

## An Overlooked Christian Palestinian Aramaic Witness of the “Dormition of Mary” in *Codex Climaci Rescriptus* (CCR IV)

[Un testigo arameo cristiano-palestinense olvidado de la *Dormición de María* en el *Codex Climaci Rescriptus* (CCR IV)]

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**Abstract:** The *Codex Climaci Rescriptus* (CCR IV) contains a neglected text witness of the *Dormition of Mary* from the five-book cycle or “palm narrative”. It is one of the very early transmissions of this apocryphal text in Christian Palestinian Aramaic (5th/6th century) agreeing in closeness with the very late Ethiopic version of the 18th century.

**Keywords:** Cairo Genizah; *Codex Climaci Rescriptus*; *Dormition of Mary*; *History of Peter and Paul*; Palm narrative; St Catherine’s Monastery.

**Resumen:** El *Codex Climaci Rescriptus* (CCR IV) contiene un testigo textual ignorado de la *Dormición de María* del ciclo de los cinco libros o “narración de la palma”. Se trata de una de las primeras transmisiones de este texto apócrifo en arameo cristiano-palestinense (siglos V-VI) en estrecha relación con la versión etiópica tardía del siglo XVIII.

**Palabras Clave:** Genizah del Cairo; *Codex Climaci Rescriptus*; *Dormición de María*; *Historia de Pedro y Pablo*; Narración de la palma; Monasterio de Santa Catalina.



## Text Sources

Among the manifold publications on the topic of the *Dormition of Mary* (*Liber requiei*) or *Departure of Mary* (Assumption) in the last two decades an important early text source in Christian Palestinian Aramaic (CPA) has been overlooked, despite having been edited over a hundred years ago. This CPA witness belongs to the famous collective palimpsest manuscript, better known under its upper text name *Codex Climaci Rescriptus*.<sup>1</sup> It has not been considered so far for the five-book cycle or the “palm narrative” of the *Dormition of Mary*, probably on account of containing final parts of the apocryphal *History of Peter and Paul*, which has been known to be integrated so far only in the late Ethiopic transmission. Therefore it was not taken to be part of the *Dormition* text by Stephen Shoemaker<sup>2</sup> or earlier by Antoine Wenger<sup>3</sup>, who only dealt with the Syriac transmissions, and by Victor Arras for his Ethiopic edition<sup>4</sup> as well as Michel van Esbroeck in his overview article.<sup>5</sup> According to the New Finds in the Monastery of St Catherine, the provenance of this neglected text source in question (CCR IV) is obviously the same, since another missing part of this well-known codex turned up in a blocked-up chamber.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Agnes S. Lewis, *Codex Climaci Rescriptus (Horae Semiticae VIII)*; Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1909), pp. 190-193 (= CCR).

<sup>2</sup> Stephen J. Shoemaker, *Ancient Traditions of the Virgin Mary's Dormition and Assumption* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 347-348 n. 167.

<sup>3</sup> Antoine Wenger, *L'Assomption de la T.S. Vierge dans la tradition byzantine du VI<sup>e</sup> au X<sup>e</sup> siècle*, col. «Archives de l'Orient Chrétien» 5 (Paris: Institut Français d'Études Byzantines, 1955).

<sup>4</sup> Victor Arras, *De Transitu Mariae apocrypha aethiopice* 1 «Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium» 342-343, «Scriptores Aethiopici» 66-67 (Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1973).

<sup>5</sup> Michel van Esbroeck, “Les textes littéraires sur l'Assomption avant le X<sup>e</sup> siècle”, in François Bovon (ed.), *Les Actes apocryphes des Apôtres: Christianisme et monde païen* (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1981), pp. 265-285.

<sup>6</sup> Sebastian P. Brock, “*Ktabe Mpassqe*: Dismembered and Reconstituted Syriac and Christian-Palestinian Aramaic Manuscripts: Some Examples, Ancient and Modern”, *Hugoye. Journal of Syriac Studies* 15 (2012), pp. 7-20, esp. 12-13. Christa Müller-Kessler, “The Missing Quire of *Codex Climaci rescriptus* Containing 1-2 Corinthians in Christian Palestinian Aramaic (Sinai, Syriac NF 38)”, in Claudia Rapp, Jana Gruskova, Grigory Kessel & Giulia Rossetto (eds.), *New Light on Old*

The two folios of *CCR IV* are now the fourth text witness next to three new and early ones of the *Dormition of Mary* in CPA, which were recently published.<sup>7</sup> Those three derive from two different localities in Egypt, and were discovered between 1890-1896<sup>8</sup> in the Cairo Genizah, or belong to the New Finds of 1975 in the Monastery of St Catherine, Sinai.<sup>9</sup> Their original provenances of writing might have been somewhere else, since such writing material (parchment next to being rare was time-consuming to produce) circulated to be often reemployed for new texts.<sup>10</sup> The *Dormition* manuscript originating from the Cairo Genizah was dismembered for the reuse of a Rabbinic text (Midrash *Sifra*)<sup>11</sup>, and the two St Catherine specimens for a later Georgian text, is a *Iadgari* dated to 980.<sup>12</sup>

All four manuscripts can be taken as very early sources dating to the fifth or sixth century and were written by different scribes in varying hands of CPA and are vacillating in their number of lines per

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*Manuscripts: Recent Advances in Palimpsest Studies and Their Contribution to the Sinai Palimpsests Project* (Wien, 2019) [forthcoming].

<sup>7</sup> Christa Müller-Kessler, “Three Early Witnesses of the «Dormition of Mary» in Christian Palestinian Aramaic. Palimpsests from the Cairo Genizah (Taylor-Schechter Collection) and the New Finds in St Catherine’s Monastery”, *Apocrypha* 29 (2018), pp. 69-95.

<sup>8</sup> See Agnes S. Lewis and Margaret D. Gibson, *Palestinian Syriac Texts from Palimpsest Fragments in the Taylor Schechter Collection* (London: C. J. Clay, 1900), pp. VII-VIII; Paul Kahle, *The Cairo Genizah* (London: British Academy, 1949).

<sup>9</sup> Zaza Alekzidse, Mzekala Shanidze, Lili Khevsuriani, & Mixeil Kavtaria (eds.), *The New Finds of Sinai. Catalogue of Georgian Manuscripts Discovered in 1975 at Saint Catherine’s Monastery on Mount Sinai* (Athens: Sinai Foundation, 2005), pp. 391-393.

<sup>10</sup> Some examples of such transfers were demonstrated for Georgian palimpsest material by Sebastian P. Brock, “Sinai: A Meeting Point of Georgian with Syriac and Christian Palestinian Aramaic”, in *The Caucasus between East and West: Historical and Philological Studies in Honour of Zaza Aleksidze* (Tbilisi: Sak’art’velos Xelnacerta E’vronuli C’entri, 2012), pp. 483-494. For this study he assembled all the manuscripts, which were taken from the monastery of Mar Saba near Jerusalem by the famous tenth-century Georgian scribe Iovani Zosimi to St Catherine. It concerns also a number of CPA manuscripts of which only single folios remain, and which are stored today in the National Library of Russia, see Christa Müller-Kessler, “Codex Sinaiticus Rescriptus: A Collection of Christian Palestinian Aramaic Manuscripts”, *Le Muséon* 127 (2014), pp. 263-309, esp. 304 (Appendix).

<sup>11</sup> Müller-Kessler, “Three Early Witnesses”, pp. 75-76, nn. 28-41.

<sup>12</sup> See for the entries the Katikon catalogue under [www.sinaipalimpsests.org](http://www.sinaipalimpsests.org).

column (18, 21, 22, 24). While the Cairo Genizah fragments (T-S 16.327+T-S AS 78.401, T-S 16.351, T-S NS 258.140)<sup>13</sup> show a square type of script, the one in CCR IV is very large and elaborate<sup>14</sup>, and the two Sinai ones (Georgian NF 19, fol. 4-5; Georgian NF 19, fol. 8-9)<sup>15</sup> are not so accurately executed and are reminiscent of a scribal hand from Mar Saba.<sup>16</sup>

This fourth version from CCR IV belonging to the five-book cycle of the *Obsequies of My Lady Mary* as termed in Syriac or the "palm narrative" as classified by Michel van Esbroeck<sup>17</sup> comprises sections of the last part of the fifth book<sup>18</sup>, which relates the encounter of Peter and Paul with an anonymous king of the Cushites (Ethiopians)<sup>19</sup> and Paragmos, the king of Rome (Byzantine) and his daughter Lapita. Only Agnes S. Lewis drew our attention to the fact that the text is similar to a free retold apocryphal story of Peter and Paul in Arabic, which she had published in *Horae Semitica* IV.<sup>20</sup> This, however, did not remain the

<sup>13</sup> For the digital photographs see Friedman Jewish Society Friedberg Genizah Project under [www.jewishmanuscript.org](http://www.jewishmanuscript.org) or the digital site of the University Library Cambridge under [www.lib.cam.ac.uk/collections/departments/taylor-schechter-genizah-research-unit](http://www.lib.cam.ac.uk/collections/departments/taylor-schechter-genizah-research-unit).

<sup>14</sup> There is only one good example of the script in the facsimile of the other text by the same scribe *Fragment of a Homily* in Lewis, *Codex Climaci Rescriptus*, pl. VI.

<sup>15</sup> For a variety of multispectral imaging photographs see the Sinai Palimpsest Project under [www.sinaipalimpsests.org](http://www.sinaipalimpsests.org).

<sup>16</sup> Other examples of MSS in CPA originally from the Monastery of Mar Saba in a similar uneven hand under a Georgian text are found in the unique codex St Petersburg, Syr. 16 (CSRPa, f, h, l-n) according to Müller-Kessler, "Codex Sinaiticus Rescriptus", p. 304, which was taken there by Tischendorf together with *Codex Sinaiticus*. The only photo published can be studied in Jan P. N. Land, *Anecdota Syriaca* IV (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1875), pl. III. Iovane Zosime transferred a number of manuscripts from Mar Saba for reuse, see in detail Brock, "Sinai: A Meeting Point", pp. 484-489.

<sup>17</sup> Van Esbroeck, "Les textes littéraires sur l'Assomption", pp. 265-285.

<sup>18</sup> The division into five books is only transmitted in the Ethiopic version. Only once it is noticeable in the CPA version, here in CCR IV, that there is a subdivision between paragraph 121 and 122, which agrees with the Ethiopic division.

<sup>19</sup> The Cushites were already at the time of the composition of the *Dormition* text ca. in the fourth or fifth century taken as Ethiopians according to the Greek understanding.

<sup>20</sup> See Agnes S. Lewis, *Acta Mythologica Apostolorum: Transcribed from an Arabic MS. in the Convent of Deyr-es-Suriani, Egypt, and from MSS in the Convent of the St. Catherine, on*

only text witness of the *History of Peter and Paul* being integrated into the five-book cycle of the *Dormition of Mary* in CPA, since in the meantime another CPA source came to our attention (Sinai, Georgian NF 19, fol. 9), containing paragraphs 108-110.<sup>21</sup>

These are not the only text witnesses containing this story of the “palm narrative”, which until recently had just been known from the late Ethiopic transmission. Another early and unpublished Syriac palimpsest fragment from BL, Add 16.445 shows paragraphs 125-128 with Peter and Paul in a dispute with Paragmos. This means for the distribution of the “palm narrative” that not only the Ethiopic text versions included this apocryphal addition in books four and five, but also other Christian groups from Palestine (St Catherine’s Monastery) and Egypt (Deir al-Suriyan), the later originally from northern Mesopotamia,<sup>22</sup> translated very early the complete five-book cycle. Shoemaker was still of the opinion that it is an independent story integrated into the *Liber Requiei* on account of the Arabic and Karshuni sources, which show simply the separate *History of Peter and Paul*, and took it as a late compilation.<sup>23</sup> Both CPA witnesses and partially the Syriac one speak for the closeness and the early background of the late Ethiopic transmission as preserved in one complete manuscript of the 15th century (BL, Or 692, fol. 47r-83v). The CPA versions CP2 (Sinai, Georgian NF 19, fol. 8-9) and CCR IV are even closer to a later one from the 18th century (Paris, BN, *d’Abbadie* 158, fol. 87r-115v).<sup>24</sup>

The early CPA text on both parchment leaves of CCR IV is therefore a literal text witness of the late Ethiopic manuscript B from the eighteenth century, as can be understood from the text variants in the critical apparatus in Arras’ edition.<sup>25</sup> What is a mystery is that a Greek transmission of the five-book cycle is completely missing to

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*Mount Sinai (Horae Semiticae* 3-4; London: C. J. Clay, 1904), pp. 150-164 (Arabic); pp. 175-192 (English).

<sup>21</sup> Müller-Kessler, “Three Early Witnesses”, pp. 89-91.

<sup>22</sup> The edition of the palimpsest fragments of BL, Add 17.137 and BL, Add 16.445 are being prepared by me for publication.

<sup>23</sup> Shoemaker, *Ancient Traditions*, pp. 347-348 n. 167.

<sup>24</sup> Arras, *De Transitu Mariae*, p. V (Ethiopic). The edition is here considered for the critical apparatus in the footnotes of the CPA text.

<sup>25</sup> Arras, *De Transitu Mariae*, pp. 72-73, 75-76 (Ethiopic); pp. 47, 49 (Latin).

date, since only a shortened version of the *Dormition* is extant.<sup>26</sup> Since the CPA versions are always dependent on a Greek "Vorlage", there must have existed a long Greek version comparable to the surviving Ethiopic one from which the Melkite monks drew their translation. A Greek text source obviously circulated, which functioned as a basis for several direct translations into CPA, Ethiopic, and Syriac.<sup>27</sup> The Georgian and Coptic witnesses are too scanty to form an opinion of their original "Vorlage". The closeness of the CPA and Ethiopic versions and in many instances also the partially faithful translation of the Syriac witnesses speak for a uniformity of the tradition at least for the five-book cycle in various regions instead of many modifications of the foundational text.

It is noteworthy that only the five-book cycle has survived so far in CPA, since there are yet no traces of the six-book tradition (Bethlehem story) or *Departure of Mary*, which seems to have been more popular in Syriac (*mappqana*),<sup>28</sup> as it even surfaced among the Sogdian texts from Turfan.<sup>29</sup> The departure story (six-book cycle) is extant in several nearly complete Syriac manuscripts,<sup>30</sup> while of the

<sup>26</sup> See for surviving Greek sources Wenger, *L'Assomption de la T. S. Vierge*, pp. 210-241. That the Ethiopic text is a close witness of a lost ancient Greek source is also the opinion of Tedros Abraha, "Some Philological Notes on the *Māsāhafā 'Īrāfātā lāMaryam* 'Liber Requiei' (LR)", *Apocrypha* 23 (2012), pp. 223-245, esp. 224-226.

<sup>27</sup> Of all Christian traditions the early Syriac versions are the most diverging ones, which is not so clear from what Wright published so far; see William Wright, *Contributions to the Apocryphal Literature of the New Testament* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1865), pp. 11-15. Reading the Syriac fragments completely, one obtains a different impression of the text tradition and its deviating variants.

<sup>28</sup> See Sebastian P. Brock & Grigory Kessel, "The 'Departure of Mary' in Two Palimpsests at the Monastery of St. Catherine (Sinai Syr. 30 & Sinai Arabic 514)", *Christian Orient: Journal of Studies in the Christian Culture of Asia and Africa* 8 (2017), pp. 115-152.

<sup>29</sup> Nicolas Sims-Williams, "6. The Dormition of the Virgin Mary (E30/1-2)", in *Biblical and Other Christian Sogdian Texts from the Turfan Collection* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 125-133.

<sup>30</sup> Brock & Kessel, "The 'Departure of Mary'", pp. 116-117.

Syriac *Obsequies* (five-book cycle) remained only scanty passages in palimpsest and non-palimpsest form.<sup>31</sup>

The CPA, Syriac, and Ethiopic transmission of the “palm narrative” share some common features, as all three speak of the mythical king Paragmos (*prgmws*) as the king of Rome (Byzantine), in Ethiopic (*parāgmos*).<sup>32</sup> *Prgmws* corresponds to *brġmws*<sup>33</sup> or *br‘mws*<sup>34</sup> in the free retold *History of Paul and Peter* in Arabic, whereas the even remoter Karshuni story does not give him any name.<sup>35</sup> Remarkable is that only the CPA text speaks of the king of the Cushites (Ethiopians), which does not correspond to the Ethiopic, which has here the proper name Endān (Endon, Andon) instead.<sup>36</sup> Only in the paragraphs 125-126 the CPA and Syriac sources overlap, but both versions diverge quite considerably as much as can be extracted from the Syriac palimpsest fragment.

The text has some new lexical items and expressions: *Prpr’* < πορφύρα ‘purple’ § 121; *rgz bħm’* ‘to be deeply furious’ § 121.

Noteworthy are the unusual *plene* spellings with additional *yod* and *aleph*: *blyħwd* ‘alone’ § 126; *mw’t* ‘hundred’ § 121; *myl’* ‘a word’ § 125;

<sup>31</sup> Wright, *Contributions to the Apocryphal Literature*; Stephen J. Shoemaker, “New Syriac Dormition Fragments from Palimpsests in the Schøyen Collection and the British Library”, *Le Muséon* 124 (2011), pp. 258-278, esp. 267.

<sup>32</sup> This is a mythical king, who was obviously created in the Greek tradition, since the spelling with a *P-inversum* in CPA represents the Greek letter *Pi*. The double dots following a letter represent the plural sign (*s’yamē*) and a single dot the superscript dot. In the CPA version CP2 (Georgian NF 19, fol. 9vb18) the name reads *Prgws* with the omission of *mem*. Correct there the reading to *d’lwtk ‘nn msyh:yn w’y’kr’ Pr’gws’ dlyt klwm tmyr mn ‘b:dyk :. ‘...’, since to You we shout. And Prgws will know that nothing is hidden from Your servants.’* (Müller-Kessler, “Three Early Witnesses”, p. 78).

<sup>33</sup> Lewis, *Acta Mythologica Apostolorum*, pp. 150-164 (Arabic); pp. 185, 187-188, 190 (English).

<sup>34</sup> Lewis, *Acta Mythologica Apostolorum*, pp. 150-164 (Arabic); pp. 175, 182, 184, 186, 189 (English). The spelling with ‘*ayin* is an obvious omission of the superscript dot in the Arabic.

<sup>35</sup> Arnold van Landschoot, “Contributions aux Actes de S. Pierre et de S. Paul: II. — Recension Karšuni des Actes de S. Pierre et S. Paul”, *Le Muséon* 68 (1955), pp. 219-233. Also the daughter stays here nameless.

<sup>36</sup> Other variants are Endon and Andon.

*my:nk* 'than yours' § 121; *tyly* 'hanging' § 125; *wyr:ymwn* 'and they shall throw' § 121.<sup>37</sup>

Scribal oddities: *plqy* < *φυλακή* 'prison' § 121, cf. *pylq*. § 126; *'tyt* 'she brought' for *\*ytt*. § 126.

There are several cases of omission and other scribal slips to be noted, which are indicated in the text and in the footnotes. The Ethiopic parallel can sometimes help to verify the textual understanding.

The significance of this overlooked witness of the *Dormition of Mary* from the *Codex Climaci Rescriptus* with the other three versions in CPA, and with the mainly two unpublished Syriac palimpsest manuscripts from the British Library is that they open a new chapter on the issue of its transmission in Palestine, Egypt, and Mesopotamia for this Marian apocryphal text. It means that the only until then known and complete Ethiopic witness has to be studied and evaluated in a different light from now on.

#### *Manuscript Overview*

CCR IV	fol. 9r (v) <sup>38</sup>	§ 121(middle)
	fol. 9v (r)	§§121(end)-122(middle)
	fol. 12r (v)	§ 125(middle)
	fol. 12v (r)	§§ 125(end)-126(beginning) <sup>39</sup>

<sup>37</sup> This particular scribe tends to additional *plene* spellings also in the homily fragments: *'zyl* 'going' CCR 194a20; *bḥwṭwr* 'with a rod' CCR 194c8; *ḥw:lwšw* 'take off' CCR 198c18; *mrtiq* 'knocking' CCR 196a1; *mṯydy* 'rejoicing' CCR 194c8; *pytwḥy* 'open (f.)' CCR 194d8.

<sup>38</sup> The sequence of the under text in CPA differs from the upper text of the *Codex Climaci Rescriptus* in Syriac, which is caused by the reuse.

<sup>39</sup> The beginning in the right hand column in fol. 14r is not part of the *Dormition of Mary*, although all three texts in CCR IV obviously derive from an anthology of patristic texts judging by the identical scribal hand.



*Transliteration and Translation*<sup>40</sup>

CCR IV, fol. 9r (v) — § 121 in Arras, *De Transitu Mariae*, p. 72 [Ethiopic]; p. 47 [Latin] — Lewis, CCR, p. 190.<sup>41</sup>

1.	<i>ythwn dhnwn</i>	them; for they are	<i>Prpr' l'l[..]</i> <sup>42</sup>	the purple (garment) into ..[..].
2.	<i>gr lḡbtk lyt</i>	not for your goodness,	<i>w'mr:wyth</i> <sup>43</sup>	And they said to him,
3.	<i>hnwn : šrykyn hlyn</i>	they are in need of these (things),	<i>m'y'bd {mn}</i> <sup>44</sup>	'What will he
4.	<i>d'b:dn :. 'wp</i>	which perish. *For	<i>mn qwšwt : hnwn</i>	truly do?' They
5.	<i>'nh gr p:lḡyn</i>	also we serve	<i>mlw:y dmlk'</i>	are the true words
6.	<i>lysws hyk</i>	Jesus like	<i>dkw:šyy qš:yṭyn</i>	of the king of the
7.	<i>dPṭrws</i>	Peter	<i>hnwn :. hw'gr</i>	Ethiopians. For he said,

<sup>40</sup> I had the opportunity to read and collate several times the complete *Codex* between 1983-1995. During my last research stay in Westminster College Cambridge the readings could be much improved with the help of an ultraviolet lamp. I owe my thanks to both librarians Walter Houston and Janet Tollington, who granted me unlimited access to the *Codex* in the college library.

<sup>41</sup> The content of fol. 9 corresponds roughly to the Arabic version published in Lewis, *Acta Mythologica Apostolorum*, pp. 158-159 (Arabic); p. 185 (English).

<sup>42</sup> Lewis, CCR, p. 190: *Prpr ...*.

<sup>43</sup> Lewis, CCR, p. 190: *lh :.*

<sup>44</sup> Lewis, CCR, p. 190: *ln*.

8.	<i>wPwlws</i>	and Paul.* <sup>45</sup>	<i>d'mr dḥr:šw</i>	'They had enchanted
9.	<i>kd dy 'mr:w</i>	But after they had spoken,	<i>lr:wmyy dyly</i> <sup>46</sup> ::	my own soldiers.
10.	<i>ḥ:lšw yth</i>	they removed their	<i>wlyt hw mdgyl</i> ::	And it is not a lie.
11.	<i>lhrm' dylhwn</i> ::	weapon	<i>'tnkrt gr mn</i>	For I was recognized
12.	<i>wšdw yth. 'l</i>	and flung it	<i>tr:ty'sry</i> <sup>47</sup>	by the twelve
13.	<i>'p:wy dmlk'</i> ::	into the king's face <sup>48</sup> .	<i>mw't'</i>	hundred <sup>49</sup>
14.	<i>w'mr:w lh</i>	And they said to him,	<i>drwmyy dyly</i> ::	of my own soldiers.
15.	<i>sb dylk</i> ::	'Take yours,	<i>m' 'wn y'bd</i>	What shall I do now
16.	<i>'škḥnh gr</i>	for we found	<i>lkwn</i> :: <i>'n nḥt</i>	to you? When things turn bad, <sup>50</sup>
17.	<i>yth lmlkn</i>	our king to	<i>qtl 'n' lkwn</i>	I will kill you,
18.	<i>ṭb my:nk</i> <sup>(sic)</sup>	be better than yours.'	<i>yd' 'n' dlyt</i>	(since) I know that there is
19.	<i>wkd šm' mlk'</i>	And when the king heard	<i>bhwn ḥyl</i> ::	no strength in them.'

<sup>45</sup> \*...\* Eth deviates: 'they truly have Jesus, their king, who sits over them. And we also hope that Peter and Paul will become soldiers'.

<sup>46</sup> Lewis, *CCR*, p. 190: *dylyk*.

<sup>47</sup> Lewis, *CCR*, p. 190: *trty:sryn*.

<sup>48</sup> Eth omits 'king' [*nəgus*].

<sup>49</sup> Eth has 'ten thousand two hundred' in numerical signs 10000 wa 2x100.

<sup>50</sup> Literal: 'when it goes down'.

- |     |   |  |                      |                          |
|-----|---|--|----------------------|--------------------------|
| 20. | <i>hlyn 'šq :.</i><br><i>wrgz</i> <sup>51</sup> | these (things),<br>he was<br>distressed. And<br>he was | <i>bkn 'mr</i>       | Then the king<br>said,   |
| 21. | <i>bḥm'wbz</i> <sup>52</sup>                    | deeply furious<br>and tore                             | <i>mlk' dytr:mwn</i> | ‘They shall be<br>thrown |

CCR IV, fol. 9v (r) — §§ 121-122 in Arras, *De Transitu Mariae*, pp. 72-73 [Ethiopic]; p. 47 [Latin] — Lewis, CCR, p. 190.

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|----|---|-------------------------------------|---|--------------------------------|
| 1. | <i>bplqy'</i> <sup>(sic)</sup><br><i>wy:zlw</i> n | into prison.<br>And the             | <i>'mr lPwlws</i>                         | he said to<br>Paul,            |
| 2. | <i>ḥwr:nyn tr:yn</i>                              | other two<br>thousand <sup>53</sup> | <i>'ḥy Pwl'</i> <sup>54</sup> :           | ‘My<br>brother,<br>Paul,       |
| 3. | <i>'lpyn dr:wmyy</i>                              | of the soldiers                     | <i>nq:wm wn:zl</i>                        | let us rise<br>and go          |
| 4. | <i>bsws:wn</i> <sup>55</sup>                      | shall go on<br>horses               | <i>wnw:d</i> <sup>56</sup><br><i>grmn</i> | and make<br>ourselves<br>known |
| 5. | <i>wyr:ymwn</i> <sup>(sic)57</sup><br><i>yth</i>  | and shall throw                     | <i>lPrgmws</i>                            | to king<br>Paragmos.           |
| 6. | <i>lmdyt</i> <sup>(sic)</sup> 'l                  | the town to the                     | <i>mlk' :. d'n</i>                        | For if                         |

<sup>51</sup> Lewis, CCR, p. 190: *wblyly*.

<sup>52</sup> Lewis, CCR, p. 190: *bḥmwy* ...

<sup>53</sup> Eth has ‘twenty thousand and four hundred’ in numerical signs 2x10000 wa 4x100.

<sup>54</sup> Lewis, CCR, p. 190: *pwl'*.

<sup>55</sup> Lewis, CCR, p. 190: *swwyn*. Correct also Christa Müller-Kessler, *Grammatik des Christlich-Palästinisch-Aramäischen*, Teil 1: *Schriftlehre, Lautlehre, Formenlehre* (Olms: Hildesheim, 1991), p. 119.

<sup>56</sup> Lewis, CCR, p. 190: *lnwd'*. About this old reading has risen a myth for a *l*-prefix conjugation in CPA.

<sup>57</sup> Lewis, CCR, p. 190: *wyr:mwn*.

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7.	<i>r’</i> wym:ṭwn	ground and they	<i>lyt ’nh ’zlyn</i>	we do not go,
8.	<i>lhlyk tr:yn</i> <sup>58</sup>	shall bring those two	<i>mšlh hw</i>	he will send
9.	<i>ḥr:šy’ wy’bd</i>	sorcerers and I will	<i>wḥrb mdynt</i> <sup>59</sup>	and destroy the town
10.	<i>bhwn hyk</i>	do to them what	<i>lbdyln w’mr</i>	because of us.’ And he said
11.	<i>d’n’ šb’ .:</i>	I want.’	<i>nyz:lwn</i> <sup>60</sup> ’b’ <sup>61</sup>	‘Let us go now, my father,
12.	<i>wbm’ dhww</i>	And when they	<i>Ptr’. wkd</i>	Peter.’ And after
13.	<i>’t:dydn dyz:lwn</i>	were ready to go,	<i>np:qw mn</i>	they had left from
14.	<i>ḥly:pw m’:ny’</i>	they changed their	<i>mdynt’ š:lw</i>	the town, they prayed,

<sup>58</sup> Lewis, CCR, p. 190: *lhlyn dtryn*.

<sup>59</sup> Lewis, CCR, p. 190: *wyḥrb mdyt’*.

<sup>60</sup> Short for \**nyz:l’wn*.

<sup>61</sup> As expected in CPA the possessive pronoun of the first singular -y is not written in ’b’ ‘my father’, which also read thus in Matthew 26:29 CCR1, see Christa Müller-Kessler & Michael Sokoloff, *The Christian Palestinian Aramaic New Testament Version from the Early Period. Gospels. A Corpus of Christian Palestinian Aramaic IIA* (Groningen: STYX, 1998), p. 35; correct Müller-Kessler, *Grammatik*, p. 125. This is now also attested for ’ym’ ‘my mother’ in another text variant in § 80 (T-S NS 258.140ra4), see Müller-Kessler, “Three Early Witnesses”, pp. 78 and 84.

15.	<i>dqyrbhwn</i> ::	fighting garments.	<i>wr:kbw</i> <i>tryhwn</i>	and both of them were riding
16. <sup>62</sup>			<i>l 'nn' dnht</i> ::	on the cloud, which had descended.
17.	<sup>(122)</sup> <i>wkd yd</i> <sup>63</sup>	<sup>(122)</sup> And when Peter	<i>hw' gr šm'</i>	For it heard
18.	<i>Pṭrws brwḥ'</i>	knew in (his) mind	<i>lhwn hyk</i> <i>d'bd</i>	them as a servant
19.	<i>dhnwn 'tyn</i>	that they were coming	<i>šm' lmrh</i> ::	hears his master.
20.	<i>dysr:hwn yth.</i>	to destroy	<i>mḥyn' gr</i>	For the Saviour
21.	<i>lmdynt' ::</i>	that town,	<i>š'bd</i> <sup>64</sup> <i>lhwn</i>	subjugated them

CCR IV, fol. 12r (v) — § 125 in Arras, *De Transitu Mariae*, p. 75 [Ethiopic];  
p. 49 [Latin] — Lewis, CCR, p. 192<sup>65</sup>

1.	<i>nyḥ' wtstrḥ</i>	rest and his kingdom	<i>w'mr</i> <i>dPrgmws</i> <sup>66</sup>	And he (further) said, 'Paragmos
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<sup>62</sup> The header of the new section was obviously written in red and cannot be recovered for the reading. This is a general problem in erased palimpsest texts.

<sup>63</sup> Lewis, CCR, p. 190: *yrt*.

<sup>64</sup> Lewis, CCR, p. 190: *ynṭr lhwn*.

<sup>65</sup> Fol. 12 corresponds roughly to the Arabic version published in Lewis, *Acta Mythologica Apostolorum*, pp. 162-163 (Arabic); pp. 188-189 (English).

<sup>66</sup> Lewis, CCR, p. 192: *brgmws*.

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2.	<i>mlkwth</i> ∴ <i>dhw</i>	shall be destroyed,	<i>mlk' drwm'</i> .	the king of Rome,
3.	<i>dn dplg yth</i>	since this is the one who let my	<i>lyt hw dn</i>	it is not the one,
4.	<i>llby 'lykwn</i> ∴	heart doubt <sup>67</sup> you.	<i>dpn'. ytkwn</i>	who is releasing you,
5.	<i>*lyt hw brnš'</i>	Cursed is the man	<i>hw mn yhb</i>	he is handing
6.	<i>d'mr 'lykwn</i>	who says a bad	<i>ytkwn bbyt</i>	you over to the
7.	<i>myl' byš<sup>68</sup> ∴</i>	word against you. <sup>69</sup>	<i>ħbwšy' : 'l'</i>	prison, but
8.	<i>'n<sup>70</sup> b'.</i>	I beg of you,	<i>ysws hw</i>	Jesus is the one,
9.	<i>mnkwn 'b:dw</i>	do it for me that it	<i>dn dpn' ytkwn :</i>	who released you.'
10.	<i>yty dthwt<sup>71</sup></i>	will go down,	<i>'shr<sup>72</sup> dy</i>	But the king
11.	<i>hyk 'bd 'n'</i>	(and) like a servant I	<i>mlk' lwt</i>	turned to his

<sup>67</sup> Literally 'split my heart'.

<sup>68</sup> \*...\* agrees with Eth BC.

<sup>69</sup> Eth B and C add 'cursed is everyone who will speak ill against you'.

<sup>70</sup> Lewis, *CCR*, p. 192: 't'.

<sup>71</sup> Lewis, *CCR*, 192 emendates to *d'hw*t, but *dthwt* is correct, since the verb refers to preceding *mlkwth* 'his kingdom' in l. 2; cf. the Eth parallel.

<sup>72</sup> Lewis, *CCR*, p. 192: "mr". The verbal form *'shr* shows here a spelling with an assimilated *taw*, see Müller-Kessler, *Grammatik*, p. 164.

12.	<i>mšmš ytkwn :.</i>	will serve you.'	<i>brth wml</i>	daughter and spoke
13.	<i>'mr lh</i>	Peter said	<i>hlyn mly:'</i>	the following words
14.	<i>płrws hy hw</i>	to him, 'God is	<i>w'mr : brty</i>	and said, 'My daughter,
15.	<i>'lh' dlyt</i>	alive so that you cannot	<i>'zly btšbwš'</i>	go quickly
16.	<i>'t šl'. mn &lt;...&gt;<sup>73</sup></i>	cease from <...>,	<i>w'pqy ythwn</i>	and bring them out
17.	<i>'l' 'n qm'y</i>	unless at first you	<i>w'mry m'</i>	and say what
18.	<i>tšlh lplq'.</i>	will send to prison	<i>dšm'tyn 'l'</i>	you heard, but
19.	<i>wtmč' hlyk<sup>74</sup></i>	and you will bring	<i>l' tktryn<sup>75</sup></i>	do not remain,
20.	<i>tr:ty'sry<sup>76</sup></i>	those twelve	<i>dl' 'mwt</i>	so that I will not die
21.	<i>mw:t' dr:wmyy :</i>	hundred <sup>77</sup> of soldiers.'	<i>bbyšt hymnwty :.</i>	by the evilness of my belief.

<sup>73</sup> Lewis, CCR, p. 192: *šl'm*. There is definitely something missing after *mn*, cf. Eth has 'from this torture'.

<sup>74</sup> Lewis, CCR, p. 192: *hlyn*.

<sup>75</sup> Lewis, CCR, p. 192: *tktry*.

<sup>76</sup> Lewis, CCR, p. 192: *tr:ty'sryn*.

<sup>77</sup> Eth 'ten thousand and two hundred' in numerical signs 10000 wa 2x100.

CCR IV, fol. 12v (r) — §§ 125-126 in Arras, *De Transitu Mariae*, pp. 75-76 [Ethiopic]; p. 49 [Latin] — Lewis, CCR, p. 192

1.	<i>yd'n' gr brty</i>	For I know, my daughter,	<i>yth. lbdyl</i>	her, because
2.	<i>dsg:y my:tw</i>	that many died	<i>dhy</i> <i>blyhwd</i> <sup>(sic)</sup>	she had stayed
3.	<i>bhdn</i> <sup>78</sup> <i>šm</i> <sup>79</sup>	by this hanging	<i>ktrt dl'</i>	alone, without
4.	<i>dtily</i> <sup>80</sup> ∴ <i>'mr</i>	name.' Peter	<i>'tyt</i> <sup>(sic)81</sup> ∴	being suspended.
5.	<i>lh Pṭrws</i>	said to him,	<i>wkd 't:w</i>	And after they had come,
6.	<i>'n t'br 'sr</i>	'If you will pass ten	<i>'mr mlk'</i>	the king said to
7.	<i>šy:nyn lytt</i>	years, you will not	<i>lPṭrws : mry</i>	Peter, 'My master,
8.	<i>m'yt : lbdyl</i>	be dead, because	<i>Pṭr'. h'</i>	Peter, hark,
9.	<i>d'.tlyt bpyqwdh</i>	you were suspended by the commandment	<i>'tp:n'. 'mwr</i>	be released. Say

<sup>78</sup> Lewis, CCR, p. 190: *bhwn*.

<sup>79</sup> Lewis, CCR, p. 190: *'ymm'*.

<sup>80</sup> Lewis, CCR, p. 190: *btily'*.

<sup>81</sup> Lewis, CCR, p. 190: *'tt*. The verb should read here *'tlyt* according to the Eth 'and she was not suspended'. The whole text passage is difficult and deviates from the Ethiopic. There is obviously something missing before *lbdyl*.



10.	<i>d'lh' : *'yt</i> <sup>82</sup> <...>	of God. For there	<i>d'wp 'n'</i>	that also I
11.	<i>gr bšywl mn</i> <sup>83</sup>	exists <...> <sup>84</sup> in	<i>'tpn' : .</i>	shall be released.'
12.	<i>ywm d'.tlyd</i>	Sheol <sup>85</sup> from the day	<i>Pṭrws dy</i>	But Peter
13.	<i>brnš' 'l</i>	man was born on	<i>'mr ḥy hw</i>	said, 'God is
14.	<i>'r' *86 wl'</i>	earth and they did not	<i>'lh' dn</i>	alive, this one,
15.	<i>my:tw lbdyl</i>	die, because they	<i>d'lwy gdp</i>	against whom your
16.	<i>dmn 'lh'</i>	were from God.'	<i>pymk w'l</i>	mouth blasphemed
17.	<i>hnwn :. (126) ḥy dy</i>	(126) But she,	<i>šlyḥ:wy :. d'.n</i>	and against his Apostles. If
18.	<i>lpyt</i> <sup>87</sup> <i>ptht.</i>	Lapita <sup>88</sup> opened the	<i>l' tysb qlm(w)s</i> <sup>89</sup>	you do not take a scribal reed
19.	<i>tr</i> <sup>90</sup> <i>dpylq'.</i>	door of the prison	<i>wmyl'n wktwb</i>	and ink and you will

<sup>82</sup> Lewis, *CCR*, p. 190: 'nt; correct Müller-Kessler, *Grammatik*, p. 67.

<sup>83</sup> Lewis, *CCR*, p. 190: *bšywlm*.

<sup>84</sup> Scribe omitted here either *tr* 'door' or *m'wl* 'entrance'; cf. Eth 'afa 'entrance'.

<sup>85</sup> Eth. Gehenna [*gahannam*].

<sup>86</sup> \*...\* agrees with Eth BC.

<sup>87</sup> Lewis, *CCR*, p. 190: *lkyt'*. The proper name of the daughter reads *lpyt'* instead of *lkyt'*. *lpyt'* has a negative meaning in Greek.

<sup>88</sup> The Arabic version has *lwhyt* Lūhīth, see Lewis, *Acta Mythologica Apostolorum*, pp. 158, 162 (Arabic); pp. 185, 188-189 (English).

<sup>89</sup> Lewis, *CCR*, p. 190: *qlms*. The letter waw was added as superscript.

<sup>90</sup> Lewis, *CCR*, p. 190: *tr'h*.

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|-----|------------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------------|
| 20. | <i>w'tyt<sup>(sic)</sup> ythwn</i> | and brought<br>them    | <i>wtmwr dlyt</i> | write and<br>say that            |
| 21. | <i>hyk m' dpqd</i>                 | as he had<br>commanded | <i>'lh ḥwrn</i>   | there exists<br>no other<br>God. |