

Edition

“Jesus says: ‘There Is Nothing Buried That Will Not Be Raised’.” A Late-Antique Shroud with Gospel of Thomas Logion 5 in Context¹

AnneMarie Luijendijk

Princeton University, Department of Religion, Melancthon W. Jakobus University
Preceptor in Religion, 1879 Hall, Princeton, USA-New Jersey 08544-1006,
Email: aluijend@princeton.edu

“Jesus says: ‘There is nothing buried that will not be raised.’” With these confident words written on a linen shroud, a deceased Christian in late antique Egypt was interred to await resurrection. Where does this inscribed shroud come from, textually and archaeologically? In the first part of this paper, I analyze the textual provenance of this verse and foreground the reception of the Gospel of Thomas. For, as those familiar with the Greek text of the Gospel of Thomas will recognize, the funerary sentence is very similar to the concluding line of its logion 5. Is there indeed a literary connection with the Gospel of Thomas? We know from papyrological evidence that the Gospel of Thomas was read in Oxyrhynchus in the third century.² But what happened later? Was that still the case in subsequent centuries? Despite the forceful exclusion of the Gospel of Thomas from the New Testament canon by church leaders, I argue that this funerary bandage hints that the Gospel of Thomas was still in use and considered ritually effective in the Oxyrhynchite community well into Late Antiquity. In the second part of this paper, I shall argue how this shroud, part of the extensive funerary data from Egypt, fits into and contributes to our understanding of Egyptian-Christian funerary practices and belief in the resurrection. But I begin by taking a closer look at the shroud and its inscription.

¹ I have presented earlier versions of this paper at the Center for the Study of Early Christianity at the Catholic University of America, Washington DC, and the 26^e Congrès International de Papyrologie, Université de Genève, Geneva, Switzerland, and thank the audiences for their engaging and stimulating feedback. I am grateful to Laura S. Nasrallah for helpful comments.

² This paper is part of a triptych on the reception of the Gospel of Thomas. On the Gospel of Thomas in the third century, see AnneMarie Luijendijk, “Reading the Gospel of Thomas in the Third Century: Three Oxyrhynchus Papyri and Origen’s homilies,” in *Reading New Testament Papyri in Context: Lire les papyrus du Nouveau Testament dans leur contexte: Actes du colloque des 22-24 octobre 2009 à l’Université de Lausanne* (ed. C. Clivaz and J. Zumstein; Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologiarum Lovaniensium 242; Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 241-267. On the textual transmission of logion 5, see AnneMarie Luijendijk, *An Orthodox Corruption of the Gospel of Thomas* (forthcoming).

The Shroud

In 1953, French papyrologist Roger Rémondon obtained a small, inscribed linen shroud from an antiquities dealer in Behnasa, the site of the ancient city of Oxyrhynchus.³ Two years later, his colleague Henri-Charles Puech – who apparently had acquired the shroud from Rémondon, for Puech mentions that it belonged to his private collection⁴ – published its text. Puech identified the text on the shroud as part of the Gospel of Thomas on the basis of a parallel in that gospel's Greek version (see below).⁵ The black-and-white picture of this piece adorning the frontispiece of Puech's collected essays volume 2 remains the sole available image for this text. Its current location is unknown.⁶

The narrow piece of linen preserves a short saying in Greek, laid out in two lines.⁷ It reads:

λέγει Ἰησοῦς οὐκ ἔστιν τεθαμμέ-
νον ὃ οὐκ ἐγερθήσεται †

Jesus says: There is nothing buried that will not be raised †

In his *editio princeps*, Puech provided only a rudimentary edition without a detailed description of the artifact. The photograph of the piece measures 18.2 x 4.5 cm, but it is impossible to determine whether this is the actual size of the cloth or whether the size of the image was altered.⁸

The photograph allows me to make the following palaeographical observations: The text is written with a reed in dark ink. The scribe penned

³ So Henri-Charles Puech, "Un logion de Jésus sur bandelette funéraire," *Bulletin de la société Ernest Renan* n.s. 3 (1955): (126-129) 127: "un fragment de linceul provenant de Behnasa . . . et acquis en 1953 chez un antiquaire local par M. Roger Rémondon." Repr. idem, ed., *Sur l'Évangile selon Thomas: Esquisse d'une interprétation systématique* (vol. 2 of *En quête de la Gnose*; ed. idem; Bibliothèque des Sciences Humaines; Paris: Gallimard, 1978), 59-62. The paper is the publication of a lecture ("une communication") Puech had presented at the January 1954 meeting of the Société Ernest Renan.

⁴ Puech reported that the piece was "acquired in 1953 and in my possession." Henri-Charles Puech, "The Gospel of Thomas," in *Gospels and Related Writings* (vol. 1 of *New Testament Apocrypha*; ed. E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher; trans. R. M. Wilson; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1963), (278-307) 300. See also Joseph van Haelst, *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens* (Papyrologie 1; Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1976), 211, nr. 596.

⁵ Puech, "Un logion" (see note 3), *passim*.

⁶ I thank Jean Gascou and Michel Tardieu for kindly answering my email inquiries regarding the present location of this piece. See also Thomas J. Kraus, "Reconstructing Fragmentary Manuscripts: Chances and Limitations," in *Early Christian Manuscripts: Examples of Applied Method and Approach* (ed. T. J. Kraus and T. Nicklas; Texts and Editions for New Testament Study 5; Leiden: Brill, 2010), (1-38) 34.

⁷ Puech, "Un logion" (see note 3), 127; repr. idem, *Sur l'Évangile* (see note 3), 60.

⁸ Puech, *Sur l'Évangile* (see note 3), frontispiece. Pieces in the collection of the University of Amsterdam published by Pieter Johannes Sijpesteijn, "Inscriptions on Linen Mummy Wrappings," *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 26 (1978): (45-49) plates 8-12, have comparable measurements, for instance, 29.5 x 4 cm (page 49, inv. No. A.M.L. 27) or 19 x 8 cm (page 49, inv. A.M.L. 28).

plain, upright uncial letters without serifs, in what seems to be an attempt at a book hand.⁹ Writing on cloth is notoriously difficult, and the hand appears a bit wobbly.¹⁰ The spacing is uneven: it is tight in the beginning and becomes looser at the end. In the second line the letter size increases slightly.

The name “Jesus” is written in full not, as customary in Christian texts, with a *nomen sacrum*. The inscription ends with the sign of the cross, a prevalent Christian symbol.¹¹

Puech dated the piece to the fifth or sixth century without providing any explanation or palaeographical parallels. Comparanda are, for example, P.Oxy. 8,1614 (2d half of the 5th cent.; Cavallo-Maehler nr. 20b¹²) and P.Berol. 13243 (5th /6th cent.; Cavallo-Maehler nr. 26a¹³). As we shall see below, the likely archaeological context supports Puech’s hypothesis.

⁹ *Gamma* and *tau* have short arms or upper strokes; *theta* is a fat oval with short medial stroke; *mu* and *nu* have angular forms, *mu* written in four strokes; *omicron* is round and large; *sigma* forms a half-circle. *Upsilon* lost its tail and rests on the base line. Without descender, it resembles a Latin u/our v, or what Hermann Harrauer describes as “υ byzantinisch.” See Hermann Harrauer, *Handbuch der griechischen Paläographie 1: Textband* (Bibliothek des Buchwesens 20; Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 2010), 145 nr. 31; 169 nr. 17 = 266; Friedrich Preisigke, ed., *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten 1* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1983), nr. 5748 (following references to documents edited by Preisigke are indicated with the siglum SB followed by the volume and nr. of the manuscript) 6th/7th century = Abb. 252 in idem, *Handbuch der griechischen Paläographie 2: Tafelband* (Vol. 2; Bibliothek des Buchwesens 20; Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 2010).

¹⁰ Regarding earlier texts on linen, see also Rita Lucarelli, “Two Fragments of a Ptolemaic Book of the Dead on Mummy Wrappings with Spells 32-38 (Leiden Inventory Nr. F 2008/1.1),” in *Ausgestattet mit den Schriften des Thot: Festschrift für Imtraut Munro zu ihrem 65. Geburtstag* (ed. B. Backes, M. Müller-Roth and S. Stöhr; Studien zum Altägyptischen Totenbuch 14; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009), (105-118) 105: “Writing and drawing on linen was not an easy task and therefore scribes and artists working on these pieces [of the Book of the Dead] could not fully express their skills as they did on papyrus.” See also P.Köln Inv. No. 5512 (SB 14, 11535), a 3d or 4th century love charm, ed. Robert Daniel, “Two Love-Charms,” *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 19 (1975): 255-264. Image at <http://www.uni-koeln.de/phil-fak/ifa/NRWakademie/papyrologie/Verstreutepub/PK5512.html> (accessed 16 July 2011).

¹¹ On crosses in Coptic manuscripts, see Jules Leroy, *Les manuscrits coptes et coptes-arabes illustrés* (Institut Français d’Archéologie de Beyrouth, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 96; Paris: Geuthner, 1974), 57-61. See also E. Dinkler and E. Dinkler-von Schubert, “Kreuz,” *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* 2 (Rome: Herder, 1970): 562-590. One may also compare the many objects with crosses (jewelry, hair combs, textiles) in, for instance, the many objects with crosses discussed by Ulrike Horak in *Christliches mit Feder und Faden: Katalog zur Sonderausstellung im Papyrusmuseum der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek aus Anlaß des 14. Internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie* (ed. J. Henner, H. Förster and U. Horak; Nilus 3; Vienna: Österreichische Verlagsgesellschaft, 1999), 57-114.

¹² Guglielmo Cavallo and Herwig Maehler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period A.D. 300-800* (Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London, Supplementary Papers 47; London, 1987), 48 nr. 20b.

¹³ Cavallo and Maehler, *Greek Bookhands* (see note 12), 60 nr. 26a.

*Part 1: Textual Provenance.**The Gospel of Thomas in Greek*

Henri-Charles Puech (July 20, 1902 – January 11, 1986),¹⁴ editor and owner of the shroud, was professor at the Collège de France and a scholar of the history of religions and Manichaeism in the exciting period after the find of the Nag Hammadi codices. From the onset on, he was deeply involved in the identification and publication of the Nag Hammadi texts. He prepared the editio princeps of the Coptic Gospel of Thomas, together with Antoine Guillaumont, Gilles Quispel, Walter Till, and Yassa ‘abd al-Masih.¹⁵ It was also Puech who identified three much discussed Oxyrhynchus papyri from the third century as Greek fragments of the Gospel of Thomas, published some 50 years prior by Bernard Grenfell and Arthur Hunt, P.Oxy. 1,1 (1897), 4,654 and 655 (1904).¹⁶

Puech recognized that the sentence on the shroud had a parallel with one of these papyri, P.Oxy. 4,654.¹⁷ My reconstruction of the Greek text of logion 5 in P.Oxy. 4,654.27-31 reads:¹⁸

λέγει Ἰη(σοῦ)ς
 γ[νωσθι τὸν ἔμπροσ]θεν τῆς ὄψεώς σου
 καὶ [τὸ κερυμμένον] ἀπὸ σου ἀποκαλυφ<θ>ήσεται[αὶ σοὶ]
 [οὐ γάρ ἐσ]τιν κρυπτόν ὃ οὐ φανερ[ὸν γενήσεται]
 καὶ θεθαμμένον ὃ οὐκ ἐγερθήσεται].¹⁹

Jesus says:

“[Know who is befo]re your face
 and [what is hidden] from you will be reveale[d to you].
 [For there is nothing] hidden that will not become mani[fest]
 Nor buried that [will] no[t be raised].”

After Puech’s short initial publication, the funerary bandage has languished in relative scholarly silence. The fact that it is not available for examination surely exacerbated this situation. The two leading (and excellent) studies of

¹⁴ See the obituary by Antoine Guillaumont on the Collège de France website at http://www.college-de-france.fr/default/EN/all/ins_dis/henricharles_puech.htm (accessed 16 July 2011).

¹⁵ Antoine Guillaumont et al., eds., *The Gospel According to Thomas: Coptic Text Established and Translated* (Leiden: Brill, 1959). The team also published the translation in other languages, e.g. Dutch, French, and German.

¹⁶ See Henri-Charles Puech, “Une collection de paroles de Jésus récemment retrouvée: L’Évangile selon Thomas,” *Comptes rendus de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* 101 (1957): (146-167) 147, repr. idem, *Sur l’Évangile* (see note 3), 33-57. See also Henri-Charles Puech, “Das Thomas-Evangelium,” in *Evangelien* (vol. 1 of *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung*; ed. E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher; 3d ed.; Tübingen: Mohr, 1959), (199-223) 203.

¹⁷ As a matter of fact, the funerary saying confirmed the reconstruction its editors, Bernard Grenfell and Arthur Hunt, had proposed.

¹⁸ For a discussion, see Luijendijk, *An Orthodox Corruption* (see note 2).

¹⁹ The scribe wrote θεθαμμένον for τεθαμμένον.

the Greek papyrus fragments of the Gospel of Thomas, Harold Attridge’s important critical edition and Larry Hurtado’s *The Greek Fragments of the Gospel of Thomas as Artefacts: Papyrological Observations* do not mention it.²⁰ Nor does Beate Blatz refer to the shroud in her contribution on *Das koptische Thomasevangelium* in Wilhelm Schneemelcher’s collection of apocryphal texts.²¹ Its omission from these publications is surprising, because the inscription supports the reconstruction of saying 5 in P.Oxy. 4,654.

Several studies on the Gospel of Thomas make reference to the shroud and its text.²² Joseph Fitzmyer, for instance, adduced the text of the shroud as confirmation of the reconstruction of the last line of logion 5.²³ Most

²⁰ Harold W. Attridge, “Appendix: The Greek Fragments,” in *Gospel according to Thomas, Gospel according to Philip, Hypostasis of the Archons, and indexes* (vol. 1 of *Nag Hammadi Codex II, 2-7 together with XIII, 2**, *Brit.Lib. Or. 4926[1], and P.Oxy. 1, 654, 655*; ed. B. Layton; NHS 20; Leiden: Brill, 1989), 96-128; Larry Hurtado, “The Greek Fragments of the Gospel of Thomas as Artifacts: Papyrological Observations on Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 1, Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 654 and Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 655,” in *Das Thomasevangelium: Entstehung – Rezeption – Theologie* (ed. J. Frey, E. Edzard Popkes and J. Schröter; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008), 19-32.

²¹ Beate Blatz, “Das koptische Thomasevangelium,” in *Evangelien* (vol. 1 of *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*; ed. W. Schneemelcher; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1990), 93-113. Kraus, “Reconstructing” (see note 6), 36, expresses his astonishment over this omission: “It is astounding that there is no mention of the shroud in several editions, above all, Blatz, ‘Das koptische Thomasevangelium’ . . . Blatz could easily have drawn upon Puech, ‘Das Thomas-Evangelium’ . . . in an earlier edition of the Hennecke/Schneemelcher where Puech refers to the shroud.”

²² For instance: Robert M. Wilson, *Studies in the Gospel of Thomas* (London: Mowbray, 1960), 28-29; Jaques E. Ménard, *L'évangile selon Thomas* (NHS 5; Leiden: Brill, 1975), 85; Christopher Tuckett, “Thomas and the Synoptics,” *Novum Testamentum* 30 (1988): (132-157) 135; Dieter Lührmann and Egbert Schlarb, eds. and trans., *Fragmente apokryph gewordener Evangelien in griechischer und lateinischer Sprache* (Marburger Theologische Studien 59; Marburg: Elwert, 2000), 117; Dieter Lührmann, *Die Apokryph gewordenen Evangelien: Studien zu neuen Texten und zu neuen Fragen* (Novum Testamentum, Supplements 112; Leiden: Brill, 2004), (144-181) 159; Petr Pokorný, *A Commentary on the Gospel of Thomas: From Interpretations to the Interpreted* (Jewish and Christian Texts in Contexts and Related Studies 6; New York: T & T Clark, 2009), 42. See also Siegfried Morenz, “Fortwirken altägyptischer Elemente in christlicher Zeit,” in *Koptische Kunst: Christentum am Nil, 3. Mai bis 15. August 1963, Villa Hügel* (Essen: Friedrich Krupp, 1963), (54-59) 58.

²³ Joseph A. Fitzmyer, “The Oxyrhynchus Logoi of Jesus and the Coptic Gospel According to Thomas,” in *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament* (ed. J. A. Fitzmyer; Sources for Biblical Study 5; Missoula, Montana: Scholar’s Press, 1971), (355-433) 383. Drawing on Fitzmyer, April D. DeConick, *The Original Gospel of Thomas in Translation: with a Commentary and New English Translation of the Complete Gospel* (Early Christianity in Context, Library of New Testament Studies 297; London: T & T Clark, 2006), 60, overstated the ubiquity of the saying, writing: “The saying is a well-known one from Egyptian burial practices. There is an inscription cited by J. Fitzmyer found on a burial shroud from the fifth or sixth century that reads.” While this suggests that the saying features on multiple epitaphs, only the shroud and the papyrus fragment P.Oxy. 4,654 attest this phrase. The confusion came about, it seems, by Fitzmyer, “Oxyrhynchus Logoi” (see note 23), 383, quoting Grenfell and Hunt (P.Oxy. 4,654, 9) that the logion itself was “a striking variation of a well-known saying.”

recently, Thomas Kraus, in a methodological discussion of reconstructed texts, brought up the shroud in a case study on P.Oxy. 4,654,31 (Gospel of Thomas logion 5).²⁴ Kraus stated emphatically that the inscription on the funerary bandage was not “another witness to the *Gospel of Thomas*.”²⁵ Still he considered the shroud proof that Grenfell and Hunt’s restoration “was not an inadequate or random attempt.” Rather, Kraus wrote, “The saying preserved on the shroud (a) accounts for the possibility of the restoration of l. 31 and (b) proves that this form of a saying actually circulated among Christians.”²⁶ Then he concluded:

Therefore, the shroud from ancient Oxyrhynchos must be taken into account when talking about *P.Oxy. IV 654*, its 5th saying, and even the *Gospel of Thomas* (although it is not a witness to it), because it is an archaeological object that can help shed further light on the world of thought from which such traditional sayings emerged and in which they circulated.²⁷

Kraus’s inconclusive position still leaves open the question I posed at the beginning of this paper: where does this saying on the shroud come from?

Quoting the Gospel of Thomas

I argue that this saying is evidence of the Gospel of Thomas’s continued use. For one, there is the nearly exact parallel in the Greek text of P.Oxy. 4,654. The textual comparison looks as follows:

Gospel of Thomas (P.Oxy. 4,654)	Shroud
λέγει ἰη(σοῦ)ς	λέγει ἰησοῦς
...	
[οὐ γὰρ ἐσ]τιν κρυπτόν	οὐκ ἔστιν
ὁ οὐ φανερ[ὸν γενήσεται]	
καὶ θεθαμμένον	τεθαμμένον
ὁ ο[ὐκ ἐγερθήσεται].	ὁ οὐκ ἐγερθήσεται †

As this synopsis shows, the saying on the shroud matches the Greek text of the Gospel of Thomas (as far as preserved) almost verbatim. Lifting the *stichos* out of its syntactic environment – the shortening of the saying for application in a funerary context – caused a minor difference with the text from the Gospel of Thomas.

²⁴ Kraus, “Reconstructing” (see note 6), 29-36. The purpose of his study is “to demonstrate on the one hand the fundamental challenges and chances that occur in the process of reconstruction the text of a fragmentary manuscript, and on the other hand the liabilities and limits of this process” (ibid., 4).

²⁵ Kraus, “Reconstructing” (see note 6), 35: “Grenfell and Hunt’s restoration of [P.Oxy. 4,654] l. 31 is attested by two lines on a shroud from the 5th or 6th century. But is it really? Or, in other words, what exactly is attested? What we certainly do not have is another witness to the Gospel of Thomas or, in particular to its Greek version of the 5th saying.”

²⁶ Kraus, “Reconstructing” (see note 6), 35.

²⁷ Kraus, “Reconstructing” (see note 6), 35.

I have to take a step back here and discuss a peculiarity of the textual transmission of the Gospel of Thomas, for while this phrase is present in the Greek text, it is absent from the Coptic translation.²⁸ Scholars have suggested that it was a proverb that circulated at Oxyrhynchus, and was added to logion 5 at some point in the transmission of the Greek text of the Gospel of Thomas.²⁹ But, as I shall argue elsewhere, the addition of this saying to the Gospel of Thomas in logion 5 is not the insertion of an independently transmitted *agraphon* attributed to Jesus. This was never an oral saying to begin with. Rather, I contend, it was an exegetical addition, where the scribe interpreted the “hidden and manifest” in logion 5 as “buried and raised,” in an allusion to the Pauline creed in 1 Cor 15:4, “that he was buried and that he was raised” (καὶ ὅτι ἐτάφη, καὶ ὅτι ἐγήγερται).³⁰ That expanded version of the Gospel of Thomas circulated as text at Oxyrhynchus, as we know from P.Oxy. 4,654.

On the shroud, the words are attributed to Jesus with the expression “Jesus says.” This expression is characteristic for the Greek Gospel of Thomas, where these words introduce every saying. A grammatical detail adds to the literary connection to that Gospel. Both the Gospel and the shroud attribute the saying to Jesus as “Jesus says” (λέγει Ἰησοῦς). Yet this exact formulation without the article seldom occurs in Greek literature; there are only five instances.³¹ The common expression is λέγει ὁ Ἰησοῦς with the definite article. The saying on the shroud is therefore best understood as a citation of the Gospel of Thomas logion 5.

In arguing that this saying has a literary connection to the Gospel of Thomas, I do not picture a scribe poring over a manuscript of that text and, having located the right saying, copying it on the shroud. Scholars such as David Carr, Martin Jaffee and Werner Kelber have drawn attention to the importance of orality in antiquity in ways that are very different from our experience of literature and literacy today.³² And just like con-

²⁸ πνευε ἰς. σοῦφι πετῆπιῆτο ἡπεκσο εβολ λῶφ πεῆηπ εροκ φηαῶφι εβολ ηακ ἡη λαλυ γαρ εφνηπ εφηλοῦφης εβολ ηη. (“Jesus said: ‘Know who/what is in front of your face, and what is hidden from you will be revealed to you. For there is nothing hidden that will not be made manifest.’”)

²⁹ For instance, Stephen J. Patterson, *The Gospel of Thomas and Jesus* (Foundations and Facets References Series; Sonoma, Calif.: Polebridge, 1993), 21: it “therefore simply may have been a popular saying at Oxyrhynchus, in this way finding a place in the Oxyrhynchus version of Thomas.”

³⁰ See Luijendijk, *An Orthodox Corruption* (see note 2).

³¹ The Thesaurus Linguae Graecae gives just 5 results for Ἰησοῦς λέγει (27 June 2011). One of these instances is John 13:31: Ὅτε οὖν ἐξῆλθεν, λέγει Ἰησοῦς· νῦν ἔδοξάσθη ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἔδοξάσθη ἐν αὐτῷ. (This marks the beginning of the so-called Farewell discourse). As the apparatus indicates, many ancient scribes inserted the article here, an indication again of how uncommon the expression without article is.

³² David M. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); Martin S. Jaffee, *Torah in the Mouth: Writing and Oral Tradition in Palestinian Judaism, 200 BCE - 400 CE* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001); Werner H. Kelber, *The Oral and the Written Gospel:*

temporary ecclesiastical authors quoted mostly from memory, I imagine that the scribe who drafted this verse on the shroud – or whoever commissioned it – would have known this saying from studying, memorizing, and reciting the Fifth Gospel.³³

Resurrecting the Body

The concept of resurrection from the dead is not an exclusively Christian belief. Resurrection from the dead is a central tenet of classical Judaism, with strong biblical roots, as Jon Levenson has shown.³⁴ Resurrection was also essential to Egyptian religion. According to Martin Krause, Christians found the Egyptian belief in resurrection confirmed in the Christian doctrine of the resurrection.³⁵ Christian funerary prayers ask for the physical resurrection of the dead person, as, for instance, in this mid-fourth-century liturgy attributed to Sarapion of Thmuis in the Egyptian Delta:

We pray to you for the sleep and rest of this your (female or male) servant. Give rest to his soul, his spirit, in green pastures, in the inner rooms of rest with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob and all your saints. And raise (her/his) body on the appointed day according to your truthful promises (τὸ δὲ σῶμα ἀνάστησον ἐν

The Hermeneutics of Speaking and Writing in the Synoptic Tradition, Mark, Paul, and Q (Voices in Performance and Text; Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997). See also W. H. Kelber, “The History of the Closure of Biblical Texts,” *Oral Tradition* 25 (2010): 115-140. Online: http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/oral_tradition/v025/25.1.kelber02.html (accessed 16 July 2011).

³³ See, for instance, Gordon D. Fee, “The Use of the Greek Fathers for New Testament Textual Criticism,” in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis* (ed. B. D. Ehrman and M. W. Holmes; Studies and Documents 46; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1995), (191-207) 192, who remarks that church fathers most commonly cited from memory. This also then poses the question of how reliable quoting from memory is for textual criticism.

³⁴ Jon D. Levenson, *Resurrection and the Restoration of Israel: The Ultimate Victory of the God of Life* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2006). As Levenson concluded: “That [the] three great moments – the binding of Isaac, the giving of the Torah, and the resurrection of the dead – came to be interfused is itself powerful evidence for the centrality of resurrection in the Judaism that the rabbis bequeathed later generations of Jews” (ibid., 229). On this topic, see also Kevin J. Madigan and Jon D. Levenson, *Resurrection: The Power of God for Christians and Jews* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2008).

³⁵ Martin Krause, “Das Weiterleben ägyptischer Vorstellungen und Bräuche im koptischen Totenwesen,” in *Das römisch-byzantinische Ägypten: Akten des internationalen Symposions 26.-30. September 1978 in Trier* (Aegyptiaca Treverensia 2; Mainz: von Zabern, 1983), (85-92) 85: “die christliche Lehre von der Auferstehung der Toten bedeutete für viele christliche Ägypter geradezu die Bestätigung der Gültigkeit der altägyptischen Lehre vom Weiterleben nach dem Tode und damit des Zentralanliegens der ägyptischen Religion.” Krause noticed that we often do not know whether we witness a continuous practice: “ob das alte Brauchtum des Totenwesens, soweit die Ägypter es *nach* ihrem Übertritt zum Christentum weiter ausübten, noch mit den alten ägyptischen Vorstellungen verbunden war” (ibid., 86).

ἢ ὥρισας ἡμέρα κατὰ τὰς ἀψευδεῖς ἐπαγγελίας)³⁶ so that you may give to him according to the worthy inheritance(s) in your holy pastures.³⁷

Similar prayers for resurrection of the body can also be found in other Christian liturgical texts.³⁸

In a sermon held ca. 450, abbot Shenoute of Atripe (an approximate contemporary of the person behind the saying on the shroud) assured his audience of a restored body at the resurrection:

Even if they pluck out your eyes, you will not rise in the resurrection without eyes. . . . Even if they remove your head, you will rise again with it upon you. Even if they cut you apart limb from limb, not only will you rise and not be separated from the little digit on your hand or your foot, but you will also rise with a spiritual body.³⁹

In this and other passages, Shenoute envisions, as Caroline Schroeder phrased it “a literal resurrection of the body on judgment day.”⁴⁰ Whoever commissioned the saying on our funerary cloth believed also in the physical resurrection of the body.⁴¹

³⁶ Cf. John 6:40, 44, 54.

³⁷ Maxwell E. Johnson, *The Prayers of Sarapion of Thmuis: A Literary, Liturgical and Theological Analysis* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 249; Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1995), 68/69 nr. 18: “Prayer for One Who Has Died and is Being Carried Out/Εὐχή περὶ τεθνεῶντος καὶ ἔκκομιζομένου,” (Greek text with English translation); for analysis/discussion, see “D. The Burial Prayer” (ibid., 163-167). The prayers date from the mid-fourth century (ibid., 148).

³⁸ For instance, the Coptic liturgy of Mark (“raise up their flesh”), see Maxwell E. Johnson, *Prayers of Sarapion* (see note 37), 163-167.

³⁹ Translation: Caroline T. Schroeder, *Monastic Bodies: Discipline and Salvation in Shenoute of Atripe* (Divinations, Rereading Late Ancient Religion; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 148 and 208. As Schroeder (ibid., 147-148) observes, “Shenoute’s certitude regarding the resurrection of the body underlies his theology of martyrdom . . . he uses the martyrs, whose bodies were often disfigured and dismembered to explain his own confidence in the bodily resurrection.” On the topic, see especially her chapter 4 “Shenoute on the Resurrection” (ibid., 126-157), defending the Sanctity of the Body; Johannes Leipoldt, *Simuthii archimandritae vita et opera omnia* 3 (CSCO 42, 105-107 Leipoldt). See also Siegfried Morenz, “Altägyptischer und hellenistisch-paulinischer Jenseitsglaube bei Shenute,” in *Religion und Geschichte des alten Ägypten* (ed. E. Blumenthal and S. Morenz; Cologne: Böhlau, 1975), (590-595) 590 (= *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* 1 [1953]: [250-255] 250).

⁴⁰ Schroeder, *Monastic Bodies* (see note 39), 147.

⁴¹ Among followers of Jesus, the question of what exactly resurrection is (spiritual, physical) and how it will take place is about as old as the movement, and a matter of debate. See, for instance, 1 Cor 15:35: “But someone will ask, ‘How are the dead raised? With what kind of body do they come?’” and Paul’s discussion of resurrection in that chapter 15. The author of the Gospel according to Luke emphasized Jesus’ physical resurrection, with Jesus inviting the disciples to touch him and examine his hands and feet; Jesus even asks for food that he then “ate in their presence” (Luke 24:39-43). The expectation of resurrection of the flesh was not shared among all Christians, or ancient Egyptians for that matter. According to Mark Smith, *Traversing Eternity: Texts for the Afterlife from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 34, the ancient Egyptians did not believe that their mummy would be resurrected, but that they would receive “a new eternal” body.

A concern for the preservation of the physical body in view of its resurrection is also how Françoise Dunand interpreted the Egyptian archaeological record, concluding:

“in Egypt between the fourth and seventh century, most people, clerics as well as laymen, continued to consider it important to preserve the dead body from decay. . . . It is clear that preservation of the dead body could fit with Christian beliefs about the resurrection.”⁴²

From this broader observation on archaeology and resurrection belief, I now turn to the context of our shroud.

Part 2: Funerary Context

Illegal Excavations at Oxyrhynchus

Puech, as I mentioned before, stated that his colleague Rémondon had obtained the shroud in 1953 from an antiquities dealer in Bahnasa, ancient Oxyrhynchus.⁴³ The piece thus has a reported, though not a confirmed, archaeological provenance. A more specific archaeological provenance for this piece would have added important information to our knowledge. As a piece of linen with an inscription referencing burial and resurrection, it presumably was found in a grave.⁴⁴ But what did the grave look like? Who was the deceased upon whom this text was placed? A woman or man, adult or child, lay or monastic? Was this funerary cloth part of an elaborate elite burial or a more plain one? What other objects, if any, were deposited in the grave? Did it contain gifts, such as status indicators, and especially any literary or documentary texts? Perhaps even a nametag? Such salient details are unfortunately missing for this artifact.⁴⁵

⁴² Françoise Dunand, “Between Tradition and Innovation: Egyptian Funerary Practices in Late Antiquity,” in *Egypt in the Byzantine World: 300-700* (ed. R. S. Bagnall; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), (163-184) 174.

⁴³ Puech, “Un Logion” (see note 3), 127; repr. idem, *Sur l’Évangile* (see note 3), 60.

⁴⁴ See also, for example, Vasileios Marinis, “Wearing the Bible: An Early Christian Tunic with New Testament Scenes,” *Journal of Coptic Studies* 9 (2007): (95-109) 95: “Almost all of the existing Egyptian textiles come from cemeteries located, by Roman law, outside the urban centers.”

⁴⁵ For archaeologically attested grave finds, see Ulrike Horak, “Koptische Mumien: Der koptische Tote in Grabungsberichten, Funden und literarischen Nachrichten,” *Biblos* 44 (1995): 39-71; Dominic Montserrat, “Death and Funerals in the Roman Fayum,” in *Portraits and Masks: Burial Customs in Roman Egypt* (ed. M. L. Bierbrier; London: British Museum, 1997), 33-44; Cornelia Römer, “Das Werden zu Osiris im römischen Ägypten,” *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 2 (2000): 141-161; Gillian E. Bowen, “Some Observations on Christian Burial Practices at Kellis,” in *The Oasis Papers 3: Proceedings of the Third Conference of the Dakhle Oasis Project* (ed. G. E. Bowen and C. A. Hope; Dakhle Oasis Project 14, The Oasis Papers 3; Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2003), 167-182; Dunand, “Between Tradition” (see note 42), 163-184. For the Latin Mediterranean, see also Éric Rebillard, *The Care of the Dead in Late Antiquity* (Cornell Studies in Classical Philology 59; Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2009).

Despite the absence of an excavation report, it is nevertheless possible to reconstruct the contours of its context. The fact that the strip came from Oxyrhynchus already places it in that city’s tremendously rich textual (papyrological) environment. Particularly important in this respect are, as discussed already, the Oxyrhynchite papyrus fragments of the Gospel of Thomas, especially P.Oxy. 4,654.

We can zoom in closer to the archaeological provenance by visiting the Oxyrhynchite necropoleis. Excavations of graves at Oxyrhynchus have a long and convoluted history. Oxford papyrologists Bernard Grenfell and Arthur Hunt began their first excavation season at Oxyrhynchus in 1896, digging for three weeks at a necropolis. As Grenfell recognized, at other sites “the finest literary Greek rolls have been found buried in their owners’ tombs.”⁴⁶ But this was not so at Oxyrhynchus. Disappointed that they did not find those literary rolls or mummy cartonnage with texts underneath, they turned to the city’s garbage heaps with spectacular results.⁴⁷ Pioneer archaeologist Flinders Petrie continued the work at the necropoleis of Oxyrhynchus. He discovered, for instance, a sixth-century apse tomb “probably from the time of Justinian,” thus roughly contemporary with our funerary shroud.⁴⁸ In the 1920s, Evaristo Breccia found several funerary statues.⁴⁹ These early finds give us a general idea of the Oxyrhynchite funerary landscape, but we have to resort to illegal excavations for our piece’s context.

Petrie claimed that “the tombs of Oxyrhynchos . . . have the reputation of containing nothing,” adding (rather naively) that they were “left alone in modern times.”⁵⁰ Modern gravediggers, of course, did not neglect

⁴⁶ Bernard P. Grenfell, “Oxyrhynchus and Its Papyri,” in *Egypt Exploration Fund: Archaeological Report 1896-1897* (ed. F. L. Griffith; London, 1897), 1-12; reprinted with added footnotes as “Excavations at Oxyrhynchus, 1896-1907,” in *Oxyrhynchus: A City and Its Texts* (ed. A. K. Bowman et al.; Graeco-Roman Memoirs 93; London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2007), 345-368.

⁴⁷ On the implications of this for the discovery of biblical manuscripts, see AnneMarie Luijendijk, “Sacred Scriptures as Trash: Biblical Papyri from Oxyrhynchus,” *VigChr* 64 (2010): 217-254.

⁴⁸ W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Tombs of the Courtiers and Oxyrhynchos* (Egyptian Research Account and British School of Archaeology in Egypt 37; London: British School of Egyptian Archaeology, 1925), reprinted as “Oxyrhynchos Revisted” in *Oxyrhynchus: A City and Its Texts* (ed. A. K. Bowman et al.; Graeco-Roman Memoirs 93; London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2007), (50-59) 54-55, his number 42, and figure 5.11.

⁴⁹ See Evaristo Breccia, “Fouilles d’Oxyrhynchos et à Tebtunis,” in *Le Musée Gréco-Romain 1: 1925-1931* (Bergamo: Istituto Italiano d’arti grafiche, 1931), 60-63; Evaristo Breccia, “Fouilles d’Oxyrhynchos,” in *Le Musée Gréco-Romain 2: 1931-1932* (Bergamo: Istituto Italiano d’arti grafiche, 1933), 36-44. Hans-Georg Severin, “Pseudoprotokoptika,” in *Divitiae Aegypti: Koptologische und verwandte Studien zu Ehren von Martin Krause* (ed. C. Fluck et al.; Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1995), (289-299) 290, complains about Breccia’s excavations that they were chaotic and remain largely unpublished.

⁵⁰ Petrie, “Oxyrhynchos Revisted” (see note 48), 54. I wonder whether this reported absence of grave goods corresponds to Gillian Bowen’s findings of Christian cemeteries with few if any grave goods elsewhere in Egypt. See Bowen, “Some Observations” (see note 45), 170 and throughout.

the city's tombs. Illegal excavations at al-Bahnasa happened as late as 1982, when, as the Catalan-Egyptian research team now working on the site reports, Egyptian authorities caught clandestine diggers red-handed at a tomb.⁵¹ Our shroud must also have surfaced illegally.⁵² One piece of funerary sculpture from Oxyrhynchus, for instance, was purchased in 1955.⁵³ This suggests that around the time Rémondon purchased his small shroud, in 1953, gravediggers were carrying out their operations at the Oxyrhynchite necropolis, where they presumably chanced also upon a mummy wrapped in linen with its Christian inscription.

From what we know about their activities, gravediggers tend to remove only the inscribed part of the wrapping from the body. They would, observed Vasileios Marinis, keep “only the pieces suitable for the art market, discarding undecorated, damaged, or stained parts.”⁵⁴ This applies equally to decorated garments as it does to shrouds. As Pieter Sijpesteijn in his publication of linen mummy wrappings from the Amsterdam collection reported, “the pieces undoubtedly were cut out of the wrappings which covered the mummies of the deceased persons.”⁵⁵ This must also have happened in the case of the funerary wrapping under discussion here.

Our shroud belongs in a context of other, scattered, funerary pieces from Oxyrhynchus: mummies, stelae, and grave reliefs. Thelma Thomas studied the funerary art from late-antique Oxyrhynchus and other cities. Especially relevant is her observation that this art imitated church iconography: “In church apses and in the funerary niches and ‘tabernacle’ stelae, the decorations commonly offered visions of the heavenly paradise, heavenly

⁵¹ Josep Padró, Maite Mascort and H. Ibrahim Amer, “La nécropole haute d’Oxyrhynchos: Situation et premiers travaux archéologiques,” in *La corona immarcescibile: Pintures de l’Antiguitat tardana de la necropolis alta d’Oxirinc (Mínia, Egipte)* (ed. E. Subías Pascual; Sèrie Documenta 1; Tarragona: Institut Català d’Arqueologia Clàssica, 2003), (44-47) 44: “Cette nécropole avait été découverte par des fouilleurs clandestins qui, en 1982, avaient été surpris par les autorités égyptiennes alors qu’ils saccageaient une tombe datée de la Période Saïte (dynastie XXVI, 664-525 avant J.-C.)”

⁵² From 1958 on, unprovenanced grave-reliefs appeared on the international antiquities market. Klaus Parlasca’s research on those funerary architectural pieces contains information relevant to our investigation. Based on known parallels from the earlier excavations, Parlasca identified them as deriving from Oxyrhynchus. Among these, several reliefs from the end of the fourth and first third of the fifth century display Christian imagery, especially crosses. See Klaus Parlasca, “Grave-Reliefs and Architectural Sculpture,” in *Oxyrhynchus: A City and Its Texts* (ed. A. K. Bowman et al.; Graeco-Roman Memoirs 93; London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2007), (91-103) 94, and Klaus Parlasca, “Der Übergang von der spätantiken zur frühkoptischen Kunst im Lichte der Grabreliefs von Oxyrhynchos,” *Enchoria* 8 supplement (1978): 115* (161) - 120* (166), plates 34-47. Severin, “Pseudoprotokoptika” (see note 49), 289-292, however, argues most of these are fakes produced in Egypt for the antiquities market. I found his arguments convincing, but do not have the art-history expertise to judge this independently.

⁵³ Severin, “Pseudoprotokoptika” (see note 49), 290.

⁵⁴ Marinis, “Wearing the Bible” (see note 44), 95-96.

⁵⁵ Sijpesteijn, “Inscriptions” (see note 8), 45-49, plates 8-12 at 45. He adds: “We might not be mistaken if we assume that the inscriptions were written at the height of the breasts of the mummies.”

hosts, Christ, and the cross: form, decoration, and meaning are intimately bound up with the celebration of the liturgy.” Egyptian Christian funerary architecture and sculpture, as “quotations from church architecture,” projected a similar “iconographic repertoire” to that of churches.⁵⁶

Linen and Things

In comparison to the more than 40,000 published Greek documentary and literary texts written on papyrus from Egypt,⁵⁷ the number of texts on fabric is relatively small: just 85 Greek pieces.⁵⁸ Inscribed textiles have received relatively little scholarly attention. As Ulrike Horak observed, “textiles with inscriptions are still treated with neglect, because the already problematic readings are often additionally complicated by lacunae in the fabric.”⁵⁹ Beautiful Coptic textiles display lavish embroideries, and some also have stitched-on inscriptions.⁶⁰ Our funerary piece, however,

⁵⁶ Thelma K. Thomas, *Late Antique Egyptian Funerary Sculpture: Images for this World and for the Next* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000), 52. See also Eva Subías Pascual, ed., *La corona immarcescible: Pinturas de l'antiguitat tardana de la necròpolis alta d'Oxirinc (Mínia, Egipte)* (Sèrie Documenta 1; Tarragona: Institut Català d'Arqueologia Clàssica, 2003).

⁵⁷ Number of Greek papyri from Egypt: Leuven Database of Ancient Books search (accessed 8 August 2010). Online: www.trismegistos.org/ldab: “Egypt only; language = Greek; material = papyrus; culture = literature” 5577 hits; Egypt and abroad: 5876. + ‘Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis’: material = papyrus: 36732.

⁵⁸ 84 from “Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis” with 1 from “Leuven Database of Ancient Books”.

⁵⁹ Horak, *Christliches mit Feder und Faden* (see note 11), 104: “Textilien mit Inschriften werden noch immer eher stiefmütterlich behandelt, denn die meist ohnehin problematischen Lesungen werden oft durch Fehlstellen im Stoff zusätzlich erschwert.”

⁶⁰ See especially Cäcilia Fluck, “Koptische Textilien mit Inschriften in Berlin: 1. Teil,” *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 35 (1996): 161-172, plates 9-14; Cäcilia Fluck, “Koptische Textilien mit Inschriften in Berlin: 2. Teil,” *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 36 (1997): 59-70; Cäcilia Fluck and Gisela Helmecke, eds., *Textile Messages: Inscribed Fabrics from Roman to Abbasid Egypt* (Studies in Textile and Costume History 4; Leiden: Brill, 2006). Fluck discusses “Textilien, bei denen die Inschrift wesentlicher Bestandteil der Dekoration ist” (“Koptische Textilien 1” [see note 60], 162). In that respect, her research differs from mine; these textiles are all part of larger decorative schemes and often embroidered or stitched on the fabric, unlike the linen wrapping that is inscribed with ink. What they share is, it seems, their funerary context, although neither for Fluck’s fabrics nor in my linen strip do we have secure archaeological provenance. Some of her inscriptions are liturgical (“Koptische Textilien 1” [see note 58], 171). In one case, she classifies the text as “Zaubertext” (ibid., 171). Another inscription is “eindeutig” magical, inv. nr. 9993. In the second part of her investigation, Fluck treats the function of these textiles. Some are sleeves of tunics, or other pieces of clothing, others are blankets. Inv. 9993 was probably a blanket: “Das Stück ist nahezu vollständig erhalten mit Webekanten an den Längsseiten sowie Fransen und verzierten Randabschlüssen an den Schmalseiten. Dieses außergewöhnliche, mit einem Zaubertext beschriebene Textil könnte einem Grabzusammenhang entstammen” (“Koptische Textilien 2” [see note 58], 61). She mentions Hermann Ranke, *Koptische Friedhöfe bei Karâra und der Amontempel Scheschonks I bei el Hibe: Bericht über die badischen Grabungen in Ägypten in den Wintern 1913 und 1914* (Leipzig: de Gruyter, 1926), 5-6, for an example of a magical papyrus as grave gift (P. Heidelberg Inv. Pap Graec. Nr. 1). Fluck also finds: “Aufgrund der Inschriften auf

falls in a different category (or scholarly specialization⁶¹): namely, that of texts inscribed on linen with ink. With the exception of one cloth with a magical formula,⁶² these texts inscribed on linen come from cemeteries. So in terms of both content and writing material, our cloth fits right in this funerary milieu.⁶³

Most inscribed pieces of funerary linen (in Greek) identify a mummy by name. According to Horak, the custom of writing the deceased person's name on the shroud instead of on a separately attached wooden label began in the Roman period, so as to avoid mixing up the mummies.⁶⁴ More specific inscriptions supply additional information on the deceased, such as the patronymic and/or date of death (day, month, indiction). One such Coptic shroud, for example, reads: "Kopria, daughter of Artemidorus."⁶⁵ If only we had such personal data here!⁶⁶

In a few cases, Greek mummy wrappings provide a brief saying accompanying the deceased. That makes them, in the words of Sijpesteijn, "cheap memorials to the dead."⁶⁷ A mummy label in the collection of the University of Amsterdam reads: "May you be remembered for ever

den Textilien könnte man vermuten, daß diese primär als Grabbeigaben, als Stiftungen für Kirchen oder als Votivgaben an Pilgerorten gedacht waren. . . . Eine Verwendung im alltäglichen Leben wäre . . . nicht auszuschließen" ("Koptische Textilien 2" [see note 58], 62).

⁶¹ According to Fluck, "Koptische Textilien 1" (see note 60), 161: "Inschriften auf Textilien fallen in das weite Feld der Epigraphik".

⁶² SB, 14, 11535 = Robert W. Daniel, „Supplement Magicum 1 44,“ *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 19 (1975): 255-264 (linen, 3d/4th century). There is one linen book preserved, but it was reused to wrap the mummy of a woman, and thus is funerary and not literary. See Lammert Bouke van der Meer, *Liber linteus zagrabiensis: The Linen Book of Zagreb: A Comment on the Longest Etruscan Text* (Monographs on Antiquity 4; Leuven: Peeters, 2007).

⁶³ According to C. Wilfried Griggs ("Early Christian Burials in the Fayoum," in *Christianity and Monasticism in the Fayoum Oasis* [ed. G. Gabra; Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2005], [185-195] 190), at the cemetery at the Fag el-Gamous cemetery in the Fayoum, the earlier, traditionally (Egyptian) buried corpses are wrapped in used fabric, the Christian ones in new linen, "used for the first time in that context."

⁶⁴ Horak, *Christliches mit Feder und Faden* (see note 11), 105-106 nr. 98 in the Papyrus-sammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, 4th century. "Einfache Leinentücher in Noppenwirkerei verwendete man auch bei den christlichen Begräbnissen ab dem 4. Jh., um die bekleideten Toten darin einzuschlagen. Die Aufschrift auf dem Stoff ersetzt die in römischer Zeit gebräuchlichen Mumienetiketten, die, um Verwechslungen zu vermeiden, an den einbalsamierten Verstorbenen angebracht wurden." According to Horak (*ibid.*, 57) the mummy labels that are so prevalent in earlier times are uncommon in the Christian period.

⁶⁵ ΚΟΠΡΙΑ ΛΙΜΙΩΔΕ (for Ἀρτεμίδωρος). See Horak, *Christliches mit Feder und Faden* (see note 11), 105-106 and plate on 106; Martin Krause, "Das Totenwesen der Kopten," in *Tod am Nil: Tod und Totenkult im antiker Ägypten* (ed. H. Froschauer, C. Gastgeber and H. Harrauer; Nilus 8; Vienna: Phoibos, 2003), 41 Abb. 12 = Kat. Nr. 53 "Leichentuch der Kopria, 4-7th century".

⁶⁶ Conceivably, the body that bore our inscription also had this information inscribed on its funerary cloth but the grave robbers separated the section with the name when they cut off the fabric.

⁶⁷ Sijpesteijn, "Inscriptions" (see note 8), 45.

Tangoraus, daughter of Apollonius who lived [X years]” (ἀ[εἰ]μνητος εἴησ Τανγοραυς Ἀπολλωνίου βιωσα []).⁶⁸ Another linen wrapping from the same group is similar to our strip in the sense that it does not list personal data for the deceased, but just a saying, albeit an exceedingly brief one. It reads in one expression: “be of good cheer” (εὐψύχει).⁶⁹ These two labels thus provide parallels by adding sayings for the dead, even if the sayings are not accompanied by a name.

Besides such short phrases on the linen wrapping in lieu of wooden mummy label, I do not know of other, similarly inscribed shrouds from this period.⁷⁰ A much later example, dated to the year 928, is a large painted shroud from Antinoopolis depicting the archangel Michael with a long Coptic inscription.⁷¹ Literary sources refer to shrouds like this.⁷² From the (badly preserved) inscription we learn that this “shroud was commissioned for the dead person by a particular artist, whose name is now also lost.” Most relevantly for our investigation, the inscription opens

⁶⁸ Sijpesteijn, “Inscriptions” (see note 8), 49 nr. 27 and plate 12. Sijpesteijn added: “Sel-dom we find such wishes on mummy labels (more frequent on tomb stones), cp. e.g. SB 1,1208; 1626; SB 6,9022, 7.”

⁶⁹ As Sijpesteijn, “Inscriptions” (see note 8), 49 nr. 28 reminds us: “On mummy labels . . . and tomb stones (e.g. SB 8,10162) we sometimes find this formula. Curious is the fact that there are no names at all on this label.” The Vienna collection possesses a similarly inscribed wrapping. See Horak, *Christliches mit Feder und Faden* (see note 11), 105 nr. 96 (2d/3d century).

⁷⁰ In modern day orthodox funerary practice, the dead are enveloped in an inscribed shroud: see <http://www.istok.net/church-product/burial-shroud.html> (accessed 16 July 2011). The Slavonic inscription around the border reads: “With the saints give rest, O Christ, to the soul of thy servant, in a place where there is neither sickness nor sorrow nor sighing, but life everlasting.” I thank Dr. Kevin Kalish for bringing this to my attention and for the translation of the text (email, 25 August 2010).

⁷¹ It is a piece of decorated linen of 170 x 80 cm, that had been attached to a large byssus blanket of 150 x 250 cm, see Carl M. Kaufmann, “Ein spätkoptisches bemaltes Grabtuch aus Antinopolis in Oberägypten,” in *Oriens Christianus* n.s. 7/8 (1918): (128-132) 128. The piece was part of a larger find of textiles with images and inscriptions, that had been found “in einer Art gewölbter Kapelle . . . in und bei welcher die Toten, in üblicher Weise bandagiert und auf Sykomorenbretter gebunden, bestattet waren” (ibid., 128-129). This piece has an interesting history beyond the grave. Kaufmann had acquired it but lost it in 1908 during transport: “In Verlust geriet das . . . Grabtuch im Jahre 1908 kurz vor oder während des Transports meiner Funde durch die Wüste nach Alexandrien, den ich nicht persönlich überwachte.” Adding ruefully: “Trifft jemanden eine Schuld, dann in erster Linie mich selbst.” (ibid., 131). He had, however, photographed it. Fortunately, it has resurfaced and is now in the Coptic Museum in Cairo (inv. nr. 8452). See Lucia Langener, “Verschollen und wieder aufgetaucht: Das Grabtuch mit dem Erzengel Michael, Koptisches Museum Kairo, Inv.-NR. 8452/Disappeared and Reappeared: The Shroud with the Archangel Michael, Coptic Museum Cairo, Inv.-N. 8452,” *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 39 (2000): 157-159. For an (art-)historical contextualization of such a shroud, see Lucy-Anne Hunt, “For the Salvation of a Woman’s Soul: An Icon of St. Michael Described Within a Medieval Coptic Context,” in *Icon and Word: The Power of Images in Byzantium* (ed. A. Eastmond and L. James; Aldershot, U.K.: Ashgate, 2003), 205-232.

⁷² So Hunt, “Salvation” (see note 71), passim on the Encomium of the archangel Michael.

with an appeal to the resurrected Jesus: “O Lord Jesus Christ who rose (?) from the dead in truth”.⁷³

Books and the Dead

Whereas inscribed shrouds and even iconographic representations of New Testament scenes on (funerary) textiles are rare,⁷⁴ scriptural texts were hardly out of place at grave sites. Church orders as the *Didascalia apostolorum* prescribe the reading of scripture at the graveside.⁷⁵ Moreover, entire Christian books, such as a copy of the Book of Psalms or the Apocalypse of Peter, were bestowed as grave gifts.⁷⁶ Françoise Dunand compared the

⁷³ $\overline{\text{ΠΙΣΤΕ}} \overline{\text{ΠΕΛΙΣ}} \overline{\text{ΠΙΝΑΜΗΘΙΟΣ}} \overline{\text{ΗΜΟΙΣ}} \overline{\text{ΖΗΘΟΜΕ}}$. Transcription and translation in Hunt, “Salvation” (see note 71), 219, both by Leslie MacCoull (Hunt, “Salvation” [see note 69], 225). Also funerary inscriptions sometimes mention the resurrection. A long Greek inscription of a 7-9th century stele from Panopolis concludes with the words: “for Thou art [the Life], Rest, and Resurrection (ἀνάπαυσις κ(αὶ) ἀνάστασις, l. 23): Amen.” See Harry R. Hall, *Coptic and Greek Texts of the Christian Period from Ostraka, Stelae, etc. in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1905), 3 (N.B.: this is not plate 3).

⁷⁴ In a study of a seventh or eighth-century garment with scenes from the New Testament (annunciation, nativity, adoration of the magi etc.), Marinis, “Wearing the Bible” (see note 44), 96, mentions the “richness of decoration of Egyptian textiles,” with depictions of “joyous Bacchic scenes from the Greco-Roman repertoire, motifs of abundance and well-being associated with the Nile, and even the story of Joseph.” But, he adds, “scenes inspired from the narratives of the New Testament rarely decorate Egyptian textiles.” Marinis suggests that the tunic with its images relating to birth and childrearing might have belonged to a woman “whose clothes expressed either a desire to bear children or gratitude for having received them.” But he also takes into account the fact that the garment was found in a grave, which might lend the images a soteriological connotation: “the scenes depicted in the tunic underline a basic message, which is the salvation brought to mankind through Jesus’ divine intervention on earth” (ibid., 106).

⁷⁵ *Didascalia apostolorum* 6,22,2 (*Didascalia et constitutiones apostolorum* [ed. F. X. Funk; vol. 1; Paderborn, 1905], 376): *vos vero secundum evangelium et secundum sancti spiritus virtutem et in memoriis congregantes vos et sacrarum scripturarum facite lectionem et ad Deum preces indesinenter offerte!* “but you, in accordance with the Gospel and in accordance with the power of the Holy Spirit, gather in the cemeteries to read the Holy Scriptures and to offer your prayers and your rites to God without observance,” trans. Alistair Stewart-Sykes, *The Didascalia Apostolorum: An English Version with Introduction and Annotation* (Studia Traditionis Theologiae, Explorations in Early and Medieval Theology 1; Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 255. The other elements of the burial are described as follows by Jon Davies, *Death, Burial, and Rebirth in the Religions of Antiquity* (Religion in the First Christian Centuries; New York: Routledge, 1999), 199: “The dead body would have been washed, anointed and sometimes embalmed. In keeping with the belief that the body was not polluting, the gap between death and interment was extended to three or four days, the body was attended by a vigil, and it was carried to the grave on occasion by priest or bishop, with psalms, hymns and prayers, and buried with a eucharist. Face upwards, the body would be oriented feet towards the east, in expression of the hope of new life in the Son (as ‘sun’, this is a clear pagan as well as Christian practice). At fixed periods, again following very ancient practice, friends and relatives would meet for prayer and food. . . . This is, in essence, what we know of ‘ordinary’ early Christian burial.” See also Bowen, “Some Observations” (see note 45), 169.

⁷⁶ On burial of books, see Luijendijk, „Sacred Scriptures as Trash“ (see note 47), 238-239; Gawdat Gabra, *Der Psalter im oxyrhynchitischen (mesokemischen/mittelägyptischen)*

contents of the latter to the Egyptian Book of the Dead.⁷⁷ Occasionally, a text on a gravestone presents a biblical phrase, addressed to visitors or to the living in general.⁷⁸ In one case, a grave inscription expresses the hope that the deceased person will prove “worthy to hear the blessed voice” utter the words of Matt 25:23: “enter into the joy of your master.”⁷⁹ Martin Krause argued that such inscriptions have a magical function.⁸⁰

Additional insights into the function of our inscribed shroud come from Egyptian funerary practices. The ancient Egyptians buried their dead with a copy of the Book of the Dead, for the most part depositing a papyrus roll in the grave. In multiple instances, however, sections from the Book of the Dead were written on the mummies themselves, on the funerary linen.⁸¹ According to Egyptologist Rita Lucarelli, “the custom of copying texts and vignettes of the Book of the Dead on [mummy] wrappings is typical of the Late and Graeco-Roman periods.”⁸² She argues that this practice of writing the Book of the Dead and spells on mummy wrappings, instead of papyrus rolls, “was probably connected to the increasing need, during the later period of the Pharaonic history, of protecting the body through apotropaic and amuletic magic.”⁸³ Lucarelli places the protective function of mummy wrappings in a larger religious context, as she sees a parallel development between inscribed mummy wrappings and the

Dialekt (Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Koptische Reihe 4; Heidelberg: Orientverlag, 1995), 23: “Das Pergamentbuch . . . wurde neben dem Kopf eines jungen Mädchens in einem der Gräber gefunden, die aus der frühen koptischen Zeit (5. oder 6. Jahrhundert) stammen.” Gabra is respectfully skeptical about the “excavations” (“Ausgrabungen,” in brackets, *ibid.*, 23). The archaeologists did not preserve bones, human remains or organic material from the grave, he complains, nor were pictures taken during the excavations. “Während der Großteil der Leichen mit dem Kopf nach Westen auf dem Rücken lag, lag der Kopf des etwa 13-jährigen Kindes auf dem Psalmbuch Richtung Osten mit den Füßen nach Westen.” (*ibid.*, 23-24).

⁷⁷ Dunand, “Between Tradition” (see note 42), 180: “In a tomb at Akhmim, there was a manuscript of Peter’s Apocalypse; it contains a quite detailed account of the last days, judgment, hell, and the punishment of sinners: a kind of Book of the Dead.” See also Krause, “Weiterleben” (see note 35), 90: “Man verzichtete in christlicher Zeit auch nicht auf die Beigabe von heilbringenden Totentexten. Hier ist vor allem die Handschrift der Petrusapokalypse zu nennen, die in einem achmimischen Grab gefunden wurde und Höllenbeschreibungen enthält. Unterweltsbeschreibungen wurden schon seit dem Mittleren Reich dem Toten ins Grab gegeben.”

⁷⁸ Krause, “Weiterleben” (see note 35), 91.

⁷⁹ So Krause, “Weiterleben” (see note 35), 91: “daß der Tote würdig sei, diese selige Stimme zu hören: ‘Gehe ein in die Freuden deines Herrn.’ ” (Matt 25:23).

⁸⁰ Krause, “Weiterleben” (see note 35), 91.

⁸¹ On Egyptian funerary textiles: Siegfried Morenz, “Das Werden zu Osiris: Die Darstellungen auf einem Leinentuch der römischen Kaiserzeit (Berlin 11 651) und verwandten Stücken,” in *Religion und Geschichte des alten Ägypten* (ed. E. Blumenthal and S. Morenz; Cologne: Böhlau, 1975), 231-247; Siegfried Morenz, “Das Problem des Werdens zu Osiris in der griechisch-römischen Zeit Ägyptens,” in *Religion und Geschichte des alten Ägypten* (ed. E. Blumenthal and S. Morenz; Cologne: Böhlau, 1975), 248-262.

⁸² Lucarelli, “Two Fragments” (see note 10), 105. She notes that the practice began earlier.

⁸³ Lucarelli, “Two Fragments” (see note 10), 106.

practice of wearing amulets around one's neck "during life on earth."⁸⁴ A text inscribed on a mummy wrapping is much closer to the body – like an amulet hanging from one's neck – than a book roll laid loose in the grave. Thus, similar to the purpose of quotations of passages of the Book of the Dead on funerary cloth, the placement of our Christian saying on a body had a magical function; it expresses the fervent hope of being raised, of physical resurrection from the grave.⁸⁵

This inscribed funerary shroud in its affirmation of bodily resurrection, appropriately depicts the cross. In this context, the cross at the end of the text functions not just as a dead punctuation mark, denoting the end of the text. Rather, as is clear from its use in similar contexts, it functions as symbol of the resurrection: it both wards off evil and is a "landmark of paradise."⁸⁶ In her research on Egyptian textiles, Horak emphasized the first, apotropaic, element: "In the Christian period crosses (on textiles) replace the pagan amulets that the population, fearful of demons, was wont to wear around their necks."⁸⁷ This fits in the context of Egyptian funerary practices we just noticed. Within a larger Christian setting, crosses representing the Tree of Life in funerary sculpture also point to a resurrected life in paradise as envisioned by Thomas. She referred to a passage by the sixth-century Egyptian monk Cosmas Indicopleustes: "The cross, interchangeable with the Tree of Life (as contrasted to the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil), was a potent symbol of the economy of salvation, Christ's resurrection, and humankind's future resurrection."⁸⁸

⁸⁴ Lucarelli, "Two Fragments" (see note 10), 106.

⁸⁵ Van Haelst, *Catalogue* (see note 4), 211 nr. 596, was therefore partly correct when he classified the piece as amulet. It was, however, not an amulet rolled up and worn around the neck. Not every text with apotropaic qualities is an amulet. The writing material (linen) and the inscription with reference to burial and resurrection make it a piece of inscribed funerary wrapping. An amulet would also have signs of folding or rolling, which this piece lacks. On criteria for identifying amulets, see Theodore de Bruyn, "Papyri, Parchments, Ostraca, and Tablets Written with Biblical Texts in Greek and Used as Amulets: A Preliminary List," in *Early Christian Manuscripts: Examples of Applied Method and Approach* (ed. T. J. Kraus and T. Nicklas; Texts and Editions for New Testament Study 5; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 145-189.

⁸⁶ The expression is T. K. Thomas's, see *Funerary Sculpture* (see note 56), 74.

⁸⁷ Horak, *Christliches mit Feder und Faden* (see note 11), 90: "Kreuze ersetzen in der christlichen Zeit die von der dämonenfürchtenden Bevölkerung gerne um den Hals getragenen heidnischen Amulette." For crosses on textiles, at begin and end, see Fluck, "Koptische Textilien 1" (see note 60), Inv. Nr. 9992; 10065; 4659; 6829a; 9304 (2). P.Haun. 2,44, 4th or 5th century; Christian wooden mummy label with crosses at beginning and end (opening with ἐκοιμήθη; Christian phrase). See also Maggy Rassart-Debergh, "Le Christ et la croix dans l'art copte," in *Coptology: Past, Present and Future studies in honour of Rodolphe Kasser* (ed. S. Giversen, M. Krause and P. Nagel; Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 61; Leuven: Peeters, 1994), (45-70) especially 46-47.

⁸⁸ Thomas, *Funerary Sculpture* (see note 56), 74. She supports this with a quote from Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Topographia Christiana* (ibid., 74 and 129).

The Tenacity of the Gospel of Thomas

Finally, I wonder: Who commissioned the saying for the shroud? Was this the initiative of a scribe in a funerary workshop, the relatives, or the deceased person? Did a relative responsible for the burial ask that these immortalizing words be inscribed on the wrapped body? According to ancient Egyptian custom, continued in the Christian period, the oldest son as heir held the responsibility for his parents’ funerals.⁸⁹ But not all parents depended on their oldest male child for their final hours above ground. In a document from the year 620, the testators disinherited their son and appointed their daughter and granddaughter instead, stating that the former had stolen from them, whereas the latter had cared for them “in their sickness and weakness.”⁹⁰

The saying may also give an indication into the faith of the buried person as some people provided instructions for their own funerals. Wills often contain stipulations for the funeral and cult of the dead.⁹¹ In the early seventh century, Apa Abraham, bishop of Hermonthis, specified in his testament: “I wish and order that, after my exit from this life, the wrapping of my body and my holy [eucharistic] offerings and meals [in my memory] and the designated days of my death [period] be fulfilled by your care according to the custom of the country, and according to my intention and plan.”⁹² The commissioner of the text on the shroud may thus have even been the deceased person her- or himself.

With Apa Abraham we have also entered into another milieu: that of the monastery. When we find an indisputably Christian burial, it is usually from a monastic context, at least, that is what Françoise Dunand noted regarding the difficulty of distinguishing Christian burials in Egypt from ‘pagan’ ones. Writes Dunand: “If there is no explicit sign present (like a cross, for example), we cannot say if Christian people are concerned. Al-

⁸⁹ Krause, “Weiterleben” (see note 35), 86; Krause, “Das Totenwesen der Kopten” (see note 63), 34.

⁹⁰ Krause, “Weiterleben” (see note 35), 87: “Weil sie die Testatoren in ihrer Krankheit und Schwäche betreut haben, während der Sohn ausdrücklich enterbt wird, weil er seine Eltern nicht versorgt, sondern sogar bestohlen hat.”

⁹¹ Krause, “Weiterleben” (see note 35), 87: “Das Anliegen der Sicherung von Begräbnis und Totenkult ist noch in koptischer Zeit nachweisbar. Beide wurden durch Errichten von Testamenten oder Erbverträgen garantiert.”

⁹² P.Lond. 1,77,57-59 (ca. 610 CE): βούλομαι καὶ κελεύω μετὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ἔξοδον τοῦ βίου(υ) τὴν περιστολὴν τοῦ ἐμοῦ σώματος καὶ τὰς ἀγίας μο(υ) προσφορὰς καὶ ἀγάπας καὶ τὰς τοῦ θανάτου(υ) ἐπισήμους ἡμέρας ἐκτελεσθῆναι προνοίᾳ σου κατὰ τὸν ἐπιχώριον νόμον καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ὄψιν καὶ ὑπόληψιν; trans. Leslie S. B. MacCoull, “Apa Abraham: Testament of Apa Abraham, Bishop of Hermonthis, for the Monastery of St. Phoibammon near Thebes, Egypt,” in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders’ Typika and Testaments* 1 (ed. J. P. Thomas et al.; Dumbarton Oaks Studies 35; Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2000), (51-58) 56. Krause, “Weiterleben” (see note 35), 86, mentions further examples of bishops and monks in the sixth century, e.g., bishop Pesynthius of Coptos, Apa Daniel from Sketis.

most all truly and clearly Christian tombs which have been explored were related to monasteries.”⁹³ Dunand’s comment made me wonder whether a monastery would be a fitting scenario for this inscribed shroud. Could it have covered a monk or a nun? Female and male monasticism at Oxyrhynchus is well attested, in the literary, papyrological and archaeological record.⁹⁴ Moreover, a monastic milieu would be one place where Christian texts were transmitted through study, recitation, memorization, and copying. While I do not want to disavow a Christian lay-readership of their sacred texts of whatever canonical flavor,⁹⁵ we should seriously entertain the possibility of a monastic milieu as a plausible environment for the continued study of the Gospel of Thomas. This matches what we know about reading the Gospel of Thomas, preserved in Coptic translation in one of the codices found at Nag Hammadi, a century or so earlier. Lance Jenott and Elaine Pagels have shown exhaustively that the texts found at Nag Hammadi were copied and read in a monastic milieu.⁹⁶

Even earlier, in the third century, the Gospel of Thomas is well attested at Oxyrhynchus through the abovementioned three papyri, each a fragment of a different manuscript. It was, as I have argued elsewhere, studied privately and perhaps also read in worship.⁹⁷ If my analysis is correct and this shroud does indeed have a literary connection to the Gospel of Thomas, then a major implication of this research is that the Gospel of Thomas, considered dead and buried with the Coptic Nag Hammadi codices, was still alive among Christians in Oxyrhynchus in the fifth or sixth century.

This conclusion has implications for how we view Christian reading choices and even the development of the Christian canon. Testimonia to the

⁹³ Dunand, “Between Tradition” (see note 42), 163.

⁹⁴ Examples of each category are: literary, *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* 5 (ed. A. J. Festugière; Subsidia Hagiographica 53; Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1971), 41-43, see AnneMarie Luijendijk, *Greetings in the Lord: Early Christians and the Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (Harvard Theological Studies 60; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2008), 3-6; papyrological, e.g. the monastery of Apa Sarous (probably for nuns, P.Oxy. 43,3150, 6th century), the monastery of Apa Hierax (P.Oxy. 51,3640, 20 July 533); archaeological, Fragmentary stela with monk, from Oxyrhynchus, in Thomas, *Funerary Sculpture* (see note 56), figure 86.

⁹⁵ In his festal letter for the year 367, Athanasius of Alexandria explicitly advises certain books for private reading. See Athanasius, *Epistulae festales* 39 (*Les canons des pères grecs* [vol. 2 of *Discipline générale antique, sec. II-IX*; ed. P.-P. Joannou; Fontes 1,9; Rome: Tipographia Italo-Orientale S. Nilo, 1963], [71-76] 75). John Chrysostom was adamant about private reading of scriptures at home, he even gave a sermon on the topic: “That the [Private] Reading of Scripture is Useful” (*In principium Actorum* 3 [PG 51:87-98]) urging people to read scriptures at home. On the topic, see Harry Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church: A History of Early Christian Texts* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1995), esp. 231-237 “The Private Use of Christian Books”.

⁹⁶ See Lance Jenott and Elaine Pagels, “Antony’s Letters and Nag Hammadi Codex 1: Sources of Religious Conflict in Fourth-Century Egypt,” *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 18 (2010): (557-589) esp. 558-562.

⁹⁷ See Luijendijk, “Reading the Gospel of Thomas” (see note 1), 266.

Gospel of Thomas reveal that influential Christian authors in this period reject it.⁹⁸ Eusebius of Caesarea groups the Gospel of Thomas among the heretical texts.⁹⁹ Cyril of Jerusalem prohibits its reading, claiming: “Let no one read the Gospel according to Thomas.”¹⁰⁰ (Pseudo-)Athanasius declares the Gospel of Thomas and several other texts “disputed works (ἀντιλεγόμενα) of the New Testament.”¹⁰¹ With the fifth- or sixth-century quotation of the Gospel of Thomas on the funerary bandage, we thus observe the tenacity and longevity of an apocryphal text in spite of ecclesiastical polemics.

In his article on “The Canon of the New Testament in Antiquity,” Christoph Markschiefs advocated that we should look beyond influential church leaders and canonical lists in order to understand early Christian reading practices and take into account also “which types of canons and books of contents of canons appeared in the public, liturgical and private lives of ancient Christians.”¹⁰² Here we observe one of these instances where we find evidence of Christian reading of a text deemed apocryphal. This funerary cloth allows us to catch glimpses of the people that read the Fifth Gospel and applied it to their lives, or better, their deaths.

⁹⁸ See Attridge, “Appendix: The Greek Fragments” (see note 20), 103-109. Often they do so by associating it with Mani and Manichaeans. They do not seem to have had access to the text itself. Manichaeans knew the Gospel of Thomas, but since they do not promote a physical resurrection from the grave, as this saying espouses, we can exclude them here as potential users. Moreover, *Kephalaia* 65 (Manichäische Handschriften der Staatlichen Museen Berlin 1,1, 163,26-29 Schmidt) has logion 5 of the Gospel of Thomas, but without this saying; Iain Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher: The Edited Coptic Manichaean Texts in Translation with Commentary* (NHMS 37; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 172.

⁹⁹ Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3,25,6 (GCS.N.F. 6,1, 252,14-16 Schwartz/Mommsen/Winkelmann) (first quarter of the fourth century): ταύτας καὶ τὰς ὀνόματι τῶν ἀποστόλων πρὸς τῶν αἱρετικῶν προφερομένους ἤτοι ὡς Πέτρου καὶ Θωμᾶ καὶ Μαθθία ἢ καὶ τινῶν παρὰ τούτους ἄλλων εὐαγγέλια περιεχούσας. (“the writings which are put forward by heretics under the name of the apostles containing Gospels such as those of Peter, and of Thomas, and of Matthias, and of some others besides,” cf. Attridge, “Appendix: The Greek Fragments” [see note 18], 105.)

¹⁰⁰ Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechesis* 6,31 (PG 33:593a) (ca. 348 C.E.): Μηδεὶς ἀναγιγνωσκέτω τὸ κατὰ Θωμᾶν εὐαγγέλιον· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐνὸς τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων, ἀλλ’ ἐνὸς τῶν κακῶν τριῶν τοῦ Μάνη μαθητῶν. (“Let no one read the Gospel according to Thomas. For he is not one of the twelve apostles, but one of the three wicked disciples of Mani.”) Cf. Attridge, “Appendix: The Greek Fragments” (see note 20), 105-106 and other examples at 106-109.

¹⁰¹ Pseudo-Athanasius, *Synopsis* 75 (PG 28: 432b) (fifth century): Τῆς Νέας πάλιν Διαθήκης ἀντιλεγόμενα ταῦτα: Περίοδοι Πέτρου, Περίοδοι Ἰωάννου, Περίοδοι Θωμᾶ, Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Θωμᾶ (“These are the disputed works of the New Testament: the Journeys of Peter, the Journeys of John, the Journeys of Thomas, The Gospel according to Thomas,” cf. Attridge, “Appendix: The Greek Fragments” [see note 18], 107).

¹⁰² Christoph Markschiefs, “The Canon of the New Testament in Antiquity: Some New Horizons for Future Research,” in *Homer, the Bible, and Beyond: Literary and Religious Canons in the Ancient World* (ed. M. Finkelberg and G. Stroumsa; Jerusalem Studies in Religion and Culture 2; Leiden: Brill, 2003), (175-194) 183.

Since the *Historia Monachorum*, Oxyrhynchus has been thought of as the bulwark of Christian orthodoxy. In this and other publications I have nuanced that conception. Not only does this small funerary bandage show us the continued life of a version of the Gospel of Thomas that was current already in the mid-third century, we also see that local Christians continued earlier funerary practices and the beliefs in bodily resurrection associated with them.

This small grave cloth thus forms an important witness to the living tradition of the Gospel of Thomas, at least among the Oxyrhynchites. It allows us to make a larger trajectory of the use of the Gospel of Thomas in Oxyrhynchus, beyond the three third-century Greek fragments. It adds spectacular knowledge to our insights into the hopes of bodily resurrection of contemporary Christians, and into the life of the Gospel of Thomas, a gospel that was considered dead by the end of the fourth century.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

In diesem Artikel zeige ich, dass ein kleines Leichentuch mit den Wörtern "Jesus sagt: Nichts ist begraben, was nicht auferweckt wird" zeigt, dass das Thomasevangelium im 5. oder 6. Jahrhundert noch in Oxyrhynchos benutzt wurde. Dieses Leichentuch trägt auch wesentlich zum Verständnis ägyptisch-christlicher Begräbnisbräuche und des Glaubens an die Auferstehung bei.