

P.Vindob.G 29456 + 29828 v

provenance unknown

III

Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, P.Vindob.G 29456 + 29828. Ed.pr. H. Oellacher, 'Papyrus- und Pergamentfragmente aus Wiener und Münchner Beständen', *Miscellanea Giovanni Galbiati*, vol. 2 (Milan 1951) 182-88; identified and re-ed. P. Maraval, 'Fragments grecs du livre de Jannès et Jambres (Pap. Vindob. 29456 et 29828 verso)', *ZPE* 25 (1977) 199-207; and (with a new ordering of the fragments, followed here) \* A. Pietersma, *The Apocryphon of Jannes and Jambres*, (Leiden 1994) 265-74. Trans. (with a superseded order of the fragments) Pietersma & Lutz, 'Jannes and Jambres', 437-39. VH 1069; LDAB 5467. Pl. Pietersma, 300.

Four fragments of a roll, (a) 11 (B) x 11 (H) cm, (b) 7 (B) x 13 (H) cm (c) 2.3 (B) x 5.5 (H) cm (d) 2 (B) x 5 (H) cm. Verso (↓): remains of two cols with a third lost between frags (b) and (a) (Pietersma, 265); c. 31-33 letters/line, c. 23 lines/col. fr. (b) (23 lines) is complete at top (margin 1 cm) and bottom (margin 2 cm); fr. (a) (19 lines) is complete at bottom (margin 1.3 cm) and left (margin 1 cm, the remains of an intercolumnar space); frags (c) and (d), 10 and 12 lines respectively, are broken on all sides. Upright literary formal round hand, dated by Oellacher to shortly after the text of the recto, which he dated to beg. III; III<sup>2</sup> VH. *Nomina sacra*: θεός (a 19), πνεῦμα (b 19, 21), and ἀνθρώπ[ (d 1) all uncontracted. Recto (→): an unidentified text with Hermetic tendencies in a different hand (211), ed. Oellacher.

Frag. B

ἀν]τιστάθητι τῷ Μουσεῖ τῷ Ἑβραῖ[ω ποιοῦν-  
 τι ση]μεῖα καὶ τέρατα ὥστε πάντ[ας θαυμά-  
 ζειν·[[γεν]αμενος δε]] γενάμενος δ[ὲ πρὸς τὸν  
 βασι]λέα ἀντεστάθη τῷ Μουσεῖ κ[αὶ τῷ ἀδ-  
 5 ελφ]ῶ αὐτοῦ Ἄσρρον ποιῶν ὅσα κ[ἀκεῖνοι·  
 εὐθε]ως δὲ ἤκισεν ὁ θάνατος[ αὐτοῦ ἔ-  
 τι κ]αὶ ἔλκει πωνηρῶ· εἰς τὴν[ ἔδραν  
 ἤλθε]ν εὐρίσκον χιάζειν· π[έμπει δὲ  
 10 πρὸς τ]ὸν βασιλέαν λέγω[ν]· τοῦτ[ο δύναμις  
 θεοῦ ]ἔστιν οὐ δύνομαι πρ[άξαι οὐδὲν  
 ]· μὴ εἰς θάνατον εκ[  
 δὲ ὁ ]Εἰοάννης τὸν ἀδελ[φον αὐτοῦ Ἰάμ-  
 βρη]ν παρεκάλεσεν αὐτὸν[ καὶ τὴν μητέ-  
 ρα ]αὐτοῦ μὴ αὐτὸν λυπ[εῖν μνήσθητι  
 15 δὲ ὅ]τι ἐκινδύνευσεν[ ἐν τῷ αἵματι  
 ]αὶ ὑπ' αὐτῆς μὴ α[ οὖν  
 περὶ] χρήματα καὶ εγ[  
 πρὸς] ἡμῶν ἐτοίμασ[ον  
 ἤ]δη γὰρ τὸ πνεῦμα  
 20 οὐκ ἀρ]γοῦμαι ὅτι ση]μεῖα  
 ]· ἴγον διὰ πν[εύματος  
 το]ῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτο[ῦ  
 ]εκει πεν . . [

1 ἀν]τιστάθητι Ö. ἀν]τιστάθητι M. l. τῷ Μουσεῖ τῷ Ἑβραῖ[ω 2 βασι]λειας Ö. 4 l. τῷ Μουσεῖ κ]αὶ τῷ ἀ]δελφῶ M. 5 ἄ(φ)ρον Ö. Ἄσρρον M. l. Ἄσρων ὅσα Ö. ὅσα σ[ M.; α corrected (from ο ?) 6 εὐθε]ως P. πε (=δε?) M. 7 κ]αὶ P. ]η M. l. πωνηρῶ 8 ἀνεύρισκον χιάζειν Ö. ]ν εὐρίσκον M. 9 τὴν βασιλε(ι)αν Ö. l. βασιλέα τοῦτ[ο M. 10 ἤ]μην M. l. δύναμαι πρ[ M. τ. [ Ö. πρ[άξαι P. 11 ]εἰ μὴ M. ]μαι Ö. ε. [ M. 12 ὁ δ]ὲ Ἰ(ω)άννης Ö. ]Εἰοάννης M. l. Ἰωάννης ἀδελ[φον M. 14 αὐτοῦ M. αὐτῶ Ö. α]ῦτου P. λυπ[εῖσθαι Ö. 15 ἐκινδύνευσεν[ M. 16 ]ι Ö. 17 χρήματα καὶ ε . [ M. 18 ]ημων : ῶν Ö. 19 ]λη M. ]η Ö. 20 ]ιουμαι Ö. ση]μερον Ö. 21 ]ισον M. 22 το]ῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτο[υ M. 23 οὐ]κ εἶπεν μ Ö. ]εκει πεν . . [ M.. At the end, μ or α.

... stand against Moses the Hebrew who is [doing] signs and wonders so that all are amazed, and coming [to the] king he stood against Moses and his <sup>15</sup> brother Aaron by doing all the things that they did. And immediately death injured [him] with a grievous ulcer. Into the [throne room] he went, seeking to find relief. And he sends (word) [to] the king saying 'this is [the power <sup>10</sup> of God.] I cannot do [anything] ... not unto death ...' [And when] Jannes (saw?) [his] brother [Jambres] he exhorted him and his [mother] not to grieve (over?) him. <sup>15</sup> [Remember] that he was in danger [through the blood] ... by her/it ... [about] money and ... [with (?)] us prepare ... for now the spirit ... <sup>20</sup> I [do not] deny that signs ... through the spirit of his brother ...

## Frag. A

αὐτῆς ]μήποτε πικρανθῆ[ς καθ' ἡμέραν ]δὲ ἀποστελῶ πρὸ[ς σέ τοῦ γινώσκειν ]ασε καὶ σέ τὰ κατεγ[κλήματά μοι (επλαγην?) δὲ καὶ Εἰσοαμβρῆ[ιν] τῷ ἀδ[ελ]φῷ μου πρ[οσκ-  
 5 εἶσθαί σοι, προσέχειν σοι π[ι]στός· καὶ πρ[οσελθὼν κατεφίλησεν αὐτὴν συσχών[ τὰ δάκρυα· ἐξελθούσης δὲ αὐτῆς π.δ.[ σχεδὸν ἀφῆκεν τὰ δάκρυα καὶ περ[ι]έλα[βεν φίλους αὐτοῦ{ς}], πάντας παρακαλέσ[ας προνοεῖσθαι τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ· παραλ[αβὼν δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ εἰς Μέμφιν ἐπ[ορεύθη· λαβὼν βίβλον εἶπε δὴ· ἀδελφε, γραφ[ήν σοι παρατίθειμαι καὶ ἔχε ἐν μυστηρίῳ καὶ φύλαξαι μὴ ἐξελεῖν ἐν ἧ ἡμέρα{ς} ἐξέρχεται ὁ [βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ μεγιστᾶνες τῆς Ἑγύπ[του διώκειν τὸν λαὸν Ἐφρέων μηδὲ συνο[δεύειν ὑποκρίθη-τι δὲ ἀρρωστῆν καὶ τὴν[ ψυχὴν σου φύλαξον ἀπὸ θανάτου καὶ ἀπὸ τ[οῦ ἄδου τιωνην ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐ[ρανὸν

... do not be annoyed but [daily] I will send to [you that you may know] the charges against [me]. [I was struck (?)] that Jambres my brother was devo- l<sup>5</sup> ted to you, and faithfully attended to you. And he approached and kissed her, suppressing his tears. And when she had gone out ... he wept profusely and embraced his friends, urging them all to pro- l<sup>10</sup> vide for his mother. And taking along his brother, he journeyed to Memphis. Having taken (the) book, he then said: Brother, I am committing a document to you. Keep it concealed and be careful not to go out on the day when the [king and] l<sup>15</sup> the lords of Egypt go out to pursue the people of the Hebrews. Do not travel with them, but pretend to be sick and [guard your soul] from death and [Hades ... God heaven ...

**1** πικρὰν θη[ M. **2** l. ἀποστελῶ or ἀποστέλλω **3** ] σε Ὁ. ασε: dittography for καὶ σε ? P. κατεν[άντια Ὁ. l. κατεγκλήματα **4** εἰο ἀμβρην Ὁ. Εἰσοαμβρῆ M. l. Ἰωαμβρῆ πι[στός ? Ὁ. **5** l. πιστῶς **6** συσχών Ὁ. συσχών M. **7** l. δάκρυα π.δ[ P. **7-8** ἐνίδον Ὁ. **8** ἐπερχ[ Ὁ. περ... ] M. **9** φίλου ἑαυτοῦς Ὁ. **9-10** ἐπιμελεῖσθαι M. **10** παραλ[ Ὁ. παραλ[αβὼν τὸν ἀ- M. **11** αὐτοῦ M. αὐτοῦ P. Μέμφιν ἐπ[έδωκε αὐτῷ τὸν M. **12** δη P. **12-13** παραδίδοιμαι M. **13** καὶ M. φ[ύλαξον M. **14** ἐξέρχεται P. **15** l. Αἰγύπτου κατὰ τὸν λα- M. **16** Ἐφρέων M. l. Ἐβραίων αὐτοῖς· οὐκ ἐξεσ- M. **17** l. ἀρρωστῆν **18** ἀπό .[ M. **19** τιον .ι Ὁ. τιωνην M..

## Frag. C

]οσ[  
 ]ξαι[  
 ]...[  
 ]ος λιστ[.  
 5 ] .κι καὶ αὐ[ ... and he ...  
 ]λαι ἢ ἀνη[ ... the ...  
 ]...[  
 ] . κητον[

## Frag. D

]...[  
 ἀ]νθρωπ[ ... man ...  
 ]καὶ αὐτ[ ... and he ...  
 ]τα γεν[ ... happen ...  
 ]υ οὐχ ι[ ... not ...  
 ] .τοπατο[  
 ]ν κεραυ[ ... thunderbolt ...  
 ] .σου χρη[ ... you useful ...

	]δεις η ουλ[	... (no)one but ...	]μένη π[
10	]ατα άνα[	... up ...	]οκος [
	] και αυτ[	... and he ...	
	— — — —		— — — —

## Frag. C

1 ]...[ Ö. 2 ]...[ Ö. ]ξ[ M. 5 ]... καια[ Ö. ] ει και αυ[ M. 6 ]α... αν[ Ö. ]σαι η άνα[ M. 8 ]... ητον[ M. 9 ]δεις ο...[ M. 10 ]ατα άνα[ M. 11 ]... αυτ[ Ö. ] και αυτ[ M.

## Frag. D

2 ά]νθροπ[ M. ]νθροπ[ P. 3 ]μαιαυ[ Ö. 4 ]αγεν [ Ö. ]τα γενα[ M. ]τα γεν[ P. 8 ]δου χι[ Ö. ]ασου χρη[ M. ]σου χρη[ P.

Building on the unnamed ‘Egyptian magicians’, who opposed Moses and managed to duplicate the transformation of Aaron’s staff and the first two plagues (Ex. 7:11–8:19; cf. 9:11), the legend of Jannes and Jambres (on the names cf. Pietersma, 36-42) arose in a Jewish milieu, most likely in Hasmonean (2nd-1st century BC) Palestine (Pietersma, 3-11). While the theory (first in Freudenthal) that traced its origin to the Hellenistic Egyptian Jew Artapanus is unprovable and even unlikely (Pietersma, 3-11), the written form of the legend which underlies all the surviving texts was most likely written in Egypt, and in Greek, in the 1st century BC or early 1st AD (Pietersma, 58-9).

The traditions concerning Jannes and Jambres were widely diffused and extremely amorphous in their character (see the summary, Pietersma, 26-32, 60-71; Pietersma & Lutz, 427-30). References appear in various Judaic sources (e.g. Talmud, Men. 85a; Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, on Ex. 1:15, 7:11, Num 22:22 (on which see Grabbe); but not ‘Yohanah and his brother’ in the ‘Damascus Document’, Pietersma, 12-23). Known among the earliest Christians (2 Tim. 3:8), the story is also found outside the Judeo-Christian tradition: the elder Pliny and Apuleius knew Jannes as a famous Jewish magician (*NH* 30.2.11; *Apologia* 90), and the second-century AD philosopher Numenius of Apamea claims the ‘Egyptian sacred scribes’ (Αἰγύπτιοι ἱερογραμματεῖς) Jannes and Jambres were able to counteract *all* (contrast the biblical account, but see perhaps B.3-5 of the text reproduced here) of the ‘calamities’ which Moses brought on Egypt (*On the Good, apud* Eusebius, *Praep. Evan.* 9.8; see also Origen, *Contra Celsum* 4.51).

Although earlier references to the legend suggest that their authors had access to a written form of the legend, it is Origen who first refers in explicit terms to a *book* about Jannes and Jambres (*Commentary on Matt.* 27:3-10 :GCS 38 (1933), 250; cf. *ibid.*, 23:37-39). Although some later writers did not know of the work (e.g. the commentaries on 2 Tim 3:8 of John Chrysostom and Theodoret, *PG* 62, 644; 82, 848), other ancient texts confirm its existence (see Pietersma, 43-47). In third and fourth-century Egypt at least four copies circulated. In addition to the present text, there are the following papyri:

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|---------------------------------|---|
| P.Beatty XVI (IV <sup>2</sup> ) | Papyrus, 100 fragments representing at least 22 pages, probably from a codex; ed. A. Pietersma, <i>The Apocryphon of Jannes and Jambres</i> .   |
| P.Mich. inv. 4925v (IV)         | Two contiguous fragments from the verso of a papyrus roll, containing on the recto a comedy text (ed. L. Koenen <i>BASP</i> 16 (1979) 114-16 = <i>PCG</i> 8.1126); ed. Schmelz, 1202-7. |
| P.Heid., inv. G 1016 (IV)       | Single fragment from a papyrus codex with the <i>Apocryphon</i> on recto and verso; ed. Schmelz, 1207-12.   |

In addition to these texts, an eleventh century Latin/Old English MS (BL Cotton Tiberius B. v folio 87a and 87b; texts in James, Förster, and now Pietersma, 280-1) preserves a section of the text; various patristic writers have been supposed to preserve quotations, but none is conclusive (see Pietersma, 49-

51). With the aid of these witnesses a fair idea of the outline of the book can be traced, although its ending is lost, and with it certainty concerning the authorial intention in writing the work (Pietersma, 51-57; Pietersma & Lutz, 430-1).

Of the papyrus witnesses, P.Mich. inv. 4925v nowhere overlaps with the other papyri, but the section preserved in the Heidelberg fragment is also found in the Chester Beatty leaves, and assists in their placement (cf. Schmelz). There is some textual variance between P.Heid. inv. G 1016 and the parallel Chester Beatty text; so too between the Vienna fragments and the corresponding section in P.Beatty XVI. In the latter case, however, the divergences go beyond textual variance to bear witness to the existence of separate recensions (compare P.Vindob.G 29456 + 29828 v B.19-22 with P.Beatty XVI 3ab↓).

Despite its origin in a Jewish milieu, the book was clearly well-known among Christians. Whether the Vienna text was written and used by (not necessarily the same) Jews or Christians is open to question. The text on the recto (211), although showing distinct 'Hermetic' tendencies, utilises *nomina sacra*, and should be located within the Christian spectrum. If the Hermetic text was the first use (as the use of the recto and the relative dates assigned to the texts suggest), the roll may not have changed hands between its uses, as the choice of literature for the recto suggests a sufficiently syncretic environment for the *Apocryphon*. That *nomina sacra* are not contracted suggests its model may have been a Jewish recension. Still, there is no guarantee that the two texts are related in any way (note the dissimilar hands); were that the case, would a Jew re-use a roll containing a Christian text?

M. Förster, 'Das lateinisch-altenglische Fragment der Apokryphe von Jannes und Mambres', *ASL* 108(1902) 15-28; J. Freudenthal, *Alexander Polyhistor und die von ihm erhaltenen Reste jüdischer und samaritanischer Geschichtswerke* (Breslau 1874); L.L. Grabbe, 'The Jannes/Jambres tradition in the Targum Pseudo-Jonathan and its date', *JBL* 98 (1979) 393-401; M.R. James, 'A fragment of the Penitence of Jannes and Jambres', *JThS* 2(1901) 572-57; A. Pietersma, *The Apocryphon of Jannes and Jambres the Magicians* (Leiden 1994); A. Pietersma & R.T. Lutz, 'Jannes and Jambres', *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. J.H. Charlesworth (2 vols: London 1983; 1985) 2:427-42; G. Schmelz, 'Zwei neue Fragmente des Apokryphons über die Zauberer Jannes and Jambres', *Atti del XXII Congresso di Papirologia* (Florence 2001) 2: 1199-1212.