

Two fragments of the Acts of Andrew and Paul (Cod. Borg. Copt. 109, fasc. 132)

The following is an English translation made from the Coptic texts published by X. Jacques "Les deux fragments conservés des 'Actes d'Andrè et Paul'" *Orientalia* vol. 38 (1969) pp. 187-213. The pagination in brackets throughout the text is that of Zoega.

The most important works to be consulted for further research on the text are given on. pp 187-191 of Xavier Jacques' article, and a copy of these pages has been made here, for the sake of convenience.

I have italicized the story (within a story) told by Paul after his resurgence from the depths. It is quite a complex construction: it starts with Paul and Judas talking to each other, then moves to Judas and the Saviour talking to each other, followed by Judas talking to the devil, and later Judas talking to himself, where of course Paul is the narrator the whole time. I have decided to leave out the speech marks entirely.

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Les deux fragments conservés des « Actes d'André et de Paul »

(Cod. Borg. Copt. 109, fasc. 132)

Xavier JACQUES – Rome

Un peu de bibliographie

Le fascicule 132 du codex Borg. Copt. 109 de la Vaticane comporte 11 feuilles. Zoega, qui les fit connaître en 1810, en donnait la pagination: 115-126, 131-136, 139-142, et les présentait comme « Fragmenta duo de rebus SS. Andreae et Pauli; duo pariter de rebus S. Bartholomaei ». Il résumait ensuite les deux premiers fragments (115-126, 131-133 col. 1) et éditait le premier (115-126) ⁽¹⁾.

En 1835, Dulaurier traduisait en français une partie de ce premier fragment (117, fin - 123, début) sur le texte de Zoega. Il modifiait le titre vague que ne lui avait pas donné sans raison Zoega, en « Actes de saint André et de saint Paul » ⁽²⁾.

C'est sous ce titre que le texte pénètre dans les ouvrages généraux consacrés aux Apocryphes. Tischendorf transcrit le résumé latin de Zoega et ajoute, en note, une partie de la traduction de Dulaurier ⁽³⁾. Migne publie de larges extraits de cette même traduction dans son

⁽¹⁾ G. Zoega, *Catalogus codicum copticorum manu scriptorum qui in Museo Borgiano Velitris adservantur* (Romae 1810) 230-235.

⁽²⁾ É. Dulaurier, *Fragment des Révélations apocryphes de saint Barthélemy et de l'Histoire des communautés religieuses fondées par saint Pakhome* (Paris 1835) 30-35. Le titre de cet opuscule se rapporte aux deux fragments inédits dont l'auteur donne le texte et la traduction. Il y joint la traduction de trois textes plus courts, déjà publiés par Zoega: cod. Borgia CII, CXXI et CXXXII. De ce dernier, qui nous intéresse, il ne traduit qu'un fragment: 50-144 (ces chiffres, comme ceux qui suivront, renvoient aux lignes de notre édition).

⁽³⁾ C. Tischendorf, *Apocalypses Apocryphae Mosis, Esdrae, Pauli, Iohannis, item Mariae Dormitio, additis Evangeliorum et Actuum Apocryphorum supplementis* (Lipsiae 1846) XLVII-XLIX, note 1.

Dictionnaire des légendes du christianisme, aux articles *Judas Iscarioth* et *Paul*, et y consacre quelques lignes dans son *Dictionnaire des Apocryphes* ⁽¹⁾. Lipsius, qui en parle à propos des Actes d'André, traduit librement le résumé de Zoega et ajoute quelques réflexions sur la nature et l'origine de ce texte ⁽²⁾.

En 1887, Guidi éditait le deuxième des « frammenti relativi alla leggenda di s. Paolo e s. Andrea » (131-133 col. 1) ⁽³⁾ et en présentait, l'année suivante, une traduction italienne ⁽⁴⁾. Lipsius le signale dans son volume de complément ⁽⁵⁾, et Schmidt reproduit ces données dans l'*Histoire de la littérature chrétienne ancienne* de Harnack ⁽⁶⁾. Hennecke, par contre, dans les deux premières éditions de son ouvrage, ne fait pas allusion à ces fragments ⁽⁷⁾.

Cependant, dès 1894, Steindorff avait inséré le fragment publié par Zoega dans le choix de lectures qui accompagnait sa *Grammaire* ⁽⁸⁾, et en faisait de même figurer des extraits dans son *Abrégé* ⁽⁹⁾. Guidi suivait son exemple en publiant un extrait du même fragment dans ses *Éléments* ⁽¹⁰⁾. James résume les deux fragments sans les traduire ⁽¹¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ J. de Douhet, *Dictionnaire des légendes du christianisme* (Troisième et dernière encyclopédie théologique 14; Petit-Montrouge 1855) col. 720-722 et 1040-1042. — Migne, *Dictionnaire des Apocryphes*. I (Paris 1856) col. 1102.

⁽²⁾ R. A. Lipsius, *Die Apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*. I (Braunschweig 1883) 616-617.

⁽³⁾ I. Guidi, « Frammenti Copti », *Atti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei. Rendiconti* (Ser. 4, III, 2; 1887) 80-81.

⁽⁴⁾ I. Guidi, « Gli Atti apocriphi degli Apostoli nei testi copti, arabi ed etiopici », *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana* 2 (1888) 45-46.

⁽⁵⁾ R. A. Lipsius, *Die Apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden. Ergänzungsheft* (Braunschweig 1890) 96.

⁽⁶⁾ A. Harnack, *Die Überlieferung und der Bestand der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius* (Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius 1; Leipzig 1893) 920.

⁽⁷⁾ E. Hennecke, *Handbuch zu den Neutestamentlichen Apokryphen* (Tübingen 1904); *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen* (Tübingen 1924).

⁽⁸⁾ G. Steindorff, *Koptische Grammatik* (Berlin 1904 1930) 34*-46*. Le texte figurait déjà dans la première édition de 1894.

⁽⁹⁾ G. Steindorff, *Kurzer Abriss der koptischen Grammatik* (Berlin 1921) 43-47. Extraits reproduits: 7-15; 50-146. La partie intermédiaire est brièvement résumée.

⁽¹⁰⁾ I. Guidi, *Elementa linguae copticae* (Istituto per l'Oriente; Neapoli 1924) 36-39. Extrait reproduit: 72-131.

⁽¹¹⁾ M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford 1924, reprinted 1926, 1945, 1950) 472-475.

La première traduction anglaise — mais des seuls extraits publiés par Steindorff dans son *Abrégé*, moins les dernières lignes du second —, fut offerte par Hallock aux lecteurs du *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*, en 1929 ⁽¹⁾. Worrell, en 1945, citant comme exemple de la littérature copte des iv^e-v^e siècles l'apologie de Judas, donne de ce fragment une nouvelle traduction. Il renvoie pour le texte copte à Zoega ⁽²⁾.

En 1964 enfin, Schneemelcher, reprenant l'ouvrage de Hennecke, y introduit une courte notice sur les deux fragments ⁽³⁾. Erbetta traduit le résumé de James ⁽⁴⁾.

Mais les auteurs d'ouvrages généraux ne furent pas les seuls à s'intéresser à ces fragments. Dès 1890, von Lemm rapprochait d'autres textes apocryphes trois passages du fragment publié par Zoega et en donnait, à cette occasion, une traduction allemande ⁽⁵⁾. Flamion s'efforçait, en 1911, de situer les « Actes de Paul et d'André » dans le contexte de son étude sur les Actes d'André ⁽⁶⁾. Haase, dans une perspective plus large, reproduisait, dans les sources de son enquête, le résumé latin de Zoega, et résumait lui-même le résumé de Lipsius dans le paragraphe consacré à André ⁽⁷⁾. Il ne dit rien à cet endroit du long récit de Judas et l'ignore, plus curieusement encore, dans le paragraphe qu'il consacre à ce dernier apôtre ⁽⁸⁾.

⁽¹⁾ F. H. Hallock, « An Apocalypse of SS. Andrew and Paul », *JSOR* 13 (1929) 190-194. Il supprime 144-146.

⁽²⁾ W. H. Worrell, *A Short Account of the Copts* (Ann Arbor 1945) 21-22 et 53. Fragment traduit: 72-129.

⁽³⁾ E. Hennecke – W. Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung*³. II (Tübingen 1964) 403. Trad. anglaise (London 1965) 576.

⁽⁴⁾ M. Erbetta, *Gli Apocrifi del Nuovo Testamento*. II (Torino 1966) 537-538.

⁽⁵⁾ O. von Lemm, *Koptische apokryphe Apostelacten*. I (Mélanges asiatiques X, 1 [1890] tirés du *Bullet. de l'Acad. Impér. des Sciences de St-Petersbourg*, n. s. 1 [33]) 141 et 145-146 (*Bullet.*, 551 et 555-556). Passages traduits: 195-205; 188-189; 195-196.

⁽⁶⁾ J. Flamion, *Les Actes Apocryphes de l'Apôtre André, les Actes d'André et de Matthias, de Pierre et d'André et les textes apparentés* (Recueil de Travaux Univ. de Louvain 33; Louvain-Paris-Bruxelles 1911) 319-320.

⁽⁷⁾ F. Haase, *Apostel und Evangelisten in den Orientalischen Überlieferungen* (Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen IX, 1-3: Münster i. W. 1922) 12-13 et 251.

⁽⁸⁾ Ibid. § 24 (en fait § 25) 275-279.

Dans le volume des textes magiques publiés par Lexa, trois passages du fragment édité par Zoega sont traduits en français ⁽¹⁾. L'auteur évoque à leur propos d'autres textes de son recueil ⁽²⁾. Kropp, de son côté, rapproche certains traits des « Acta Andreae et Pauli » de deux textes qu'il publie ⁽³⁾. Piankoff, par contre, dans un article consacré à la descente aux enfers, où il cite plusieurs apocryphes coptes, n'y fait pas allusion ⁽⁴⁾.

Dans une note, publiée en 1947, Morenz suggère — sur des bases assez fragiles — de voir dans le personnage d'André, tel qu'il apparaît dans ces fragments, un nouveau Sarapis ⁽⁵⁾. En 1955, un article de J. Zandee, consacré à la descente aux enfers chez les Coptes, lui fournit l'occasion de traduire, pour ses lecteurs, les extraits publiés par Steindorff dans son *Abrégé*, sans rien omettre du texte lui-même ⁽⁶⁾. Il oublie malheureusement d'y insérer le résumé que donne Steindorff de la partie omise entre les deux extraits, ajoutant ainsi une difficulté de plus à l'interprétation d'un texte déjà difficile. En 1957, Godron propose, par l'intermédiaire d'un prototype hiéroglyphique indirectement attesté, de ranger l'oiseau **ⲁⲎⲉ** de notre texte dans la famille des ardéidés ⁽⁷⁾.

Peterson, étudiant l'histoire et les légendes concernant André, résume les deux fragments ⁽⁸⁾. On les retrouve souvent cités dans l'ouvrage de Zandee, écrit en néerlandais mais publié en anglais en 1960, sur la Mort dans les conceptions de l'Égypte ancien-

⁽¹⁾ F. Lexa, *La magie dans l'Égypte antique, de l'Ancien Empire jusqu'à l'époque copte*. II (Paris 1925) 223-225. Passages traduits: 50-64; 152-171; 179-205.

⁽²⁾ Ibid. I, 150-151.

⁽³⁾ A. M. Kropp, *Ausgewählte Koptische Zaubertexte*. III (Bruxelles 1930) 61-62. — II, cité plus loin, est de 1931.

⁽⁴⁾ A. Piankoff, « La descente aux enfers dans les textes égyptiens et dans les apocryphes coptes », *BSAC* 7 (1941) 33-46.

⁽⁵⁾ S. Morenz, « Der Apostel Andreas als νέος Σάραπης », *TLZ* 72 (1947) col. 295-297.

⁽⁶⁾ J. Zandee, « De Descensus ad inferos bij de Kopten », *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* 9 (1954-1955) 158-174.

⁽⁷⁾ G. Godron, « Les oiseaux **ⲁⲎⲉ** et *M3Š* », *BIFAO* 56 (1957) 19-20.

⁽⁸⁾ P. M. Peterson, *Andrew, Brother of Simon Peter, His History and His Legends* (Supplements to Novum Testamentum 1; Leiden 1958) 38-39.

Les deux fragments conservés des « Actes d'André et de Paul » 191 ne (1). Dans le chapitre IV, consacré aux textes coptes sur les châtiments dans l'au-delà, il analyse en effet successivement plusieurs termes importants, qui reviennent fréquemment dans ce genre de textes. Enfin Schenke traduit un court extrait du premier fragment et voit dans l'orgueil du Démon, le motif « dégnostifié » de l'orgueil du Demiurge (2).

Ce bref aperçu bibliographique (3) n'épuise pas la contribution de chacun des auteurs cités à l'interprétation de notre texte. Nous y reviendrons à l'occasion dans les notes de cette traduction et on s'y reportera pour les références.

Une traduction

Il n'existait pas jusqu'ici de traduction complète de ces deux fragments.

La traduction française de Dulaurier ne couvre qu'une partie du premier, soit à peine un peu plus du tiers de l'ensemble. Malgré ses énormes qualités, elle ne répond plus toujours à la connaissance que nous pouvons avoir aujourd'hui du texte, soit que sur certains points elle paraisse trop libre — encore que son auteur l'ait voulu « aussi littérale » que « possible » (p. 8) —, soit que le texte lui-même ait été amélioré. Elle est de plus très difficilement accessible (4).

La traduction anglaise de Hallock, grevée de quelques lourds contresens, et celle, bien meilleure, de Zandee, en néerlandais, ne couvrent que quelques lignes de plus.

(1) J. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy, according to Ancient Egyptian Conceptions* (Studies in the History of Religions, Supplements to *Numen* 5; Leiden 1960).

(2) H.-M. Schenke, *Der Gott « Mensch » in der Gnosis* (Göttingen 1962) 92.

(3) Le regretté P. J. Simon nous avait aidé à le dresser.

(4) Déjà en 1855, dans le *Dictionnaire des légendes du christianisme* du comte de Douhet, G. Brunet déclarait qu'elle n'était pas « facile à rencontrer » (col. 720) et en citait pour cette raison de larges extraits (en fait, il ne manque, pour que le texte soit complet, que cette phrase, à insérer avant le dernier fragment cité à l'art. *Paul*: « Dès que j'eus, moi Paul, entendu ce récit de la bouche de Judas, je déplorai son destin de subir des châtiments aussi cruels »; le texte du *Dictionnaire* diffère parfois légèrement de son modèle). Hallock n'a pu la consulter, et c'est dommage car sa propre traduction aurait pu en être améliorée.

English translation

... of her son. Thereupon the sailor moored. He looked and saw Andrew, the crowd gathered around him. As Paul spoke to him, he took his cloak to the shore to give it to him. The sailor's mother saw¹ her son coming to the shore. She went to greet him. Paul's cloak touched her eyes, and she was able to see. They gave glory to God for what had happened.

Andrew approached the sailor and said to him: 'Where is the man who was on board with you ?' The sailor replied: 'He jumped overboard into the water, saying that he was going to inspect the abyss,² these places where the Lord had gone in order to see how He had made them. These are things which he told me to tell you: *I beg you not to forget me and leave me, lest the subterranean creatures of the abysses seize me.*' Andrew then took Paul's cloak from the sailor and said to him: 'Go home. I will engage³ with the Jews a while longer and then I will go to the place where He was.'

The sailor rose and went home, giving glory to God. He gave his belongings to others.⁴ Andrew on the other hand went to the gate of the city, a large crowd following him and countless numbers of Jews. A man called out: 'Apostle of God, have mercy on my inhuman condition.⁵ I have no father or mother. I have a single son, who will (soon) be twelve. He has lain down and been ill for a day. He has not eaten or drunk. So we are preparing his funeral, thinking⁶ that he is already dead. So, apostle of God have mercy on my wretched condition and take the trouble to come to my house and touch him and he will recover. For I have heard about the miracles you performed before you came to the city. I have seen you casting out demons.' Andrew then said to the man: 'Let us go to the city and Jesus will take care of you and your son.'

They walked in the direction of the city. They were stopped by the Jews, who said: 'We will not let you come into the city because of this name of Jesus, the One you preach. But if you wish to perform a few cures, you can do them outside for two days and then go, for it not possible to let

1 The verb used is **ΝΑΥ**, which in case of a blind person clearly refers to something other than physical vision. Indeed, it would seem in a proleptic way to herald the gift of sight.

2 **ΝΟΥΝ**. Perhaps one should add 'watery'. It is a well-known concept in Pharaonic Egyptian cosmology and generally has to do with water as the origin of life. The cosmology of Shmoun (Middle Egypt), also known as Hermopolis, consisted of an Ogdoad, two members of which were Noun and Naunet.

3 ἀγωνίζεαι

4 Lit. 'to the people'

5 The Coptic term **ΤΑΜΝΤΑΤΡΩΜΕ** can be analysed as follows: **ΡΩΜΕ**/man; **ΜΝΤ**/abstract noun morpheme; **ΑΤ**/without; **ΤΑ**/my

6 Lit. 'saying'

you into city. ⁷ We will not allow you to lead all of our people astray with this false Jesus teaching.' Andrew then said: 'In our teaching there is no error. You are the ones in error. But if you are determined not to let us in the city, we will not come. But if it is the wish of the Lord to receive us, He will receive us, and there is nothing you can do.' After saying this, he turned to go away. The father of the young man began to weep: 'Apostle, have mercy on my wretchedness.'⁸ Andrew said to him: 'Go into the city. Your son is dead. Do not take him out for burial until daylight tomorrow. We will come and raise him for you, for it is a work of the Lord. Later we will return to you and your city.' He said this and left the crowds.

They returned to the city and found the boy dead, as the Apostle had said. They wept for him according to the custom of their city. Andrew went down to the sea and said to the sailor: 'Tell me where Paul threw himself into the water.' They boarded the boat and went until they reached him. The sailor said to then: 'This is it.' Andrew then filled a cup with sweet water and prayed over him thus: 'My Lord Jesus, the One who separated the light from the darkness, the One who separated the earth until dry land appeared. In Your name I pour this cup of sweet water on the sea which is full of salt water, that it will recede and the dry land emerge and the earth break with the abyss and Paul my brother come out.' After he had said this, he poured the cup of sweet water on the sea, saying: 'Recede, salt and bitter water before the sweet.' After these words the dry land appeared. The abyss was divided. Paul leapt from the water, a fragment of wood in his hand.⁹ He leapt towards Andrew and greeted him.

Andrew said to him: 'Where have you come from, my brother, and where have you been ?' Paul said to him: 'Forgive me, my brother. I went to inspect the places of the abyss, where the Lord went, and I saw what sort of places they were.'

Andrew said to him: 'You have been exceedingly daring. Indeed, we senior apostles who walked with the Lord after he had risen, teaching us everything, He made us master of every power, and none of us has dared what you have done.'¹⁰

⁷ If the most likely emendation is followed, this is the meaning that comes out of it.

⁸ The first instance of this is Greek, the second Coptic. The ability to alternate from one to the other is a byproduct, as it is to some extent in English, of foreign occupation: in Egypt by the Greeks, in England by the French (mid-11th cent to approx. the end of the 14th cent.) A variant of this is what one might call the Greco-Copticism, where two words from both languages meaning more or less the same things are used side by side with each other, as in the expression **ΠΑΛΙΝ ΟΝ** 'again'

⁹ This 'golden bough' is to play a major role later on.

¹⁰ There is perhaps a faint hint of reproach here: Paul is the Apostle, but as never a disciple who 'walked with' the Lord, and he has displayed an audaciousness that Andrew may envy and find distasteful.

Paul said: 'I have managed to do it, my brother. Forgive me, but listen and I will tell you. It happened that when I went to the abyss I saw a dwelling place of all the souls. I saw Judas the apostle walking with Our Lord in a punishment of great severity. I said to him:

What are you doing in this punishment ? Why did the Lord not bring you up with all these souls which He brought up ?' He said to me: Woe is me and double woe for what I did to my Lord, for I sinned against Him and betrayed Him to the Jews for perishable money. For I knew that He was my Lord and the Lord of the entire earth. I went and took my money and gave it back to the high priests. I asked Him to forgive me.

Will You abandon me for a single thing which I did when I sold You ? Do not abandon me. Will you look at me as I go to my destruction ? Remember, my Lord, that I heard You talking to Peter the apostle. When he asked You: If my brother sins against me, how often should I forgive him, up to seven times ? You told him, not just up to seven times but up to seven hundred. I sinned against You once.¹¹ Will You look at me as I go my destruction ? My Lord, do not. Who is the man who will watch his son going down to the depth and not help him. I, even I who dared to betray You, will You look at me as I go down to my destruction ? Do not, my Lord.

He then sent me to the desert, telling me not to fear anyone but God: If you see the devil coming, fear neither him nor anyone except God. I went to the desert to fast that God might forgive me. The archon of destruction came to me, lifted his head above me, his mouth open ready to swallow me. I was afraid and worshipped him: You are my lord. He then removed himself from me. I wept. There is no forgiveness for me.¹² I considered what to do. If the Lord were here, I would call Him. He had already been taken to the praetorium to be judged. I said¹³ I will go and hang myself. I reached Amente before Him. He came to this place and took all the souls and emptied Amente, except my soul.¹⁴

'The gatekeepers of Amente wept to the devil: What are doing, boasting that you are the king, you and no-one else ? Now we know that you are not the king, but there is One who lords it over you, who has taken them all away from you.

11 Minor emendations necessary: $\text{NOY} < \text{COPI NOY} > \text{OT} \{ \text{ΠΕΝΤΑΙΡΝΟΒΕ ΕΡΟΚ} \}$

12 This is clearly meant to be an expression of Judas' thoughts.

13 i.e. to myself. A certain amount of this is Judas talking to himself

14 In the *Acts of Bartholemew* (ed. P. Lacau, pp. 68ff.) Judas is not the only sinner to remain there, but is accompanied by Cain and Herod

The devil then said before all his powers: My powers, do you think that there is one stronger than us ? But since He has come here, He has not been able to take another soul.

Jesus then called Michael, who had accompanied Him to Amente and said to him: Take the soul of Judas up so that the devil cannot reproach me. Michael came and brought me up. After this Michael cried out: Shame on you, you feeble foe. At this point the Lord said to Michael: Return the soul to Tartaros. Judas wept, saying: Will you and leave me in this punishment ? I knew you were coming to Amente to take all these souls and that you would take mine as well, and that is why I removed my soul from my body myself. Jesus replied and said to the wretched Judas: What were you doing, prostrating yourself and worshipping the devil ? Judas said: He came up on me like a snake, his mouth open ready to devour me. I was afraid. I worshipped him. Jesus said: You wretch, when he came to you, if you had called upon the Lord for help, you would have been saved. But now you have done something else hateful to God, besides committing suicide. For this reason you will remain in Amente until the day of judgement, when the Lord will judge you. I have been from that day.

I, Paul, when I heard this from Judas, was extremely grieved over the troubles I saw that he was in. Listen and I will tell you. I saw streets in Amente that were deserted, nobody in them. All the doors destroyed by the Lord, He made them into fragments. Do you see, my brother Andrew, this fragment of wood in my hand. ? I have brought it with me, it is part¹⁵ of the gate of Amente, which the Lord destroyed. I also saw other great places by the side of Amente. I asked what they were. I was told that this is the place of the soul of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and all the prophets. I heard a multitude crying aloud, as they wept in other places, but I did not see them. I asked what they were. I was told that these were the places the Lord did not visit when he descended to Amente, which means the place¹⁶ of weeping and gnashing of teeth, inhabited by murderers, magicians and infanticides.'

After he had said this, the boat moored at the shore. Andrew said: 'Enough ! Let the boat be moored in the place where you found it. Let us hasten to the city, for there is a great contest before us and the name of the Lord will be glorified in this city. For the Jews have prepared a great contest¹⁷ with us.'

15 **ἄσπῆς** 'hinge'

16 The word in the printed text is a typographical error.

17 The two words 'contest' are: **ἀγῶν** and **πόλεμος**.

After the boat had been moored to the shore, Andrew rose with Paul and Apollonius the sailor. They made their way to the gate of the city. They were about to go in together.¹⁸ The Jews fortified the gate so that the apostles would be unable to enter the city. Andrew made his way and called out to the city: 'Open up to us so that we can visit the one who has died because we told his father that we would raise him from the dead for him.' The Jews then replied: 'Andrew, are you determined to shed our blood in this city of your origin? Go and lead the *goyim*¹⁹ into error and stay with them. For this city, we will not allow you to consume it, lest you lead wise men astray.'

After they had said this, Andrew saw a bird called Truth,²⁰ digging a hole at the foot of a wall. Andrew said to it: 'I say, righteous bird, come to the city, to the house where the boy is lying dead. You will find a crowd gathered around it. Tell them that this is what Andrew and Paul, the servants of God, say: 'Come forth, open the city gate to us that we may enter and raise the dead boy, for it has been closed and we are not allowed to enter.'

The bird went off and came to the middle of the crowd. He said the words that Andrew had said. When the crowd heard this from the bird, they rose immediately in haste. They took up stones to throw them at the Jews. They went to meet the governor walking to the tribunal.²¹ He asked them what the matter was. They said: 'There are people at the city gate, performing miracles in the name of Jesus, so that the blind see and the lame walk. They are casting out demons. They came to us, saying that the Jews had blocked the entrance to the city and prevented them from entering to raise the dead boy. We got up and came here to stone them and kill them and let the men in. When the governor heard this, he said to the crowd: 'Let there be no war. I will bring them in.'

The governor and his retinue and the people turned to the gate. They saw the Jews standing at the city gate. He said to them: 'Why are you closing the gate and not allowing people in to the city?' They said: 'Governor, long live the King. We are not closing it out of malice, but there two magicians who want to enter and overturn the Law,²² because in every city they enter they overturn the hearts of people with their magic. This is why we did not let them come in. If they say that they are disciples of a living god, why has their god not opened the gate for them?' The governor called

18 Reading uncertain, but this is probably the meaning.

19 **ϞΝΟC: Ν'Ιλ**

20 M. Jacques has a lengthy footnote on various speculations, which I feel unable to summarize. I will merely add my own conjecture to the list: 'ostrich', because the Ancient Egyptian concept of order/truth is *m3't*, in the writing of which an ostrich feather appears

21 **ΒΗΜΑ.**

22 I suppose this might be deliberately ambiguous here: religious and civil.

out to them and said: 'If you have a living god, open it for yourselves.'

Andrew then said to Paul: 'What you do you want us to do so that the king will open the gate ?' Paul was filled with the Holy Spirit and said to Andrew: 'My Father, order me to perform this miracle that has come to me.' Andrew said: 'What you wish to do, do it.' Paul then took the piece of wood which was in his hand, which he had brought up from Amente and walked to the gate. He set struck the gate with the piece of wood, saying 'By the power of my Lord Jesus Christ, Who has caused the gates of Amente to become small, may You cause the gate²³ to be destroyed so that the Jews will know that there is nothing You cannot do.' Having said this, he struck the gate three times. The gate came down and the earth swallowed it up, and the place to which it had gone could not be found. The crowd came out and prostrated themselves at the feet of the apostles, begging them to come into the city. The apostles then

[At least two folios are missing, according to M. Jacques, who summarizes the missing part as follows: the apostles revive the dead boy, but the Jews try to minimize the miracle, by simulating a counterfeit resuscitation, in which a living person is to wear a winding sheet to feign death and to be 'resuscitated' by the Jews at an opportune moment, all of which goes wrong because the person is unable to breathe through the device supplied to him for this purpose, with the unfortunate consequence that he actually dies A.A.]

... the Jews ... crying out, the man did not hear them. After a long time they moved him, but he said nothing. The son of the high priest leaped up, saying: 'If he will rise, let him give his property to us who gave it to him.' The governor said: 'What does he owe you ? Tell the truth, otherwise you will die.'²⁴ Paul and Andrew said to the governor: 'Do not bully²⁵ the boy about this. Order them to release the one in the winding sheet. You will know everything.' The governor ordered his soldiers ...

When the Jews were thrown on the bed,²⁶ they undid the bandages and removed the clothes. The Jews sought to flee. Andrew said to the governor: 'Let the Jews be detained, and you ²⁷will know who it is who is deceiving the hearts of the people.' The soldiers then detained the Jews until they

23 A Graeco-Copticism, as mentioned in note 8

24 Lit. 'do not die'.

25 Gk: ἀναγκάζειν

26 The reading seems to be clear enough and, while I understand the point of Jacques' translation 'après qu'ils eurent les Juifs du brancard' (after they had removed the Jews from the stretcher), the Coptic **NOYXE 2IXH** means 'throw upon'

27 Coptic verbal prefix usually means 'until': **ΨANTE-**

undid the bandages. When the body was revealed, they saw the vessel covering his face that he might find the means to breathe. Andrew said to the governor: 'See the machinations of the devil, but ...'

They picked the dead man, saying: 'Arise, one who has died before his time and tell the governor everything that has happened.' He arose and prostrated himself at the feet of the apostles, saying: 'Forgive me for my stupidity.' He told them everything that had happened. Andrew said to the Jews: 'Now who is leading the people astray ? We or you ?' Then the Jews, numbering 2700, prostrated themselves before the apostles ..

[Undetermined amount missing]

' ... they killed him in their stupidity, thinking that He would not rise. He in fact rose from the dead and revived all who believed in Him. We beg you to baptize us in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit that we may not die in ignorance.'

The apostles baptized them. They then celebrated the Holy Offering, the Body and Blood of Christ. They came away from them blessing God the Father and Our Lord and the Holy Life-Giving and Consubstantial Spirit, now and forever. Amen.