	B8(138v)	1.2	Seg. III
Moises	Μωϋσῆς	D3(131r)	4.3	Seg. VI
monte	ὄρους	I4(168v)	14.1	Seg. XV
mori	ἀποθανεῖν	D5(136r)	4.5	Seg. VII
moriatur	ἀποθάνη	D5(136r)	4.5	Seg. VII
moritur	ἀποθάνη	D5(136r)-D6(136v)	4.5	Seg. VII
morti	θανάτου	D1(154v)	4.2	Seg. VI
mortui	νεκροί	J3(126r)	16.1.1	Seg. XVI
mortuis	νεκρῶν	H3(162r)	13.2	Seg. XIII
mortuorum	πολλῶν	J5(125r)	16.1.2	Seg. XVII
<mulier>	γυνή	E7(133r)	6.3	Seg. IX
mulierem	γυναῖκα	E8(133v)	6.3	Seg. IX
mulieres	γυναῖκας	H4(162v)	13.3	Seg. XIII
mulieribus	γυναιξίν	H3(162r)	13.2	Seg. XIII
multa	πολλά	D8(161r)	5.1	Seg. VII
multitudine	πλήθους	E8(133v)	6.4	Seg. IX
multitudini	πλήθει	D7(161v)	5.1	Seg. VII
multitudo	πλήθος	D5(136r)	4.5	Seg. VII
multitudo	πλήθος	D5(136r)	4.5	Seg. VII
multorum	πολλῶν	J6(125v)	16.1.2	Seg. XVII
multorum	πολλῶν	K3(130r)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
mundavit	ἐκαθάρισε	E7(133r)	6.2	Seg. IX
n[o]n	μή	J1(167r)	15.6	Seg. XVI
natum	γεννηθέντα	B3(150r)	1.1	Seg. III
natus (est -)	γεγέννηται	C1(140r)	2.6	Seg. IV
<natus> sum	ἐγεννήθην	E5(144r)	6.2	Seg. IX
ne	μή	D8(161r)	5.1	Seg. VII
ne<quando>	μήποτε	I2(163v)	13.4	Seg. XIV
nec	οὐδέ	D8(161r)	5.1	Seg. VII
nec	οὐδέ	H1(169r)	12.2	Seg. XII
nec unam	οὐδὲ μίαν	C4(123v)	3.1	Seg. IV
nec unam	οὐδὲ μίαν	C8(143v)	4.1	Seg. V
nescimus	οἶδαμεν (οὐκ -)	H3(162r)	13.2	Seg. XIII
Nicodemo	Νικοδήμω	E3(139r)	5.2	Seg. VIII
Nicodemum	Νικοδήμου	E2(134v)	5.2	Seg. VIII
Nicode[m]us	Νικόδημος	B2(152v)	prol.	Seg. II
Nicodemus	Νικόδημος	D7(161v)	5.1	Seg. VII
Nicodemus	Νικόδημος	D6(136v)	5.1	Seg. VII
Nicodemus	Νικόδημος	E1(134r)	5.2	Seg. VIII
Nicodemus	Νικόδημος	E3(139r)	5.2	Seg. VIII
Nicodemus	Νικόδημος	J3(126r)	16.1.1	Seg. XVI
no	οὐκ	B10(147v)	1.2	Seg. III
nocte	νυκτός	H4(162v)	13.3	Seg. XIII
nomine	ὄνομα	A4(174v)	0pref.	Seg. I
<nomine>	{ὄνόματι}	D6(136v)	5.1	Seg. VII
nomine	ὄνόματι	E7(133r)	6.3	Seg. IX
nomine	ὄνόματι	G4(151v)	10.2	Seg. XI
nomine	ὄνόματι	G4(151v)	10.2	Seg. XI

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non	οὐ	B3(150r)	1.1	Seg. III
non	μή	B4(150v)	1.1	Seg. III
non	οὐκ	B6(149v)	1.1	Seg. III
non	οὐ	C1(140r)	2.5	Seg. IV
non	οὐ	C1(140r)	2.6	Seg. IV
non	μή	C4(123v)	3.1	Seg. IV
non	οὐκ	C4(123v)	3.1	Seg. IV
non1	μή	C5(128r)	3.2	Seg. V
non2	οὐκ	C5(128r)	3.2	Seg. V
non	οὐκ	C7(143r)	3.2	Seg. V
<non>	᾿οὐ	D5(136r)	4.5	Seg. VII
non	οὐκ	E5(144r)	6.2	Seg. IX
non	μή	E8(133v)	6.3	Seg. IX
non	οὐ	F1(146r)	7.1	Seg. X
non	οὐ	G1(148r)	10.1	Seg. XI
non	οὐκ	H1(169r)	12.2	Seg. XII
non	οὐκ	H4(162v)	13.3	Seg. XIII
non	οὐκ	J8(164v)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
non	οὐκ	J6(125v)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
nona	θ'	A5(173r)	0pref.	Seg. I
nonam	ἐνάτης	J3(126r)	16.1.1	Seg. XVI
nos	{ἡμεῖς}	C1(140r)	2.5	Seg. IV
nos	ἡμᾶς	G4(151v)	10.2	Seg. XI
nos	ἡμεῖς	I1(163r)	13.3	Seg. XIV
noster	ἡμῶν	K2(177v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
nostram	ἡμῶν	B3(150r)	1.1	Seg. III
nostrī	ἡμῶν	A4(174v)	0pref.	Seg. I
no<stris>	{ἡμῶν}	F2(146v)	7.2	Seg. X
n<ostris>	ἡμῶν	K4(130v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
nostrum	ἡμῶν	A1(165r)	0pref.	Seg. I
notitia	ἐπίγνωσιν	A4(174v)	0pref.	Seg. I
nullus	οὐδεὶς	D8(161r)	5.1	Seg. VII
numquid	μή	E1(134r)	5.2	Seg. VIII
numquid non	οὐ	E1(134r)	5.2	Seg. VIII
nunc	νῦν	C5(128r)	3.2	Seg. V
occde[re]	ἀποκτεῖναι	C2(140v)	2.6	Seg. IV
oc̄cid[ere]	ἀποκτεῖναι	C3(123r)	2.6	Seg. IV
o<culi>s	ὀφθαλμοῖς (ἐν -)	K4(130v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
oculos	ὀφθαλμούς	E6(144v)	6.2	Seg. IX
<offer>entes	προσφέροντες	G2(148v)	10.1	Seg. XI
omnem	ἅπαν	C1(140r)	2.6	Seg. IV
omnem	ἅπαντα1	I4(168v)	14.1	Seg. XV
om̄<nem>	πάντα	K4(130v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
omnes	πάντες	A5(173r)	0pref.	Seg. I
omni	παντί	D7(161v)	5.1	Seg. VII
omni	παντί	K7(170r)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
omnia	πάντα	B6(149v)	1.1	Seg. III
omnia	ἅπαντα2	I4(168v)	14.1	Seg. XV
omnibus	πᾶσιν	F4(153v)	7.2	Seg. X
omnis	πᾶν	D5(136r)	4.5	Seg. VII
o<m>nis	πᾶς	K8(170v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
opera	ἔργου	C3(123r)	2.6	Seg. IV
ora	ὥρα	H4(162v)	13.3	Seg. XIII
orate	εὐχεσθε	A6(173v)	0pref.	Seg. I
ortygomētram	ὀρτυγομήτραν	F3(153r)	7.2	Seg. X
osculatus est	κατεφίλησε	J1(167r)	15.6	Seg. XVI
panem	ἄρτον	J4(126v)	16.1.1	Seg. XVI
paralyticos	παραλυτικούς	B5(149r)	1.1	Seg. III
passione	πάθος	B2(152v)	prol.	Seg. II
pater	πατήρ	J7(164r)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII

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paternam	πατρῶν	B3(150r)	1.1	Seg. III
patrem1	πατέρα1	J7(164r)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
patrem2	πατέρα	J7(164r)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
pausauit	ἀνέπαυσε	J1(167r)	15.6	Seg. XVI
pax	εἰρήνη	A7(166r)	0pref.	Seg. I
pax	εἰρήνη	J1(167r)	15.6	Seg. XVI
peccabi	ἡμαρτον	A7(166r)	0pref.	Seg. I
peccata	ἀμαρτίας	A7(166r)	0pref.	Seg. I
pedes	πόδας	J4(126v)	16.1.1	Seg. XVI
per	κατά	A2(165v)	0pref.	Seg. I
per	κατά	D1(154v)	4.2	Seg. VI
per[ib]un[t]	ἀπολοῦνται	K5(137r)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
per1	διά1	F3(153r)	7.2	Seg. X
per2	διά2	F3(153r)	7.2	Seg. X
perducite	ἀπαγάγετε	D4(131v)	4.3	Seg. VI
perpetuorum	{αἰώνιων}	A5(173r)	0pref.	Seg. I
petra	πέτρας	F3(153r)	7.2	Seg. X
<Pil>a[t]<o>	Πιλάτω	C2(140v)	2.6	Seg. IV
Pilato	Πιλάτου	A3(174r)	0pref.	Seg. I
Pilato	Πιλάτω	B7(138r)	1.2	Seg. III
Pilato	Πιλάτω	C7(143r)	3.2	Seg. V
Pilato	Πιλάτω	D1(154v)	4.2	Seg. VI
Pilato	Πιλάτω	D2(154r)	4.3	Seg. VI
Pilato	Πιλάτω	D3(131r)	4.3	Seg. VI
Pilatum	Πιλάτου	D6(136v)	5.1	Seg. VII
Pilatum (ad -)	Πιλάτω	B10(147v)	1.2	Seg. III
Pilatum (ad -)	Πιλάτω	D5(136r)	4.5	Seg. VII
[P]il[a]tum (ad -)	{Πιλάτω}	F2(146v)	7.2	Seg. X
P[il]atus	Πιλάτος	C3(123r)	2.6	Seg. IV
Pilatus	Πιλάτος	B4(150v)	1.1	Seg. III
Pilatus	Πιλάτος	B5(149r)	1.1	Seg. III
Pilatus	Πιλάτος	B6(149v)	1.1	Seg. III
Pilatus	Πιλάτος	B8(138v)	1.2	Seg. III
Pilatus	Πιλάτος	C1(140r)	2.6	Seg. IV
Pilatus	Πιλάτος	C5(128r)	3.2	Seg. V
Pilatus	Πιλάτος	C7(143r)-	4.1	Seg. V
Pilatus	Πιλάτος	D2(154r)	4.3	Seg. VI
Pilatus	Πιλάτος	D4(131v)	4.3	Seg. VI
Pilatus	Πιλάτος	D5(136r)	4.5	Seg. VII
Pilatus	Πιλάτος	D7(161v)	5.1	Seg. VII
Pilatus	Πιλάτος	E2(134v)	5.2	Seg. VIII
Pilatus	Πιλάτος	F1(146r)	7.2	Seg. X
Pilatus	Πιλάτος	G2(148v)	10.1	Seg. XI
Pilatus	Πιλάτος	C5(128v)	3.2	Seg. V
Pontio	Ποντίου	A3(174r)	0pref.	Seg. I
populo	λαῶ	K7(170r)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
populum	πλήθος	C1(140r)	2.6	Seg. IV
<populum>	λαόν	K4(130v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
populum	λαόν	K7(170r)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
popu<lus>	λαός	K8(170v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
<populus>	λαός	K8(170v)	16.3.3	Seg. XVIII
port[ion]em	μέρος	E3(139r)	5.2	Seg. VIII
possum	δύναμαι	C8(143v)	4.1	Seg. V
post + abl	μετά + acc	B2(152v)	prol.	Seg. II
post + acc	μετά + acc	G2(148v)	10.1	Seg. XI
post + acc	δι' + gen	E8(133v)	6.3	Seg. IX
posuerunt	κατέθεντο	A2(165v)-A3(174r)	0pref.	Seg. I
posuit	ἐπέθηκε	E5(144r)	6.2	Seg. IX
[ro]tauerunt	ἐπότισαν	K1(177r)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
rotauit	ἐπότισεν	F3(153r)	7.2	Seg. X



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potest	δύναται	G1(148r)	10.1	Seg. XI
p[ot]estatem	ἐξουσίαν	C7(143r)	3.2	Seg. V
praecedit	προάγει	I2(163v)	13.3	Seg. XIV
<pr>eçon<auerunt>	προεκήρυξαν	D3(131r)	4.3	Seg. VI
praeses	ἡγεμών	D1(154v)	4.3	Seg. VI
praeses	ἡγεμών	E1(134r)	5.2	Seg. VIII
praesidi	ἡγεμόνι	C4(123v)	3.1	Seg. IV
praetorio (de -)	πραιτωρίου	D2(154r)	4.3	Seg. VI
precedit	προάγει	H3(162r)	13.2	Seg. XIII
preses	ἡγεμών	B10(147v)	1.2	Seg. III
preses	ἡγεμών	E4(139v)	6.1	Seg. VIII
presidem	ἡγεμόνα	E4(139v)	6.1	Seg. VIII
pretorio	πραιτωρίου	C8(143v)	4.1	Seg. V
<pret>orijum	πραιτωρίου	C3(123r)	3.1	Seg. IV
primis	πρῶτον	I1(163r)	13.3	Seg. XIV
principus sacer[dotu]m (a -)	ἀρχιερεῦσιν	B2(152v)	prol.	Seg. II
principatus a sacerdotum	ἀρχιερέων	B1(152r)	prol.	Seg. II
principe	ἄρχοντι (τῷ -)	B6(149v)	1.1	Seg. III
principes sacerdotum	ἀρχιερεῖς	G1(148r)	10.1	Seg. XI
pro1	ὑπέρ1	E1(134r)	5.2	Seg. VIII
pro2	ὑπέρ2	E1(134r)	5.2	Seg. VIII
probum (leg. uerbum)	λόγον2	E1(134r)	5.2	Seg. VIII
procedens	προσελθών	A2(165v)	0pref.	Seg. I
proidentes	προσερχόμενοι	G2(148v)	10.1	Seg. XI
prophe<te>	προφηται	D3(131r)	4.3	Seg. VI
propitius	ἴλεως	A6(173v)	0pref.	Seg. I
<qua>	ποιῶ	C2(140v)	2.6	Seg. IV
qua acta sunt	πραχθέντα (τὰ -)	A2(165v)	0pref.	Seg. I
quad[ra]ginta	τεσσαράκοντα	J1(167r)	15.6	Seg. XVI
quae	ἄς	A7(166r)	0pref.	Seg. I
quae	ποιῶ	H4(162v)	13.3	Seg. XIII
quae1 interr	τίνα	B4(150v)	1.1	Seg. III
quae2 rel	ἃ	B4(150v)	1.1	Seg. III
qualia	{οἷα}	D8(161r)	5.1	Seg. VII
qualiu	ποιῶν	B5(149r)	1.1	Seg. III
quanta	{ὄσα}	I3(168r)	14.1	Seg. XV
quare	διατί	B10(147v)	1.2	Seg. III
quare	διατί	H4(162v)	13.3	Seg. XIII
quarto	τετάρτω	B1(152r)	prol.	Seg. II
quata	ὄσα	B2(152v)	prol.	Seg. II
que	ποιῶι	H3(162r)	13.2	Seg. XIII
<que>dam	τις	E7(133r)	6.3	Seg. IX
queritis	ζητεῖτε	D8(161r)	5.1	Seg. VII
quesistis	ἐζητήσατε	F4(153v)	7.2	Seg. X
quesiuit	ἐζήτησεν	F4(153v)	7.2	Seg. X
qui	{ὅς}	A1(165r)	0pref.	Seg. I
qui	{}	A6(173v)	0pref.	Seg. I
qui	οἷ	A7(166r)	0pref.	Seg. I
qui	ὁ δέ	E4(139v)	6.1	Seg. VIII
qui dicitur	λεγομένου (τοῦ -)	K6(137v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
qui dixerunt	εἰπόντων (τῶν -)	C1(140r)	2.6	Seg. IV
qui reuoluit	ἀποκυλίσαντος (τοῦ -)	I2(163v)	13.3	Seg. XIV
qui uocatur	καλουμένου (τοῦ -)	I4(168v)	14.1	Seg. XV
quia	ὅτι	D6(136v)	4.5	Seg. VII
quia	ὅτι	G3(151r)	10.1	Seg. XI
<quia>1	ὅτι1	H1(169r)	12.2	Seg. XII
quia2	ὅτι2	H1(169r)	12.2	Seg. XII
quia	ὅτι	H1(169r)	12.2	Seg. XII
quia	ὅτι	H2(169v)	12.2	Seg. XII
quia	ὅτι	I2(163v)	13.3	Seg. XIV

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quia	ὅτι	K2(177v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
quia	ὅτι	K2(177v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
quia	ὅτι	K3(130r)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
[qui]a	<ὅτι>	K5(137r)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
qui[a]	ὅτι	K6(137v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
quibus	ποιίαις	H3(162r)	13.2	Seg. XIII
quid	τί	D2(154r)	4.3	Seg. VI
[q]uid	τί	D3(131r)	4.3	Seg. VI
quid	τί	D8(161r)	5.1	Seg. VII
quid	τί	E2(134v)	5.2	Seg. VIII
quid	τί	J8(164v)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
quid	{τί}	K6(137v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
quida	τις	D6(136v)	5.1	Seg. VII
quidam	τις	E4(139v)	6.1	Seg. VIII
quidam	τι{ς}	E8(133v)	6.4	Seg. IX
quinq̄ues	{πέμπτον} {τὸ -}	A5(173r)	0pref.	Seg. I
quinta	πέμπτη	B1(152r)	prol.	Seg. II
quis indef.	τις	D1(154v)	4.2	Seg. VI
quod	ὄ	A2(165v)	0pref.	Seg. I
quod	ἦτις	B1(152r)	prol.	Seg. II
quod	ὄ	B10(147v)	1.2	Seg. III
quod	ὄ	E4(139v)	6.1	Seg. VIII
quod	ὅτι	J8(164v)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
quodquod	ὄσοι	A5(173r)	0pref.	Seg. I
quomodo	πῶς	C7(143r)	3.2	Seg. V
quomodo	πῶς	D2(154r)	4.3	Seg. VI
quomodo	{πῶς}	I3(168r)	14.1	Seg. XV
[qu]omodo	ὄπως	J6(125v)	16.1.2	Seg. XVII
quomodo	πῶς	J6(125v)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
[qu]oniam	ὅτι	B9(147r)-B10(147v)	1.2	Seg. III
quoniam	ὅτι	C1(140r)	2.6	Seg. IV
[q]uoniam	ὅτι	C2(140v)	2.6	Seg. IV
quoniam	ὅτι	C4(123v)	3.1	Seg. IV
quoniam	ὅτι	C5(128r)	3.2	Seg. V
quoniam	ὅτι	J6(125v)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
ꝛ	<...>	K5(137r)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
ꝛatione	λόγω	C2(140v)	2.6	Seg. IV
re<liquis>	ἄλλοις (τοῖς -)	B2(152v)	prol.	Seg. II
rebbi	ῥαββίς	K2(177v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
rebbi	ῥαββί	K3(130r)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
rebbitem (ad -)	ῥαββί dat.	J8(164v)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
recordantes	μνημονεύοντες	A6(173v)	0pref.	Seg. I
regem	βασιλέα	B3(150r)	1.1	Seg. III
reg<em>	βασιλέα	D6(136v)	4.5	Seg. VII
regem	βασιλέα	F1(146r)	7.1	Seg. X
regnum	βασιλεία	C5(128r)	3.2	Seg. V
relinquens	καταλιπών	C7(143r)	4.1	Seg. V
resisterem	ἠγωνιζ{όμην} ἄν	C5(128r)	3.2	Seg. V
respondens	ἀποκριθεὶς	G4(151v)	10.2	Seg. XI
responderunt	ἀπεκρίθησαν	C4(123v)	3.1	Seg. IV
respondit	ἀπεκρίθη	C5(128r)	3.2	Seg. V
resurrectio	ἀνάστασιν	K3(130r)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
<resurrectio>ne	ἀναστάσεως	D3(131r)	4.3	Seg. VI
resurrectione	ἀνάστασιν	J5(125r)	16.1.2	Seg. XVII
resurrexit	ἀνέστη	K2(177v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
resuscitas	ἐγείρει{ς}	K7(170r)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
retinentia	ἐπικρατ{οῦντα}	K6(137v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
rettulerunt	ἐξηγήσαντο	I3(168r)	14.1	Seg. XV
reuelentur	ἀποκαλυφθῶσιν (ἄν)	J6(125v)	16.1.2	Seg. XVII
rex l	βασιλεύς l	C5(128r)	3.2	Seg. V

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rex2	βασιλεύς2	C5(128r)	3.2	Seg. V
rex	βασιλεύς	G2(148v)	10.1	Seg. XI
rex	βασιλεύς	G3(151r)	10.1	Seg. XI
rogabat	ἤξιου	E4(139v)	6.1	Seg. VIII
rogamus	ἀξιοῦμεν	B7(138r)	1.2	Seg. III
rogauerunt	παρεκάλεσ{αν}	J3(126r)	16.1.1	Seg. XVI
rogo	ἀξιῶ	D6(136v)	5.1	Seg. VII
romphea	ῥομφαία	J6(125v)	16.1.2	Seg. XVII
Rubellionis	Ῥουβελίωνος	B1(152r)	prol.	Seg. II
r[u]b[ru]m	{ἐρυθράς}	F3(153r)	7.2	Seg. X
Rufi	Ῥούφου	B1(152r)	prol.	Seg. II
ruina	πτῶσιν	J5(125r)	16.1.2	Seg. XVII
ruina	πτῶσιν	K3(130r)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
sabbato	σαββάτω	C2(140v)	2.6	Seg. IV
sabbatū	σαββάτω	B5(149r)	1.1	Seg. III
sabbatum	σάββατον	B3(150r)	1.1	Seg. III
ῥabbatūm	σαββάτω (ἐν -)	B4(150v)	1.1	Seg. III
sabbatum	σάββατον	H1(169r)	12.2	Seg. XII
sacerdotes	ἱερεῖς	J2(167v)	16.1.1	Seg. XVI
sacerdotes	ἱερεῖς	J4(126v)	16.1.1	Seg. XVI
sacerdotes	ἱερεῖς	K6(137v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
sacerdotes	ἱερεῖς	K7(170r)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
sacerdotib<us>*	ἱερεῦσιν	I3(168r)	14.1	Seg. XV
sacerdotibus	ἱερεῦσι	D7(161v)	5.1	Seg. VII
saeculum	κόσμον	I4(168v)	14.1	Seg. XV
saeculum	αἰῶνος	K7(170r)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
salbum facere	σῶσαι	G1(148r)	10.1	Seg. XI
saluabit	ἔσωσεν	G1(148r)	10.1	Seg. XI
sancti	ἀγίου	A2(165v)	0pref.	Seg. I
sanguine fluens	αἰμορροοῦσα	E7(133r)	6.3	Seg. IX
sanguinis	αἵματος	E8(133v)	6.3	Seg. IX
scitis	οἴδατε	J6(125v)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
<scito>	γίνωσκε	H1(169r)	12.2	Seg. XII
scito	γίνωσκε	H1(169r)	12.2	Seg. XII
scribi	ἐπιγραφῆναι	G3(151r)	10.1	Seg. XI
s[c]riبتuris	γραφῶν	A1(165r)	0pref.	Seg. I
scrutati sunt	μετεστειλαντο	J7(164r)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
scrutatus sum	ἐρεύνησ{α}	A2(165v)	0pref.	Seg. I
se	ἐαυτόν	B3(150r)	1.1	Seg. III
se	ἐαυτόν	D6(136v)	4.5	Seg. VII
se	ἐαυτόν	F1(146r)	7.1	Seg. X
se	αὐτοῖς	G1(148r)	10.1	Seg. XI
secundo	δευτέρας	B1(152r)	prol.	Seg. II
sed	ἀλλά	B7(138r)	1.1	Seg. III
sed	ἀλλά	H1(169r)	12.2	Seg. XII
sedeuat	{ἐ}καθί{ετο}	I3(168r)	14.1	Seg. XV
seditiosa	στασιαστον	F1(146r)	7.2	Seg. X
seipsum	ἐαυτόν	G1(148r)	10.1	Seg. XI
[s]em[p]<er>	αἰεί	F2(146v)	7.2	Seg. X
seniores	πρεσβύτεροι	D1(154v)	4.2	Seg. VI
seniores	πρεσβύτεροι	D5(136r)	4.5	Seg. VII
senioribus	πρεσβυτέρους	D7(161v)	5.1	Seg. VII
sententiam	ἀπόφασιν	G2(148v)-G3(151r)	10.1	Seg. XI
septiesdecies	ἑπτακαιδέκατον (τὸ -)	A4(174v)	0pref.	Seg. I
sepultura	ταφῆς	H1(169r)	12.2	Seg. XII
sermo	λόγος	H2(169v)	12.2	Seg. XII
sermo	λόγος	D4(131v)	4.3	Seg. VI
sermone	λόγους	I2(163v)	13.4	Seg. XIV
sermone	λόγους	D7(161v)	5.1	Seg. VII
seruitute	δουλείας	F2(146v)	7.2	Seg. X

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set	ἀλλὰ καί	B3(150r)	1.1	Seg. III
seu	{}	A6(173v)	0pref.	Seg. I
si	εἰ	C4(123v)	3.1	Seg. IV
si	ἐάν	D1(154v)	4.2	Seg. VI
si	εἰ	D4(131v)	4.3	Seg. VI
si	εἰ	G1(148r)	10.1	Seg. XI
si	εἰ	G4(151v)	10.2	Seg. XI
si	εἰ	K6(137v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
siat	γένηται	A6(173v)	0pref.	Seg. I
sicca	ξηρᾶς	F3(153r)	7.2	Seg. X
s[icut]	οὕτως	D2(154r)	4.3	Seg. VI
sicut	καθώς	I1(163r)	13.3	Seg. XIV
sicuti	καθώς	E3(139r)	5.2	Seg. VIII
şicu[ti]	καθώς	G3(151r)	10.1	Seg. XI
sicuti	καθώς	K2(177v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
sicuti	καθώς	K2(177v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
signa	σημεῖα	D8(161r)	5.1	Seg. VII
signum	σημεῖον	J5(125r)	16.1.2	Seg. XVII
signum	σημεῖον	K3(130r)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
Simeon	Συμεών	J8(164v)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
Simeone	Συμεῶνος	K3(130r)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
şolem	ἥλιον	C3(123r)	3.1	Seg. IV
solum	μόνον	B3(150r)	1.1	Seg. III
spiritu	πνεύματι	B6(149v)	1.1	Seg. III
state	στήτε	J4(126v)	16.1.1	Seg. XVI
statim	παραχρῆμα	E6(144v)	6.2	Seg. IX
ste	οὗτος	B4(150v)	1.1	Seg. III
stetit	ἔστη	D6(136v)	5.1	Seg. VII
stetit	ἔστη	E7(133r)	6.3	Seg. IX
stius	τούτω	C4(123v)	3.1	Seg. IV
strid[e]tis	τριζετε	E2(134v)	5.2	Seg. VIII
şua	αὐτοῦ	B9(147r)	1.2	Seg. III
sua	αὐτοῦ	I1(163r)	13.3	Seg. XIV
suas	αὐτοῦ	E6(144v)	6.2	Seg. IX
sub	ἐπί	A3(174r)	0pref.	Seg. I
sub	ἐπί	A4(174v)	0pref.	Seg. I
sub	ἐπί	B1(152r)	prol.	Seg. II
sub	ὑπό + acc	B10(147v)	1.2	Seg. III
subiecta sunt	ὑποτάσσεται	B6(149v)	1.1	Seg. III
suis	αὐτοῦ	I4(168v)	14.1	Seg. XV
s<um>	εἶμι	C5(128v)	3.2	Seg. V
Summum	Σουμμοῦ	K6(137v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
super	ἐπί + gen	E1(134r)	5.2	Seg. VIII
super	ἐπί + acc	E6(144v)	6.2	Seg. IX
super	ἐπί + gen	G3(151r)	10.1	Seg. XI
super	ἐπί + acc	J4(126v)	16.1.1	Seg. XVI
şuper hoc	ᾧδε	B9(147r)	1.2	Seg. III
superui	ὑπερηφάνου	H2(169v)	12.2	Seg. XII
surdos	κωφούς	B5(149r)	1.1	Seg. III
<surre>xit	ἠγέρθη	H3(162r)	13.2	Seg. XIII
suspensis (de -)	κρεμασθέντων (τῶν -)	G4(151v)	10.2	Seg. XI
synagoga	συναγωγῆ	D8(161r)	5.1	Seg. VII
tamquam	ὡσπερ	J3(126r)	16.1.1	Seg. XVI
te	σε	B10(147v)	1.2	Seg. III
te	σοῦ	H1(169r)	12.2	Seg. XII
te i[p]sum	σεαυτόν	G4(151v)	10.2	Seg. XI
templum	ναόν	C8(143v)	4.1	Seg. V
tempus	καιρόν	A2(165v)	0pref.	Seg. I
tenuistis	ἐκρατήσατε	H4(162v)	13.3	Seg. XIII
te[tra] (in -)	χαμαί	B9(147r)	1.2	Seg. III

Vp Form or Reconstruction	Experimental Back Translation	Folio Reference	Chapter	Segment
<terr>a	{γῆς}	C7(143r)	3.2	Seg. V
tē[rra]	γῆς	F3(153r)	7.2	Seg. X
terra (in -)	χαμαί	J3(126r)	16.1.1	Seg. XVI
terrae	γῆς	H2(169v)	12.2	Seg. XII
tērris	γῆς	C5(128v)	3.2	Seg. V
terris	γῆς	C7(143r)	3.2	Seg. V
t[e]stem	μάρτυρα	C3(123r)	3.1	Seg. IV
testificans	μαρτυρήσας	K2(177v)-K3(130r)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
testimonium	μαρτυρίαν	E8(133v)	6.3	Seg. IX
tēte ips<um>	σεαυτόν	G2(148v)	10.1	Seg. XI
tetigi	ἠψάμην	E7(133r)	6.3	Seg. IX
Theudosi	Θεοδοσίου	A4(174v)	0pref.	Seg. I
tibi	σοι	J1(167r)	15.6	Seg. XVI
tibi	σοι	D2(154r)	4.3	Seg. VI
tibi	{σε}αυτῶ	K7(170r)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
timuerunt	ἐφοβήθησαν	I2(163v)	13.4	Seg. XIV
titulum	τίτλον	G3(151r)	10.1	Seg. XI
tollite	λάβετε	D4(131v)	4.3	Seg. VI
traderemus	παρεδώκαμεν (äv -)	C4(123v)	3.1	Seg. IV
traditus essem	παραδοθῶ	C5(128r)	3.2	Seg. V
transeunte	παράγοντος	E5(144r)	6.2	Seg. IX
transfertis	μεταβάλλετε	A6(173v)	0pref.	Seg. I
tres	τρεις	K2(177v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
tribunal	βήματι	B7(138r)	1.2	Seg. III
tribus	τρῖσιν	G3(151r)	10.1	Seg. XI
triginta et octo	τριάκοντα ὀκτώ	E4(139v)	6.1	Seg. VIII
tu1	σύ1	C5(128r)	3.2	Seg. V
tu2	σύ2	C5(128r)	3.2	Seg. V
tu	σύ	G2(148v)	10.1	Seg. XI
tu	σύ	G4(151v)	10.2	Seg. XI
tua	σου	J2(167v)	15.6	Seg. XVI
tuam	σοῦ ... 'αὐτῆς'	J5(125r)	16.1.2	Seg. XVII
tuas	σου	H1(169r)	12.2	Seg. XII
tunc	{τότε}	I1(163r)	13.3	Seg. XIV
turba	{ὄχλου}	E6(144v)	6.2	Seg. IX
tuum	σου	J7(164r)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
uado	πορεύομαι	J2(167v)	15.6	Seg. XVI
ualde	σφόδρα	I2(163v)	13.4	Seg. XIV
Ualentini	Οὐαλεντινιανού	A5(173r)	0pref.	Seg. I
uel	{}	A6(173v)	0pref.	Seg. I
uenimus	ἦλθομεν	D5(136r)	4.5	Seg. VII
uerba	ῥήματα	J2(167v)	16.1.1	Seg. XVI
uerbo	λόγω	E6(144v)	6.2	Seg. IX
uerbo	λόγω	E7(133r)	6.2	Seg. IX
uerbum	λόγον1	E1(134r)	5.2	Seg. VIII
uerbum	λόγον	E4(139v)	6.1	Seg. VIII
ueritas	ἀλήθεια	C5(128v)-C7(143r)	3.2	Seg. V
<uerit>a[te[m]	ἀληθείας (ἐκ τῆς -)	C5(128v)	3.2	Seg. V
uerita[t]<em>	ἀλήθειαν	C7(143r)	3.2	Seg. V
ueritatem	ἀλήθειαν	E3(139r)	5.2	Seg. VIII
ueritatem	ἀλήθειαν	E3(139r)	5.2	Seg. VIII
uero	δέ	B8(138v)	1.2	Seg. III
uero	δέ	C1(140r)	2.6	Seg. IV
uero	δέ	C5(128r)	3.2	Seg. V
uero	δέ	D1(154v)	4.3	Seg. VI
uero	δέ	E2(134v)	5.2	Seg. VIII
Ueronice	Βερονίκη	E7(133r)	6.3	Seg. IX
uestra	ὑμῶν	F1(146r)-F2(146v)	7.2	Seg. X
uestram	ὑμέτερον	B7(138r)	1.2	Seg. III
ues<tras>	ὑμῶν2	J4(126v)	16.1.1	Seg. XVI

Vp Form or Reconstruction	Experimental Back Translation	Folio Reference	Chapter	Segment
uestros	ὕμῶν1	J4(126v)	16.1.1	Seg. XVI
uestrum	{ὕμῶν}	B7(138r)-B8(138v)	1.2	Seg. III
uestrum1	ὕμῶν1	F4(153v)	7.2	Seg. X
uestrum2	ὕμῶν2	F4(153v)	7.2	Seg. X
uicesima	εἰκάδι	B1(152r)	prol.	Seg. II
uidebam	ἔβλεπον	E5(144r)	6.2	Seg. IX
uidere	ιδεῖν	J7(164r)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
uiderunt	εἶδ{αν}	I3(168r)	14.1	Seg. XV
uiderunt	εἶδαν	K2(177v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
uidetes	ιδόντες	B10(147v)	1.2	Seg. III
uidetis (?)	ὄψεσθε	H3(162r)	13.2	Seg. XIII
uidi	ἀνέβλεψα	E6(144v)	6.2	Seg. IX
uiolat	βεβηλοῖ	B3(150r)	1.1	Seg. III
<vir>	ἀνήρ	D6(136v)	5.1	Seg. VII
uiros	ἀνδρῶν	C1(140r)	2.6	Seg. IV
uis	θέλεις	D4(131v)	4.3	Seg. VI
uis	θέλεις	E4(139v)	6.1	Seg. VIII
uis	θέλεις	F1(146r)	7.1	Seg. X
uitulum	μόσχον	F4(153v)	7.2	Seg. X
un[u]s	εἷς	G4(151v)	10.2	Seg. XI
uniuersae	πάση	I4(168v)	14.1	Seg. XV
universa	ἅπαν	D5(136r)	4.5	Seg. VII
<uo>bis	ὕμῖν	F3(153r)	7.2	Seg. X
uobi[s]	ὕμῖν	F3(153r)	7.2	Seg. X
uobis	{ὕμῖν}	H2(169v)	12.2	Seg. XII
uocat	καλεῖ	B10(147v)	1.2	Seg. III
uoce praeconia	πραίκονα	B10(147v)	1.2	Seg. III
uoce[m]	φωνήν	E5(144r)	6.2	Seg. IX
uolatilibus	πετεινοῖς	H2(169v)	12.2	Seg. XII
uolu<eritis>	βούλεσθε	D8(161r)	5.1	Seg. VII
uolumus	θέλομεν	J7(164r)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
uo!uη[t]	θέλουσιν	C3(123r)	2.6	Seg. IV
uolunt	θέλουσιν	C2(140v)	2.7	Seg. IV
uos	ὕμεῖς	D4(131v)	4.3	Seg. VI
[uos]	ὕμας	F2(146v)	7.2	Seg. X
uos	ὕμας	F2(146v)	7.2	Seg. X
uos1	ὕμας1	F3(153r)	7.2	Seg. X
uos2	ὕμας2	F3(153r)	7.2	Seg. X
uos	ὕμας	F4(153v)	7.2	Seg. X
uos	ὕμας	H3(162r)	13.2	Seg. XIII
uos	ὕμεῖς	I1(163r)	13.3	Seg. XIV
uos	ὕμας	I2(163v)	13.3	Seg. XIV
usque [a]d	ἕως	J1(167r)	15.6	Seg. XVI
usque ad	ἕως	J3(126r)	16.1.1	Seg. XVI
usque	ἕως	K6(137v)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
usque in + acc.	ἕως	K7(170r)	16.3.2	Seg. XVIII
ut + subj	ἵνα	A6(173v)	0pref.	Seg. I
ut + subj	ὥστε	B7(138r)	1.2	Seg. III
ut + subj	ἵνα	C5(128r)	3.2	Seg. V
ut + subj	ἵνα	D5(136r)	4.5	Seg. VII
ut diceret	{εἰπεῖν}	E4(139v)	6.1	Seg. VIII
ut quid	ἵνατί	D5(136r)	4.5	Seg. VII
uult	βούλεται	B3(150r)	1.1	Seg. III
uult	βούλεται	B4(150v)	1.1	Seg. III
uult	βούλεται	D5(136r)	4.5	Seg. VII
verus	ἀληθ{ής}	J8(164v)	16.1.3	Seg. XVII
vestis	ἱματίου	E7(133r)	6.3	Seg. IX
ze[l]um	ζῆλον	C2(140v)	2.6	Seg. IV

