

ARTICLE

A New Witness to the Fayyūmic Version of First Corinthians (P.MorganLib. 265). Part II: Notes on its Text-Critical Value, with an Edition of the Coptic Text

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Abstract

This is the second part of a two-part article focused on a fragmentary parchment codex, whose three extant leaves, designated in Leo Depuydt's catalogue as P.MorganLib. 265, are housed at the Morgan Library & Museum in New York. These fragments bear witness to 1 Cor 2.12–3.18; 7.16–30; 15.3–30 in the 'classical' variety of Fayyūmic Coptic (dialect *F5*). The first part of this article was published in *NTS* 68 (2022) 89–104. In the second part, I discuss the witnesses to the Fayyūmic version (*fa*) of First Corinthians, the relationship between *fa* and the Bohairic version (*bo*), and the text-critical value of the variant readings attested in P.MorganLib. 265. This is followed by the *editio princeps* of the manuscript, notes on the Coptic text, an English translation and images.

Keywords: Coptic New Testament; Fayyūmic Coptic; First Letter to the Corinthians; textual criticism

Having discussed various features of P.MorganLib. 265 as a manuscript, I am now going to discuss the Fayyūmic text of First Corinthians, of which this manuscript is a witness. I will first survey the other Fayyūmic manuscripts of First Corinthians and suggest that they all bear witness to the same version (*fa*), then analyse the relationship between *fa*, the medieval Bohairic version (*bo*) and the text of codex C, and finally discuss the value of the newly published witness to *fa* for the history of the Greek text of First Corinthians.

6. Version

To the best of my knowledge, in addition to P.MorganLib. 265, there are five other witnesses to First Corinthians in Fayyūmic; four of them are written in dialect *F5*, one in dialect *F4*. Of these five manuscripts, two have parallel text with P.MorganLib. 265:

- P.MorganLib. 268. A fragmentary leaf from a codex, comprising 1 Cor 14.25–7, 32–5; 15.1–4, 9–12. Despite the fact that this is the only witness to the Fayyūmic First Corinthians on papyrus, its palaeography (the manuscript is written in bimodular uncial, the letters ω and σ with their 'Southern' shapes) and non-standard

orthography¹ point to a rather late (eighth- or even ninth-century?) date. Leo Depuydt's transcription of the fragment is often unreliable.² A comparison of verses 1 Cor 15.3–4, 9–12 in P.MorganLib. 265 and 268 reveals that the two manuscripts bear witnesses to the same version; the differences are few and rather minor – viz. εχεν- vs χα- (1 Cor 15.3), ρν- vs ν- (1 Cor 15.10), δε vs ση and τωνη vs τωρη (1 Cor 15.12).³

- P.Vindob. K 3280 + K 3921 + K 9311. Three fragmentary parchment leaves from a palimpsest, whose *scriptio superior* comprises 1 Cor 15.29, 32, 43–4, 45–7, 57–8; 16.1–2. According to Paul E. Kahle, the manuscript was copied in the seventh century or earlier.⁴ The fragments were edited by Walter C. Till,⁵ who could not identify the contents of the smallest of the three fragments – viz. P.Vindob. K 3280. Later, Kahle observed that the flesh side of the fragment contains 1 Cor 15.29, and the hair side 1 Cor 15.32.⁶ That this manuscript and P.MorganLib. 265 bear witness to the same version is clear from the fact that the poorly preserved text of 1 Cor 15.29 in P.Vindob. K 3280 can be easily restored with the help of P.MorganLib. 265. Unfortunately, since the fragment has been missing since 1971,⁷ the following reconstruction is based solely on Till's transcription and needs to be revisited, should the fragment ever be rediscovered: [νη ετχω|κ]εμ η[μαγ εχεν νι]|λεφμαογ[τ εωχε δε] | ηηιδεφ[μαογτ λω | νε]τφ[νογ εν].

The only extant fragment in dialect *F4* has parallel text with P.MorganLib. 268:

- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms.Copt.g.97(P). A fragment from a parchment codex whose text was arranged into two columns. It is paginated [ρ]ηΔ-ρη[ε] ('154-5') and preserves the top six lines on the right column of the recto and the left column of the verso. The existence of this fragment was signalled by Anne Boud'hors and Chiëmi Nakano in 2005.⁸ The recto, preserving 1 Cor 14.31, reads: [γαρ] μιματην | [τ]ηλτην κατα | [ο]γει ογει εελ|προφητην: |⁵ ρινα νεεχι ρβφ | τηλογ^{vac} λ[γω]. The verso, preserving 1 Cor 14.34, reads: ρν νεκκλ[ησια] | ηεογαρ σε[ρην] | γαρ νεγ εν ε|φεχι^{vac} αλλα η[α]|⁵λογελεργπο|[τας]σεσεε κα|[τα]. Since the extant text of 1 Cor 14.34 agrees verbatim with that in P.MorganLib. 268,⁹ we can be certain that Ms.Copt.g.97(P) bears witness to the same version as P.MorganLib. 265, 268 and P.Vindob. K 3280 + K 3921 + K 9311. To judge from the parallel text of bo and P.MorganLib. 268, Ms.Copt.g.97(P) must have had ca 22 lines per column. When it was complete, the leaf measured ca 155 × 135 mm (height × width). Although we

¹ See I. Miroshnikov, 'A New Witness to the Fayyūmic Version of First Corinthians (P.MorganLib. 265). Part I: Notes on Codicology, Language, Provenance and Date', *NTS* 68 (2022) 89–104, at 100.

² L. Depuydt, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library* (2 vols.; Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts 4–5; Leuven: Peeters, 1993) i.462. For instance, at 1 Cor 14.34, instead of ρηποααεεεεε, read ρηποααεεεεε; at 1 Cor 15.12, instead of ρεφλι, read ρεφλι[η].

³ This list does not include the differences that are purely orthographic in nature (e.g. πωε vs ποε) or that are due to scribal oversight (e.g. ηπεται vs ηπεαιτ).

⁴ P. E. Kahle, *Bala'izah: Coptic Texts from Deir el-Bala'izah in Upper Egypt* (2 vols.; London: Oxford University Press, 1954) i.284.

⁵ W. C. Till, 'Wiener Faijumica', *Le Muséon* 49 (1936) 169–217, at 199–201.

⁶ See W. C. Till, 'Coptic Biblical Texts Published after Vaschalde's Lists', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 42 (1959) 220–40, at 238.

⁷ Claudia Kreuzsaler (Papyrus Collection, Austrian National Library), personal communication.

⁸ A. Boud'hors and C. Nakano, 'Vestiges bibliques en copte fayoumique', *JCoptS* 7 (2005) 137–9, at 138–9.

⁹ One possible exception is the omission of αλλα in P.MorganLib. 268, as suggested by Depuydt, *Catalogue*, i.452 (the lacuna at the end of the line is not long enough to accommodate both αλλα and μαλογ-, unless the scribe wrote μαλογ- in the margin).

should certainly be cautious when assigning dialects to small fragments such as this one, everything in Ms.Copt.g.97(P) – and especially the form $\text{ne}\bar{\text{z}}$ ('to, for'; $F5 \text{ nH}\bar{\text{z}}$) – indicates that it belongs to the $F4$ corpus, which means that Ms.Copt.g.97(P) must have been produced sometime between the fourth and the sixth centuries CE.

There are also two manuscripts that do not preserve any text parallel with the other Fayyūmic witnesses to First Corinthians:

- P.Mich.inv. 158 (9) + P.MorganLib. 264. A fragmentary codex comprising the Pauline epistles, whose extant leaves are divided between the University of Michigan Library and the Morgan Library & Museum. The Morgan fragments remain unpublished, while most of the Michigan fragments were edited by W. H. Worrell,¹⁰ who dated the manuscript to ca 600 CE; Kahle suggested a similar date.¹¹ The codex may have belonged to the library of the White Monastery.¹² Although this manuscript is by far our most important witness to the Pauline corpus in Fayyūmic, only one leaf (P.MorganLib. 264, fol. 14) of First Corinthians survives, preserving most of its first chapter (1 Cor 1.1–7, 9–14, 16–24).
- P.Lond.Copt. 1.507. A strip of parchment, which once was part of a codex leaf, comprising 1 Cor 8.7, 12–13; 9.6–7, 12. After the strip was cut off, a liturgical aide-mémoire in Sahidic (P.Lond.Copt. 1.512) was inscribed above the older text.¹³ P.Lond.Copt. 1.507 was edited by W. E. Crum.¹⁴ Kahle dated it to the seventh century or earlier.¹⁵

Since no text has survived which would parallel that of these two manuscripts and the other four (i.e. P.MorganLib. 265, 268, Oxford, Ms.Copt.g.97(P) and P.Vindob. K 3280 + K 3921 + K 9311), we cannot ascertain whether they bear witness to the same version of First Corinthians. However, although it is not impossible that the five extant Fayyūmic manuscripts bear witness to two (or even three) different versions of First Corinthians, it seems reasonable to surmise that they all in fact represent one single version (fa) – not only on the principle of *lex parsimoniae*, but also because, in all five, the text is strikingly similar to that of bo.

Indeed, a synoptic comparison of the vestiges of First Corinthians in Fayyūmic with the Bohairic text immediately reveals that, if we disregard the dialectal differences, the two versions are next to identical. This similarity between fa and bo is remarkable and requires explanation. In the history of scholarship, two major Coptologists have expressed directly opposing views on the matter. According to Kahle, bo and fa are similar in several New Testament books, because, in these instances, fa 'was taken over' from and 'preserves almost literally the text of' bo. In order to support his claim that fa is dependent on bo, Kahle refers to the fact that the standard Fayyūmic *nomina sacra* $\overline{\text{p}}\overline{\text{f}}$ and $\overline{\text{n}}\overline{\text{oc}}$ derive from

¹⁰ In a personal communication, Alin Suciú informed me that there are four small fragments of this manuscript in the Michigan collection that are not included in Worrell's publication. These fragments bear witness to the Fayyūmic text of Romans, Philippians, Second Thessalonians and Second Timothy.

¹¹ W. H. Worrell, 'Fayumic Fragments of the Epistles', *BSAC* 6 (1940) 127–39, at 127 (with reference to V. Stegemann, *Koptische Paläographie* (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums und Mittelalters. Reihe C: Hilfsbücher 1; Heidelberg: Selbstverlag von F. Bilabel, 1936) Plate 8); Kahle, *Bala'izah*, i.284.

¹² Worrell ('Fayumic Fragments', 127) reports that P.Mich.inv. 158 (9) was purchased in Cairo 'along with leaves which were identified as of the White Monastery'.

¹³ In a personal communication, Ágnes T. Mihálykó suggested that the hand of P.Lond.Copt. 1.512 should be dated to the eleventh century CE.

¹⁴ W. E. Crum, *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1905) 243.

¹⁵ Kahle, *Bala'izah*, i.284.

Bohairic.¹⁶ This argument was refuted by H. J. Polotsky, who noted that the borrowing of *nomina sacra* from a neighbouring dialect does not provide sufficient grounds to posit literary dependence.¹⁷ The question about the relationship between fa and bo thus remains open, though Polotsky himself felt that ‘it is not only possible, but plausible’ that the former has priority over the latter.¹⁸

With respect to First Corinthians, a comparison of fa and bo makes either of these two simple solutions (fa → bo vs bo → fa) rather unlikely. That neither of them can be a daughter version of the other is best evidenced by those instances where bo and fa support different variant readings of the Greek tradition. For instance, at 1 Cor 3.5, bo reads ογ ογν πε απολλω ογ δε (±πε) παγλος, thus supporting the variant which the critical editions of the Greek text consider to be original (τί οὖν ἐστὶν Ἀπολλῶς; τί δὲ ἐστὶν Παῦλος; ‘What, then, is Apollos, and what is Paul?’). Fa, on the other hand, reverses the order of Paul and Apollos and changes ‘what’ to ‘who’, reading νιμ ογν πε παγλος νιμ δε πε απολλω, which corresponds to τίς οὖν ἐστὶν Παῦλος, τίς δὲ Ἀπολλῶς; (‘Who, then, is Paul, and who is Apollos?’). This latter reading, which is clearly secondary,¹⁹ is attested in several Greek witnesses, most notably in the Byzantine text.

That fa cannot be a daughter version of bo is also indicated by the numerous instances where a Greek word is translated in bo but retained in fa – e.g. ερωμαι vs εζογια (1 Cor 9.12 (bis)), ωσηνη vs ερις (1.11; 3.3), ροχρεχ vs θλιψις (7.28), εωωπ vs ροταν (15.24, 28), σαβολ vs παρα (3.11), χινη vs παρρογια (15.23), ναρτ vs ελπιστεγειν (1.21; 3.5; 15.11) and πιςτις (15.14, 17), etc. Although we could hypothesise that the Fayyūmic translator merely ‘guessed’ the Greek lexeme behind the Bohairic word (which would not be difficult with e.g. πιστεύειν or πίστις), in some instances this is rather unlikely. Perhaps the most striking example is the phrase δῆλον ὅτι at 1 Cor 15.27, which is rendered with φογονε εβολ χε in bo, while the parallel text of fa reads δηλον ωτι. Conversely, there are also numerous instances where a Greek word is translated in fa but retained in bo, which indicates that bo cannot be a daughter version of fa – e.g. μνσοс vs ιτα (1 Cor 15.7), κεс vs ρινα (7.29), ρηω vs εркνηΔινηγειν (15.30), μн- vs ογδε ... ογδε ... (3.7), сβω vs σοφια (1.19–22; 2.13), ρατρετ vs εркνηκρinh (2.13).

In sum, neither is fa a direct transposition of bo, nor bo a direct transposition of fa; we thus need to inquire into the more complicated scenarios that would account for the remarkable similarity of the two versions. One way to explain the data reviewed above would be to identify bo with the original translation, of which fa would be a revision

¹⁶ Kahle, *Bala'izah*, 1.228–9, 248, 280.

¹⁷ According to Polotsky, a similar phenomenon also occurs in the Mesokemic (*M*) dialect, which uses the *nomen sacrum* ⲡⲛⲉ, even though the non-abbreviated form of the word ‘god’ in *M* is ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ. Since the Fayyūmic form of the word is ⲛⲟⲩⲧ, the abbreviation ⲡⲛⲉ in *M* must be a borrowing from Fayyūmic (so also H.-M. Schenke, *Das Matthäus-Evangelium im mittellägyptischen Dialekt des Koptischen (Codex Scheide)* (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 127; Berlin: Akademie, 1981) 32; *idem*, ‘Notes on the Edition of the Scheide Codex’, *Acts of the Second International Congress of Coptic Studies* (ed. T. Orlandi and F. Wisse, Rome: CIM, 1985) 315–16; *idem*, ‘On the Middle Egyptian Dialect of the Coptic Language’, *Der Same Seths: Hans-Martin Schenkes Kleine Schriften zu Gnosis, Koptologie und Neuem Testament* (ed. G. S. Robinson, G. Schenke and U.-K. Plisch; Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 78; Leiden: Brill, 2012) 424–46, at 439–40). This inference, however, is difficult to reconcile with the fact that ⲡⲛⲉ never occurs in Fayyūmic manuscripts. It is, perhaps, more plausible that both Fayyūmic and Mesokemic are, in this regard, dependent on Bohairic, but, while Fayyūmic retains the Bohairic form, Mesokemic makes it more similar to the local idiom (which does not have consonant aspiration). This suggestion receives some support from the fact that the Bohairic Ⲭⲉ and the Bohairic-like ⲡⲉ occur in the *M* corpus alongside ⲡⲛⲉ, even though the latter is certainly more common.

¹⁸ H. J. Polotsky, *Collected Papers* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1971) 234.

¹⁹ See B. M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994²) 483.

made in consultation with the Greek text. However, this explanation seems to contradict what we know about the history of *fa* and *bo*. As evidenced by Oxford, Ms.Copt.g.97(P), the text of First Corinthians was available already in the early variety of Fayyūmic – viz. dialect *F4*. Moreover, a comparison of the text of 1 Cor 14.34 in the Oxford fragment with that in P.MorganLib. 268 confirms that the Fayyūmic textual tradition was stable – that is, despite the transition from *F4* to *F5*, ‘the same text form was maintained during the editing process’.²⁰ We thus have good reason to suppose that a Fayyūmic translation of First Corinthians was produced rather early (perhaps even as early as the fourth century) and that it was similar to the version available to us today. On the other hand, we also have good reason to believe that the Bohairic Bible was produced in the seventh or eighth century CE, superseding the Paleo-Bohairic version (*pbo*), which was written in a different variety of Bohairic (dialect *B4*).²¹ In sum, the claim that *fa* is a revision of *bo* is problematic, because, in all likelihood, *fa* predates *bo* by several centuries.

Alternatively, we can hypothesise that *bo* is a revision of *fa* made in consultation with the Greek text. This hypothesis is, as far as I can see, within the realm of possibility. It is worth noting, however, that, as I demonstrated in an earlier publication, *bo* of Hebrews was the result of a thorough revision of *pbo*, the redactor’s goal being to adjust the Coptic text to a word-for-word correspondence with the Greek.²² It is not impossible that not only Hebrews, but the entire Bohairic Pauline corpus went through this process, in which case *bo* of First Corinthians would be a revision of *pbo*. The text of this hypothetical precursor of *bo* would then be even closer to that of *fa*. One of the many differences between *pbo* and *bo* of Hebrews is their use of Greek discourse markers – while *bo* tends to faithfully retain the discourse markers of the Greek text, *pbo* exhibits a remarkable degree of variation.²³ Although *pbo* of First Corinthians is lost, it is perhaps significant that a comparison of *fa* and *bo* reveals a similar phenomenon – *bo* tends to be literal, while *fa* often departs from the Greek (see p. 212 below). It is possible, therefore, that the literalness of *bo* is a secondary development, while the more liberal attitude towards discourse markers in *fa* was also characteristic of *pbo*.

Unfortunately, beyond this point, we find ourselves entirely within the realm of speculation. Since the text of *pbo* is no longer available, we cannot arrive at any secure conclusions about its relationship to *fa*. Perhaps *pbo* (of which *bo* was a revision) was a daughter version of *fa*; perhaps *fa* is a daughter version of *pbo*. Moreover, the very notion that the dialect of the original translation was *either* Bohairic *or* Fayyūmic may be misleading. It is possible that both versions were ‘original’, in the sense that neither of them was a transposition of the other. Since the regions in which Bohairic and Fayyūmic were the dominant dialects were adjacent to one another, we can imagine two groups of translators working in consultation with each other, one responsible for *pbo* and the other for *fa*. While all these scenarios are hypothetical (and must remain hypothetical until the discovery of new evidence), they must be closer to the truth than the solutions championed by Kahle (*bo* → *fa*) and Polotsky (*fa* → *bo*).

Having discussed the relationship between *fa* and *bo*, I should also say a few words about codex C. According to Kahle, this manuscript ‘is based on the text of the Sahidic Version, but a number of variants point to influence from the Fayyūmic-Bohairic text’.²⁴ A

²⁰ W.-P. Funk, ‘The Translation of the Bible into Coptic’, *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol. 1 (ed. J. C. Paget and J. Schaper; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013) 536–46, at 542.

²¹ C. Askeland, *John’s Gospel: The Coptic Translations of its Greek Text* (Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung 44; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012) 177.

²² I. Miroshnikov, ‘A New Witness to the Paleo-Bohairic Version of the Bible: A Fragmentary Manuscript of the Epistle to the Hebrews in Early Bohairic’, *JCOpts* 21 (2019) 173–208, at 189–90.

²³ Miroshnikov, ‘Hebrews in Early Bohairic’, 185–6.

²⁴ Kahle, *Bala’izah*, 1.285.

comparison of the text of First Corinthians in fa, bo and codex C confirms this claim. For example, at 1 Cor 7.28, the Sahidic version (sa) reads: *ⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲓⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲉⲓ ⲑⲓⲛⲓⲥ ϣⲛ ⲧⲉϥⲁⲣⲫⲥ*.²⁵ In this instance, codex C departs from sa and follows fa and bo, as the following comparison demonstrates:

Codex C	ⲉϥⲉ[ⲁⲓ ⲁ]ⲉ	ⲛⲟϥⲑⲓⲛⲓⲥ	ⲛⲧⲉϥⲁⲣⲫⲥ	ⲛⲟⲓ	ⲛⲉⲓ	ⲛⲧⲉⲓⲣⲏ
fa	ⲉϥⲉⲁⲓ ⲁⲉ	ⲛⲛⲟϥⲑⲓⲛⲓⲥ	ⲉⲧⲉϥⲁⲣⲫⲥ	ⲛⲁⲥⲉ	ⲛⲉⲓ	ⲛⲧⲉⲓⲣⲏ
bo	ⲉϥⲉⲓ ⲁⲉ	ⲛⲟϥⲣⲟⲁⲣⲉⲁ	ⲛⲧⲟϥⲁⲣⲫⲥ	ⲛⲁⲥⲉ	ⲛⲁⲓ	ⲛⲡⲓⲁⲓⲣⲏⲧ

Codex C, fa and bo agree against sa in using subject inversion, third future and the verb ‘to take’ in the absolute state with the indefinite object; that codex C here draws on either fa or bo is thus beyond doubt. Since the translator and/or copyist(s) of the text preserved in codex C attempted to approximate some sort of Fayyūmic and since this manuscript, while littered with Sahidicisms, does not seem to have been influenced by Bohairic, we can tentatively assume that it was fa, not bo, that was the source of influence.

7. Variant Readings

Finally, I proceed to a discussion of the importance of P.MorganLib. 265 for the *textual criticism* of the Greek New Testament. There are several instances where fa, represented by P.MorganLib. 265, supports one of the variant readings attested in the Greek tradition; of those, some variants probably belong to the original text of Paul’s letter – e.g. the omission of *τούτου* at 1 Cor 2.12, *ἄνθρωποι* rather than *σαρκικοί* at 1 Cor 3.4, or *δώδεκα* rather than *ἔνδεκα* at 1 Cor 15.5. Other variants, according to Nestle-Aland, are secondary – e.g. the addition of *τούτων* at 1 Cor 3.12 or *ἡ πίστις ἡμῶν* rather than *ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν* at 1 Cor 15.14.

It is also worth noting that, compared to fa, one particular Greek manuscript seems to stand out – viz. majuscule 044. In addition to *τίς ... Παῦλος; τίς ... Ἀπολλῶς*; at 1 Cor 3.5 (which is typical for manuscripts representing the Byzantine text), it also agrees with fa in reading *ὁ θεός ... ὁ θεός ...* at 1 Cor 7.17,²⁶ as well as in omitting *εἰ γὰρ νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγείρονται* at 1 Cor 15.16.²⁷ While the latter two readings also occur in at least one other Greek witness – viz. minuscule 1563 – majuscule 044 seems to be the only Greek manuscript that agrees with fa in omitting *πάντας* at 1 Cor 15.25. Admittedly, when taken in isolation, the agreement between majuscule 044 and fa in each of the latter three cases could be explained as mere coincidence. For instance, it seems reasonable to surmise that the omission of ‘all’ at 1 Cor 15.25 is due to harmonisation to Ps 109/110.1. It is not impossible that this omission was absent from the Greek *Vorlage* of fa

²⁵ H. Thompson, ed., *The Coptic Version of the Acts of the Apostles and the Pauline Epistles in the Sahidic Dialect* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932) 129.

²⁶ This reading is attested in at least four other Greek manuscripts – viz. 629, 1563, 1573^c and 2400.

²⁷ The first clause of 1 Cor 15.16 (*εἰ γὰρ νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγείρονται*, ‘for if the dead are not raised’) is also missing from at least five other Greek manuscripts – viz. 131, 1563, 1646, 1900 and 1962. Admittedly, there is one Greek manuscript (Codex Claromontanus) that, instead of the first clause of 1 Cor 15.16, omits the final clause of 1 Cor 15.15 (*εἴπερ ἄρα νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγείρονται*, ‘if, then, the dead are not raised’). In fa, the text at the juncture of verses 15.15 and 15.16 (*ⲉⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲏⲓⲗⲉⲩⲙⲁⲟⲩⲧⲓ ⲛⲉⲣⲧⲟⲛⲟϥ ⲉⲓ*, ‘if the dead should not rise’) has neither *γὰρ* nor *ἄρα*, and thus it is difficult to ascertain which of the two clauses was omitted. It seems more plausible, however, that fa supports the reading of majuscule 044 rather than that of Codex Claromontanus, given that the omission of the first clause of 1 Cor 15.16 is better attested in the Greek manuscript tradition and is easier to explain (viz. due to homoeoteleuton). Moreover, this omission, unlike the omission of the final clause of 1 Cor 15.15, also occurs in the Coptic witnesses (at least two witnesses of bo and at least one witness of sa – viz. codex C).

and came about either during or after the translation event.²⁸ Cumulatively, however, the agreements between majuscule 044 and fa suggest that, in all these verses, the *Vorlage* of fa had the same variants as majuscule 044.

Some of the variants do not seem to be attested in the Greek manuscript tradition, and we thus cannot know whether they reflect the Greek *Vorlage* of fa or whether they should be regarded as an alteration that occurred during or after the translation event. Thus, in the text of Ps 8.7 (quoted at 1 Cor 15.27), fa – unlike all known Greek witnesses – has the nominal subject (viz. ‘God’); although it is clear that this alteration, intended to make the biblical text more straightforward, is secondary, we cannot know at what point in the transmission history of the text it was introduced. A similar case occurs at 1 Cor 3.1, where fa reads ‘Christ Jesus’, while the Greek has only ‘Christ’.

Interestingly, some of the readings in fa that are absent in the Greek tradition also occur in other early translations. At 1 Cor 7.24, where the Greek text reads ἐν ᾧ ἐκλήθη (‘wherein he was called’), the phrasing of fa is identical to that of Cor 7.20 (ⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲱⲣⲉⲙ ⲛⲧⲁⲮⲧⲁⲣⲙⲉⲙ ⲛⲉⲣⲏⲧⲥⲓ = ἐν τῇ κλήσει ἧ ἐκλήθη, ‘in the calling to which he was called’).²⁹ This harmonisation also features in two manuscripts of Ambrosiaster (*in qua vocatione vocatus est*).³⁰ Similarly, while the Greek manuscripts seem to unanimously read τῶν ἀποστόλων (‘the apostles’) at 1 Cor 15.9, both fa (ⲛⲓⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲗⲟⲅ) and bo (ⲛⲓⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲅ) read ‘all the apostles’ (a harmonisation to 1 Cor 15.7), which finds parallel in the Old Latin tradition (*omnium apostolorum*).³¹ Although these harmonisations may have happened independently, the possibility that they existed in Greek cannot be completely ruled out.

With regard to the use of Greek discourse markers, the evidence of fa should be used with extreme caution. There are numerous instances in which fa adds a discourse marker where the critical edition of the Greek text has none.³² There are also instances in which fa omits the discourse marker we have in the Greek,³³ or even replaces it with a different one.³⁴ Most of these variants also occur in at least some of the witnesses of bo. On the other hand, in all these instances, the support of the Greek manuscript tradition is either insignificant or completely absent. It seems reasonable then to surmise that most, if not all, of these variants occurred at the Coptic stage of the transmission of the text of First Corinthians and thus have no relevance to the study of the Greek *Vorlage* of fa.

Some of the unique readings in fa are due to scribal errors. For instance, at 1 Cor 7.19, fa reads ‘circumcision is nothing, but uncircumcision is nothing’, with ἀλλὰ (‘but’) where

²⁸ It is worth noting, however, that Ps 109/110.1 (fa), whose text survives on P.Vindob. K 50 – a small (2 × 11 mm) strip of parchment, probably used as an amulet – reads ⲉⲃⲁⲛⲓⲧⲕⲱ ⲛⲛⲉⲕⲁⲭⲉⲭⲓ ⲧⲏⲗⲟⲅ ⲛⲥⲁⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⲛⲛⲉⲕⲟⲗⲗⲁⲅⲁ, ‘until I have put all your enemies under your feet’. The text of Ps 109/110.1 (fa) is thus assimilated to that of 1 Cor 15.25 – the exact opposite of what we observe at 1 Cor 15.25 (fa). Since Ps 109/110.1 (fa) has ‘all’, it follows that the harmonising reading we find at 1 Cor 15.25 (fa) must have come about *before* the translation event – we would otherwise have to assume that the text of Ps 109/110.1 known to the Fayyūmic translator of 1 Corinthians was different from that of P.Vindob. K 50 (e.g. he could have been drawing on the quotation from Ps 109/110.1 in Matt 22.44, Mark 12.36, Luke 20.43 or Acts 2.35, none of which passages, to my knowledge, survive in Fayyūmic). For an edition of P.Vindob. K 50, see V. Stegemann, *Die koptischen Zaubertexte der Sammlung Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer in Wien* (Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Jahrgang 1933/4, 1. Abhandlung; Heidelberg: Winter, 1934) 25–6, 62–3; W. Till, ‘Zu den Wiener koptischen Zaubertexten’, *Orientalia* 4 (1935) 195–221, at 214.

²⁹ This reading also occurs in a number of witnesses to bo (ⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲱⲣⲉⲙ ⲉⲧⲁⲮⲟⲗⲁⲣⲙⲉⲙ ⲛⲉⲣⲏⲧⲥⲓ).

³⁰ H. A. G. Houghton, C. M. Kreinecker, R. F. MacLachlan and C. J. Smith, *The Principal Pauline Epistles: A Collation of Old Latin Witnesses* (New Testament Tools, Studies and Documents 59; Leiden: Brill, 2019) 216.

³¹ Houghton, Kreinecker, MacLachlan and Smith, *Principal Pauline Epistles*, 281.

³² At 1 Cor 15.26, 29, δέ is added and should probably be reconstructed at 1 Cor 7.24; γάρ is added at 1 Cor 7.19; οὖν, at 1 Cor 3.17, 18.

³³ At 1 Cor 3.8, 10, 12; 15.23, δέ is omitted, as with ἄρα at 1 Cor 15.15 and γάρ at 1 Cor 7.22; 15.22, 27.

³⁴ At 1 Cor 3.6, ἀλλὰ is replaced with δέ; at 1 Cor 3.15, δέ with οὖν; at 1 Cor 7.26, οὖν with γάρ.

the Greek invariably has καί ('and'); the scribe must have written ἀλλὰ instead of ἀλλά ('and') by mistake, in anticipation of ἀλλὰ in the following clause. Similarly, πνεῦμα ('the Spirit') instead of πνευματικός ('the spiritual one') at 1 Cor 2.15 and μόνον ('only') instead of μάλλον ('rather') at 1 Cor 7.21 are due to scribal oversight.

Finally, the last clause of 1 Cor 15.27 (fa) deserves special commentary. Here, bo reads ὡσπεν φη εταφρε ενχαλ νιβεν σνε χωου ναϣ ('except the one who made everything be subject to him'), faithfully rendering ἐκτὸς τοῦ ὑποτάξαντος αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα ('except the one who subjected all things to him'). The text of fa, on the other hand, corresponds to οὐδὲν ἀφήκεν αὐτῷ ἀνυπότακτον ('he has left nothing that was not made subject to him') of Heb 2.8, thus bearing witness to a reading that has no support in the Greek tradition.³⁵ This assimilation of 1 Cor 15.27 to Heb 2.8 was undoubtedly triggered by the fact that both passages offer an exegesis of the same Old Testament passage (viz. Ps 8.7) and that both were considered to be written by the same author (viz. Paul). As the following comparison demonstrates, the text of 1 Cor 15.27 (fa) is identical to that of Heb 2.8 (bo).³⁶

1 Cor 15.27 (fa)	ηπεφε	λαπς	ηνογεω	εληηποταζεσεε	ηηϣ
Heb 2.8 (bo)	ηπεφεκα	ελι	ηνογεωεν	σνε χωου	ναϣ

The verbatim agreement between 1 Cor 15.27 (fa) and Heb 2.8 (bo) indicates that, at this point, fa presupposes the existence of a Coptic translation of Hebrews (which was either identical with or similar to bo).³⁷ It seems reasonable to surmise, then, that the wording of 1 Cor 15.27 (bo) reflects that of the original translation, while the harmonising reading that we now find at 1 Cor 15.27 (fa) was introduced by a later redactor or copyist.

In what follows, I offer a semi-diplomatic edition of P.MorganLib. 265, which I autographically examined at the Morgan Library & Museum in May 2019. Due to the current state of preservation of the manuscript, some portions of the text are illegible under natural light. More text is legible on the photographs reproduced in Henri Hyvernāt's facsimile,³⁸ but, unfortunately, these photographs were taken before the fragments were detached from each other and cleaned. The staff at the Morgan Library & Museum kindly let me examine P.MorganLib. 265 under ultraviolet light, which allowed me to significantly improve the transcription. Afterwards, I checked and corrected this initial transcription with the help of the ultraviolet images produced at the library's photographic studio.

³⁵ To the best of my knowledge, the closest parallel to 1 Cor 15.27 (fa) occurs in two Old Latin manuscripts (54^c and 58), which add either *nihil praetermisit non subjectum ei* ('he has overlooked nothing that had not been made subject to him') or *nihil domini sit non subjectum ei* ('the Lord has nothing that has not been made subject to him') before *praeter eum qui subjecit ei omnia* ('except the one who subjected all things to him'). The Latin text is from Houghton, Kreinecker, MacLachlan and Smith, *Principal Pauline Epistles*, 285. The difference in wording may indicate that the reading attested in these two manuscripts also existed in Greek. It is worth noting, however, that *nihil domini sit* in manuscript 58 is undoubtedly a corruption of *nihil dimisit* ('he has left nothing'; the verb *dimisit* was mistaken for the *DMI* followed by *sit*), which is what the Vulgate reads at Heb 2.8. Given that the two readings differ only in the prefix (*di-* vs *praeter-*, the latter probably triggered by the following *praeter eum*), I am sceptical that a similar reading ever existed in Greek. Since fa and the two Old Latin witnesses differ in that the former replaces a clause from 1 Cor 15.27 with a clause from Heb 2.8, while the latter conflate the two phrases, I would argue that the two harmonisations happened independently.

³⁶ The only differences are lexical, conditioned by the different vocabularies of F5 and B5 – e.g. fa opts for the Greek loan word ὑποτάσσεσθαι ('to subject'), while bo prefers its Egyptian equivalent σνε χωε (literally, 'to bend one's head').

³⁷ Unfortunately, we cannot know whether bo and fa of Heb 2.8 were identical, since the latter has not survived.

³⁸ [H. Hyvernāt], *Bybliothecae Pierpont Morgan codices copticis photographice expressi* (56 vols.; Rome: [s.n.], 1922) xxxviii.3–4, 103–5.

In my edition, I have followed the principles of word division outlined by Walter C. Till.³⁹ In addition to the use of the underdot to indicate where the extant ink traces are paleographically ambiguous, I also use it in those instances where the parchment is intact but the Coptic text seems to have entirely vanished. Coptic letters that are missing due to the loss of written surface are enclosed in square brackets.

The edition is followed by my notes on the Coptic text and an English translation. In the translation, Greek loanwords employed in the Coptic text are given as parenthetical glosses. In my translation, I have tried to retain the diction of the original Coptic as literally as possible, which unavoidably impairs the eloquence of the English. In the footnotes to the translation, I explicate the meaning of those passages that might otherwise be unclear in translation to the reader.

³⁹ W. C. Till, 'La séparation des mots en copte', *BIFAO* 60 (1960) 151–70.

Transcription of the Coptic Text

Fol. (c + a)^r (MS M.585, fol. 50^v + fol. i^r; see Fig. 1)

2.12	μηπεπ̄να̅ μηκ̄κος მოც ენ̄ პეტ̄ა̅ან χιτ̄ιϥ · ἄλλα πεπ̄να̅ ετ̄ωααπ̄ εβαλ̄ ρ̄η̅ φ̄τ̄ [π]ε · ρ̄ινα̅ ν̄την̄ ἰνι̅ ἐν̄η̅ ν̄τα̅φ̄τ̄ τ̄ει τοῦ̅ ν̄η̅ν̄ ρ̄ημα̅τ̄ ε̄τε̅ ν̄ει̅ ν̄ε̅ ν̄ε̅τ̄ε̅	5	π̄να̅τ̄ικος̅ ἄλλα ν̄τ̄ρ̄η̅ ν̄ρ̄εν̄σα̅ρ κ̄ικος̅ ν̄τ̄ρ̄η̅ ν̄ρ̄ε̅ κοῦ̅ ἡ̅λλα̅γ̄ι ρ̄η̅ π̄ χ̄ρ̄ς̅ ἰ̄η̅ς̅ · Οὐ̅γα̅ρω̅τ̄̅ ἀ̅ιτ̄σα̅ τ̄η̅ νοῦ̅ ἡ̅μα̅ς̅ ἡ̅νοῦ̅ρ̄ ρ̄η̅ ἐν̄ τ̄ε̅ · ἐ̅νε̅η̅ πα̅τε̅τε̅νω̅σ̅ε̅η̅ σ̄αν̄ γ̄αρ̄ πε̅ · ἄλλα †̄νοῦ̅ ἀ̅ν̄ ἡ̅μ̄ν̄ ὡ̅ς̅ ἀ̅η̅μα̅τε̅ν̄ Ἔ̅τι̅ γ̄αρ̄ ν̄τε̅τε̅ν̄ ρ̄ε̅ σα̅ρ̄κ̄ικος̅	3.2
2.13	ε̄τε̅ ν̄ει̅ ν̄ε̅ ν̄ε̅τ̄ε̅ ὡ̅ξι̅ ἡ̅μα̅γ̄ Ν̄ρ̄εν̄με̅τ̄λε̅ϥ̄τ̄̅ c βω̅ ἡ̅λω̅μ̄ι̅ ἐν̄ ἡ̅ τε̅ ρ̄εν̄ὡ̅ξι̅ ἡ̅ς̅ βω̅ · ἄλλα ρ̄η̅ ρ̄εν̄ με̅τ̄λε̅ϥ̄τ̄̅ cβω̅ ἡ̅ τε̅ πεπ̄να̅ · ἐ̅νη̅α̅τ̄ ρ̄ε̅τ̄ ἡ̅ρ̄εν̄π̄να̅τ̄ι κο̅ν̄ · ἡ̅ν̄ ρ̄εν̄π̄να̅ τ̄ικος̅ · π̄ῑγ̄χη̅	10	Ἔ̅τι̅ γ̄αρ̄ ν̄τε̅τε̅ν̄ ρ̄ε̅ σα̅ρ̄κ̄ικος̅ Ῥ̄ος̅ γ̄αρ̄ ε̅ο̅γ̄αν̄ κ̄ω̅ρ̄ ρ̄ι̅ ἐ̅ρι̅ς̅ ρ̄η̅ τ̄η̅νοῦ̅ Οὐ̅χι̅ ν̄τε̅τε̅ν̄ ρ̄ε̅ σα̅ρ̄κ̄ικος̅ · ἀ̅γ̄ω̅ ἀ̅τε̅τε̅νη̅α̅ ἀ̅ω̅ι̅ κα̅τ̄α̅ λ̄ω̅μ̄ι̅ Ἔ̅ω̅ω̅π̄ι̅ γ̄αρ̄ ἀ̅λε̅ ὡ̅α̅οῦ̅ε̅ι̅ ἄ̅α̅ς̅ ἄ̅ε̅ ἀ̅η̅α̅κ̄ ἡ̅εν̄ ἀ̅η̅α̅κ̄ πα̅ πα̅γ̄λο̅ς̅ · Κ̄ε̅οῦ̅ε̅ι̅ ἄ̅ε̅ ἄ̅ε̅ ἀ̅η̅α̅κ̄ πα̅ ἀ̅πο̅λλω̅ · Οὐ̅χι̅ ν̄τε̅τε̅ν̄ ρ̄εν̄ λ̄ω̅μ̄ι̅ · Ἡ̅μ̄ ὡ̅γ̄η̅ πε̅ πα̅γ̄λο̅ς̅	3.3
2.14	τ̄ικος̅ · π̄ῑγ̄χη̅ κο̅ς̅ ἄ̅ε̅ ἡ̅λω̅μ̄ι̅ ἡ̅ε̅ϥ̄ ὡ̅α̅π̄ ἡ̅α̅ πεπ̄να̅ ἡ̅τε̅ φ̄τ̄̅ ε̅λα̅ϥ̄ · οὔ̅μ̄ε̅τ̄ σα̅ς̅ γ̄αρ̄ ἡ̅η̅ϥ̄ τε̅ ἀ̅γ̄ω̅ ἡ̅μ̄ν̄ ὡ̅σα̅μ̄η̅α̅ϥ̄ ε̅ι̅ν̄ι̅ · ἄ̅ε̅ ἀ̅γ̄ρ̄α̅τ̄ρ̄ε̅τ̄ ἡ̅μα̅ϥ̄ π̄να̅τ̄ικος̅	20	ἄ̅γ̄ω̅ ἀ̅τε̅τε̅νη̅α̅ ἀ̅ω̅ι̅ κα̅τ̄α̅ λ̄ω̅μ̄ι̅ Ἔ̅ω̅ω̅π̄ι̅ γ̄αρ̄ ἀ̅λε̅ ὡ̅α̅οῦ̅ε̅ι̅ ἄ̅α̅ς̅ ἄ̅ε̅ ἀ̅η̅α̅κ̄ ἡ̅εν̄ ἀ̅η̅α̅κ̄ πα̅ πα̅γ̄λο̅ς̅ · Κ̄ε̅οῦ̅ε̅ι̅ ἄ̅ε̅ ἄ̅ε̅ ἀ̅η̅α̅κ̄ πα̅ ἀ̅πο̅λλω̅ · Οὐ̅χι̅ ν̄τε̅τε̅ν̄ ρ̄εν̄ λ̄ω̅μ̄ι̅ · Ἡ̅μ̄ ὡ̅γ̄η̅ πε̅ πα̅γ̄λο̅ς̅	3.4
2.15	Π̄ε̅π̄να̅ ἄ̅ε̅ ν̄τα̅ϥ̄ ὡ̅α̅ϥ̄ ρ̄α̅τ̄ρ̄ε̅τ̄ ἡ̅κ̄ε̅ε̅ν̄ι̅ ἡ̅ι̅ β̄ι̅ · ν̄τα̅ϥ̄ ἄ̅ε̅ ἡ̅ε̅λε̅ λα̅π̄ς̅ ρ̄ε̅τ̄ρ̄ω̅τ̄ϥ̄	25	Ἡ̅μ̄ ὡ̅γ̄η̅ πε̅ πα̅γ̄λο̅ς̅ ἡ̅μ̄ ἄ̅ε̅ πε̅ ἀ̅πο̅λλω̅ Ῥ̄εν̄δ̄ια̅κ̄ων̄ ἡ̅ε̅ ε̅ ἀ̅τε̅τε̅νη̅ε̅λ̄π̄ι̅ς̅τε̅ϥ̄η̅ ε̅βαλ̄ ρ̄ι̅τ̄α̅α̅τ̄οῦ̅ Ποῦ̅ε̅ι̅ ποῦ̅ε̅ι̅ κα̅τ̄α̅ τ̄ρ̄η̅ ν̄τα̅π̄ω̅ς̅ †̄ ἡ̅η̅ϥ̄ ἀ̅η̅α̅κ̄ ἀ̅ιτ̄ω̅σ̄ι̅ ἀ̅πο̅λλω̅ ἀ̅ϥ̄τ̄σα̅ φ̄τ̄̅ ἄ̅ε̅ ἀ̅ϥ̄τ̄ροῦ̅α̅ι̅ε̅ι̅ ρ̄ος̄ ἄ̅ε̅ πε̅τ̄ω̅σ̄ι̅	3.5
2.16	Ἡ̅μ̄ γ̄αρ̄ πε̅τα̅α̅ϥ̄ι̅ν̄ι̅ ἐ̅ρ̄η̅τ̄ ἡ̅π̄ω̅ς̅ · Ἔ̅μ̄η̅α̅ν̄ ἡ̅μ̄ πε̅τ̄ νε̅ω̅τ̄σα̅βα̅ϥ̄ ἀ̅η̅α̅ν̄ ἄ̅ε̅ π̄ρ̄η̅τ̄ ἡ̅ π̄χ̄ρ̄ς̅ πε̅τ̄μ̄η̅α̅ν̄	30	Ἡ̅μ̄ ὡ̅γ̄η̅ πε̅ πα̅γ̄λο̅ς̅ ἡ̅μ̄ ἄ̅ε̅ πε̅ ἀ̅πο̅λλω̅ Ῥ̄εν̄δ̄ια̅κ̄ων̄ ἡ̅ε̅ ε̅ ἀ̅τε̅τε̅νη̅ε̅λ̄π̄ι̅ς̅τε̅ϥ̄η̅ ε̅βαλ̄ ρ̄ι̅τ̄α̅α̅τ̄οῦ̅ Ποῦ̅ε̅ι̅ ποῦ̅ε̅ι̅ κα̅τ̄α̅ τ̄ρ̄η̅ ν̄τα̅π̄ω̅ς̅ †̄ ἡ̅η̅ϥ̄ ἀ̅η̅α̅κ̄ ἀ̅ιτ̄ω̅σ̄ι̅ ἀ̅πο̅λλω̅ ἀ̅ϥ̄τ̄σα̅ φ̄τ̄̅ ἄ̅ε̅ ἀ̅ϥ̄τ̄ροῦ̅α̅ι̅ε̅ι̅ ρ̄ος̄ ἄ̅ε̅ πε̅τ̄ω̅σ̄ι̅	3.6
3.1	ἀ̅η̅α̅κ̄ ἄ̅ε̅ ρ̄ω̅ ἡ̅α̅ς̅ ἡ̅νοῦ̅ ἡ̅π̄ι̅ὡ̅σ̅ε̅η̅ σ̄α̅μ̄ ε̅ὡ̅ξι̅ ἡ̅ε̅μ̄η̅ τε̅ν̄ ν̄τ̄ρ̄η̅ ν̄ρ̄εν̄	35	ἀ̅η̅α̅κ̄ ἀ̅ιτ̄ω̅σ̄ι̅ ἀ̅πο̅λλω̅ ἀ̅ϥ̄τ̄σα̅ φ̄τ̄̅ ἄ̅ε̅ ἀ̅ϥ̄τ̄ροῦ̅α̅ι̅ε̅ι̅ ρ̄ος̄ ἄ̅ε̅ πε̅τ̄ω̅σ̄ι̅	3.7



Figure 1. The Morgan Library & Museum, MS M.585, fol. 50^v + fol. i^r. Purchased for J. Pierpont Morgan (1837–1914) in 1911. Digitally reassembled by Ivan Miroshnikov.

Fol. (c + a)^v (MS M.585, fol. 50^r + fol. i^v; see Fig. 2)

	μη πεττσα λαπс		πρωσ μπογει	3.13
	ne · αλλα φ̄τ̄		πογει φ̄νεογω[ne]	
	πεττρογαιε		εβαλ · περαιογ	
3.8	Πεττωσι μη πετ	5	γαρ φ̄νεογαιε[γ]	
	τσα ογει ne		εβαλ · xe αφ̄η[ε]	
	Πογει δε πογει		σωλπ εβαλ εν	
	φ̄νεχι ηπεφβε		ογκλωη ·	
	κη κατα πεφρι		Δγω πρωσ μπογ	
	σι μηνι ημαγ		ει πογει ·	
3.9	Δησαν γαρ ανελ ω	10	πεκλωη πετνε	
	βηλ ηλεφελ ρωσ		ελλοκιμαζιν	
	ητε φ̄τ̄ · μη ογει		ημαγ · xe ογεω	
	πογααιε ητε φ̄τ̄		νηη πε ·	
	ητετεη ογκωτ		Πη ετε περωσ ηε	3.14
3.10	ητε φ̄τ̄ · κατα περ	15	σωωτ ηταγ	
	ματ ητε φ̄τ̄ ετ		κατγ · φ̄νεχι η	
	τααι ηηι ·		πεφβεκη ·	
	ητηη ηουσαβη		Πη ετεπερωσ	3.15
	ηαρχιδεκτον		ηελωκερ · φ̄νετ̄	
	αικω ηουσεντ̄	20	ασι ηημαγ ηταγ	
	ερληη · κεογει		δε φ̄νεογρεη	
	πετογερεη κωτ		ητ{αγ}<ει>ρη ογη εβαλ	
	Πογει δε πογει		ρητηη ογκλωη	
	μαλεφσαμс εβαλ		ητετεηαογηη	3.16
	xe αφ̄κωτ ηεω	25	ει · xe ητετηη	
3.11	νηη · κεσεντ̄		ογελπηη ητε φ̄τ̄	
	γαρ μη ωσαμ η		Δγω πεπ̄ηα ητε	
	τεκεογει κεσ ερ		φ̄τ̄ · φ̄ωααπ ρη τη	
	ληη · παρα τητ		ηογ · ηη ογη ετ	3.17
	κη ερληη ετε η̄ηс	30	ηεσααγ πελπηη	
3.12	η̄η̄с ηε · εωξε		ηφ̄τ̄ · ηει φ̄τ̄ ηε	
	ογαν πετογ		τακαγ · πελπηη	
	ερεη κωτ εχηη		γαρ ητε φ̄τ̄ ογεβ	
	τηεσεντ̄ ηογ		ετε ητατηη ηε	
	ηογβ ηη ογρετ	35	ηηελτρελαπс ογηη	3.18
	αηηηηει ·		ελ ρελ ηημαγ ογα	
	ωη σαγβογ λαγ!		ετγ · πετηηη	
			ογι ρη τηηογ	

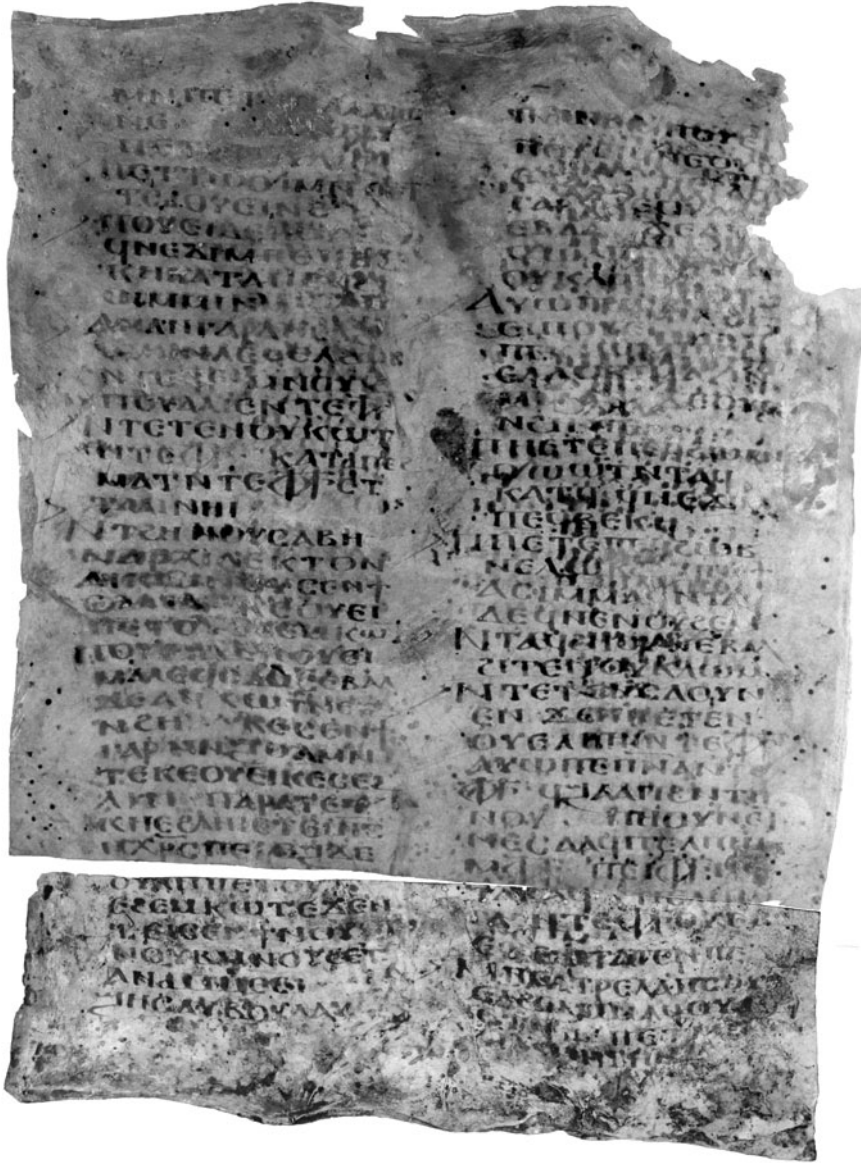


Figure 2. The Morgan Library & Museum, MS M.585, fol. 50^r + fol. i^v. Purchased for J. Pierpont Morgan (1837–1914) in 1911. Digitally reassembled by Ivan Miroshnikov.

Fol. (d + e)^r (MS M.585, fol. 51^v + fol. 51^r; see Fig. 3)

[	]		σαοῦν τῶν πλῶνι	7.16
[	]		χε κνωρνερεμ τεκ	
[	]		σεῖνι ενεωρῖνι ντ	7.17
[	]		ζη νταφτ̄ τρω μ	
[	]	5	πογει πογει	
[	]		Ντρη νταφτ̄ ταρεμ	
[	]		πογει πογει ντει	
[	]		ζη μαλεφμααωι μ	
[	]		μας · ντειρη αν †	
[	]	10	ογαρ σεῖνι ννικκ	
[	]		λνσια τηλογ ·	
[	]		Δγταρεμ ογει εφσνβ	7.18
[	]		βνογτ̄ μπελτρεφ	
[	]		σακ τμετατςνββι	
[	]	15	ννι · αγταρεμ ογ	
[	]		ει ζη τμετατςνββι	
[	]		μπελτρεφςνββητ̄	
[	]		Πςνββι γαρ λαπς πε	7.19
[	]		αλλα τμετατςνββι	
[	]	20	λαπς τε · αλλα πα	
[	]		λερ πε ννιεντολνογ	
[	]φς		ντε φτ̄ · πογει πογ	7.20
[	]χε		ει ρμ πτωρεμ νταγ	
[	]†		ταρμεφ νρητ̄ μα	
[	]·ς		λεφωπι νρητ̄	
[	]	25	Δγταρμεκ εκαι νρελ	7.21
[	]π		μπελτςεελμελ	
[	]		εσεε ννκ ·	
[	]		Αλλα εωχε ογαν ως	
[	]ογ	30	αμ ννακ εελ λεμρη	
[	]·ατ		μονον αλιρι	
[	]		Πρελ νταγταρμεφ	7.22
[	]		ζη π̄σ̄ · ογαπελεγ	
[	]		εερος πε ντε π̄σ̄	
[	]	35	Ντειρη αν πιλεμρη	
[	]		[ντ]αγταρμεφ ογρελ	
[	]		[πε] ντε π̄χρς	
[	]		[Δγ]ωαπ τ̄ννογ ρα ογ	7.23
[	]		[τ̄νν η]πελελ ρελ η	
[	]	40	νλωμ̄ · πογει [Δε]	7.24
[	]		πογει ναςννογ [ρη]	
[	]		πτωρεμ νταγ	



Figure 3. The Morgan Library & Museum, MS M.585, fol. 51^v + fol. 51^r. Purchased for J. Pierpont Morgan (1837–1914) in 1911. Digitally reassembled by Ivan Miroshnikov.

Fol. (d + e)^v (MS M.585, fol. 51^r + fol. 51^v; see Fig. 4)

	ταρμεϛ νρητϛ		[]
	μαλεϛϟωπι η		[]
	ρητϛ ρατεν φ̄τ̄		[]
7.25	ε̄τβε ηπαρϑε		[]
	νοϛ δε ηητ̄ οϣ	5	[]
	ᾱρ σε̄ρη ητε π̄ϑ̄		[]
	ημεϣ · οϣτνο		[]
	ηη δε †† ημαϛ		[]
	ητρη ηνοϣει εα		[]
	π̄ϑ̄ ηεει ηηϛ	10	[]
	Κεϛ ταϟωπι η		[]
7.26	πιστοϛ · †ηη		[]
	οϣη γαρ δε ηανοϣ		[]
	πει ε̄τρεϛϟωπι		[]
	ε̄τβε ταηαγτη ε̄τ	15	[]
	ϟααπ δε ηανοϣϛ		[]
	ηπλωη ηϟωϟ		[]
	πη ητειρη ·		[]
7.27	Κσαηε̄ ε̄ςρηη ηπελ		[]
	κω† ησα βαλκ	20	[]
	Κβηλ ραβαλ ηςρηη		[]
	ηπελκω† ησα ϛ		Δ[]
7.28	ρηη · κλη εϟωπι		η[]
	ακϟαηκχι ηκελ ηα		ε[]
	βη εν · αϣω εϟω	25	ϛ[]
	πη αϟαηκχι ηξε †		η[]
	παρϑενοϛ ησελ		[]
	ηαβη εν · εϣε̄κχι		[]
	δε ηνοϣελι†ϛ ε		[]
	τεϣσαρϣ ηξε ηει	30	Τ[]
	ητειρη · αηακ δε		λΔ[]
	αη† σα ελατεη ·		.[]
7.29	Πει δε αηαω ηηαϛϛ		.[]
	ηασηνοϣ δε		[]
	πεϟγαϣω ηπϟ[	35	[]
	πε · λοιπον		[]
	κεϛ ηη ε̄τε οϣ[αη]		[]
	τοϣ ϛρηη[η] ηϛ[εελ]		[]
	τρη ηηη [ε̄τε ηη]		[]
7.30	τηνοϣ · ηε̄τληηη	40	[]
	ρως ε̄ηϛε̄ληηη ε̄η		[]
	ηε̄τλεωη ρως ε̄η		[]

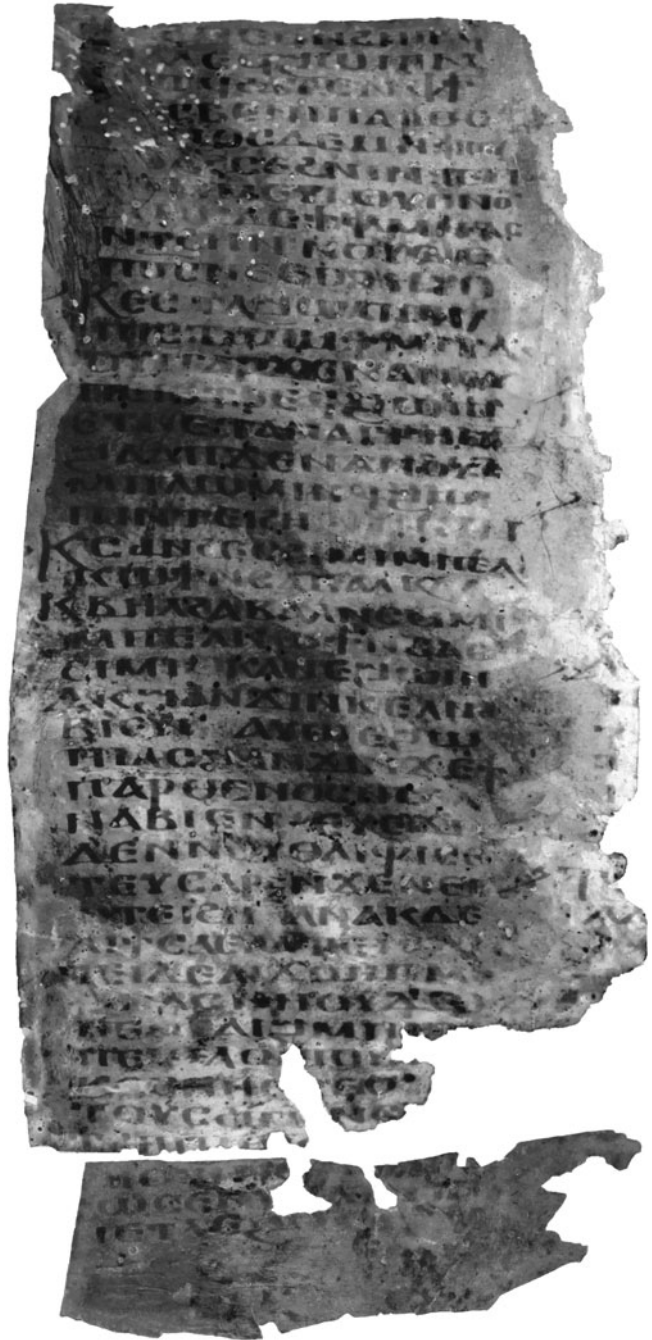


Figure 4. The Morgan Library & Museum, MS M.585, fol. 51^r + fol. 51^v. Purchased for J. Pierpont Morgan (1837–1914) in 1911. Digitally reassembled by Ivan Miroshnikov.

Fol. (b)^r (MS M.585, fol. ii^r; see Fig. 5)

15.3	<p>xe πx̄pc̄ aq̄moγ exen nennavi kata negraphē</p>		<p>alla permat nte φ̄τ̄ etnemni</p>	
15.4	<p>ayw xe aq̄kaansq̄ ayw xe aq̄twnq̄ mperazoy nmez̄r̄ kata negraphē</p>	5	<p>zi ayw mmaq̄ xe aq̄ twnq̄ ebal zn nēτ maoyt̄ · paw oy an zaini zn tnhoy xw mmaq̄ xe mmi anaatacis nte</p>	15.11
15.5	<p>ayw xe aq̄oyanzq̄ ekhfa · ita aq̄oy anzq̄ ep̄m̄b̄ · mi coc aq̄oyanzq̄ epē zoya n̄φ̄ ncan zi oycaπ nei ete peγ zoya φ̄aaπ φ̄a eγ oγn eτnoy · zen kekaȳi de ayen</p>		<p>θ̄wxe de πx̄pc̄ ce zi ayw mmaq̄ xe aq̄ twnq̄ ebal zn nēτ maoyt̄ · paw oy an zaini zn tnhoy xw mmaq̄ xe mmi anaatacis nte</p>	15.12
15.6	<p>kat · ita aq̄oyan zq̄ eiakkboc · ī coc · aq̄oyanzq̄ e nkeapoc̄toloc̄ thloy · ep̄zan de mmaq̄ thloy nτ zn noyzoγzn aq̄oy anzq̄ elai zw</p>	10	<p>θ̄wπi · ie θ̄wxe de mmi anaatacis n te nileq̄maoyt̄ nē θ̄wπi · ie npeix̄pc̄ twnq̄ · θ̄wxe de npeix̄pc̄ twnq̄ zapa q̄woγit̄ nxe penzi ayw · ayw c̄ woγit̄ nxe tēnke pistic̄ · ie cenē</p>	15.13
15.7	<p>dnak gar pe p̄koyi ebal oyde maoc̄ toloc̄ thloy nτ em̄p̄we en etroy moyt̄ elai xe apoc̄ toloc̄ · xe aπw̄t̄ nca tekklhcia n te φ̄τ̄ · zn oyzmat̄ de nte φ̄τ̄ τ̄ai m̄pet̄ ai mmaq̄ · ayw peq̄ zmat̄ etenznt̄ n peq̄w̄m̄i eq̄woγ it̄ allā āix̄i zici e zoγaiste elay th loy · nnānāk̄ de <en></p>	15	<p>elpeōentēn de zw̄dn enaī n̄ met̄p̄n nnoȳz̄ za φ̄τ̄ · xe anel̄ met̄ p̄n za φ̄τ̄ xe aq̄toy nac̄ πx̄pc̄ etē n̄ peq̄toȳn̄ac̄q̄ θ̄wxe n̄m̄leq̄ maoyt̄ nēτw noy en̄ ie m̄p̄e πx̄pc̄ twnq̄ · θ̄wxe de npeix̄pc̄ twnq̄ oȳp̄iseēi tē tēn̄ pistic̄ · ie et̄ī an̄ tētenw̄aān̄ zn nē</p>	15.14
15.8		20		
15.9		25		
15.10		30		
		35		



Figure 5. The Morgan Library & Museum, MS M.585, fol. ii^r. Purchased for J. Pierpont Morgan (1837–1914) in 1911.

Fol. (b)^v (MS M.585, fol. ii^v; see Fig. 6)

15.18	τεσσαρι · ραρα ηη νταγενκατ ρη πχρς ιε αυτακα		σλλαγχ · ρραν δε νχεχι φνεογωσγ	15.26
15.19	Ϟωχε ρη πειωηρ ογαετγ ανελ ρελ πς επχρς · ιε τε̄ χι μπηει ελαν ερογαϊστε ελω	5	τρερωβ ηιβι ελ ρηποτασεσε νσαπеснт ηηεγ σλλαγχ νχε φ̄τ̄ Ϟωωπι δε αφωδ̄	15.27
15.20	ηι ηιβι · φ̄νωγ δε απχρς τωηγ ε βαλ ρη ηετηαογτ ταπαρχη <η>ηη νταγ ενκατ · —	10	χας δε αρωβ ηι βι ελρηποταζεс εε ηηγ · ανηλον ωτι μπεφκε λαπε ηνωγεω ελρηπο ταζεсεε ηηγ ·	
15.21	Ϟπιδη γαρ εβαλ ρι την ογλωηι απ μογ ωωπι · εβαλ ριτην κελωηι δ̄ τανασταсιс ητε ηιλεφμαογт ηε	15	ρотан δε αλεωα ρωβ ηιβι ελρηπο ταζεсεε ηηγ Тотε νταγ ρωωγ πωηηι εφεελρη ποταζεсεε μπη νταγтрерωβ ηι βι ελρηποταζεс εε ηηγ · ρηηα η τεφ̄τ̄ ωωπι εν ταγ πε {ρη} ρωβ ηιβι ρη ογαν ηιβι	15.28
15.22	ωωπι · κατα τρη ετογмаογт τη λογ ρη δδαν · ητει ρη ρη πχρς сene ωηρ τηλογ πογ ει πογει ρη πεφ ταγμα ηωαρπ πχρς	20	Ϟηηηηη ογη πε τογηηειγ νχε ηη ετχωκεη ηηηαγ εχεν ηιλεγ ηαογт · εωχε δε ηηιλεφμαογт λω ηετωηογ ε̄ ετβε ογη сεελπ κεχι χωκεη ερ ληη εχωογ · ιε εт βε ογη αναν ρω ωη τεηρηωγ ηογ αιω ηιβι	
15.23	ηιτα ηα πχρς ρη τεφ παρρογсια · ητα πχωκ · ρотан αφωαν̄т ηтмет ρρα ηφ̄т̄ πωт · ρотан αφωανογ ωсγ ηαρη ηιβι ηη εзоγсια ηιβι ηη сам ηιβι ρωт̄ γαρ ελαγ ηφελ ер ρα · ωανтеφκω ηηεφχεχι ηса песнт ηηεγ	25		
15.24		30		15.29
15.25		35		15.30



Figure 6. The Morgan Library & Museum, MS M.585, fol. ii^v. Purchased for J. Pierpont Morgan (1837–1914) in 1911.

Notes on the Coptic Text

(3.15) $\text{NT}\{\Delta\psi\}\langle\epsilon\rangle\text{ZH}$: the scribe wrote $\text{NT}\Delta\psi\text{ZH}$ instead of $\text{NT}\epsilon\text{ZH}$, a scribal mistake triggered by the word $\text{NT}\Delta\psi$, which occurs earlier in the same verse.

(7.16) $\text{C}\Delta\text{OYH}$: the last line of the preceding leaf most certainly read $[\Delta\kappa]$.

(7.24) $[\Delta\epsilon]$: the line appears to be too short in comparison to the ones above and below, unless we supposed that a few letters were lost in the lacuna. I restore $[\Delta\epsilon]$, assuming that fa agrees with the variant reading attested in several witnesses of bo .

(7.29) $\text{MH}\Phi$: I leave the word ‘withdrawal’ ($B5$ $\text{O}\Phi\psi$) unrestored, because it is unclear whether or not it was subject to lambdacism in $F5$.

(15.10) $\langle\epsilon\text{N}\rangle$: although the text at the bottom of fol. (b)^r is poorly legible, it seems certain that, at the end of the first column, there is no text after $\Delta\epsilon$. In all likelihood, the scribe omitted ϵN by mistake in the transition from the last line of the first column to the first line of the second column. An enticing alternative to this emendation is to suggest that NN- before $\Delta\text{N}\Delta\kappa$ functions as the sole negator in this sentence – a phenomenon that, according to Wolf-Peter Funk, seems to occur in several Coptic dialects, including M , $B4$ and $B5$.⁴⁰ However, since this phenomenon seems to be otherwise unattested in Fayyūmic and since the parallel text of P.MorganLib. 268 does not omit ϵN , I have chosen to emend the text.

(15.12) $\text{MH}\text{N} \mid \Delta\text{N}\Delta\text{CT}\Delta\text{CIC}$: only the traces of what seems to be a vertical stroke are discernible after M . This vertical stroke can belong to either M or N ; thus, the manuscript may have read either MHN or MN . Given that, in the next verse, just a few lines below, the manuscript reads $\text{MMN} \Delta\text{N}\Delta\text{CT}\Delta\text{CIC}$, I have opted for the former option.

(15.14) $\text{TE}\text{N}\text{K}\epsilon \mid \text{PTCTIC}$: although all witnesses of bo read PETENKENAZT , the vertical ink trace following TE is compatible with N , but not T , which means that the manuscript could not have read $\text{TE}\text{TEN-}$.

(15.17) $\text{TE}\text{N} \mid \text{PTCTIC}$: the ink traces at the end of line 37 are impossible to discern. However, though all witnesses of bo read PETENNAZT , the available space seems to make the reading $\text{TE}\text{TEN} \mid \text{PTCTIC}$ rather unlikely.

(15.20) $\langle\text{N}\rangle\text{NH}$: admittedly, the omission of the linkage marker N- may be due to ‘phonetic’ haplography; however, since this is the only instance of the omission of the initial morphemic N in this manuscript, I find it more plausible that the scribe made a mistake.

(15.28) $\{\text{ZH}\}$: the scribe wrote the preposition ZH before $\text{Z}\text{O}\text{B} \text{NIBI}$ by mistake, in anticipation of the ZH that occurs before $\text{OYAN} \text{NIBI}$ later in this verse.

⁴⁰ W.-P. Funk, ‘Negative N- without ΔN as a Late Survival in Coptic Egyptian’, *JCOptS* 16 (2014) 125–38.

Translation

(2.12) ... what we received was not the spirit (πνεῦμα) of the world (κόσμος), but (ἀλλά) it was the Spirit (πνεῦμα) from God, that (ἵνα) we might understand the things that God gave us as a gift (2.13) – these things that we speak – discerning, along with spiritual people (πνευματικός), spiritual things (πνευματικόν), not through the human teachings of wise words but (ἀλλά) through the teachings of the Spirit (πνεῦμα). (2.14) Indeed (δέ), the psychical (ψυχικός) person never receives the things belonging to the spirit (πνεῦμα) of God, for (γάρ) it is foolishness for him. And he is unable to understand, for it is discerned spiritually (πνευματικῶς). (2.15) The Spirit (πνεῦμα), on the other hand (δέ), discerns everything, but (δέ) it itself no one discerns. (2.16) For (γάρ) ‘who has known the mind of the Lord, or who will be able to instruct him?’⁴¹ As for us, on the other hand (δέ), we have the mind of Christ.

(3.1) Hence (δέ), my brothers, I myself could not speak to you as I might speak to spiritual people (πνευματικός) but (ἀλλά) to fleshly ones (σαρκικός), to little children in Christ Jesus. (3.2) I gave you milk to drink – it is not food – for (γάρ) you were not yet capable.⁴² But (ἀλλά) now, too, you are not capable. (3.3) For (γάρ) you are still (ἔτι) fleshly people (σαρκικός). For (γάρ), as long as (ὡς) there is envy and discord (ἔρις) among you, is it not so (οὐχί) that you are fleshly (σαρκικός) and walk as (κατά) humans? (3.4) For (γάρ) if someone says, ‘As for me, I, on the one hand (μὲν), belong to Paul’, and someone else, on the other hand (δέ), ‘I belong to Apollos’, is it not so (οὐχί) that you are human? (3.5) Who, then (οὖν), is Paul, and (δέ) who is Apollos? They are servants (διδάκων) through whom you came to believe (πιστεῦειν), each one in (κατά) the manner the Lord assigned him. (3.6) I planted, Apollo watered, but (δέ) God made them grow. (3.7) Therefore (ὥστε), neither the one who plants nor the one who waters is anything,⁴³ but (ἀλλά) God, the one who causes them to grow.⁴⁴ (3.8) The one who plants and the one who waters are one, and (δέ) each will receive his wage according to (κατά) his labour. (3.9) For (γάρ) we are God’s fellow workers, and you, God’s tillage, are God’s building, (3.10) according to (κατά) the grace of God given to me. Like a wise master-builder (ἀρχιτέκτων), I laid the foundation; someone else continues to build. But (δέ) let each one pay heed to how he builds. (3.11) For (γάρ) it is impossible for someone else to lay a foundation other than (παρά) the one that is laid down – namely, Jesus Christ. (3.12) If there is someone who continues to build on this foundation with gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay or straw, (3.13) the work of each one will be revealed. For (γάρ) the day will reveal [him],⁴⁵ because it⁴⁶ will be disclosed in fire, and the fire is what will assay (δοκιμάζειν) the work of each one – namely, of what sort it is. (3.14) He whose work – which he built – will remain, will receive his wage. (3.15) He whose work will burn, will lose it. Yet (δέ) he himself will be saved but (οὖν) in <this> way: through fire. (3.16) Do you not know that you are a temple of God and that the Spirit (πνεῦμα) of God dwells in you? (3.17) He, then (οὖν), who will defile the temple of God will be destroyed by God. For (γάρ) the temple of God – namely, you – is holy. (3.18) And

⁴¹ Isa 40.13.

⁴² Here, as well as in the next sentence, the translator retained the elliptic structure of the Greek sentence (the reader is supposed to supply something along the lines of ‘of digesting real food’).

⁴³ Literally, ‘the one who plants and the one who waters are nothing’.

⁴⁴ The translator retained the elliptic structure of the Greek sentence (the reader is supposed to supply something along the lines of ‘is everything’).

⁴⁵ That is, each one.

⁴⁶ That is, the work.

(οὐν) let no one deceive himself. He who thinks among you ...

(7.16) ... how [do you] know, husband, that you will be able to save your wife, (7.17) except the way God appointed each one? Just as God called each one, so let him walk. And so also do I command all the churches (ἐκκλησία). (7.18) Was someone circumcised called? Let him not draw out his uncircumcision.⁴⁷ Was someone uncircumcised called? Let him not circumcise himself. (7.19) For (γάρ) circumcision is nothing, but (ἀλλά) uncircumcision is (also) nothing. Rather (ἀλλά), it is the observance of God's commandments (ἐντολή).⁴⁸ (7.20) Let each one be in the calling to which he was called. (7.21) Were you called while being a slave? Let it not be a concern (μέλεσθαι) for you. But (ἀλλά) if you can become free, do only (μόνον) this. (7.22) A slave who was called in the Lord is the Lord's freedman (ἀπελεύθερος). So also a free individual who was called [is] a slave of Christ. (7.23) [You were] bought with a [price (τιμή)]; do not become slaves of humans. (7.24) [And (δέ)] let each one, my brothers, be with God [in] the calling to which he was called. (7.25) Now (δέ), concerning virgins (παρθένοσ), I have no commandment of the Lord,⁴⁹ but (δέ) I give an opinion (γνώμη) as someone on whom the Lord had pity, so that I became faithful (πιστός). (7.26) For (γάρ) I think that it is good for this to be so⁵⁰ because of the present distress (ἀνάγκη), that it is good for man to be this way. (7.27) Are you bound to a wife? Do not seek to untie yourself. Are you untied from a wife? Do not seek a wife. (7.28) Even if (κἄν) you should marry, you do not sin. And if a virgin (παρθένοσ) marries, she does not sin. But (δέ) people of such a sort shall receive affliction (θλίψις) in their flesh (σάρξ), though (δέ) I am sparing you. (7.29) But (δέ) I tell you this, my brothers: it is the time of [withdrawal], so that henceforth (λοιπόν) those who have wives ought to [be] like those [who] do [not]; (7.30) those who weep as though (ὡς) not weeping, those who rejoice as though (ὡς) not ...

(15.3) ... that Christ died for our sins, according to (κατά) the scriptures (γραφή), (15.4) and that he was buried, and that he rose on the third day, according to (κατά) the scriptures (γραφή), (15.5) and that he appeared to Cephas, then (εἶτα) he appeared to the twelve. (15.6) Then he appeared to more than 500 brothers at once, of whom the most remain until now, while (δέ) others have fallen asleep.⁵¹ (15.7) Then (εἶτα) he appeared to James, then he appeared to all the other apostles (ἀπόστολοσ). (15.8) And (δέ) last of all, like to an untimely birth, he appeared to me, too. (15.9) For (γάρ) I am the least of all the apostles (ἀπόστολοσ). I am not worthy to be called 'apostle' (ἀπόστολοσ), because I persecuted the church (ἐκκλησία) of God. (15.10) But (δέ), by God's grace, I am who I am. And his grace, which is in me, has not become empty, but (ἀλλά) I toiled more than all of them – though (δέ) not I, but (ἀλλά) the grace of God which is with me. (15.11) Whether (εἴτε), then (οὐν), I or (εἴτε) those ones, we are proclaiming in this way and in this way have you come to believe (πιστεύειν). (15.12) But (δέ) if Christ is proclaimed, that he rose from the dead, how (πῶσ) is it that some of you say that there will be no resurrection (ἀνάστασις) of the dead? (15.13) And (δέ), therefore, if there should be no resurrection (ἀνάστασις) of the dead, then Christ did not rise. (15.14) And (δέ) if Christ did not rise, then (ἄρα) our proclamation is empty, and our faith (πίστις) is also empty. (15.15) And (δέ), therefore, we ourselves will also be found false witnesses against God, because we

⁴⁷ That is, he should not pull his foreskin over to conceal his circumcision. The word 'uncircumcision' is added by the translator in an attempt to elucidate the technical meaning of ἐπισπᾶσθαι ('to drag up').

⁴⁸ The translator retained the elliptic structure of the Greek sentence (the reader is supposed to supply something along the lines of 'that matters').

⁴⁹ Or, 'from the Lord', if ντε- is a variant spelling of ντεν- 'from'.

⁵⁰ That is, it is good to remain a virgin.

⁵¹ That is, they have died (so also verses 18 and 20 below).

bore witness to God, that he raised Christ, whom he did not raise. (15.16) If the dead should not rise, then Christ did not rise. (15.17) And (δέ) if Christ did not rise, our faith (πίστις) is vain; therefore, you are still (ἔτι) in your sins. (15.18) Then (ἄρα) those who have fallen asleep in Christ have perished. (15.19) If it is only in this life that we set our hopes (ἐλπίς) on Christ, then we are pitied more than any human being. (15.20) But (δέ), now, Christ rose from the dead, the first fruits (ἀπαρχή) <of> those who have fallen asleep. (15.21) For (γάρ) since (ἐπειδή) death happened through a man, the resurrection (ἀνάστασις) of the dead will also happen through a man. (15.22) Just as (κατά) they are all dead in Adam, so also will they all live in Christ, (15.23) each one in his order (τάγμα): first Christ, then (εἶτα), at his coming (παρουσία), those who belong to Christ. (15.24) Then (εἶτα) (comes) the end, after (ὅταν) he has delivered the kingdom to God the Father. After (ὅταν) he has destroyed every rule (ἀρχή), and every authority (ἐξουσία), and every power, (15.25) indeed (γάρ), he must reign until he has put his enemies under his feet. (15.26) And (δέ) the last enemy will be destroyed – namely, death. (15.27) ‘God made everything be subject (ὑποτάσσεσθαι) under his feet.’⁵² And (δέ) if he⁵³ says that everything became subject (ὑποτάσσεσθαι) to him,⁵⁴ it is evident that (δῆλον ὅτι) he⁵⁵ did not leave anything without it being subject (ὑποτάσσεσθαι) to him.⁵⁶ (15.28) And (δέ) after (ὅταν) everything has become subject (ὑποτάσσεσθαι) to him, then (τότε) he himself, the Son, shall become subject (ὑποτάσσεσθαι) to the one who made everything be subject (ὑποτάσσεσθαι) to him, so that (ἵνα) God might be everything in everyone. (15.29) Otherwise, what will those who are baptised with water for the dead do? Indeed (δέ), if the dead should never rise, why do they receive baptism for them⁵⁷ also? (15.30) Then why are we ourselves always in distress? ...

Competing interests. The author declares none.

⁵² Ps 8.7.

⁵³ That is, David.

⁵⁴ That is, Jesus Christ.

⁵⁵ That is, God.

⁵⁶ That is, Jesus Christ.

⁵⁷ That is, the dead.

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