GREEK MANUSCRIPTS IN ALEXANDRIA

H. A. G. HOUGHTON
University of Birmingham
H.A.G.Houghton@bham.ac.uk

MINA MONIER
Swiss Institute of Bioinformatics, Lausanne
minas.monier@gmail.com

Abstract

Important manuscripts of the Greek New Testament and other early Christian writings are held by institutions in Alexandria. This report provides an update on the current location and identification of these documents, including the ‘Akhmim Fragment’ of the Gospel of Peter. It also gives preliminary information about four witnesses to the Greek New Testament which have now been added to the official register. These comprise a tenth-century catena manuscript of the Gospels (GA 2937) and three gospel lectionaries (GA L2477, L2478, and L2479).

Beacon of learning and cradle of text-critical scholarship, the city of Alexandria on the southern coast of the Mediterranean Sea to the west of the Nile Delta has historically played an important part in the transmission of Greek literature. Although changes in population and politics have affected the character of the modern city, it remains home to a number of important Christian manuscripts. Some of these, in fact, have only recently arrived in Alexandria, while four are witnesses to the Greek New Testament which had not previously been included in the standard register, the Kurzgefasste Liste.¹ The present article provides...
information gathered from the inspection of artefacts in February 2018 at two significant institutions, the Bibliotheca Alexandrina and the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate. On the basis of this, the details of several manuscripts in catalogues and scholarly editions should now be updated, and the newly registered witnesses to the Greek New Testament may be further examined both as artefacts and as evidence for the biblical text. It is also possible that the resources described in this article may lead to further discoveries in these collections.

THE BIBLIOTHECA ALEXANDRINA

The ancient library of Alexandria, founded by Ptolemy I Soter in the third century BCE, was destroyed during the Roman period. In 2002, a new library and cultural centre known as the Bibliotheca Alexandrina was opened in a prominent position on the city’s seafont close to where its predecessor is believed to have been located. Many of the library’s holdings came as donations from other institutions. According to its senior staff, the library itself currently holds no Greek manuscripts. However, on one of the lower floors of the building there is an Antiquities Museum presenting artefacts found during the construction of the building alongside a wide range of items of Egyptian cultural heritage. Its holdings include 80 papyri, 30 from Oxyrhynchus and several from other collections (P.Fay., P.Fouad, P.Cair.Masp., and P.Cair.Zen.). Most are in Greek, including various fragments of Menander (P. Oxy. VII 1013, X 1235 and 1236, P. Oxy. XIII 1605), Euripides’ Orestes (P. Oxy. IX 1178 and XIII 1616), the histories of Herodotus (P. Oxy. XI 1375) and Thucydides (P. Oxy. X 1245), a commentary on the latter (P. Oxy. VI 853), and multiple texts of Homer’s Iliad (P. Oxy. VIII 1087 and XV 1820; P. Fay. 141, 160, 209 and 309); there are also two fragments of Vergil’s Aeneid (P. Oxy. VIII 1098 and P. Fouad 5, the latter bilingual). All of the papyri were acquired from the Egyptian

Aland) number. The most up-to-date version of the information is to be found online in the New Testament Virtual Manuscript Room (NTVMR) at <http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/liste> and updates can be downloaded from the website of the Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung (INTF). The authors would like to thank Holger Strutwolf, Klaus Wachtel, Gregory Paulson, and other members of the INTF for their assistance and the ratification of our discoveries.

2 The authors would like to express their gratitude to Hoda El Mikaty (Deputy Director), Mohamed Aly Essam, Bassem Ragy, and their colleagues at the Bibliotheca Alexandrina and its museum for their time and provision of information.
Museum in Cairo in 2001, and since then have been assigned a new shelfmark as they form part of the permanent collection of the Bibliotheca Alexandrina Antiquities Museum (BAAM). A full, illustrated inventory of the holdings of the museum, including these papyri, is available online at <http://antiquities.bibalex.org/collection/MuseumDatabase.aspx>.

Among the Oxyrhynchus papyri transferred to Alexandria are two witnesses to the Greek New Testament. P. Oxy. VII 1008 (P15), a single page containing 1 Cor. 7:18–8:4 probably copied in the third century, is now identified as BAAM 0543. P. Oxy. VII 1009 (P16), featuring parts of Philippians 3–4, may have come from the same manuscript: its present shelfmark is BAAM 0544. In addition, the Antiquities Museum now holds GA 0242, fragments of two pages from a fourth-century parchment codex of the Gospel according to Matthew. This appears in the inventory as BAAM 0513. A further papyrus formerly in the Cairo Museum is described as ‘Prayer of a Christian Woman’ (P. Cairo Cat. 10696, now BAAM 0505). Of the six extant lines of this sixth-century document, the last two quote the openings of the Gospels according to Luke, John, and apparently Matthew, making this a non-continuous witness to the New Testament text (Var 26 in Aland’s Repertorium). 3

The most substantial Christian manuscript held in this collection is BAAM 0522. Its previous shelfmark was P. Cairo 10759, and it is also known as the ‘Akhmim Fragment’. A parchment codex, of which 33 folia are extant, this is the principal witness to the apocryphal Gospel of Peter and also contains chapters 1–27 of 1 Enoch, part of the Apocalypse of Peter and the Martyrium of Julianus of Anazarbus. Extensive attempts to locate this important manuscript in 2010 failed—despite a note in the Leuven Database of Ancient Books that one page of the manuscript was on display in the Bibliotheca Alexandrina—with the result that Paul Foster notes in his critical edition of the Gospel of Peter that ‘the codex is now missing’. 4 In February 2018, the authors not


4 Paul Foster, The Gospel of Peter: Introduction, Critical Edition and Commentary (TENTS 4; Leiden: Brill, 2010), p. 1; there is also an account of van Oort’s fruitless attempt to locate the manuscript in Alexandria in June 2010 on p. xi. His lack of success may in part have been due to the library’s
only saw two bifolia of this manuscript on display in the Antiquities Museum, but, after telephone permission had been granted from the Ministry of Antiquities, were shown the rest of the codex. This is stored in the metal cabinet immediately under the display case in which the selected leaves are on show, with each bifolium preserved between glass plates. The museum’s ownership of the document is confirmed by the database, which includes colour images of four pages. There do not appear to be any further Greek Christian documents in the collection: despite some inaccuracies in the database, this remains a very helpful tool for tracing papyri formerly in Cairo which are now permanently held in Alexandria.

The Library of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in Alexandria

Situated in the premises of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria, in the ancient part of the city, the Patriarchal Library holds over 500 manuscripts and almost 3,000 early printed books, as well as several thousand modern volumes. It was home to the famous Codex Alexandrinus (GA 02; London, British Library, Royal MS 1 D VIII) before its presentation to King James I by Patriarch Cyril Lucaris in 1624. In subsequent centuries, wars and political turbulence meant that the library’s holdings were often moved between Alexandria and the patriarchal residence in Cairo (Haret el-Roum), with consequent loss of material. Patriarch Meletius II Metaxakis was responsible for the establishment of the library in its current location in 1928.

The standard catalogue of the Patriarchal Library is that of Theodoros Moschonas, partly reproducing the work of Nikolaos Phirippides, his predecessor as librarian. The first edition (1945) description of the object as a New Testament manuscript. In September 2018, the LDAB record continued to state ‘Bibliotheca Alexandrina (one page exhibited, with binding)’ with the rest of the manuscript in Cairo (<https://www.trismegistos.org/ldab/text.php?tm=59976>).

6 Three further papyri in the Museum Database were also described as ‘Prayer of a Christian Woman’ (BAAM 0583, 0584, 0585) in September 2018, but these have subsequently been corrected: reference to Grenfell and Hunt shows that all are secular texts.

7 The authors would like to thank His Divine Beatitude Theodoros II, Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria and All Africa, for their reception in the Patriarchate, and Dr Panagiotis Tzoumerkas (Patriarchal Librarian) and Nikolaos Tzoumerkas for their extensive assistance and permission to reproduce photographs of manuscripts taken on our visit.
combines Phirippides’s descriptions of manuscripts 1–380 with Moschonas’s shorter entries for 381–518 and an index. A second edition, published in 1965, reproduces an adjusted copy of the 1945 catalogue with typescript annotations and information on manuscripts 519–37. This was prepared by Jacob Geerlings in conjunction with a project to microfilm selected documents of this collection. In the last fifty years, however, little work appears to have been undertaken on the patriarchal holdings. A project at the University of Helsinki begun around the year 2000 planned to produce a new catalogue, in conjunction with the conservation and digitization of the collection, but this seems to have been abandoned. In recent years, there has been a small-scale project to send codices for restoration at the Bibliotheca Alexandrina. A subcatalogue by Nikolaos Tzoumerkas of 57 Byzantine manuscripts (i.e. those copied between the tenth and fifteenth centuries), based on the descriptions in Moschonas, was published two years ago. This indicates that the current system of shelfmarks still corresponds to the first number printed in Moschonas’s catalogue. Our experience at the library, however, revealed that difficulties may persist in identifying and locating items: we learnt that the collection has a tendency to become disordered during the periods when the librarian is resident in Thessaloniki. In addition, the manuscripts are kept in less than optimal conditions: we were not permitted to enter the store because of health concerns, and mould and bookworm were in evidence even in recently repaired documents. Improvements to storage facilities are

8 Θεόδωρος Δ. Μοσχωνας, Κατάλογοι της Πατριαρχικής Βιβλιοθήκης. Τόμος Α. Χειρογραφα. Αλεξάνδρεια (n.p.), 1945. Phirippides’ material was published in instalments in Εκκλησιαστικός Φάρος, the journal of the Alexandrian Patriarchate, between 1938 and 1942.


10 The sole output appears to be a 23-page booklet: Jaakko Frösén and Mika Hakkarainen (eds.), The Medieval Library of the Greek-Orthodox Patriarchate in Alexandria (Proceedings of the Finnish Institute in the Middle East, 1/2005; Helsinki: Vantaa, 2006). Nothing more recent is found on the project website, still online at <http://www.helsinki.fi/hum/kla/papupetra/santeri/project.html>, and enquiries by email have received no response. Staff at the Patriarchate seemed unaware of this project, which may have foundered after the untimely death of the previous patriarch in 2004.

therefore urgently required, along with digitization to assist with the wider use and long-term preservation of this archive.

Prior to our visit, the Kurzgesfasste Liste listed ten continuous-text manuscripts of the Greek New Testament held in the library of the Greek Patriarchate in Alexandria. Changes in shelfmarks between the first and second editions of the printed Liste suggest that some reference had been made to Moschonas’s catalogue, but this was not fully implemented, as shown in Table 1.

Of the ten registered manuscripts, it was possible to verify seven in person. Three of these require updating of the shelfmark in the Liste (GA 81, 904, 1302): although details of former shelfmarks have been provided for reference in Table 1, these do not form part of the current identifier. The other three manuscripts mentioned in the Liste could not be verified on our visit. The early fragments of Mark (GA 080) had been stored separately in the librarian’s office. Last seen in 2016 or 2017, they could not be located on our visit and no photographic record was available. Moschonas notes that the Alexandrian portion consists of two leaves, containing Mark 9:14–20 and 10:23–9; the librarian recalled there being six fragments preserved between glass. The thirteenth-century Pauline catena manuscript GA 2205 could not be identified in Moschonas’s catalogue: the current MS 87 is a copy of Aristotle, no item has the former shelfmark 87, and there is no entry for a Pauline catena of this date or size. In addition, no photographs of this witness are held by the INTF: the entry in the Liste appears to rely on the description in von Soden. Further research for the CATENA project by Georgi Parpulov, however, has identified this manuscript as GA 2659 (Athens, Benaki Museum, MS 8), which matches von Soden’s details of a copy of Theophylact’s catena on Paul written on paper beginning at Rom. 3:25. GA 2205 must therefore be removed as a duplicate. The description of GA 2208 given in the Liste records simply that it consists of sheets glued together as part of a binding, on which 2 Cor. 11:23–7 is visible. This may relate to MS 372 (formerly MS 317, which is the shelfmark given in the first edition of the Liste), but there is no mention of this in Moschonas, who

---

12 Aland, Kurzgesfasste Liste. GA 2937 was not included at this point, and the data was identical in the online version referenced in n. 2 above.

13 The images of this manuscript available in the NTVMR are of the fragment kept in St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Gr. 275 (3).

simply notes that the manuscript is an incomplete copy of a set of ecclesiastical canons. In favour of the identification, however, is the similar size of the pages. Unfortunately, we were not able to inspect this manuscript on our visit.
In addition to the manuscripts already included in the *Liste*, Moschonas records a further witness to the Greek New Testament in the form of a catena on the four gospels (MS 122, formerly 83 and *PSE*). The codex is written on parchment, consisting of 263 folia measuring 240 x 200mm, with 35 long lines to a page. The hand is a very neat and regular *Perlschrift*, which may be dated to the latter half of the tenth century. The format of the text is an alternating catena, with biblical lemmata followed by sections of commentary marked by a capital letter and *ekthesis*. The gospel text is extensive, but not continuous. In Matthew and Mark, the lemmata are written in red, as illustrated in Plate 1; in Luke and John they are highlighted in yellow and centred or right-justified, shown in Plate 2. Monograms and names in the margin identify the sources: Moschonas lists Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, Theodore of Heraclea, Apollinaris, Titus of Bostra, Victor the Presbyter, Severus of Antioch, Gregory the Theologian, Gregory of Nyssa, Eusebius of Caesarea, Origen, Isidore, Ammonius, and the heading ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου (as found in the earliest catena tradition). The opening is missing, with the first folio (numbered 4) beginning with Matt. 21:28. The catena type in Matthew has not yet been identified, although it is the same as that found in GA 1422. Mark starts on fol. 42, with a headpiece coloured in blue, yellow, and red, and two short prefaces as a single text: the argumentum beginning πολλῶν ὡς εἰκός εἰς τὸ κατὰ ματθαίον (BHG 1038e) and the argumentum ending λόγον κατηχήσας ἐφώτισεν (von Soden 575–6). This corresponds to the first recension of the catena ascribed to Victor of Antioch (CPG C125.1). Luke begins on fol. 95, with an interlaced headpiece in the same colours and two prefaces (Ἐναγγέλια καλοῖτ’ ἄν from Chrysostom and Λουκᾶς ὁ μακάριος εὐαγγελιστής), but breaks off with Luke 24:45 at the end of fol. 216. This is the catena pseudonymously attributed to Peter of Laodicea (CPG C132). The stub of the single missing page is still visible, and fol. 217 starts in the middle of the commentary on John 1:2. The final page of the manuscript, numbered 266, concludes in the middle of the commentary on John 10:16; the catena type is CPG C145. The two colophons present belong to the

---

15 We are grateful to Georgi Parpulov for this information.
tradition of the famous Jerusalem Colophon, with the standard full text for Matthew written in large decorated majuscules on fol. 42r, and an abbreviated form for Mark in minuscules with yellow highlighting on fol. 95r.
Πρ. 2. Alexandria, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate MS 122, fol. 217v (GA 2937)
Plate 1 (fol. 9r) demonstrates the layout of the catena in the first part of MS 122. The biblical text is written in majuscule script and crimson ink. Each section of commentary starts with a larger initial in ekthesis, with source indications in the left margin. The copyist has included a chapter title in the top margin, below which a later user has supplied the modern chapter number (Matthew 23) and a Greek page number. Plate 2 (fol. 217v, covering John 1:7–11) exemplifies the practice in the latter part of the manuscript, where the biblical text always starts a new line. The scriptural quotation is centre-justified and highlighted with a superimposed band of yellow. Commentary units continue to be identified by large initials in ekthesis, along with marginal source indications. This manuscript has now been added to the Liste and assigned the number GA 2937.

No fewer than 39 Greek New Testament lectionaries in Alexandria were included in the Kurzgefasste Liste before our visit. Twenty-five of these match shelfmarks as given in Moschonas's catalogue. For L1310, the shelfmark should be corrected to MS 234 (previously numbered as MS 112). Eleven of the other witnesses consist of eight pages or fewer, often in bindings. Such material is rarely mentioned by Moschonas and it was not possible to verify these in person. The only two lectionaries which clearly did not correspond to entries in Moschonas are L804, a 81-page Greek–Arabic lectionary from the thirteenth century, which is neither MS 314 nor MS 240 (previously numbered 314), and its contemporary L818, of 18 pages. In neither case could the document be identified elsewhere in the catalogue.

Numerous other liturgical manuscripts are listed by Moschonas, some of which may contain biblical material. While the Menaion mostly consists of propers, Moschonas explicitly observes that MS 142 (formerly MS 258; paper, 263 folia, 255 × 170 mm), a copy of the Menaion for December, features readings from the Psalms, Prophets, Epistles, and Gospels with

17 L759–69, L797, L828, L1310, L1330–1, L1333–4, L1336, L1340, L1343–4, L1721, L2134, L2322–3. In the case of L1336, the catalogue is short on detail, but the identification is plausible. It should be noted that Moschonas gives the date of L1330 as 1501, not 1601; in addition, Dr Georgi Parpulov proposes a date of the eleventh rather than the fourteenth century for L767, based on our photographs.

18 L829, L1328–9, L1332, L1335, L1337–9, L1341–2, L2133. The Liste identifies L1341 as MS 327, with a page size of 272 × 190mm, but according to Moschonas's catalogue MS 327 measures 205 × 150mm, a discrepancy which remains to be resolved.
an Arabic translation. Similarly, New Testament lections in both languages are present in MS 139 (281), a Pentecostarion.

There are two manuscripts which between them make up a complete Synaxarion: MS 40 (parchment, 258 folia, 295 × 200 mm) containing September to February, and MS 42 (paper, 351 folia, 285 × 205 mm, copied in 1414) from March to August. A miscellaneous manuscript, MS 307 (paper, 32 folia, 230 × 160 mm), has the text of the Easter Gospel on fols. 2v–3r. MS 268 (paper, 39 folia, 320 × 230 mm) consists of leaves from a damaged Evangelistarion, with one column in demotic Greek and one in Bulgarian. Further investigation of these documents is required to determine whether or not they are candidates for inclusion in the List, as we did not have the opportunity to examine them on this occasion.

In three cases, however, a Gregory-Aland number has newly been assigned to a lectionary, as follows:

1. L2477 is MS 290 in Moschonas’s catalogue. He describes it as an Evangelistarion for the whole year with translations of each pericope (presumably into Arabic). It is written on paper, consisting of 277 folia measuring 270 × 180 mm. An initial inscription states that it was copied in 1592 by Joseph, a pupil of Euthymius IV of Antioch, although this does not appear to tally with the chronology of the Patriarchs of Antioch.

2. L2478 is actually bound with L797, as two initial guard-leaves at the beginning of the thirteenth-century gospel lectionary. It is a fragment of a parchment lectionary written in majuscule script in the tenth century, and is mentioned by Moschonas in his entry for MS 56. A similar size to the rest of the manuscript (279 × 207 mm), these two pages are written in two columns of 17 lines, and numbered in pencil with the Greek numerals A and B (L797 has Arabic numbers throughout). Ekphonic notation is present. The text consists of three lections, with standard

---

19 Twenty-eight other Menaion manuscripts are given in the catalogue: MSS 27, 38, 42, 49, 52, 68, 69, 78, 90–4, 107, 110, 114, 116, 118, 146, 150, 156, 164, 184, 188, 256, 262, 291, 294. Most of these contain well over 150 pages and were copied between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries: several are dated to a particular year.

20 Other Pentecostaria include MSS 148, 262, 271.

21 Again, we thank Georgi Parpulov for palaeographic dating of both L2478 and L2479.
incipits: the first ends with John 6:42–4, the second comprises John 6:48–54, and the third begins with John 15:17–16:2. The text is Byzantine in character, with occasional errors. Plate 3 shows the first of the two leaves. A liturgical identifier may be
seen in smaller majuscule script over two lines at the bottom of the left column, and the new lection begins with an outsize letter E. In the second line of this column, there is a correction inserted between the columns despite the erasure at the
beginning of line 3 (John 6:42). An uncorrected error of καταβάς for καταβέβηκα at the end of this verse can be seen two lines later.

3. L2479 is a complete Evangelistarion with the shelfmark MS 108. Consisting of 271 parchment folios measuring 300 × 218 mm, the main part of the manuscript is written in minuscule in two columns of 25–7 lines, beginning in the middle of Luke 24:14 on fol. 4v. The first three pages consist of a much later paper supplement providing four missing lections, starting with the Easter Gospel. Capitals, calendar indications, and ekphonetic symbols are in red throughout; there are also occasional Arabic notes in the top margin. A typical page is shown in Plate 4 (fol. 10v), which shows the lectionary rubrics, outsize capitals at the beginning of each passage, and the ekphonetic notation above each line of text for its liturgical chanting. The manuscript was written in the first half of the thirteenth century: the colophon on fol. 271r with the year 1435 mentioned in Moschonas’s catalogue is in a later hand. On the previous page (fol. 271r), another note refers to a dedication in April 1513 by the abbot of a monastery of St George, on top of which a paper note has been stuck referring to the restoration of the codex (with the addition of the initial lections). An inscription in Arabic on fol. 1r relates how the manuscript was acquired by the scribe Ibrahim and taken to the Church of St Nicholas in Tripoli in 1769. The library stamp shows that this volume was at the Patriarchate in Alexandria by 1926.

The creation and maintenance of catalogues is time-consuming yet valuable work. In the present age of databases and online resources, however, there is more scope for users to engage in this task and ensure the continued accuracy of information. We would like to record our gratitude to the various scholars and authorities on whose work this article builds, and hope that the present contribution will assist further research on the textual tradition of the New Testament and other documents now held in this city famous for its learning.