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Papyrus Bodmer III

Arbeiten zur Neutestamentlichen Textforschung



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Papyrus Bodmer III

An Early Coptic Version of the Gospel of John and
Genesis

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VI — Acknowledgments

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Introduction

Reasons for a New Edition of P. Bodmer III

Papyrus Bodmer III is a Coptic manuscript which contains the Gospel of John and a portion of Genesis. In 1958 Rodolphe Kasser published the *editio princeps* of this ancient codex.¹ The current volume is a new edition of Papyrus Bodmer III. It has a completely new transcription as well as photographs of the original manuscript, a new introduction and several useful appendices. This new edition was considered necessary because of the importance of P. Bodmer III as a witness to the early Coptic text and early Greek text.

a. Early Coptic text

In the words of one scholar, “This manuscript [P. Bodmer III] is the principal witness to the Bohairic biblical tradition of the early Coptic era.”² This scholar goes on to explain that although there are a few different witnesses to this Early Bohairic (or proto-Bohairic) stage of the Coptic text, “Only P. Bodm. 3 preserves an extensive amount of text.”³ In his *editio princeps* Kasser noted several distinct features of the dialect in this manuscript, which he identified as a type of Bohairic, labeling it BO.⁴ In later publications Kasser referred to the dialect as “paléobohairique” or “sud-bohairic.”⁵ The Nestle Aland editions of the New Testament refer to the dialect as, “proto-Bohairic” and label it as Pbo.⁶ Other modern scholars have adopted the term “Early Bohairic.”⁷ In creating his classification system of different Coptic dialects, Kasser labeled this dialect B4 and it is still sometimes referred to by that title.⁸ Thus in modern publications B4, Proto-Bo-

1 Rodolphe Kasser, *Papyrus Bodmer III: Évangile de Jean et Genèse I-IV, 2 en Bohairique*, vol. 178, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium (Louvain: Secrétariat du CSCO, 1958).

2 Christian Askeland, *John's Gospel: the Coptic translations of its Greek text*, *Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung* (Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 2012), 168.

3 *Ibid.*, 169.

4 Kasser, *Bodmer III*, VII–XIII.

5 “Prolégomènes à un Essai de Classification Systématique des Dialectes et Subdialectes Coptes selon les Critères de la Phonétique, III, Systèmes Orthographiques et Catégories Dialectales,” *Muséon* 94 (1981): 92.

6 See for example, Barbara Aland et al., eds., *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 28th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2012), 73*.

7 See for example, Askeland, *John's Gospel: the Coptic translations of its Greek text*, 168–74.

8 See for example, Kasser, “Prolégomènes,” 92; Wolf-Peter Funk, “Dialects Wanting Homes: a Numerical Approach to the Early Varieties of Coptic,” in *Historical Dialectology: Regional and Social*, ed. Jacek Fisiak, *Trends in linguistics Studies and monographs* (Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1988), 156.

hairic, and Early Bohairic are all references to the dialect that is primarily featured in P. Bodmer III.

This dialect has almost all of its characteristics in common with Classical Bohairic, specifically the aspiration of the letters κ, π, θ and χ before certain stressed sounds.⁹ As to the characteristics that make this dialect unique, Kasser noted:

In Bodmer III one finds, among others, the following idiosyncrasies: ⲙⲙⲁ, [for the English word] there; ⲉⲛⲁ, [for the English word] two (for the classical ⲙⲙⲁϣ, ⲉⲛⲁϣ); ⲟϣⲟⲗⲉ, [for the English word] and; the negative conditional ⲁⲛⲛⲉϥ- the preterit relative converter ⲉⲣ- (known also in Gnostic Sahidic, Subakhmimic, and Middle Egyptian); absence of the djinkim; *flotement* of ⲃ-ⲉ, ⲉ-ⲁ, ⲙ-ⲛ.¹⁰

To add to Kasser's explanation, I would note only that the use of ⲙⲙⲁ for ⲙⲙⲁϣ is not consistent in this manuscript; sometimes this author uses ⲙⲙⲁϣ for the English "there".¹¹

Given that this is the most important witness to this early dialect in the Coptic tradition, it is important for scholars to have access to its contents. While Kasser did a tremendous job of making a transcription available for scholars, the lack of photographs in his edition limits its usefulness.

Also limiting the usefulness of the 1958 edition is the large number of errors it contains. Many of those errors were recognized by Kasser. In 1966 he published a few corrections to his 1958 edition in the book *L'Evangile selon saint Jean et les versions coptes*.¹² Still not satisfied, in 2001 Kasser incorporated the 1966 corrections, along with additional corrections, into a new article.¹³

There are two problems with this follow-up article: First, it is very complicated: the article does not provide a completely new transcription, but rather corrects a few errors, categorized in different ways. Thus an interested party needs to go to the 1958 edition, read a passage and then go to the 2001 article to see if there are any corrections listed to the passage in question. This is too tedious a task, and since all of this is done without the aid of any photographs from the original, the scholar is still wholly reliant upon the work of Kasser with no way to verify its accuracy.

⁹ For a more detailed explanation see Kasser, "Prolégomènes," 92.

¹⁰ "Bohairic," in *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, ed. Aziz Suryal Atiya (New York: Macmillan, 1991).

¹¹ See for example John 10:40 (F 37v line 9), 10:42 (F 37v line 14), 11:31 (F 39v line 20), 11:54 (F 41v line 8), 12:2 F 42r line 7), 19:29 (F 65r line 10).

¹² Rodolphe Kasser, *L'Evangile Selon Saint Jean et les Versions Coptes de la Bible* (Neuchatel: Delachoux and Niestle, 1966), 39–41.

¹³ "Le Papyrus Bodmer III Réexaminé: Amélioration de sa Transcription," *Journal of Coptic Studies* 3 (2001).

The second problem is that the 2001 article did not make every correction. My transcription has 153 corrections to Kasser's 1958 transcription, including what I am calling 25 "significant" differences. These are differences of an entire word, or differences that change the meaning of a text (as when the inclusion of α makes a noun possessive). Even after the corrections that Kasser made in 1966 and 2001, there are still 90 differences in my transcription and Kasser's. Kasser caught only 41 percent of his mistakes. Most of these differences may be minor and have no influence on the meaning of the text, but 12 of them are still "significant" differences.

For example, in John 14:26 (F 51r line 3), the text reads $\pi\alpha\iota\omega\tau$, whereas Kasser records $\phi\iota\omega\tau$. The difference between "My Father" and "the Father" is significant, and not corrected by Kasser in 2001. Or in John 5:19 (F 16r line 8), Kasser completely omits the word $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ which is visible in the text.

In order to identify to the reader differences between my transcription and Kasser's, all things unique to my transcription are written in red. There will be a footnote indicating what Kasser had written in that passage. If the error was corrected in the 2001 article it will be noted in the footnote. Also, I have provided photographs so the reader can verify my readings. Appendix 3 has a complete list of citations of verses that are different in my transcription and Kasser's, although the reader will have to turn to the verse to see the exact differences.

In conclusion, Papyrus Bodmer III is the most important witness to the Proto-Bohairic dialect. This dialect is important in understanding the development of the Bible in Coptic and the development of the Coptic language itself. The current transcription of this witness, however, has too many errors to be useful to scholars and does not provide photographs for scholars to verify the claims of the editor or pursue their own interests.

b. Early Greek Text

Another reason a new edition of P. Bodmer III is necessary is that it is an important witness to the early Greek text. The 28th Edition of the Nestle Aland cites P. Bodmer III 188 times as a witness to the text of the Gospel of John. This is up from 164 times in the 27th Edition.¹⁴ The increase in citations demonstrates that P. Bodmer III continues to be an important witness to the text of the Gospel of John.¹⁵ I have

¹⁴ These data come with the assistance of Rick D. Bennett Jr., the Director of Content Development with Accordance/OakTree Software, Inc. I have confirmed his data using Logos Bible software as well.

¹⁵ Aland et al., *NA 28*, Forward.

gone through all of the citations used by the NA28 and have discovered that the 24 new citations in NA28 that are not found in NA27 accurately reflect the text of P. Bodmer III. Of the 164 citations carried over from NA27, however, I found 13 of them (7.93 percent) to be problematic.

As an example of an inaccurate citation I submit John 10:22. NA28 has $\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon$ in the text. The apparatus lists $\Delta\epsilon$ as a variant. Another variant for $\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon$ in the apparatus is the omission of any word. NA28 places P. Bodmer III as a witness to a text type containing an omission at this variation unit.¹⁶ However, $\Delta\epsilon$ is clearly visible in the text.¹⁷ Kasser has the word $\Delta\epsilon$ in his transcription but not in his French translation. It is obvious to me that the editors of the NA edition did not have access to images of the original, or else they certainly would have seen $\Delta\epsilon$ in the text. This is evidence that a new edition of P. Bodmer III is needed that will provide photographic support for its transcription.

Another problematic citation from the apparatus of NA28 is in John 4:53. Here the variant is about whether or not the word $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ should be included with the word “Father.” NA28 omits the word “his” and puts it in the apparatus citing P. Bodmer III as a witness to the inclusion of $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$. The problem with this citation by the NA28 is that this passage is in a lacuna in P. Bodmer III.¹⁸ The word $\pi\epsilon\kappa\omega\tau$ is reconstructed by Kasser, but Kasser’s reconstruction should not be included in the NA28 as a witness to the text. Perhaps what complicates this variant is the fact that there is a typographical error in Kasser’s 1958 edition in this passage. While his edition does show the closing square bracket to indicate a reconstructed text, there is no opening bracket to indicate where the reconstruction began. Also, in the French translation, Kasser does not indicate that this text has been reconstructed. It seems that someone working on the NA edition, using Kasser’s edition and not having access to the original manuscript or photographs of it, did not notice this “typo” and inadvertently passed on an error from Kasser’s edition.

This type of error speaks to the necessity of a new edition of P. Bodmer III. This new edition will be a new transcription of the Bodmer Papyrus that includes photographs so that future scholars can verify the work of the NA editors.¹⁹ The difficulty in using Kasser’s edition has caused a number of errors to have crept into the apparatus of the Nestle-Aland editions over the years. This new edition will allow scholars to verify the accuracy of the NA’s citations of this text with greater ease. A complete list of problematic citations in the NA28 of P. Bodmer III is found in Appendix 2.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 333.

¹⁷ See F 36r line 22.

¹⁸ F 14v line 6.

¹⁹ For a complete list of problematic citations in the NA28 of P. Bodmer III please see appendix 2.

Provenance

In his 1958 edition Kasser said little about the provenance of P. Bodmer III. He said only that a block of Greek and Coptic documents were purchased by Martin Bodmer. This “block” included, at least, Papyrus Bodmer II and Papyrus Bodmer III. Kasser suggested that evidence pointed to their discovery in “upper Egypt.”²⁰

In 2011 James Robinson published *The Story of the Bodmer Papyri: From the First Monastery’s Library in Upper Egypt to Geneva and Dublin*. In this book Robinson presents a compelling argument (composed in part of statements Kasser made in later publications about the Bodmer papyri), that the Bodmer Papyri, including P. Bodmer III, were part of a discovery made in 1952 outside the town of Dishnā.²¹ Robinson summarizes the complicated story this way:

The first Christian monastic order was founded in Upper Egypt by Pachomius early in the fourth century. What was left of its library was buried in the seventh century ... It was discovered late in 1952 in Upper Egypt near Dishnā, and hence is referred to locally as the Dishnā papers, though it has been known to scholars up to the present primarily as the Bodmer Papyri.²²

To say that the group of texts known as the Bodmer Papyri were once part of the Pachomian monastery’s library is not to say that the texts necessarily originated there. As Robinson notes:

The presence of relatively unskilled products alongside of relatively professional codices may indicate a plurality of places of origin [for the Bodmer Papyri], and perhaps a contrast between what was produced within the Order and what came from outside.²³

Thus, while Kasser had said only that the Papyrus was discovered in Upper Egypt, we can now state quite confidently that P. Bodmer III was part of the discovery known as the Dishnā papers.²⁴ It was discovered in 1952 and seems to have been

20 Ce papyrus (papyrus Bodmer II) et le nôtre (papyrus Bodmer III) partie d’un lot de documents coptes et grecs qui, offerts en bloc à la Bodmeriana, furent acquis par celle-ci sans que la provenance exacte en ait encore été révélée. On a dit que toutes ces pièces avaient été trouvées ensemble, sans la Haute Égypte, et qu’il s’agissait d’une bibliothèque privée. Nous n’en connaissons pas davantage. Kasser, *Bodmer III*, III.

21 James M. Robinson, *The Story of the Bodmer Papyri: From the First Monastery’s Library in Upper Egypt to Geneva and Dublin* (Eugene, Oregon: Cascade Books, 2011), 128.

22 *Ibid.*, 151.

23 *Ibid.*, 155.

24 It should be noted that Kasser did not agree with Robinson’s conclusions. See for example Rodolphe Kasser, “Bodmer Papyri,” in *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, ed. Aziz Suryal Atiya (New York: MacMillan, 1991); for Robinson’s response to some of Kasser’s views see Robinson, *Bodmer*

part of a monastic library that had been buried in the seventh century, providing for us the latest possible date that our codex could have been produced. While this monastic order was established in the early fourth century, its library may have contained some books that were produced outside the monastery and pre-date its foundation.²⁵ Thus it is theoretically possible that P. Bodmer III may be older than the monastery. So, to the extent that the word “provenance” describes the place where a manuscript was found, one can be relatively certain of the provenance of P. Bodmer III. To the extent that “provenance” describes the place where a manuscript was produced, there is less certainty regarding our codex and one is forced to rely more heavily on other evidence.

Papyri, 175; For more information about the Pachomian libraries and possible ties to discoveries from this area, see Hugo Lundhaug and Lance Jenott, *The Monastic Origins of the Nag Hammadi Codices*, Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015).

²⁵ Robinson, *Bodmer Papyri*, 155.

The Codex

a. How much is extant

The Codex consists of the Gospel of John, and Genesis chapters 1 through 4:2. Most of the manuscript is extant from John 4 forward. Prior to John chapter 4, the evidence is quite spotty. In the Martin Bodmer Foundation's archives, in the box containing P. Bodmer III, are four plates of unlabeled fragments. From these fragments it is possible to reconstruct partial sentences from the first three chapters of John. Where my transcription relies on reconstruction from a fragment, I have noted the fragment and its location in a footnote. Kasser also reconstructed parts of John 1–3 from the fragments. His reconstruction contains some passages that I cannot verify. For this reason, my reconstruction of chapters 1–3 is slightly shorter than Kasser's 1958 publication.

The cover of the codex has also been preserved. It is no longer attached as a cover and exists as two separate pieces – a front and a back. The cover appears to have been constructed in the same manner as the covers discovered with the Nag Hammadi codices. Robinson described those covers as being bound in leather, “lined with used papyrus pasted into thick cardboards called cartonnage, producing a hardback effect.”²⁶ As Kasser noted there are still traces of leather on the outside of one of P. Bodmer III's covers.²⁷ Like the Nag Hammadi covers, P. Bodmer III also used second hand papyrus as evidenced by the traces of Greek script still visible on parts of it. Also still visible is the thread by which the quires were bound to the cover. Kasser also suggested that the first and last pages of the quires were glued to the inside front cover and inside back cover respectively.²⁸ I do not see the evidence that the quires were glued to the cover. It does not appear that the Nag Hammadi quires were glued to their covers,²⁹ nor other codices in the Bodmer collection.³⁰

26 James M. Robinson, Richard Smith, and Coptic Gnostic Library Project., *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, 3rd completely rev. ed. (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988), 14.

27 Kasser, *Bodmer III*, iii.

28 *Ibid.*

29 Robinson, Smith, and Project., *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, 14.

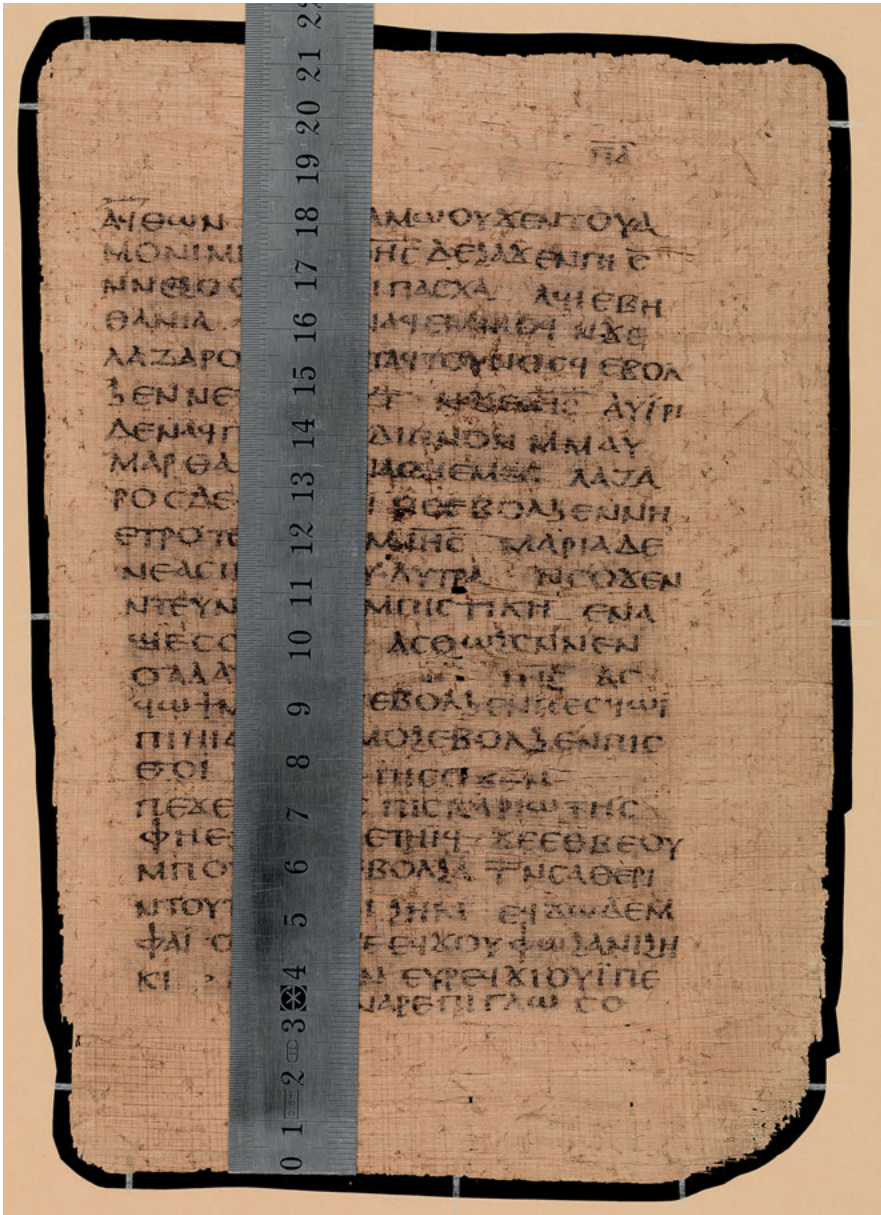
30 Rodolphe Kasser, *Papyrus Bodmer XVIII: Deuteronomie I-X,7 en sahidique*, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana (Cologny-Genève: Bibliothèque Bodmer, 1962), 8.

b. Dimensions

Kasser asserted that the dimensions of the codex were 16.5×23.25 cm.³¹ As seen in the images with the rulers, no image exceeds 21.5 cm in length.



³¹ *Bodmer III*, iv.



I see no reason to speculate that 2 cm have been lost, since many of these folios are well preserved. In addition, the width of the manuscript is between 14.5 to 15 cm, again with no visible reason to assume a loss of a centimeter to each page. The text tends to occupy 10.5 to 11 cm × 14.5 to 15 cm of space on the page.

The dimensions of the codex given by Kasser would put this manuscript into the aberrants of Group 6 in Turner's list of codices.³² The closest in size, by Kasser's measurements, would be P19 from the fourth or fifth century. But this more accurate measurement places P. Bodmer III in Group 7 of Turner's list, more specifically, in the aberrants 1 section. As Turner says of this group, "The dates assigned to codices in Group 7 and its first list of aberrants are predominantly iii–iv [century]."³³ The size of this manuscript, therefore, is not just an item of idle curiosity, but impacts the placement of this codex on Turner's list and may influence the consideration of the century of its origin.

c. Use of quires

Kasser stated that P. Bodmer III was constructed using seven quires, each quire apparently consisting of six sheets.³⁴ The first of the seven quires is almost completely lost, with only fragments surviving. It is difficult to give any definitive statements about this first quire. The second quire begins with a page number of $\overline{\kappa\alpha}$ (21 in Coptic). If the first quire was made up of six sheets, one would expect it to contain 24 pages (six sheets folded in half makes 12 leaves, each leaf having a front and a back page); thus the second quire would start on page 25 ($\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$). As pointed out, however, this quire starts on page 21. This requires some explanation.

This codex does contain several errors in pagination, so it is possible that there was some error in the numbering. This scribe's most common error in pagination is that he³⁵ repeats the same page number on subsequent pages (number-

³² Eric G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex*, The Eighteenth publication in the Haney Foundation series, University of Pennsylvania ([Philadelphia]: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977), 18.

³³ *Ibid.*, 24. There are some manuscripts in this section from the vi and vii centuries, but those are longer at 24.5 and 22.5 cm in length respectively.

³⁴ Kasser, *Bodmer III*, ii.

³⁵ There has been some evidence that some early Christian scribes may have been female. That is certainly a possibility for the scribe of P. Bodmer III. For the sake of simplicity and clarity for the reader, however, I will refer to the scribe as male. See Kim Haines-Eitzen, *Guardians of Letters: Literacy, Power, and the Transmitters of Early Christian Literature* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 41–52.

ing two pages as 22 for instance).³⁶ This type of error in pagination would result in a given page number being written lower than what it actually represents. For example, if I had 10 pages of text and numbered them as pages 1, 2, 3, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 7, 8. My final page, while numbered page 8, would actually be page 10. Thus, it is possible to explain the fact that quire two starts on page 21 as an error in pagination, and that it is actually page 25. But that is not what Kasser does.

In order to explain this phenomenon, Kasser proposes four blank pages at the beginning of the first quire. He postulates that these blank pages would have become so mutilated that they would exist only as tiny fragments.³⁷ The P. Bodmer III collection does contain fragments, but almost all of them contain some writing. There is little to no evidence to support four blank pages at the beginning of quire I. It is possible that one of these blank leaves was glued to the inside of the cover, as hypothesised by Kasser, but I do not find compelling evidence to support that claim.

Another possible explanation is that the first quire consisted of only five sheets, folded in half to produce 20 pages. Then the second quire would start on page 21. This seems like the easiest explanation.

Strips of parchment were used at the center of each quire to prevent damage to the papyrus by the binding of the codex. That this parchment has been repurposed from an earlier use is evidenced by the writing that is still visible on one of them.³⁸ The centers of quires 2–7, are quite certain because either the parchment itself or its outline still remain today. There is also one sheet, $\overline{0\text{H}}$ and $\overline{0\text{E}}$ (folios 40 and 41) which is still complete with the thread and the parchment intact. It seems clear then that quires 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 are made up of six sheets each. Though the number of sheets in Quire 7 is less certain.

According to Kasser's numbering, the Gospel of John ends on the first page of a new quire.³⁹ The title appears halfway down the first page with the rest of the page blank. The verso of that page is also blank. The book of Genesis begins on the third page of the quire. It begins at the top of the page, with a title. The pagination begins anew here with $\bar{\alpha}$. The scribe stopped writing at Genesis 4:2: "but Cain he was a worker of the earth." This is only the third line of the page and the rest of that page is left blank with no additional markings. The recto of that page

36 See folios 22r and 22v both numbered $\overline{11\text{r}}$, folios 38r and 38v both labeled $\overline{0\text{A}}$, or folio 43v and 44r both labeled $\overline{0\text{B}}$. Also see the pagination section of this introduction for further explanation about the pagination habits of the scribe.

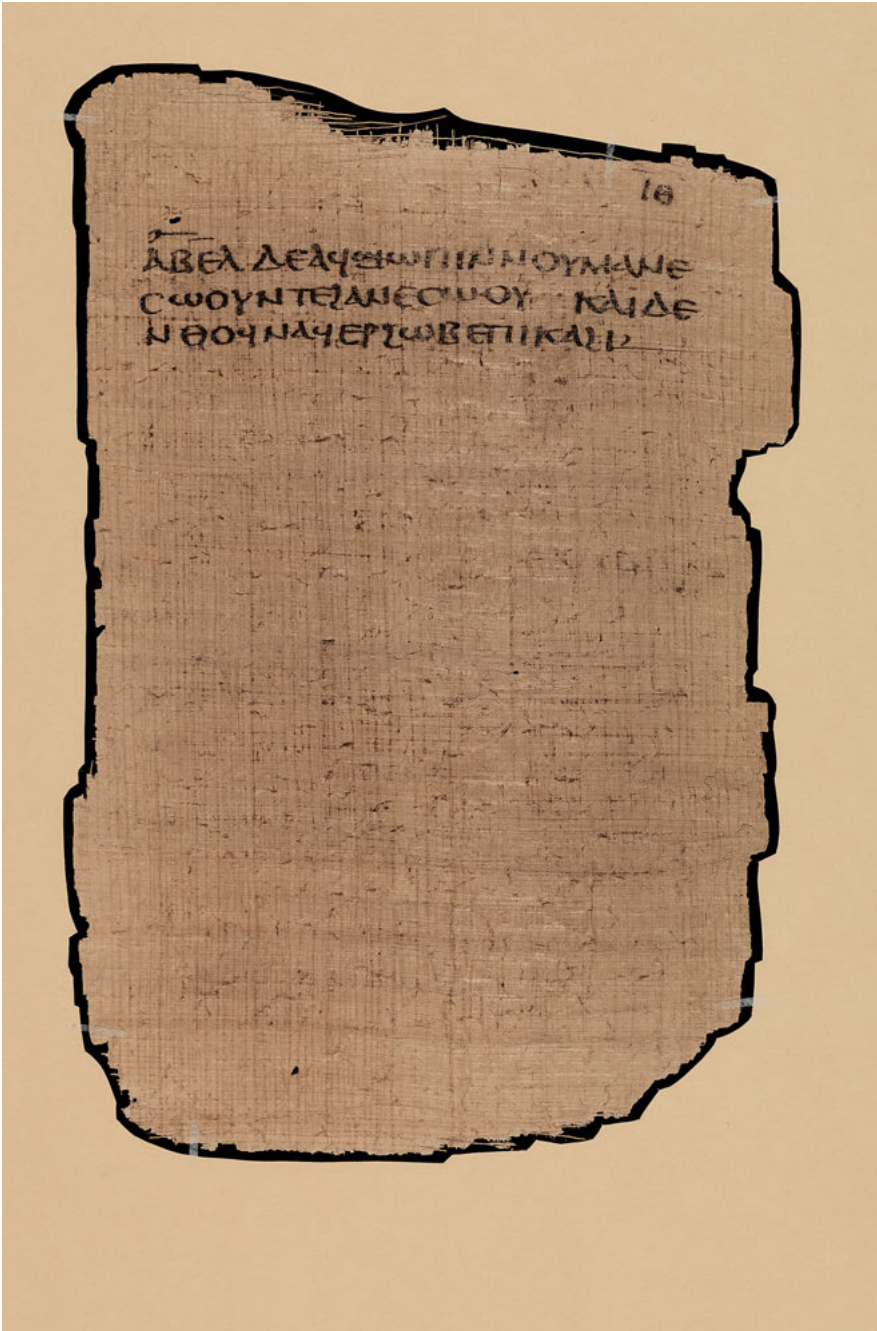
37 Kasser, "Réexaminé," 84.

38 See F 28v.

39 Kasser, "Réexaminé," 87.

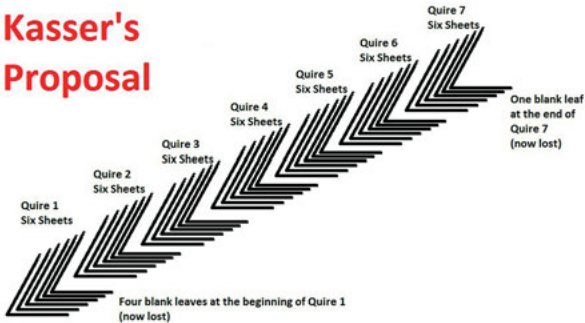


Folios 40 and 41 – still attached together

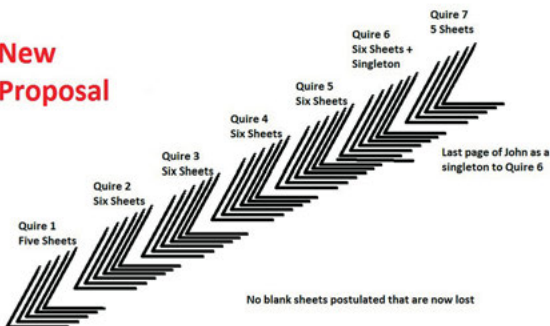


Genesis 4:2 – The last page of text for P. Bodmer III

Kasser's Proposal



New Proposal



is also blank. Kasser postulates that there were another two blank pages at the end of Genesis in order to complete this six-sheet quire.

There may be no need, however, to postulate this blank leaf. It is equally possible that the final page of John was attached as a singleton to the end of the sixth quire and that Genesis was contained in a single quire of five sheets. In this proposal P. Bodmer III would have been a codex made up of a quinione (five sheets), five seniones (with a singleton in the last one) and then a quinione. A codex made up of quires of varying lengths is not unheard of and is even evidenced in the Bodmer collection.⁴⁰ This proposal, while having the disadvantage of making P. Bodmer III a codex made up of quires of varying sizes, has the advantage of making use of all the data without postulating several blank sheets at the beginning or end of the codex.

⁴⁰ See the discussion of P. Bodmer II in Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex*, 70. Regardless of whether one accepts Martin's order or Turner's proposal for the makeup of P. Bodmer II, either way it is a codex of quires of varying length.

d. Condition of the Papyrus

A final point to be made about the original codex is that the papyrus itself was torn and worn in places. Obviously, one expects to find tears in the papyrus of such an ancient manuscript. But the evidence is that there were some tears in the original codex as well. Thirty-three times in this manuscript the scribe is forced to put odd spacing in the middle of a word in order to avoid a tear or blemish in the papyrus.⁴¹ An excellent example of this can be found on F 25r (ⲙⲏ) on line 6. Looking at this page, one sees several small holes in the papyrus. My initial assumption was that these holes were signs of aging, not part of the original codex. When I transcribed the page, however, I discovered the Coptic word ⲉⲧⲕⲱⲧ written ⲉⲧⲕ and with a space precisely where one of the holes is located, and then ⲱⲧ.



It seems apparent that the hole, or at least the start of it, was present at the time of the writing of this manuscript. But just six lines further down on the same page, there is another hole. This time the scribe has written letters where the hole now is and $\chi\epsilon$ is only partially visible. Thus, while some of the blemishes and holes in the current papyrus were there at the time of the writing of this codex, not all of them were. But the fact that in 33 instances the scribe recognized that there was something wrong with his papyrus sheet and yet worked around the flaw, indicates something about the scarcity or cost of writing material available to this scribe.

⁴¹ See F 25r line 7; F 27r line 14; F 27r line 15; F 33r line 22; F 33v line 1; F 34r line 16; F 35r line 22; F 37r line 17; F 38r line 14; F 38v line 21; F 38v line 22; F 41r line 4; F 41r line 5; F 41r line 13; F 42r line 14; F 42 v line 14; F 45r line 1; F 48v line 2; F 48v line 3; F 49r line 8; F 50v line 8; F 35r line 9; F 35r line 10; F 54r line 21; F 56r line 18; F 57r line 9; F 59r line 1; F 60v line 8; F 64v line 19; F 72r line 20; F 72 v line 12; F 73r line 11.

e. Layout of horizontal and vertical fibers

In the *editio princeps* Kasser stated that the codex followed the classical pattern of horizontal to vertical, vertical to horizontal and then horizontal to vertical, etc.⁴² The inaccuracy of this statement was addressed in his 2001 article. Here he corrected that statement with a more accurate depiction of the horizontal and vertical sides of the leaves. I present here an update to Kasser's list with one correction.⁴³ Due to the amount of material lost in the first quire, only a few pages can be given with any certainty. Rather than speculate on the rest, I have left them off the list.

First Quire

Page number in manuscript	Actual Page Number	Folio number	Horizontal or Vertical
none visible	1	1r	V
none visible	2	1v	H
none visible	3	2r	H
none visible	4	2v	V
middle of quire to fragmentary to reconstruct with certainty			
none visible	19	10r	V
none visible	20	10v	H

⁴² Kasser, *Bodmer III*, iii.

⁴³ "Réexaminé," 85.

Second Quire

Page number in manuscript	Actual Page Number	Folio Number	Horizontal or Vertical
$\overline{\kappa\alpha}$ ⁴⁴	21	11r	H
$\overline{\kappa\beta}$	22	11v	V
$\overline{\kappa\Gamma}$	23	12r	H
$\overline{\kappa\Delta}$	24	12v	V
$\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$	25	13r	V
$\overline{\kappa\zeta}$	26	13v	H
$\overline{\kappa\eta}$	27	14r	V
$\overline{\kappa\theta}$	28	14v	H
$\overline{\kappa\theta}$	29	15r	H
$\overline{\lambda}$	30	15v	V
$\overline{\lambda\alpha}$	31	16r	H
$\overline{\lambda\beta}$	32	16v	V
$\overline{\lambda\Gamma}$	33	17r	V
$\overline{\lambda\Delta}$	34	17v	H
$\overline{\lambda\epsilon}$	35	18r	V
$\overline{\lambda\zeta}$	36	18v	H
$\overline{\lambda\eta}$	37	19r	H
$\overline{\lambda\theta}$	38	19v	V
$\overline{\lambda\theta}$	39	20r	H
$\overline{\mu}$	40	20v	V
$\overline{\mu\alpha}$	41	21r	V
$\overline{\mu\beta}$	42	21v	H
$\overline{\mu\Gamma}$	43	22r	V
$\overline{\mu\Gamma}$ ⁴⁵	44	22v	H

⁴⁴ Kasser suggests that $\overline{\kappa\alpha}$ and $\overline{\kappa\beta}$ are not visible but they are.

⁴⁵ Error made by scribe in pagination.

Third Quire

Page number in manuscript	Actual Page Number	Folio Number	Horizontal or Vertical
$\overline{M\Delta}$	45	23r	V
\overline{ME}	46	23v	H
\overline{MC}	47	24r	H
\overline{MZ}	48	24v	V
\overline{MH}	49	25r	H
$\overline{M\Theta}$	50	25v	V
\overline{MN}^{46}	51	26r	H
$\overline{N\Delta}$	52	26v	V
\overline{NB}	53	27r	V
\overline{NF}^{47}	54	27v	H
$\overline{N\Lambda}$	55	28r	H
\overline{NE}	56	28v	V
\overline{NC}	57	29r	V
\overline{NZ}	58	29v	H
\overline{NH}	59	30r	H
$\overline{N\Theta}$	60	30v	V
\overline{z}	61	31r	V
$\overline{z\Delta}$	62	31v	H
\overline{zB}	63	32r	V
\overline{zF}	64	32v	H
$\overline{z\Lambda}$	65	33r	V
\overline{zE}	66	33v	H
\overline{zC}	67	34r	H
\overline{zZ}	68	34v	V

⁴⁶ Error in pagination made by scribe.

⁴⁷ This page written in a different hand.

Fourth Quire

Page number in manuscript	Actual Page Number	Folio Number	Horizontal or Vertical
$\overline{\text{zH}}$	69	35r	V
$\overline{\text{zO}}$	70	35v	H
$\overline{\text{zO}}^{48}$	71	36r	V ⁴⁹
$\overline{\text{o}\lambda}$	72	36v	H
$\overline{\text{OB}}$	73	37r	H
$\overline{\text{OG}}$	74	37v	V
$\overline{\text{o}\lambda}$	75	38r	H
$\overline{\text{o}\lambda}^{50}$	76	38v	V
$\overline{\text{OE}}$	77	39r	V
$\overline{\text{OC}}$	78	39v	H
$\overline{\text{OZ}}$	79	40r	H
$\overline{\text{OH}}$	80	40v	V
$\overline{\text{OE}}$	81	41r	V
$\overline{\text{O}}$	82	41v	H
$\overline{\text{O}\lambda}$	83	42r	H
$\overline{\text{OB}}$	84	42v	V
$\overline{\text{OG}}$	85	43r	V
$\overline{\text{o}\lambda}$	86	43v	H
$\overline{\text{o}\lambda}^{51}$	87	44r	V
$\overline{\text{OC}}$	88	44v	H
$\overline{\text{OZ}}$	89	45r	H
$\overline{\text{OH}}$	90	45v	V
$\overline{\text{OE}}$	91	46r	H
$\overline{\text{O}}$	92	46v	V

48 Error made by scribe.

49 Kasser, "Réexaminé," 86–87. Kasser incorrectly labels $\overline{\text{zO}}$ as horizontal and $\overline{\text{o}\lambda}$ as vertical. Not only is this clearly wrong when looking at the fibers of the manuscript but it does not even make sense in Kasser's own list. Since $\overline{\text{o}\lambda}$ forms a sheet with $\overline{\text{OZ}}$ which Kasser correctly labels.

50 Error made by scribe.

51 Error in pagination made by scribe.

Fifth Quire

Page number in manuscript	Actual Page Number	Folio Number	Horizontal or Vertical
$\overline{q\Delta}$	93	47r	H
\overline{qB}	94	47v	V
\overline{qF}	95	48r	V
$\overline{q\Delta}$	96	48v	H
\overline{qE}	97	49r	H
\overline{qC}	98	49v	V
\overline{qZ}	99	50r	H
\overline{qH}	100	50v	V
\overline{qO}	101	51r	V
\overline{P}	102	51v	H
$\overline{P\Delta}$	103	52r	V
\overline{PB}	104	52v	H
\overline{PF}	105	53r	H
$\overline{P\Delta}$	106	53v	V
\overline{PE}	107	54r	H
\overline{PC}	108	54v	V
\overline{PZ}	109	55r	V
\overline{PH}	110	55v	H
\overline{PO}	111	56r	V
\overline{PI}	112	56v	H
$\overline{P\Delta}$	113	57r	H
\overline{PB}	114	57v	V
\overline{PI}	115	58r	V
$\overline{P\Delta}$	116	58v	H

The sixth quire

Page number in manuscript	Actual Page Number	Folio Number	Horizontal or Vertical
$\overline{\text{PIE}}$	117	59r	V
$\overline{\text{PIC}}$	118	59v	H
$\overline{\text{PIZ}}$	119	60r	H
$\overline{\text{PIH}}$	120	60v	V
$\overline{\text{PIO}}$	121	61r	V
$\overline{\text{PK}}$	122	61v	H
$\overline{\text{PIA}}^{52}$	123	62r	H
$\overline{\text{PKB}}$	124	62v	V
$\overline{\text{PKI}}$	125	63r	H
$\overline{\text{PKA}}$	126	63v	V
$\overline{\text{PKE}}$	127	64r	V
$\overline{\text{PKC}}$	128	64v	H
$\overline{\text{PKZ}}$	129	65r	H
$\overline{\text{PKH}}$	130	65v	V
$\overline{\text{PKO}}$	131	66r	V
$\overline{\text{PL}}$	132	66v	H
$\overline{\text{PLA}}$	133	67r	V
$\overline{\text{PLB}}$	134	67v	H
$\overline{\text{PLI}}^{53}$	135	68r	H
$\overline{\text{PLA}}$	136	68v	V
$\overline{\text{PLE}}$	137	69r	V
$\overline{\text{PLC}}$	138	69v	H
$\overline{\text{PLZ}}$	139	70r	H
$\overline{\text{PLH}}$	140	70v	V
$\overline{\text{PLO}}^{54}$	141	71r	H
Blank page	142	71v	V

⁵² Error in pagination by original scribe.

⁵³ Something else written before the r could be either a B or a Δ , but rather illegible now.

⁵⁴ To include this leaf as a singleton in this quire is a proposal of this project. Kasser included this leaf as the first leaf of quire VII and proposed a blank leaf now lost to complete its sheet.

Quire 7

Page number in manuscript	Actual Page Number	Folio Number	Horizontal or Vertical
ⲁ ⁵⁵	143	72r	V
Ⲃ	144	72v	H
Ⲅ	145	73r	V
ⲅ	146	73v	H
Ⲇ	147	74r	H
Ⲇⲉ ⁵⁶	148	74v	V
Ⲉ	149	75r	V
Ⲩ	150	75v	H
Ⲫ	151	76r	H
Ⲭ	152	76v	V
Ⲯ	153	77r	V
Ⲱ	154	77v	H
Ⲱⲓ ⁵⁷	155	78r	H
Ⲳ	156	78v	V
Ⲵ	157	79r	V
Ⲷ	158	79v	H
Ⲹ	159	80r	H
Ⲻ	160	80v	V
Ⲽ	161	81r	H
Blank page ⁵⁸	162	81v	V

There appears to be no discernible pattern in the placement of the vertical and horizontal sides of the manuscript. The center of quires 2, 3, 4 and 7 are vertical fibers; while the centers of quires 5 and 6 are horizontal. Quires 2 and 5 begin with a horizontal page, while quires 3, 4 and 6 begin with a vertical.⁵⁹ This lack of pattern continues within a given quire where sides face each other. I am left to conclude that the maker of this particular codex gave no thought whatsoever to the positioning of the horizontal and vertical sides of the papyrus in the construc-

⁵⁵ That this quire begins with this page is a suggestion of this project. Kasser's 7th quire begins with ⲡⲪⲟ the last page of the Gospel of John.

⁵⁶ The ⲉ has a line through it.

⁵⁷ Looks like the ⲓ was originally some other letter, probably a ⲃ.

⁵⁸ That the quire ends here is a proposal of this project. Kasser has two more hypothetical pages completing this quire.

⁵⁹ If Kasser is correct and quire 7 begins with the last page of the Gospel of John, then it starts on a horizontal side. If the alternate theory is correct and the quire starts with Genesis, then it starts on a vertical side.

tion of this codex. Turner spends considerable time discussing the orientation of the horizontal and vertical sides of a codex, but does not give examples of manuscripts, which like P. Bodmer III, follow no discernible pattern.⁶⁰

f. Page numbering

The page numbers of this manuscript appear in the hand of the original scribe. The exception to that is page $\overline{\text{nr}}$ (F 27v) where the entire page is written in a different hand and the writing of the page number matches that of the rest of the page.

Instead of using the more traditional Coptic $\overline{\text{r}}$ for the number six, the scribe always uses $\overline{\text{c}}$. This is done in the page numbering as well as the text itself.⁶¹ The page numbers are written towards the left side of the page if the page is on the left side of the codex, and on the right side of the page on the right page of the codex.

There are nine errors made by the scribe in the pagination of this codex.⁶² Five of these errors are corrected by the scribe, and the subsequent numbering of the pages is unaffected. One such error occurs on F 26r. This, by the numbering of the scribe, should be numbered page $\overline{\text{n}}$, or number 50.⁶³ The scribe had been writing $\overline{\text{m}}$, $\overline{\text{m}}$, $\overline{\text{m}}$, ... (41, 42, 43) and on this page wrote the letter $\overline{\text{m}}$ for 40, and, before he could put a line above it to indicate that it was a number, realized that he had made a mistake and put a line through it and wrote $\overline{\text{n}}$ instead.



This same phenomenon occurs on page $\overline{\text{o}}$ (F 36r), or number 70. Here, again, having written $\overline{\text{z}}$ for 60 several times, the scribe begins to write $\overline{\text{z}}$, crosses it out and writes the correct $\overline{\text{o}}$ next to it.⁶⁴ In both of these instances the next page of the manuscript is numbered correctly.

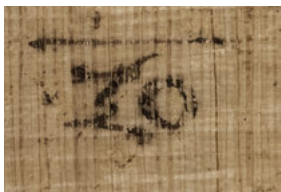
⁶⁰ Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex*, 64–71.

⁶¹ See for example John 12:1, F 42r line 2.

⁶² F 22v, F 26r, F 36r, F 38v, F 44r, F 62r, F 68r, F 74v, F 78r.

⁶³ Because of an error to be discussed later, this is actually page 51 of the codex.

⁶⁴ This time the vertical stroke is actually over both letters $\overline{\text{z}}$ so it is difficult to tell when he caught his error.



Probably related to this type of error is the error found on F 62r. This page is incorrectly numbered $\overline{\text{p}\alpha}$ (111) when it should be numbered $\overline{\text{p}\kappa\alpha}$ (121). The scribe had been writing $\overline{\text{p}\alpha}$, $\overline{\text{p}\beta}$, $\overline{\text{p}\Gamma}$, (101,102,103), etc. and even though he had just written $\overline{\text{p}\kappa}$ (120), on the next page he returned to writing $\overline{\text{p}\alpha}$. The following page is numbered correctly $\overline{\text{p}\kappa\beta}$ (121). All three of the instances above occur on pages that face each other, instances where the scribe had easy visual access to the previous page number.

In three other instances the scribe began to write a number, realized that it was wrong, and then crossed it out and wrote the correct number.⁶⁵ These errors did not affect the correct number being on the subsequent page.

In one surprising error on F 44r the scribe incorrectly writes $\overline{\text{p}\alpha}$ (84). What makes this error so surprising is that it occurs on the page that is on the right side of the open codex and that $\overline{\text{p}\alpha}$ (84) is also the page number of the left hand page. The scribe should have had immediate visual access to his mistake. I see no signs of a correction. The next page, however, is correctly numbered as $\overline{\text{p}\zeta}$ (86). There is no evidence that any page was ever numbered 85 and then corrected.

There are two other important errors in page numbering that occur. These are instances where the scribe incorrectly repeats the same number and then, on the following page, continues to number the manuscript incorrectly. On F 22v the scribe numbers this page $\overline{\text{m}\Gamma}$ which is also the page number of F 22r. Likewise on F 38v the scribe writes $\overline{\text{o}\alpha}$ even though the recto of this page is also $\overline{\text{o}\alpha}$. In both instances the scribe does not catch his mistake. Thus, while according to the scribe, the final page of the Gospel of John is written on page $\overline{\text{p}\lambda\theta}$ (139), the actual page number is 141, two numbers higher.

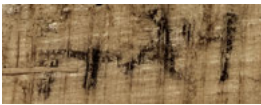
This then leads to the question of when the pages were numbered. It seems likely to me, given the way in which the page numbers line up with the side of the codex they are on, that the pages were numbered after the codex was assembled; but were they numbered all at once, in an act separate from writing the text? Or was each page numbered as it was filled with text? Of course, the first indicator is

⁶⁵ F 68r $\overline{\text{p}\lambda\beta}$ appears to have been written first and then corrected to $\overline{\text{p}\lambda\Gamma}$; F 74v $\overline{\text{e}}$ is written and crossed out with $\overline{\text{c}}$ in its place; F 78r $\overline{\text{p}\Gamma}$ is written, but the r appears to have been the start of a v . In each case the incorrect letter was the letter of the preceding page.

that the one page that is in a hand different from the original scribe's is numbered by the scribe of that page. That indicates that the entire codex was not numbered at once.

Also, given the nature of the errors, it seems likely to me that the scribe numbered each page as he went along. For example, the errors on F 26r, F 36r, and F 62r all occur on the right side of an open codex. They all occur around the time of switching to a new number. It seems to me that if the scribe were numbering all of the pages at once, having just written 49, he would be more prone to remember the next page was 50. But if he were writing out page numbers as he went, and had been writing page numbers starting with 40 for some time, once he started a new page, he would write the μ for 40 and then look at the other side of the page to see what number to put in the ones column. Then the scribe would see that the previous number was 49, cross out the μ and write $\bar{\eta}$ in its place. This would be the same explanation for 69–70 on F 36r. Likewise, the scribe having written $\rho\iota$ for so many pages in a row, would write $\rho\iota$ at the top of F 62r, then seeing that the previous number had no number in the ones column wrote an λ here, not even checking that the ι was incorrect for the κ in the tens column. This use of easy visual access to the previous page explains many of the corrections made by the scribe. He starts a number, checks the previous page, then makes a correction. The two times the scribe wrote the wrong number and continued from there were times when the wrong number was written on the left hand side of the codex and there was not easy visual access to check if the number was correct. Thus, it seems likely to me that the scribe paginated the codex as he went through adding text.⁶⁶

One other thing to note in the pagination section is the seven occurrences of letters above the text and around the height of the page numbers or higher. These letters appear in the following locations:

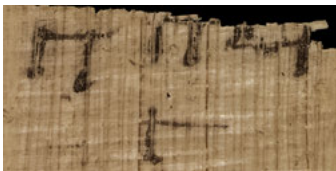


F 15v has $\eta\lambda\kappa$ written at the top. Although the η is a little lower than the $\lambda\kappa$, η is Coptic 80, λ is 1 and κ is 90. These letters, however, do not have lines above them to indicate that they are a number. And additionally they are nonsense as Coptic numbers, unless each one was to be taken individually.

⁶⁶ It is also of course possible that the pagination is not the product of this scribe, but a problem of the exemplar. In other words, the scribe copied accurately wrong page numbers from the exemplar, but then this explanation still holds. It just explains what happened in the pagination of the exemplar.



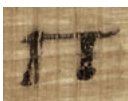
F 28r has what appears to be a π at the top of the page, again without a line over it, unless it is two ι ι with a line across the top.



F 39r has several letters written above the page number. This page has π π λ χ written across the top. The first π is slightly lower than the π λ χ. Below these letters is what could be an ι that is crossed out or possibly a ρ. Again, these letters have no lines above them, so they do not appear to be numbers.



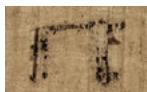
On F 48r there is again written a letter that looks something like a ρ, although possibly an ι with the start of a line over it. This is page 48 so it is possible that this was going to be part of the page number and then the scribe decided to write the page number farther to the right, but the scribe never writes the page number in the center of a page, so that would be unusual.



F 73r has a π on the top of it. Like the other πs written by the page numbers, this π extends the top bar to the right over the leg.



F 78r has π λ χ written across the top. This is the second time in this quire that there is something written here. This is identical to what is written on F 15v, although the π on this page is more in line with the rest of the text.



F 79r has the third instance in this quire of something written by the page number. In this instance it is a π .

I have spent much time trying to deduce the meaning of these marks. The fact that $\pi\alpha\varrho$ is written on more than one folio seems significant and may indicate that these are not random but that they have some meaning. It may also be significant that many of the ones not labeled with $\pi\alpha\varrho$ have the letter π , which may be a variation or abbreviation of $\pi\alpha\varrho$. I considered that these letters somehow indicated quires, but they appear in different locations in each quire, with quire 7 having two of them. I must confess that I am at a loss to explain the meaning of any of these marks and note them here in my introduction with the hope that further research may be taken up by other interested scholars.

Paleography

a. Layout

The codex was written in a single column and averages 22 lines per page. The Genesis portion on its own is slightly lower, at 21 lines per page.⁶⁷ Seven pages in this codex have as many as 25 lines of text. Among these is F 27v, or $\overline{\text{nr}}$, which is in a different hand from the rest of the manuscript. The other pages are $\overline{\text{ne}}$ (F 28v), $\overline{\text{nc}}$ (F 29r) (which face opposite each other), $\overline{\text{oa}}$ (F 36v), $\overline{\text{ob}}$ (F 37r) (which face opposite each other), $\overline{\text{pa}}$ (F 43v)⁶⁸, and $\overline{\text{pxe}}$ (F 69r). Excluding the pages at the end of John⁶⁹ and the end of Genesis,⁷⁰ the page with the least text is $\overline{\text{z}}$ F 80r, with only 18 lines. There are also seven folios with 20 lines of text.⁷¹

The scribe averages 21 letters per line. When considered on its own, the Genesis portion of the codex averages only 18 letters per line. One can conclude that while writing the Genesis portion of this codex, the scribe who averages only 21 lines per page (as compared to 22 for the John portion of the codex) and 18 letters per line (as opposed to 21 letters per line in the John portion), and which leaves at least a page and a half blank at the end of the codex, felt no pressure to fit in a certain amount of text in a specific space.

b. Use of decorative stroke

On almost every page of this manuscript the scribe has written a decorative stroke over the first few letters of the first line. This stroke may extend into the left margin (for example F 23r); it may cover multiple letters (see page F 69r for a line covering four letters); or it may serve to indent the first letter (see F 62v). It is usually written with a *paraglyphos*. It may take many forms but is always present when the manuscript is extant, with three exceptions.

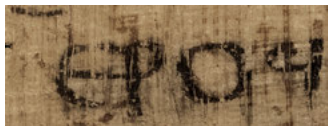
⁶⁷ Actual numbers are 22.35 lines per page for John and 21.06 for Genesis. This number excludes the last page of Genesis since it consists of only 3 lines of text. If the number for John start on page $\overline{\text{z}}$ where there is little reconstruction of the text, then the number is slightly higher for John at 22.92.

⁶⁸ F 43v, or the first $\overline{\text{pa}}$ designated by the scribe.

⁶⁹ Which has only 8 lines of text, plus a decorative $\overline{\text{εγαγγελιον κατα ιδωαννης}}$ that takes up two lines.

⁷⁰ Which has only three lines of text

⁷¹ $\overline{\text{kr}}$ (F 12r), $\overline{\text{la}}$ (F 17v), $\overline{\text{me}}$ (F 23v), $\overline{\text{qz}}$ (F 50r), $\overline{\text{e}}$ (F 14r), $\overline{\text{o}}$ (F 16r), $\overline{\text{th}}$ (F 80v).



F 23r



F 69r



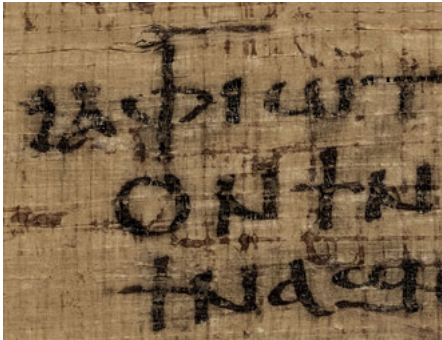
F 62v

On page $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{r}}$ (F 27v), which is a page written in a hand different from the rest of the manuscript, the scribe does not write a decorative line at the start of the first page. Pages $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{r}}$ (F 22v) and $\overline{\text{p}}\overline{\text{l}}\overline{\text{n}}$ (F 70v) are apparently written in the hand of the original scribe but are missing the decorative line at the beginning of the page. Other than decoration, I can see no clear reason for these marks, or why they should be omitted from these two pages. F 22v is labeled as page $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{r}}$ by the scribe, which is an obvious error, since the previous page is also $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{r}}$. Thus one could speculate that there is some relationship between the pagination error and the lack of decorative line on this page. This explanation falls apart, however, when one notes that $\overline{\text{p}}\overline{\text{l}}\overline{\text{n}}$ is not a redundant page number.⁷² Another problem with seeing a connection between the error in page numbering and the lack of decorative stroke is that there is also an error in the pagination on folios 38r and 38v, both of them being numbered $\overline{\text{o}}\overline{\text{x}}$, and yet both of them have the decorative strokes.

⁷² Technically since the scribe numbered page $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{r}}$ incorrectly, every page number after that is also wrong, so page $\overline{\text{p}}\overline{\text{l}}\overline{\text{n}}$ is the wrong page number, but it is not redundant, meaning it is not the same page number as the previous page.

Another potential explanation for the lack of stroke on pages $\overline{\text{m}\Gamma}$ and $\overline{\text{p}\lambda\text{H}}$ is that both of these pages are the last page of a quire. I have already proposed that $\overline{\text{p}\lambda\text{H}}$ may not have been the end of a quire but may have been followed by a singleton, but apart from that objection, every other extant quire ending has a decorative mark on its last page. So this too fails as a suitable explanation. I am thus at a loss to suggest why these two pages omit a decorative stroke, or even what purpose, if any, the strokes serve on the other pages.

One question to be answered is: when were these decorative strokes made? Were they made in the process of copying or at a later date? Were they made by the scribe or another hand? On page $\overline{\text{p}\Gamma}$ (F 56v), there is a correction to the first word of the line. $\text{z}\lambda$ is added in the margin to $\text{f}\iota\omega\tau$. The decorative line is over $\text{f}\iota\omega\tau$, thus the text reads $\text{z}\lambda\text{f}\iota\omega\tau$. Since the hand of the correction appears to be that of the original scribe, this suggests that the line was made before the corrections and by the original scribe.⁷³ I believe all of these decorative strokes were the work of the original scribe made at the time of copying the text.



F 56v

In addition to putting a decorative stroke above the first letters of a page, this scribe also employed superlinear strokes in other instances, for example, to indicate numbers, both in the pagination and in the text, and for *nomina sacra*. $\overline{\text{H}\Sigma}$, $\overline{\text{f}\Gamma}$, $\overline{\text{oc}}$, $\overline{\text{H}\lambda\alpha}$, and $\overline{\text{x}\rho\text{c}}$ are all consistently written and marked with superlinear strokes.

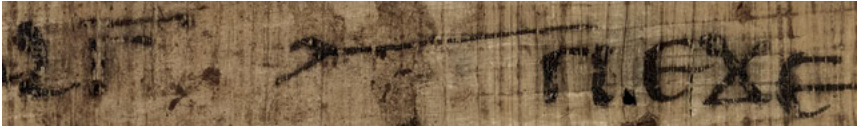
Many other proper names are also marked with superlinear strokes, although, unlike *nomina sacra*, these names are not abbreviated. For example: $\overline{\lambda\text{B}\rho\lambda\lambda\text{M}}$ ⁷⁴,

⁷³ It is also possible that it was important to line up the line with the margin, but since it at times extends into the margin (see examples above), this seems less likely.

⁷⁴ On folios 29r, 29v, 31r.

ⲗⲗⲗⲙ⁷⁵, ⲑⲟⲙⲁⲥ⁷⁶ and ⲉⲗⲉⲙ⁷⁷ all appear written out with superlinear strokes. However, while proper names may receive a superlinear stroke, the scribe is not consistent. Even the names just mentioned, Abraham,⁷⁸ Adam⁷⁹ and Thomas, are sometimes written without a superlinear stroke.⁸⁰

The scribe also had the habit of marking other words with lines above them. Chief among these words was the word ⲗⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ (he answered), written 33 times with a superlinear stroke. While this word might introduce a saying of Jesus,⁸¹ this is not always the case.⁸² ⲗⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ (they answered) is written seven times with a superlinear stroke and sometimes introduces the words of Jesus's opponents.⁸³ But given that the vast majority of ⲗⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ statements are sayings of Jesus, coupled with the fact that there are 12 instances where the phrase “verily, verily I say unto you” is marked with a superlinear stroke,⁸⁴ it seems that the prominent purpose of these strokes is to mark important passages, with an emphasis on the sayings of Jesus. That the scribe desired to mark significant passages can also be seen in Genesis where the different days of creation are marked off with *paragraphos* followed by long strokes. A complete list of words written with superlinear strokes can be found in appendix 1.⁸⁵



Example of long stroke to mark start of a new day of creation F 73r

75 Folios 77v, 79r, 79v, 80r.

76 Folios 68r and 68v.

77 Folios 76r and 76v.

78 Folios 29v, 31r.

79 Folios 77v, 78v, 79r, 80r, 80v.

80 See 68v.

81 See for example 37r, 43v, 48v, 62r.

82 See for example 33v.

83 See folios 29r and 29v for examples of this.

84 Folios 16r, 16v, 30v, 34v, 35r, 47r, 47v, 49v, 55v, 56r.

85 This list excludes words that are the first word of a page.

c. Paragraphos

Another feature of this scribe is the use of *paragraphos*. As stated earlier, these are often part of the feature of the decorative marks that start a new page and, as such, are written above the line.⁸⁶ When used in this manner, they occur at the beginning of the page and may not even be at the beginning of a word.⁸⁷ The most common usage of *paragraphos*, however, is to mark small units. The *paragraphos* appears 1,192 times in the extant portion of this manuscript, averaging nine usages per page.⁸⁸ The general pattern is to have a small space and then make a small mark. I have attempted to reflect these occurrences in my transcription by using the formula “Spat. 2 ›”. Throughout my transcription the sign “ › ” indicates the use of *paragraphos*.



Example *paragraphos* F 33v

F 30v has the most *paragraphos*, with 18 on that page. The *paragraphos* combined with the spaces, which often are also combined with superlinear strokes over certain words, may have served to help readers keep track of where they were in the text.



A space, followed by a *paragraphos*, followed by the word $\alpha\varphi\epsilon\rho\omicron\gamma\omega$ with a superlinear stroke above the first two letters. F 33v

⁸⁶ See for example page $\overline{\varphi\alpha}$ F 47r.

⁸⁷ See for example $\overline{\rho\epsilon}$ F 54r where the word $\nu\omicron\omega\tau\epsilon\eta\iota$ is split over two pages with a *paragraphos* combined with the decorative line over $\omicron\omega\tau\epsilon\eta\iota$.

⁸⁸ This total is reached if one begins calculating from F 12r, since the folios before that are so fragmentary.

d. Second Hand

As mentioned earlier, folio $\overline{\text{nr}}$ is unique in that it is written in a hand different from the rest of the manuscript; none of the distinguishing features mentioned above – the decorative stroke at the start of the page, the use of superlinear strokes to mark off text,⁸⁹ and the *paragraphos* – is utilized by this scribe.⁹⁰ Also, the *nomina sacra* for “Christ” is $\overline{\text{xc}}$ on this page whereas everywhere else throughout this manuscript it is always written as $\overline{\text{xpc}}$.⁹¹ There can be little debate that this singular page of P. Bodmer III was written in a different hand from the rest of the extant codex. What can be debated is when this scribe wrote and why.

Kasser, in 1958, stated that he believed the original scribe left this page blank and that it was filled in at a later time. When that time was, however, Kasser could not decide. He thought that the handwriting and orthography of the second scribe looked like it was from the Middle Ages but that the grammar indicated an earlier time period.⁹²

It is important to note that $\overline{\text{nr}}$ (F 27v), the page in question, is the recto of page $\overline{\text{nb}}$ (F 27r) and forms part of a sheet with $\overline{\text{nh}}$ (F 30r) and $\overline{\text{nf}}$ (F 30v), and that these other three pages have all been written in the hand of the original scribe. There is no possible way that $\overline{\text{nr}}$ was written on a separate sheet of papyrus and slipped in later as a singleton – there is text connected to it in the hand of the original scribe. In order for this single page to have been written in the Middle Ages, it would mean that the original scribe just left this one page completely blank, while filling in all the other pages around it and connected to it. One could postulate that the original scribe wrote something on this page that was later erased, but there is no evidence of such extensive erasures on this page.⁹³

Before drawing conclusions about why this page is written by a different scribe, there is another piece of evidence to consider: The text flows seamlessly between these two hands. Page $\overline{\text{nb}}$ (F 27r), the recto of the page in question, concludes with John 7:50. Page $\overline{\text{na}}$ (F 28r), begins at the start of John 8:17. The page written by the second scribe, $\overline{\text{nr}}$ (F 27v) starts with verse 7:51 and ends neatly at 8:16. There are 25 lines on this text, a little more than average but not unique in this number, and an average of 22 letters per line, which again is around the

⁸⁹ Although the 2nd scribe does use superlinear strokes to indicate *Nomina Sacra*.

⁹⁰ This scribe does, however, use punctuation: a single dot raised from the line · is used by this scribe.

⁹¹ See appendix 1 for a complete list of the *nomina sacra* and where they are used.

⁹² Kasser, *Bodmer III*, V–VI.

⁹³ See the discussion on erasures in the “Corrections to manuscript” section of the introduction for places in this manuscript where erasing did take place.

norm for this codex. The point to be made here is that this second scribe wrote exactly the text that needed to fit onto this page using approximately just as much space as the first scribe regularly used. This evidence led Dr. Hans Förster to conclude:

... I (as well as Matthias Schulz) would tend to say that it is virtually impossible that a later scribe filled in a blank page ending so well with the lines and all. Thus, while Kasser is not sure how to interpret this we tend to think that it might be a change of scribe but written at the same time as the rest.⁹⁴

Thus it seems that, given all the evidence, the simplest explanation is that, for reasons unknown to us, the original scribe of P. Bodmer III got up and took a break after finishing F 27r. Another scribe picked up exactly where the first one left off, and wrote F 27v. After that single page was complete, the original scribe sat back down and continued to write the remainder of the codex.⁹⁵

If this is the most plausible explanation of the evidence, how does one explain that the second hand has a writing style characteristic of the Middle Ages? Perhaps the flaw is not in this explanation but in the dating of Coptic handwriting. It may be that “those characteristics which are ‘de type moyenâgeux’ might actually not be typical for the later time.”⁹⁶ Paleographic dating of manuscripts has the potential to be built on circular arguments. As Kasser himself noted, “All Coptologists recognize this one fact: Coptic paleography is still a new field.”⁹⁷ While there are many manuscripts from the Middle Ages, there are few manuscripts from the earlier centuries of Christianity with which to compare the handwriting. Within such a new and developing field, with so little data upon which to base our conclusions, perhaps it is best not to put too much weight on paleographic dating.

While 27v is the only page in this manuscript where we have certain evidence that our original scribe “took a break” while another scribe wrote, it may not be the only instance. Most of the first quire is lost and, searching among the fragments stored with P. Bodmer III, I discovered a single fragment that appears to be in a different hand.⁹⁸ There is a different hand on the recto and verso of this

⁹⁴ Hans Förster, February 24 2016.

⁹⁵ By offering this quick summary I do not mean to imply that the entire codex of P. Bodmer III was the product of one sitting.

⁹⁶ Förster.

⁹⁷ Rodolphe Kasser, “Paleography,” in *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, ed. Aziz Suryal Atiya (New York: MacMillan, 1991), A176a.

⁹⁸ PBIII_Jean_Fragments_2_Recto Row 2, column 1.

fragment. This may be evidence that there was a third scribe who wrote in this manuscript.⁹⁹

e. Inconsistent nature of hand

Returning our discussion to the main scribe, this scribe is not consistent in many of his practices, for example, in the use of a superlinear mark to indicate a final η . This scribe indicates the final η of the line 18 times with a superlinear stroke.¹⁰⁰ But he writes out a η at the end of the line 403 times. For example, on F 45r line 18 the scribe uses a superlinear stroke to indicate a final η .



F 45r

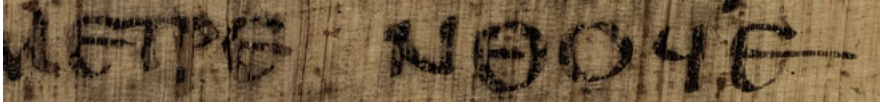
But on that same page the scribe writes out the letter η five times as the last letter of the line.¹⁰¹ There seems to be no pattern to his usage. One interesting note is on F 38r line 4. Here the scribe ends line 4 with a line to indicate a η but then begins line 5 with a η . Realizing the mistake, the scribe crosses out the η at the start of line 5 and continues writing.

Another way the scribe inconsistently treats the letters at the end of a line is that, at times, he provides flourishes to the final letter. For example, on $\overline{\rho\kappa\eta}$ (F 65v), there are several final epsilons that are extended out into the margin. The top of two sigmas are also elongated to extend into the margin, whereas in the majority of instances they do not. These elongated letters (especially of epsilons and sigmas) come and go with no particular pattern evident.

⁹⁹ There is also the possibility that this fragment has been misplaced and belongs to another codex in the Bodmer collection, but at this time I do not see that it matches any other handwriting in the Bodmer Collection.

¹⁰⁰ F 17v line 10; F 29r line 10, F 29v line 19; F 30v line 9; F 34r line 4; F 38r line 4; F 42v line 5; F 43r line 5; F 45r line 18; F 46v line 8; F 47r line 3; F 54r line 7; F 65v line 18; F 71r line 2; F 73v line 6; F 75r line 5.

¹⁰¹ Lines 1, 6, 8, 17 and 22.



Notice how the final ε of the line is elongated into the margin. F 65v

f. Paleographic conclusion

In studying the hand of the main scribe of P. Bodmer III, I consulted with Hans Förster and Matthias Schulz, both experts in Coptic handwriting. After comparing the paleography of P. Bodmer III with an extensive collection of other Greek and Coptic manuscripts, Schulz responded:

As far as I can say the script of P. Bodmer III is quite unique among the Greek and Coptic manuscripts of the New Testament except for single characters or the layout of pages. I found only four examples that resemble at least some aspects of the script ...¹⁰²

But even the closest parallel was “much more formal and stylized than [P. Bodmer III].”¹⁰³ The conclusion of both Förster and Schulz was:

I think, for the time being, it is the best to keep Kasser’s dating, but mention that paleographic dating is at least problematic and not all scholars would agree in a specific century for a manuscript.¹⁰⁴

It is my conclusion that what can be gleaned from the handwriting of this scribe is that he was not professionally trained. His handwriting is inconsistent – the handwriting at times slants across the page; at other times it can be rather even.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² Matthias Schulz, E-mail, January 21 2016.

¹⁰³ E-mail, January 27 2016.

¹⁰⁴ E-mail January 21 2016.

¹⁰⁵ See, for example, ϣ̄ⲛ and ϣ̄ⲉ (F 48v and 49r) for two pages that face each other but are uneven in their slant.