

P.Duk.inv. 766: The Annunciation, the *Protoevangelium of James*, and Early Christian Hymns

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Abstract

P.Duk.inv. 766, part of Duke University's papyrological collection, contains two annunciation hymns addressed to the Virgin Mary on the *recto* and *verso*. The hymns on the papyrus are unique, and they appear to have been written sometime in the 7th century CE. The content of the two hymns is similar to other hymns from the 5th-7th centuries CE, and the subject matter is derived from early annunciation accounts. In particular, the papyrus shows similarities to the annunciation accounts found in Luke's Gospel and in the pseudepigraphal infancy gospel of James, *Protoevangelium of James*. This paper will argue that the hymns on P.Duk.inv. 766 are part of the tradition of the *Protoevangelium of James* both in terms of language and Mariological doctrine. It will include a short discussion of the *Protoevangelium* and an overview of Christian beliefs about Mary that developed out of both canonical and non-canonical Christian texts. The paper will then compare the annunciation account found in the *Protoevangelium of James* and the annunciation account from the New Testament gospel of Luke to the hymns on the papyrus. This comparison along with an overview of the development of Christian hymnody will demonstrate that the Mariological doctrine found in the hymns are not drawn purely from canonical Christian texts, but from a tradition that includes the *Protoevangelium of James*.

1. Introduction

P.Duk.inv. 766 is part of Duke University's papyrological collection housed in the David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library in Durham, NC. It is comprised of two fragments, which together measure approximately 14.5 cm by 25.5 cm. Both the *recto* and *verso* contain hymns concerning the Virgin Mary and the Annunciation. The hymn on the *recto* is addressed to Mary and recounts the message delivered to her by the angel Gabriel. In this hymn Gabriel praises Mary's virginity and tells her not to fear. The words of Gabriel alternate with choral responses, which recount Mary's replies to Gabriel. The hymn on the *verso* is also addressed to Mary and gives her response to Gabriel's announcement that she will give birth to a son even though she is a virgin. Both hymns appear to be written in the same hand.¹ The hymns on the papyrus are unique, and they seem to have been written on the papyrus sometime in the 7th century CE.² The text of the hymns was subject to iotacism, which caused many vowels to lengthen where a short vowel would be expected. This likely occurred as a result of the oral transmission of the hymns.³ The hymns also contain shifts between voiced, unvoiced, and aspirate letters. For example, there are multiple occurrences in the text of χ where κ is expected, κ for γ , and β in place of ϕ . An edition of the text of both the *recto* and *verso* was completed by Alan Gampel and Céline Grassien as part of their doctoral research.⁴ Their edition of the text has been used in this paper, and it appears below along with my translation of the text.

The content of the two hymns is in many ways similar to other hymns from the 5th-7th centuries CE, and the subject matter is derived from early annunciation accounts. While there are many written and artistic depictions of the annunciation that might be considered in comparison to the hymns on the papyrus, the hymns will be examined

in light of their similarities to two specific Christian annunciation accounts, namely those found in Luke's gospel and in the pseudepigraphal infancy gospel of James, also called the *Protoevangelium of James*. By examining these two texts and the Duke papyrus, and by comparing the hymns on the papyrus with other early Christian hymns also influenced by these two sources, I will argue that the hymns on P.Duk.inv. 766, while similar to both annunciation accounts, are part of the tradition of the *Protoevangelium of James* both in terms of language and Mariological doctrine.

2. P.Duk.inv. 766 R and V

2.1. P.Duk.inv. 766 recto

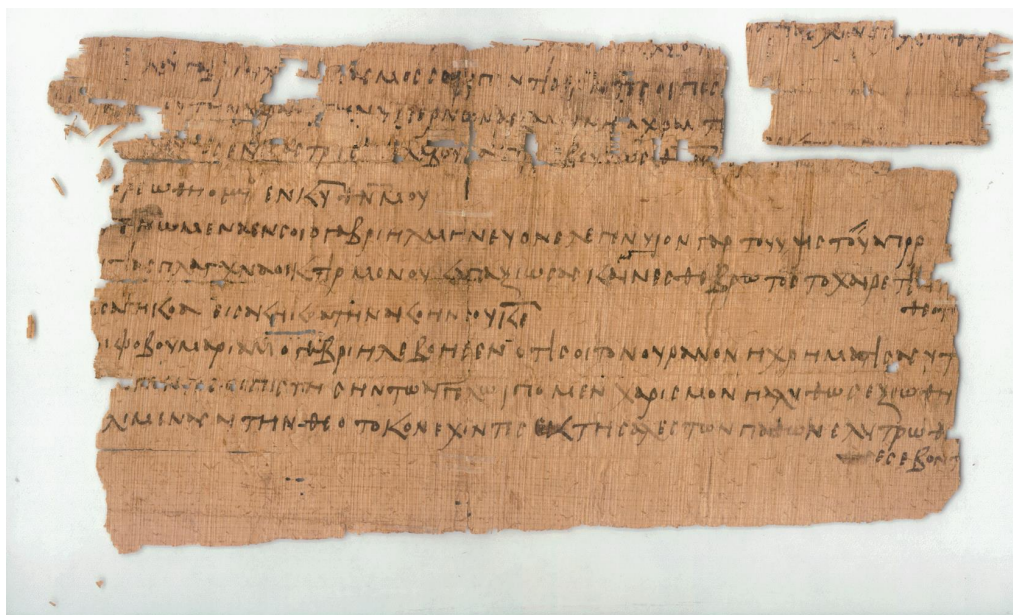


Figure 1. P.Duk.inv. 766 recto

2.1.1. greek text

Fr. 1

1] .. πασχιν παλιν θε(ο)ῦ[Titre du canon poétique?
2 vacat hirmos de l'Ode 1 / ton du canon ?
3] . εκτ. χυυ. . . [

Fr. 2

4 Τοῦ ἀγγ[έ]λου Γαβριήλ [ὁ] ἀπασμός σοι ὑπήντη<σ>ε<ν> †ετοντες† οἱ περ[str.1
5 [Τοῦ ὑψίστ]ου τὴν χάριν τὴν ὑπὲρ νοῦν δεξαμένη ἄκραντε
6 [Ἵ]τεκες ἐν γαστρὶ σ[υλ]λαβοῦσα πρ[έ]σ[β]ευ[ε] ὡς θε(ε)άν(θρῶπον)
7 [Ἐστ]ερεώθη{ομαι} <ἡ καρδία μου>> ἐν κ(υρί)ῳ θεῷ μου
vacat = Ode 3 hirmos de Ode 3 ///
8 [Τὸν] γεν<ν>ώμενον ἐν σοὶ ὁ Γαβριήλ μηνεύων ἔλεγεν υἱὸν γὰρ τοῦ ὑψίστου ἀπ(ο)ρρ(ήτου) str. 3a 29 syll. 8
acc. forts
μδ
[Σὺ] διὰ σπλάγχων οἰκτιρμοὺς οὐκ ἀπηξίωσας γενέσθαι βροτὸς τὸ χαῖρε δι' ἀγγ[έ]λου]
str. 3b 30 8

9a

θεοτό[κε]

< insertion d'un cathisme du Ps 44 (μδ) >

10 [E]ισακήκοα εισακήκοα τὴν ἀκοήν σου κ(ύρι)ε vacat = Ode 4

hirmos de Ode 4

11 [M]ὴ φοβοῦ Μαριὰμ ὁ Γαβριὴλ ἐβόησεν ὅτι σὺ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐχρημάτισας ὑψ[ηλόν ?]

str. 4a 29 8

12 [Λεῦτ]ε πάντες οἱ πιστοὶ σὺν τῷ ἀγγέλῳ εἶπωμεν · χάριτι μόνῃ ἀληθῶς ἐζώωθη[μεν]

str. 4b 28 8

13 [Ως] λιμένα σε τὴν θεοτόκον ἔχοντες ἐκ τῆς ζάλης τῶν παθῶν ἐλυτρώθη[σαν καὶ] Théotokion 29 8

13a ἐσέβοντ[ο]⁶

2.1.2. translation

Fr. 1

1. ... (unclear) back from God
2. (unclear)
3. . (unclear) (unclear) ...

Fr. 2

4. A greeting of the angel Gabriel came to you...
5. you, undefiled, receive the grace beyond perception of the highest
6. having conceived the one whom you brought forth in your womb, honor him as God and Man.
7. My heart was made firm in the Lord my God...
8. ... the one being brought forth in you, Gabriel, declaring, was saying, "For the son of the ineffable Most High
9. Though the compassions of your inner parts, not considering it unworthy to become mortal, rejoice through the angel, Oh Theotokos
10. I have listened to, I have listened to your tidings/report, oh Lord
11. "Do not fear, Mary," Gabriel commanded, "since you gave audience to (lofty) heaven
12. Hither, all the faithful, let us say with the angel, "Truly let us live in grace alone...
13. Having you, Theotokos, as the refuge they are released from the storm of suffering and they honor you.

2.2. P.Duk.inv. 766 verso

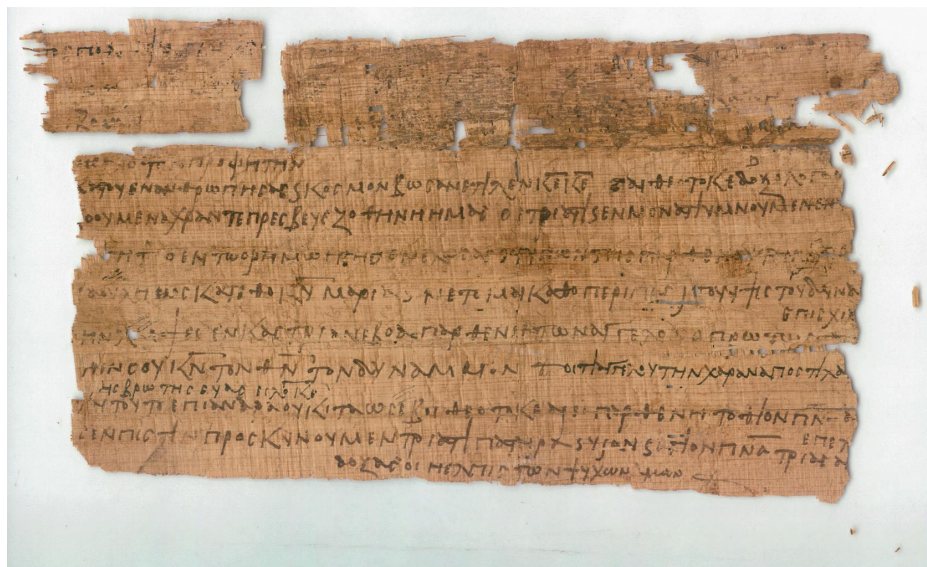


Figure 2. P.Duk.inv. 766 verso

2.2.1. greek text

Fr. 1

1] . τοc παλιν φαcιν χc . [(ajout 2e main)
2] . . [] . . [(ajout 2e main)
3] . . βοων vacat = Ode 5 ?	hirmos de l'Ode 5 ?

Fr. 2 :

4 traces

5 traces cουκα . .

5a

. [

6 [.] Ως { ό } τόν προφήτην vacat = Ode 6 hirmos de l'Ode 6

7 [Σὺ ἐ]κάτεω ἐνὴνθρώπηcας (καὶ) κόσμω φῶς ἀνέτειλες κ(ύρι)ε κ(ύρι)ε σὲ θεοτόκε δοξολογοῦμ'ε'(ν)
str. 6a 34 syll. 11 acc.

8 [(καὶ)] βοῶμεν ἄχραντε πρέcβευε cωθῆναι ἡμᾶc δ<v> ἐ<v> τριάδι (καὶ) ἐν μονάδι ὑμνοῦμεν ἐν ὕ[μνοις]
str. 6b 31 10

9 [Εὐλο]γητ'ὸ'(ς) εἶ ὁ ἐν τῷ ὄρει Μω<v>cῆ cυλλαλήcας καὶ τύπον τῆc παρθένου τὴν βάτο[ν δείξας] = Ode 7
hirmos de l'Ode 7

///

μ.()

10 [Κ(αὶ) νὺν] ἰδοὺ <δοῦ>λη ὡc κατέθ<ετ>o κ(υρί)ου Μαρία (γέ)νοιτο μοι καθ' ὅπερ <ε>ῖπεc (καὶ) τοῦ ὑψίcτου
δυνά[μικ]

str. 7a

10a

ἐπιcχιά[σει σοι]

////

<hirmos de l'Ode 8 à remplacer ici>

11 [Ἰδοὺ] cυνλ<ή>μψη ἐν γαστρὶ ἀνεβόα, παρθένε, τῶν ἀγγέλων ὁ πρῶτοc. [str. 8a

12 [Ἐνὼ]πι<ό>v σου κ(ύρι)ε ὁ θ(εὸ)ς τῶν δυνάμεων + = Ode 9 'Ο δι'' ἀγγέλου τὴν χαρὰν ἀποcτ<ε>ῖλα[ς]
hirmos de l'Ode 9

13 [τ]ῆc βροτῆc Εὐαc εὐλογ(ητὸς) <εἶ> κ(ύρι)ε = Ode 8 hirmos de l'Ode 8 rajouté par 2e main

///

14 [Πῶc ἔc]ται τοῦτο ἐπ<ε>ὶ ἄνδρα οὐκ <γ>ιῖταῖ<γν>ώ<cκω> σοὶ <ε>βόη<c>ε· θεοτόκε ἀ{ι}ειπαρθένε τὸ
θ<ε>ῖον πν(εῦμ)α str.9a

14a

ἐπελ[εύcεται]

15 [ἐπὶ] cὲ <'E>v πίcτ<ε>ι{v} προσκυνοῦμέν <ce καὶ ἐν> τριάδι πατέρα (καὶ) υἱὸν (καὶ) ἅγιον πν(εῦμ)α τριάc ἀγ[ία]
str. 9b

16 δόξα σοι ἡ ἐλπὶc τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν + doxologie⁸

2.2.2. translation

Fr. 1

1. again they said...

2.

3. shouting

Fr. 2

4.

5.

6. As the prophet...

7. You put on man's form for each and you brought forth a light to the world, oh Lord, Lord, Theotokos, we praise you

8. and we shout, oh immaculate one, place us first to be saved, whom in triads and in monads we laud in hymns

9. The blessed one goes, the one talking with Moses on the mountain and making known an impression of the Virgin

10. "And now behold the servant of the Lord," (said) Mary, "As it was laid out, let it happen to me according to the very thing which you said." And the power of the most high will overshadow you.
11. behold you will conceive in your womb, I cry out, oh Virgin, the first of the angels...
12. before you, oh Lord, God of power sending away by the joy of the angel
13. you are blessed of mortal Eve, oh Lord.
14. How will this be since I know no man? He declared to you, "Oh Theotokos, Ever-Virgin, the spirit from God will come upon you.
15. to you in faith we worship you and the triad, the father and the son and the holy spirit, three is holy
16. glory to you, the hope of our souls.

3. Protoevangelium of James

The *Protoevangelium of James* is a gospel not included in the canonical Christian Bible. It tells the story of the immaculate conception of Mary, her childhood, her conception of Jesus while she was still a virgin, and the birth of Jesus. It is not possible to clearly date the *Protoevangelium*. The author of the work claims that he is James, the brother of Jesus, and that he was writing around 4 BCE, "And I, James, am the one who wrote this account in Jerusalem when there was an uproar, when Herod died" (*Protoevangelium of James* 25:1).⁹ However, this date is impossible for a number of reasons. First, there are similarities between the account in the *Protoevangelium of James* and those in the gospels of Luke and Matthew, which have been dated to 80 CE and 90 CE respectively.¹⁰ However, it is clear that the *Protoevangelium* was written later because it addresses problematic gaps found in the texts of both Matthew and Luke. For example, Matthew gives the account of Herod's "Massacre of the Innocents," in which the ruler attempted to kill all infant boys in Judea. Herod did this in order to eliminate the prophesied usurper. Luke, on the other hand, mentions that Elizabeth, the cousin of Mary, was pregnant with John the Baptist at the same time as Mary was pregnant with Jesus. These details together imply that John the Baptist was an infant at the same time as Jesus and so would need to escape Herod's massacre as the holy family did. Neither the gospels of Luke nor Matthew address the problem of John's escape from Herod. However, the author of the *Protoevangelium* provides a solution to the problem of John's escape from Herod (*Protoevangelium of James* 22:5-23:9).¹¹ The addition of these details implies a later date for the *Protoevangelium*. As Ronald F. Hock, in the introduction to his translation of the *Protoevangelium of James*, explains:

But by answering this question [of John's escape], the author also reveals the fiction of the epilogue (25:1-3). In other words, since the question of John's fate could have arisen only after the Gospels of Matthew and Luke were written, that is, after 80-90, and since James himself died in 62, he could not, therefore, have composed this document that is attributed to him.¹²

In addition, the earliest surviving references to the *Protoevangelium* in other Christian writers do not appear until the early 3rd century. For example, Origen, when commenting about Matthew's gospel, mentions that Joseph had children with a wife, who died prior to his marriage with Mary. These details are not present in Matthew's gospel, and Origen himself credits this information to "the *Book of James*."¹³ These facts lead most scholars to agree that the *Protoevangelium of James* was not written until the late 2nd century CE.¹⁴

Despite the late date of its composition, the *Protoevangelium of James* retained popularity in the early Christian community. As Pelikan explains, this gospel was one of the main resources from which early Christians were able to develop their doctrine about Mary.¹⁵ Just as the Gospel of Thomas was able to give extra information about Jesus' childhood, the *Protoevangelium of James* gave more information not only about Jesus' birth but also about his mother. Of particular importance, the *Protoevangelium* provides another account of the annunciation, which differs from that found in Luke:

And she took the pitcher and she went out to fill it with water. And behold, there was a voice saying to her, "Greetings, oh one highly favored; the Lord is with you; you are blessed among women. And Mary looked around to the right and to the left to where the voice might be. And becoming fearful, she went into her house and putting down the pitcher she took the purple cloth and she sat down on her chair and she spun it. And behold an angel stood before her saying, "Do not fear, Mary; for you have found favor before the Lord of all. You will conceive from his word. But hearing this, Mary hesitated, saying to the angel, "If I will conceive from the Lord, the living God, will I give birth as all women give birth?" And the angel of the Lord said, "No, Mary, for the power of God will overshadow you. And on account of this the one being

born will be called holy, the Son of the Most High. And you will call his name Jesus; for he will save his people from their sins.” And Mary said, “Behold the servant of the Lord before you; may it be to me according to your word.”¹⁶

Since the Gospel of Luke was written earlier than the *Protoevangelium of James*, the annunciation account in Luke was easily one of the sources for the account in the *Protoevangelium*. Nevertheless, there are notable discrepancies between the two accounts. It is on the basis of these differences in content and language between the annunciation accounts in Luke and in the *Protoevangelium* that it is possible to determine that the hymns on P.Duk.inv. 766 were written in the tradition of both the *Protoevangelium of James* and the canonical gospels, particularly Luke, as opposed to the biblical accounts alone. The Bible gives very little information about Mary, and there are few other early Christian sources besides the *Protoevangelium* that provide additional information about her life. Because of the sparseness of these texts, one of the difficulties that the early church fathers faced was reconciling the few but different accounts given of Mary.¹⁷ Even so, a large body of doctrine has built up around Mary based on these few references. According to Pelikan, “In fact, the contrast between the biblical evidence and the traditional material is so striking that it has become a significant issue in the ecumenical encounter between denominations.”¹⁸

Debates over Mary, which stem from the absence of detail about Mary in the earliest Christian texts, have created much disagreement among Christians. Churches have split and new sects of Christianity have been formed because of such disputes over the issue of Mary and her significance to and role in the church. It is within these debates that the hymns on P.Duk.inv. 766 must have been produced, particularly given the discrepancies that arise between their text and that of the canonical Bible, discrepancies provided by Apocryphal texts such as the *Protoevangelium*.

4. Mary and the Annunciation

The most apparent distinctions between the Duke hymns and the canonical Bible are in the details about Mary gleaned from the annunciation accounts in both Matthew and Luke and in the *Protoevangelium*. For instance, although Mary is named in the Gospel of Matthew, there is no account of the annunciation to Mary in this gospel. Instead, Gabriel delivers the news of Mary’s pregnancy to Joseph (Matthew 1:18-25). The most important detail about Mary acquired in Matthew’s annunciation story is that her marriage with Joseph is consummated after Jesus is born and that Mary’s virginity is not permanent. Joseph, after he receives the message from Gabriel, did not have sexual intercourse with Mary until after she gave birth to Jesus (Matthew 1:25). The implication is that Mary and Joseph did have intercourse after Jesus was born, a point not found in the *Protoevangelium*. In fact, Mary’s virginity after Jesus’ birth is established in the *Protoevangelium of James* 19 after a post-delivery examination of Mary takes place (19:18). Christians further developed the idea that Mary delivered Jesus miraculously, maintaining her sexual purity, which gave rise to the doctrine of Mary’s perpetual virginity.¹⁹ Many later hymns continued to express this belief in her perpetual virginity because it presented Mary as the model of purity. The hymn on the *verso* of the Duke papyrus is clearly written in this later tradition because it calls Mary ἀειπαρθένε, “Ever-Virgin” (*verso* ln. 14).

Little more is learned about Mary in the Bible until the Gospel of Luke. Matthew makes few additional references to Mary, and Mark adds no significant detail. In Luke’s gospel, she plays a much more active role in the annunciation account. She is not only present in Luke’s story of the annunciation, but she herself is the recipient of Gabriel’s message and even speaks with Gabriel:

In the sixth month, the angel Gabriel was sent by God into a city of Galilee called Nazareth to a virgin betrothed to a man named Joseph of the house of David, and the name of the virgin was Mary. And coming to her, he said, “Greetings, favored one, the Lord is with you.” But she was troubled at this message, and she considered what sort of greeting this was. And the angel said to her, “Do not fear, Mary, for you have found favor before God. And behold, you will conceive in your womb and you will bear a son and you will call his name Jesus. He will be great, and he will be called the Son of the Most High, and the Lord God will give to him the throne of his father David, and he will rule over the house of Jacob forever and of his kingdom there will not be an end.” And Mary said to the angel, “How will this be, since I know no man?” And the angel, answering, said to her, “The Holy Spirit will come upon you and the power of the Most High will overshadow you; and on account of this the one born will be called holy, the son of God. And behold Elizabeth your relative, she had also conceived a son in her old age, and this is the sixth month for her called barren; for all matters are possible with God.” And Mary said, “Behold, the servant of the Lord; may it be to me according to your word.”²⁰

This detailed account has provided Christians with the most biblical material from which to establish doctrine regarding Mary. Any annunciation hymn drawing its information solely from the Bible must be established in these verses, for they are the only record of the annunciation to Mary found in canonical scripture.

In the verses following the annunciation, Mary goes to visit her cousin Elizabeth, who is pregnant in old age with her first child, a son who comes to be known as John the Baptist. Upon her arrival, John moves about in Elizabeth's womb, which prompts her to declare of Mary:

You are blessed among women and the fruit of your womb. And how can this be for me that the mother of my Lord should come to me? For behold, as the sound of your greeting came to my ears, the child in my womb leapt in exultation. And blessed is the one believing that there will be fulfillment for the things said to her by the Lord.²¹

The line in verse 42, εὐλογημένη σὺ ἐν γυναιξίν, "Blessed are you among women," is also present in *The Protoevangelium of James*. Luke's annunciation account to Mary does not include this phrase, yet in the annunciation account in the *Protoevangelium*, it is Gabriel, not Elizabeth, who speaks these words to Mary (11:2). This distinction in the account and in the wording of the annunciation also occurs in the Duke papyrus, suggesting a connection to the *Protoevangelium*. For instance, the hymn on the *verso* of the papyrus contains the adjective εὐλογητός, "blessed," twice (*verso* ln. 9, 13). This use of εὐλογητός in relation to Mary in the annunciation hymn on the Duke papyrus draws a connection not to Luke alone but to the *Protoevangelium* as well.

5. Comparison of Annunciation Accounts

The use of the word εὐλογητός is not the only instance of a conflation between the *Protoevangelium* and the Bible in the Duke papyrus. The narrative of the annunciation in the *Protoevangelium of James* is similar to the annunciation in Luke, and many of the same phrases are used in both texts. The overlap is due to the likelihood that, since the *Protoevangelium* was written after Luke and the other gospels, the author of the *Protoevangelium* had read Luke and had then incorporated portions of the gospel into his own writing. Despite the similarities, enough differences exist between the accounts in Luke and the *Protoevangelium* to demonstrate that the annunciation hymns on the Duke papyrus are not only part of the biblical tradition but are influenced by the *Protoevangelium* as well.

The connection between Luke and the Duke papyrus is immediately apparent. Both the *recto* and *verso* of the papyrus quote Gabriel using the word συλλαμβάνω, which means in this context "to conceive" (*recto* ln. 6, *verso* ln. 11). While this word also occurs in the *Protoevangelium*, the hymns more closely parallel the language of Luke when this word is used. In particular, the verb is used in Luke 1:31: καὶ ἰδοὺ συλλήμψῃ ἐν γαστρὶ, "And behold, you will conceive in your womb." On the *recto* (ln. 6) the word appears as a participle: Ὦν ἔτεκες ἐν γαστρὶ συλλαβοῦσα, "having conceived the one whom you bore in your womb." Of particular note is the use of συλλαμβάνω with γαστρὶ, a combination which occurs prominently in Luke. This connection is even more closely drawn in the *verso* (ln. 11), where the phrase appears almost identically to that in Luke: Ἰδοὺ συνλήμψῃ ἐν γαστρὶ, "Behold, you will conceive in the womb." Both uses in the hymns on the papyrus appear with the word γαστρὶ, "womb," like Luke, whereas in the *Protoevangelium*, Gabriel tells Mary, συλλήψει ἐκ λόγου αὐτοῦ, "You will conceive from his word." The similar language used in Luke and on the papyrus, especially on the *verso*, connects the composition of the hymns to the orthodox annunciation account found in the Bible.

However, the influence of the *Protoevangelium* is more evident after an examination of the forms of address used for Mary in the hymns. For example, Mary is addressed in the Duke hymns as both Μαριάμ (*recto* ln. 11) and Μαρία (*verso* ln. 10), which are the two main forms of her name used in the few biblical and extra-biblical texts in which she appears. Luke uses Μαριάμ exclusively, as in 1:30: καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἄγγελος αὐτῇ· μὴ φοβοῦ, Μαριάμ, "And the angel said to her, 'Do not fear, Mary.'" This phrase is nearly identical to that found in the hymn on the *recto*: [Μ]ὴ φοβοῦ Μαριάμ ὁ Γαβριὴλ ἐβόησεν, "'Do not fear, Mary,' Gabriel commanded" (ln. 11). The *Protoevangelium* is clearly part of the same tradition: καὶ ἰδοὺ ἔστη ἄγγελος ἐνώπιον αὐτῆς λέγων· Μὴ φοβοῦ, Μαρία· "And behold an angel stood facing her, saying, 'Do not fear, Mary'" (11:5). The difference in the *Protoevangelium* is Mary's name, which is almost always Μαρία as it is in 11:5.²² Mary F. Foskett argues that the subtle variance in Mary's name reflects a distinction in the portrayal of Mary in Luke and the *Protoevangelium*.²³ Luke creates a connection between Mary and the Old Testament sister of Moses, Miriam. He links them not only by their names, Miriam and Mariam, but also by what Foskett calls their "prophetic vocation," which is exhibited in the *Song of Miriam* (Exodus 15) and the *Magnificat* (Luke 1:46-55).²⁴ Both the *Song of Miriam* and the *Magnificat* are

songs of thanksgiving for the salvation of the people: Miriam's people were saved from slavery in Egypt and Mary was to give birth to the Messiah who would save the Jews. The arrangement of the *Magnificat* contains phrases corresponding to those in the *Song of Miriam*. For example, the *Magnificat* begins in Luke 1:46, "My soul magnifies the Lord," which echoes the beginning of the *Song of Miriam* in Exodus 15:1, "Sing to the Lord, for he has triumphed gloriously."²⁵ The *Magnificat* continues in Luke 1:52, "He has brought down the powerful from their thrones," like the *Song of Miriam* in Exodus 15:4, "Pharaoh's chariots and his army he cast into the sea." This similar language highlights Luke's interest in linking Miriam and Mary.²⁶ On the other hand, the *Protoevangelium*'s use of Μαρία links Mary not back to a biblical archetype but forward as a figure of purity and veneration in her own right.²⁷ The use of Μαρία rather than Μαριάμ in the annunciation account on the *verso* of the Duke hymn links the papyrus to the tradition of the *Protoevangelium*, which views Mary as a virginal figure:

[Κ(αί) νὺν] ἰδοὺ <δοῦ>λῃ ὡς κατέθ<ετ>ο κυρίου Μαρία (γέ)νοιτο μοι καθ' ὅπερ <ε>ῖπες... (*verso* ln. 10)

And now behold the servant of the Lord,' (said) Mary, "As it was laid out, let it happen to me according to the very thing which you said."

This is nearly identical to the last verse of the annunciation account found in the *Protoevangelium*:

Καὶ εἶπε Μαρία· ἰδοὺ ἡ δούλῃ κυρίου κατενώπιον αὐτοῦ· γένοιτό μοι κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμά σου. (11:5)

"And Mary said, "Behold the servant of the Lord before you; let it be to me according to your word."

The use of Μαρία in the Duke hymn and the *Protoevangelium* are part of a later non-canonical tradition that emphasizes Mary as pure and virginal rather than an Old Testament archetype.

The issue of Mary's virginity appears even more explicitly in the hymns on the Duke papyrus in the title παρθένος. The hymn on the *verso* addresses Mary as παρθένος, "virgin," three times (ln. 9, 11, 14). The last of these instances calls Mary not only παρθένος but ἀειπαρθένη, "ever-virgin." Both Luke and the *Protoevangelium* use παρθένος to describe Mary. Luke 1:27 uses παρθένος to explain that Gabriel was sent to a virgin named Mary in the town of Nazareth. In chapter 10 of the *Protoevangelium of James*, Mary is among the παρθένοι chosen by the high priests to sew the veil for the temple. However, as discussed above, one purpose of the *Protoevangelium of James* was to overwhelm the reader with examples of Mary's purity. This was accomplished in particular by explaining that Mary was a virgin both before and even after the birth of Jesus.²⁸ This insistence that Mary was forever a virgin permeates later discussions of Mariology and is reflected in the Duke hymn's use of the phrase ἀειπαρθένη.²⁹

Mary's purity is also crucial to her designation as the Second Eve, and the title Eve appears once in the hymn on the *verso* (ln. 13). Eve was not linked to Mary explicitly in canonical scripture, but the association of Mary as a Second Eve arose out of the belief in the totality of Mary's purity. Whereas Eve was created by God from the rib of Adam, Mary was miraculously conceived, and each came into being by means other than the impurity of sexual intercourse.³⁰ Early Christian writers emphasized Mary's obedience to God in contrast to Eve's disobedience in the argument that Mary was the Second Eve.³¹ However, Mary could not surpass Eve in obedience if she had not originated like Eve in purity, and, again, proof of Mary's purity was one major purpose of the *Protoevangelium of James*.

Theotokos is another title given to Mary in the Duke hymns that distinguishes them as hymns influenced by not only the biblical annunciation account but by extra-biblical sources as well. The title is important in the discussion of the Duke hymns because it occurs three times in the text. Like the doctrine of Mary as the Ever-Virgin, this is not a title or concept that appears explicitly in the New Testament, but the potential for the belief is present in the *Protoevangelium of James*, and so the title begins to appear in later Christian texts.³² The controversy surrounding the use of Theotokos was imbedded in the debate over whether or not Jesus was divine, a belief that neither Luke nor the *Protoevangelium* contradict. However, for some members of the church, the argument for Jesus' divinity was contingent on the perfection and purity of Jesus, and he could not be pure if his human mother was not. According to Hock, since the purpose of the *Protoevangelium* was to demonstrate Mary's purity from birth, "the Infancy Gospel of James attempts to prove that Mary is qualified to be the mother of God," even if the title itself does not appear in the text.³³ After four centuries of debate, the consensus at the Third Ecumenical Council in Ephesus in 431CE was to allow the use of Theotokos as a theologically acceptable title for Mary.³⁴ By the time the Council of Ephesus had made this decision, Theotokos was already widely used in the hymns of the church fathers, well before it appeared in the Duke hymns.

These connections between the hymns on the papyrus and the *Protoevangelium of James* demonstrate that the hymns were written with many themes found not in Luke—and, indeed, not in the other canonical gospels—but in the *Protoevangelium* and similar apocryphal texts. That is not to say that the hymns were not also influenced by Luke, since similarities exist between them as well as the annunciation account found in the *Protoevangelium of James*. But the presence of these words, phrases, and ideas about Mary, including her perpetual virginity, her designation as the mother of God, and her connection with Eve, confirm that the hymns were written in the line of hymns influenced by the *Protoevangelium of James* and other non-canonical texts.

6. Hymnology

These notions of Mary as a perpetual virgin and the mother of God are not unique to the Duke hymns, but they appear in a broader tradition of hymns, which were influenced by non-canonical Christian texts as well as biblical scripture. The roots of Christian hymnody arise in Jerusalem and the Levant where Christianity emerged from its Jewish forerunner.³⁵ As such, many early Christian hymns and chants were directly derived from Jewish hymns. The Jewish community took the content of their hymns first and foremost from the psalms.³⁶ The origin of the psalms dates to before and during the time of the Jewish exile in Babylon (586-538BCE).³⁷ While in Babylon, the Jews created a Psalter, a collection of their psalms that they could use during worship.³⁸ The early Christians inevitably inherited the methods of Jewish hymnody from Judaism, since many Christians identified themselves as both Jewish and Christian and considered their new religion the fulfillment of the Old Testament.³⁹

While some of the authors of the New Testament, such as Luke, may have been Gentile Christians, others, and particularly Paul, were Jewish Christians. Paul used a number of his epistles to incorporate many of the Jewish scriptures and psalms as part of his argument for Jesus as the promised Messiah. For this reason, the New Testament quotes the book of Psalms more frequently than any other Old Testament book.⁴⁰ This incorporation of the psalms was particularly effective for the burgeoning religion because they were well known and easily recalled by the Jews. Therefore, the earliest Christian hymns resisted influence from the Hellenistic and Roman cultures in which they were written. As Ruth Ellis Messenger summarizes, “It is evident that the Christian hymns embedded in the books of the New Testament were not constructed after a classical model of this type. The influence of Old Testament poetry was too strong, the associations of paganism repellant and, moreover, the Greek poetry, familiar to the average man of that day, quite different.”⁴¹

However, as Christians began to develop their own theology, their hymns started to evolve to express their new beliefs and to distinguish themselves from Old Testament Jewish tradition. These hymns were similar in structure and language to the psalms, but the content was changed to reflect beliefs unique to Christianity.⁴² For example, portions of the New Testament have Jewish poetic characteristics but Christian doctrine and may have been derived from, or related to, hymns circulating in the Christian community.⁴³ Philippians 2:5-11 is one such passage:⁴⁴

May you bear this in your mind which was also in Christ Jesus, who, being in the form of God, he did not regard equality with God to be a prize, but he emptied himself taking the form of a slave, being born in the likeness of men; and having been found in form as a man he humbled himself, being obedient even to death, even to death on a cross. And on which account God exalted him exceedingly and he gave to him the name above every name, in order that at the name of Jesus every knee should bend in the heavens and in the earth, and under the earth and every tongue should confess in full that Jesus Christ is Lord to the glory of God the Father.⁴⁵

Following a series of commands and exhortations, this passage of Philippians suddenly moves to an assertion of doctrinal faith and ends in a formulaic statement of praise. Likewise, certain New Testament passages contain direct quotations from the Old Testament redelivered in a Christian context. For example, the refrain “Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts” found in Isaiah 6:3 reappears in a hymn in Revelation 4:8, “Holy, holy, holy, the Lord God the Almighty.”⁴⁶

Not only were Old Testament passages used as hymns in the New Testament, but some of the hymns written by the early church were also included in the books of the New Testament. Christians in Late Antiquity also began to write hymns from passages of the New Testament, just as early Christians had written their hymns from the Old Testament. Luke’s Gospel contains hymns that were written either by early Christians and used in worship at the time Luke wrote his gospel or written by Luke himself. For example, Mary’s words after she visits her cousin Elizabeth become known as the *Magnificat* (Luke 1:46-55).⁴⁷ At ten verses, it is easily the longest speech by Mary anywhere in the Bible. This passage was almost immediately incorporated into the source material for Christian

hymns and chants, which had been, for so long, exclusively made up of the Jewish psalms.⁴⁸ Passages from the other gospels, the epistles, and especially the book of Revelation were also adapted in the Late Antique church and were included in worship along with the hymns from the Old Testament psalms.

For example, one of the oldest surviving Christian hymns found outside of the Bible or the apocryphal texts is preserved on a papyrus from Oxyrhynchus in Egypt.⁴⁹ This papyrus, P.Oxy.1786, has been dated to the latter half of the 3rd century CE.⁵⁰ The strip of papyrus contains only the last five lines of the hymn, but from that it is nevertheless possible to determine the basic topic of the hymn and discern a correlation between Scripture and the hymn. Grenfell and Hunt provide the text in their multivolume collection of the papyrological findings at Oxyrhynchus, and a translation of the last two lines demonstrates a biblical link:

“While we hymn Father and Son and Holy Spirit let all creation sing amen, amen, Praise, Power...to the one Giver of all good things, amen, amen.”⁵¹

These few lines echo passages from both the Old Testament and the New Testament:

Therefore if you, being evil, know how to give good gifts to your children, how much more will your father who is in heaven give good things to the ones who ask him.⁵²

“Let the heavens be glad, and let the earth rejoice.”⁵³

This conflation of Jewish psalms and Christian doctrine led to disagreements over the appropriate content of the text, particularly at a time when the New Testament had not been codified and made canonical. As Egon Wellesz explains, “Because these hymns were free paraphrases of the biblical text, and not exclusively based on the words of the Scriptures, there was an orthodox reaction against them in the third century.”⁵⁴ In fact, during the Council of Laodicea in 367 CE, music was prohibited in worship to the point that instruments were banned, and it was decided that only the Scriptures could be used as the text for singing.⁵⁵

Part of the reason for this reaction was the increasing incorporation of apocryphal and pseudepigraphal texts.⁵⁶ The influence of non-canonical gospels was evidently widespread. For example, manuscripts of the Gospels of Peter and Thomas, both originating in Syria, have been found in various locations in Egypt, and translations of portions of the *Protoevangelium of James* have been found in many languages, including Sahidic Coptic, Syriac, Armenian, and Arabic.⁵⁷ As Paul Foster writes, the *Protoevangelium of James* was, in particular, one of the most influential and widespread of these pseudepigraphal gospels:

Also at a specific level, there is one gospel text (if it is correct to call it a gospel) that demonstrably had huge popular appeal, wide circulation and made an indirect impact on some of the Christological debates of the fourth and fifth centuries. That text is now known as the *Proteuangelium of James*.⁵⁸

Because of its widespread popularity, the influence of the *Protoevangelium* can be felt in Christian hymns at a similar level as that of the canonical texts.

As a final note, beyond canonical and non-canonical texts, some hymns written at this time began to feel the influence of Gnosticism. Gnostic ideals were particularly concerned with principles such as the evil of the physical and the purity of the spirit. Gnostic hymns exhibited Greek influence, resulting in changes in meter, style, and terminology. For example, the Odes of Solomon, written sometime in the 2nd or 3rd century CE, are forty Gnostic Christian hymns that demonstrate some of these changes.⁵⁹ Ode 19 is an annunciation hymn very different from the accounts found in Luke or the *Protoevangelium of James*:

The womb of the Virgin took (it),
And she received conception and brought forth:
And the Virgin became a mother with great mercy;
And she travailed and brought forth a Son without incurring pain;
For it did not happen without purpose.⁶⁰

The claim in Ode 19 that Mary gave birth without pain indicates its Gnostic influence. This type of language is absent from the Duke hymns, and in fact both hymns contain references to Jesus becoming mortal which are reminiscent of Philippians 2:6-7 quoted above. The hymn on the *recto* says in reference to Jesus, “not considering it unworthy to become mortal” (ln. 9), and the hymn on the *verso* says that Jesus “put on man’s form” (ln. 7) and calls

Mary “mortal Eve” (ln. 13). Thus it is clear that the hymns on the papyrus come more from the tradition of the *Protoevangelium of James* and are not among the hymns heavily influenced by Gnosticism. While some later annunciation hymns include references like the one above to Mary giving birth painlessly, occurrences of titles like Theotokos and Eve in the context of the annunciation in the Duke hymns still indicate a concern with Mary’s bodily experience. Whatever Gnostic connections exist are secondary to the influence of doctrines connected to the *Protoevangelium*. The influences apparent in the Duke hymns become more evident alongside other annunciation hymns.

7. Christian Hymns Concerning the Annunciation

Many of the annunciation hymns written in the centuries leading up to the 7th century CE invoked Mary with the same titles found in the Duke hymns. For example, Gabriel and the Virgin are central in the early annunciation hymn that appears in the 2nd century Sibylline Oracles:

But in the latest times the earth he passed,
And coming late from the virgin Mary's womb
A new light rose, and going forth from heaven
Put on a mortal form. First then did Gabriel show
His strong pure form; and bearing his own news
He next addressed the maiden with his voice:
"O virgin, in thy bosom undefiled
Receive thou God." Thus speaking he inbreathed
God's grace on the sweet maiden; and straightway
Alarm and wonder seized her as she heard,
And she stood trembling; and her mind was wild
With flutter of excitement while at heart
She quivered at the unlooked-for things she heard.
But she again was gladdened and her heart
Was cheered by the voice, and the maiden laughed
And her cheek reddened with a sense of joy,
And spell-bound was her heart with sense of shame.
And confidence came to her. And the Word
Flew into the womb, and in course of time
Having become flesh and endued with life
Was made a human form and came to be⁶¹

In this account of the annunciation, “a new light rose” at Jesus’ birth, and Jesus “puts on mortal form.” These phrases are similar to the ones found in the hymn on the *verso* of the Duke papyrus: [Σὺ ἐ]κάκτω ἐνὶνθρώπῃσας (καὶ) κόσμῳ φῶς ἀνέτειλες (*verso* ln. 7), “You put on man’s form for each and you brought forth a light to the world.” In the oracle, like in the *Protoevangelium*, a trembling Mary looks and around is told that she will conceive by the Word. She is called “undefiled,” a description found also in the Duke hymns (*recto*, ln. 5) which, alongside the address “virgin” in the Duke hymns and this hymn, connects the hymn to texts like the *Protoevangelium* in which her purity is at the forefront.

In the 4th century CE, Gregory of Nyssa wrote at least two Christian hymns concerning the annunciation.⁶² These hymns are filled with language similar to that found in the Duke hymns. The structure of each hymn involves repetition of the phrases which, like the address to Mary in the *Protoevangelium*, mix Gabriel’s words to Mary in Luke’s annunciation with Elizabeth’s words later in Luke 1: “Hail, o full of grace,...the Lord is with you,...Blessed are you among women.”⁶³ Beyond the connection in this phrase to both the *Protoevangelium* and Luke, one hymn also contrasts Mary to Eve:

Hail, o full of grace!
Your ancestress, Eve, transgressing,
Was condemned to bear her sons in pain.
You, on the contrary, he fills with joy.
She gave birth to Cain

And with him, envy and death.
You, on the contrary, beget a son
Who is for all the source of life incorruptible.⁶⁴

Although the reference to Mary giving birth without pain is likely due to Gnostic influence, the contrast between Mary and Eve is an extra-biblical concept connected to the *Protoevangelium* and found in the Duke hymns. Like the hymns on the papyrus, this hymn focuses on the purity of Mary as opposed to the failure of Eve, which qualified her to give birth to the Son of God. Once again, the prominence of Mary's purity in this hymn indicates that it grew out of the tradition of hymns modeled not on the biblical account alone but also on apocryphal and pseudepigraphal texts like the *Protoevangelium of James*, from which the Duke hymns also arose.

One of the most famous Greek hymns written to Mary the Theotokos is called the "Acatistus," written sometime in the late 5th or early 6th century.⁶⁵ The hymn praises Mary as Theotokos, Virgin, and even once as the protector of virgins.⁶⁶ Like the hymn on the *verso* of P.Duk.inv. 766, the speaker in the "Acatistus" discusses the singing of hymns to Mary, saying "The Creator of heaven and of earth made you thus immaculate, to dwell within your womb and to teach all to sing to you."⁶⁷ The hymn on the *verso* says similarly, "and we shout, oh immaculate one...whom in triads and in monads we laud in hymns" (ln. 8). More important than these statements about hymns is the address in both to Mary as "immaculate" and the indications of her purity. Like the *Protoevangelium*, the "Acatistus" claims that Mary was a virgin before and after the birth of Jesus: "They are unable to explain how you still remain a virgin, though having given birth."⁶⁸ The belief in Mary's perpetual virginity is argued for explicitly in the *Protoevangelium of James* 19, and it appears in the hymn on the *verso* when Mary is called "Ever-Virgin" (ln. 14).

This hymn along with the others discussed above all contain Mariological elements present in the *Protoevangelium* that later appear in the Duke hymns. The attention to the purity of Mary in these hymns and the hymns on the Duke papyrus, evinced by titles like Theotokos, Eve, Virgin, and Immaculate, reveal the influence of pseudepigraphal texts like the *Protoevangelium of James*, central to which is Mary's purity. These hymns demonstrate that within the variety of annunciation hymns written throughout the centuries following the writing of the New Testament, some hymns fall into the same category as the hymns on the Duke papyrus. They are all influenced by the same Mariological doctrines that have grown out of non-canonical texts like the *Protoevangelium of James*.

8. Conclusion

As this paper has shown, the influence of the annunciation account in Luke was not the only source of information from which the Duke hymns were written. Rather, many aspects of the hymns that seem to stray from or add to Luke's account can be seen in the *Protoevangelium* and are clearly part of this tradition. While certain words and phrases like συνλήμψη ἐν γαστρὶ and Μαριάμ link the hymns directly to Luke's annunciation account, the presence of εὐλογητὸς and Μαρία indicate that the hymns on the Duke papyrus were influenced by the annunciation accounts from both Luke and the *Protoevangelium*.

The use of the titles Theotokos, Eve, and Ever-Virgin on the Duke papyrus further point to an overarching concern with Mary's purity, which, as has been demonstrated, draws a striking connection to the *Protoevangelium of James*. A vast body of hymns emerged from these mariological doctrines dependent on Mary's purity. Like some of the annunciation hymns discussed above, the hymns on the Duke papyrus are saturated with doctrinal elements established in the purity of the Virgin Mary. Thus it is clear that the hymns on P.Duk.inv. 766 were written in the tradition of the *Protoevangelium of James*.

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10. References

- 1 A comparison of the more distinguishing letters found on both the *recto* and *verso* indicate that the same individual wrote the text on both sides of the papyrus.
- 2 My argument for a 7th century date is determined by comparing the more distinctive letters found on both the *recto* and the *verso*, particularly the δ, ζ, κ, ψ, and ω, to examples given in Harrauer, Hermann, 2010, *Handbuch der griechischen Paläographie*, 2 vols., Stuttgart: Hiersemann. Letters tended to have similar characteristics to those found in the Duke papyrus in the 7th century CE and therefore indicate that the hymns on P.Duk.inv. 766 were written during that time.
- 3 Gampel, A., and C. Grassien, 2013, “P.Duke inv. 766 : le plus ancien témoin papyrologique d’un Canon poétique avec annotations musicales?” Paper read at the 27th International Congress of Papyrology, 29 July-3 August, Warsaw, 2.
- 4 Gampel and Grassien 2013, Appendix.
- 5 Duke University, 1995, November, *P.Duk.inv. 766 R (image)*, Duke Papyrus Archive, <http://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/papyrus/records/766r.html>.
- 6 Gampel and Grassien 2013, Appendix.
- 7 Duke University, 1995, November, *P.Duk.inv. 766 V (image)*, Duke Papyrus Archive, <http://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/papyrus/records/766v.html>.
- 8 Gampel and Grassien 2013, Appendix.
- 9 Hock, R. F., 1995, *The Scholars Bible*. Vol. 2, *The Infancy Gospels of James and Thomas*, Santa Rosa: Polebridge Press, 8. Hock (1995, 76) provides the Greek text: Ἐγὼ δὲ Ἰάκωβος ὁ γράψας τὴν ἱστορίαν ταύτην ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ θορυβίου γενομένου, ὅτε ἐτελεύτησεν Ἡρώδης. All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.
- 10 Hock 1995, 3.
- 11 Hock 1995, 9.
- 12 Hock 1995, 9.
- 13 Foster, P., 2007, “The Protoevangelium of James,” *The Expository Time*, 118(12): 573-582, *Sage Journals*, <http://0-ext.sagepub.com.wncln.wncln.org/content/118/12/573.full.pdf+html>, 574. Many of the manuscripts have been dated to nearly the Middle Ages, but the oldest copy, the Bodmer V papyrus, dates to the third century CE, and two other fragments, the PSI 1.6 and the P.Oxy. 3524, date from the fifth and sixth centuries respectively.
- 14 Hock 1995, 11.
- 15 Pelikan, J., 1996, *Mary Through the Centuries: Her Place in the History of Culture*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 47.
- 16 *Protoevangelium of James 11:1-9*. Hock (1995, 50-52) provides the Greek text: Καὶ ἔλαβεν τὴν κάλπιν καὶ ἐξῆλθεν γεμίσει ὕδωρ· καὶ ἰδοὺ φωνὴ λέγουσα αὐτῇ· Χαῖρε, κεχαριτωμένη· ὁ κύριος μετὰ σοῦ· εὐλογημένη σὺ ἐν γυναιξίν. καὶ περιεβλέπετο τὰ δεξιὰ καὶ τὰ ἀριστερὰ Μαρία πόθεν αὕτη εἶη ἡ φωνή. καὶ ἔντρομος γενομένη εἰσῆει εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτῆς καὶ ἀναπαύσασα τὴν κάλπιν ἔλαβεν τὴν πορφύραν καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ εἵλεν αὐτήν. καὶ ἰδοὺ ἔστι ἄγγελος ἐνώπιον αὐτῆς λέγων· Μὴ φοβοῦ, Μαρία· εὗρες γὰρ χάριν ἐνώπιον τοῦ πάντων δεσπότου. συλλήψει ἐκ λόγου αὐτοῦ. ἡ δὲ ἀκούσασα Μαρία διεκρίθη ἐν ἑαυτῇ λέγουσα· εἰ ἐγὼ συλλήσομαι ἀπὸ κυρίου θεοῦ ζώντος, καὶ γεννήσω ὡς πᾶσα γυνὴ γεννᾷ, καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἄγγελος κυρίου· οὐκ οὕτως, Μαρία· δύναμις γὰρ θεοῦ ἐπισκιάσει σοι· διὸ καὶ τὸ γεννώμενον ἅγιον κληθήσεται υἱὸς ὑψίστου. καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν· αὐτὸς γὰρ σώσει τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν. Καὶ εἶπε Μαρία· ἰδοὺ ἡ δούλη κυρίου κατενώπιον αὐτοῦ· γένοιτό μοι κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμά σου.16
- 17 Pelikan 1996, 12.
- 18 Pelikan 1996, 8.
- 19 Hock 1995, 15.
- 20 Luke 1:26-38. Aland, B., K. Aland, J. Karavidopoulos, C. Martini, and B. Metzger, eds., 2001, *Nestle-Aland Greek-English New Testament*, 9th ed., Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 152-153: Ἐν δὲ τῷ μηνὶ τῷ ἕκτῳ ἀπεστάλη ὁ ἄγγελος Γαβριὴλ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς πόλιν τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἣ ὄνομα Ναζαρέθ πρὸς παρθένον ἐμνηστευμένην ἀνδρὶ ᾧ ὄνομα Ἰωσήφ ἐξ οἴκου Δαυὶδ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς παρθένου Μαριάμ. καὶ εἰσελθὼν πρὸς αὐτήν εἶπεν· χαῖρε, κεχαριτωμένη, ὁ κύριος μετὰ σοῦ. ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ διεταράχθη καὶ διελογίζετο ποταπὸς εἶη ὁ ἄσπασμος οὗτος. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἄγγελος αὐτῇ· μὴ φοβοῦ, Μαριάμ, εὗρες γὰρ χάριν παρὰ τῷ θεῷ. καὶ ἰδοὺ συλλήμψῃ ἐν γαστρὶ καὶ τέξῃ υἱὸν καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν. οὗτος ἔσται μέγας καὶ υἱὸς ὑψίστου κληθήσεται καὶ δώσει αὐτῷ κύριος ὁ θεὸς τὸν θρόνον Δαυὶδ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ βασιλεύσει ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον Ἰακώβ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας καὶ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔσται τέλος. εἶπεν δὲ Μαριάμ πρὸς τὸν ἄγγελον· πῶς ἔσται τοῦτο, ἐπεὶ

ἄνδρα οὐ γινώσκω; καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ ἄγγελος εἶπεν αὐτῇ· πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐπελεύσεται ἐπὶ σέ καὶ δύναμις ὑψίστου ἐπισκιάσει σοι· διὸ καὶ τὸ γεννώμενον ἅγιον κληθήσεται υἱὸς θεοῦ. καὶ ἰδοὺ Ἑλισάβετ ἡ συγγενὴς σου καὶ αὐτὴ συνείληφεν υἱὸν ἐν γήρει αὐτῆς καὶ οὗτος μὴν ἕκτος ἐστὶν αὐτῇ τῇ καλουμένῃ στείρα· ὅτι οὐκ ἀδυνατήσει παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πᾶν ῥῆμα. εἶπεν δὲ Μαριάμ· ἰδοὺ ἡ δούλη κυρίου· γένοιτό μοι κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμά σου. Καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἀπ’ αὐτῆς ὁ ἄγγελος.

21 Luke 1:42b-45. Aland et. al. (2001, 153) provides the text: εὐλογημένη σὺ ἐν γυναιξίν καὶ εὐλογημένος ὁ καρπὸς τῆς κοιλίας σου. καὶ πόθεν μοι τοῦτο ἵνα ἔλθῃ ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ κυρίου μου πρὸς ἐμέ; ἰδοὺ γὰρ ὡς ἐγένετο ἡ φωνὴ τοῦ ἁσπασμοῦ σου εἰς τὰ ὠτά μου, ἐσκίρτησεν ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει τὸ βρέφος ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ μου. καὶ μακαρία ἡ πιστεύουσα ὅτι ἔσται τελείωσις τοῖς λελαλημένοις αὐτῇ παρὰ κυρίου.

22 Foskett, Mary F., 2005, “Miriam/Mariam/Maria: Literary Genealogy and the Genesis of Mary in the Protoevangelium of James,” In *Mariam, the Magdalen, and the Mother*, Edited by D. Good, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 68. Mary is infrequently called Μαριάμ in Tischendorf’s text and Μαριάμμη in two places in de Strycker’s text in 17:8, 10. Foskett argues that these instances are linked with Mary’s only prophetic speech in the *Protoevangelium*, and is therefore the only place where a connection to Miriam is acknowledged.

23 Foskett 2005, 64.

24 Foskett 2005, 64.

25 Foskett 2005, 64; all biblical texts not translated by this author are taken from the *New Revised Standard Version Bible*, 1989, New York: Division of Christian Education of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America. (NRSV).

26 Foskett 2005, 65.

27 Foskett 2005, 72.

28 Hock 1995, 15.

29 Foskett 2005, 69-70.

30 *Protoevangelium of James* 4 gives the account of an angel coming to Mary’s parents, Anna and Joachim, to announce that Anna will give birth in her old age. In the announcement to Joachim (vs. 4), the angel declares, ἰδοὺ ἡ γυνὴ σου Ἄννα ἐν γαστρὶ εἴληφεν, “Look, your wife Anna has conceived in her womb.” Hock (1995, 39) explains in his note for verse 4 that there is variance in the manuscripts over the tense of λαμβάνω, with some manuscripts containing the future tense and others using the perfect. Hock argues that, since the author emphasizes Mary’s purity throughout the *Protoevangelium*, the perfect tense is preferable and implies that the author assumed that Mary was, like Jesus, miraculously conceived.

31 Pelikan 1996, 43. For example, Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons, makes this claim in *Proof of the Apostolic Preaching*.

32 Pelikan 1996, 9.

33 Hock, R. F., 2001, “The Favored One: How Mary Became the Mother of God,” *BR* 17.3: 18.

34 Pelikan 1996, 16.

35 Reynolds, W. J., 1963, *A Survey of Christian Hymnody*, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 3.

36 Kraeling, C. H., and L. Mowry, 1954, “Music in the Bible,” In *Ancient and Oriental Music*, Edited by E. Wellesz. Vol. 1, *The New Oxford History of Music*, London: Oxford University Press, 304.

37 Coogen, M. D., ed., 2001, *The New Oxford Annotated Bible*, 3rd ed., New York: Oxford University Press, 975.

38 Reynolds 1963, 4.

39 See for example Matthew 5:17, “Do not think that I have come to abolish the law or the prophets; I have not come to abolish but to fulfill” (NRSV).

40 Kraeling and Mowry 1954, 304.

41 Messenger, R. E., 1942, “Christian Hymns of the First Three Centuries,” *The Papers of the Hymn Society*, Edited by C. F. Price, New York: The Hymn Society of America, *Internet Archive*,

<http://archive.org/details/ChristianHymnsOfTheFirstThreeCenturies>, 14. Isaiah 6:3 and Revelation 4:8, NRSV.

42 Kraeling and Mowry 1954, 305; Wellesz 1954, 3.

43 Messenger 1942, 7.

44 Messenger 1942, 8.

45 Aland et. al. 2001, 517-518: Τοῦτο φρονεῖτε ἐν ὑμῖν ὃ καὶ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ὃς ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων οὐχ ἄρπαγμόν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ, ἀλλὰ ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν μορφὴν δούλου λαβών, ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος· καὶ σχήματι εὐρεθεὶς ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἐταπείνωσεν ἑαυτὸν γενόμενος ὑπήκοος μέχρι θανάτου, θανάτου δὲ σταυροῦ. διὸ καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν ὑπερύψωσεν καὶ ἐχαρίσατο αὐτῷ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶν ὄνομα, ἵνα ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ πᾶν γόνυ κάμψῃ ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσῃται ὅτι κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ πατρὸς.

46 Messenger 1942, 7.

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- 47 Kraeling and Mowry 1954, 305.
- 48 Berselli, C., and G. Gharib, eds., 1982, *Sing the Joys of Mary: Hymns from the First Millennium of the Eastern and Western Churches*, Translated by P. Jenkins, Wilton, Connecticut: Morehouse-Barlow Co., Inc., 21.
- 49 Reynolds 1963, 7.
- 50 Grenfell, B. P., and A. S. Hunt, eds., 1922, “1786. Christian Hymn with Musical Notation,” Vol. XV, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, London: Oxford University Press, 21.
- 51 Wellesz, E., 1954, “Early Christian Music,” In *Early Medieval Music up to 1300*, Edited by D. A. Hughes, Vol. 2, *The New Oxford History of Music*, London: Oxford University Press, 4. Wellesz provides a translation of the hymn from υμνουντων in the third line to the end of the text. The Greek text is provided in Grenfell and Hunt (1922, 22):
- [31 letters] ονον πασαι τε θεου λογιμοι α.....αρ...
- [28 letters]...[πρ]θτανηω σιγατω μηδ'αστρα φαεσφορα λ[ειπ]ε
- [σ]θων[.]λει[.....]ρ[.....]ποταμων ποθιων πασαι υμνουντων δ'ημων
- [π]ατερα χ'υιον χ'αγιον πνευμα πασαι δυναμεις επιφωνουντων αμην αμην κρατος αινος
- [.....] δ[ωτ]η[ρι] μονω παντων αγαθων αμην αμην
- 52 Matthew 7:11. Aland, et. al. (2001, 16) provides the text: εἰ οὖν ὑμεῖς πονηροὶ ὄντες οἴδατε δόματα ἀγαθὰ διδόναι τοῖς τέκνοις ὑμῶν, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς δώσει ἀγαθὰ τοῖς αἰτοῦσιν αὐτόν.
- 53 Psalm 96:11, NRSV.
- 54 Wellesz 1954, 3.
- 55 Reynolds 1963, 8.
- 56 Kraeling and Mowry 1954, 301.
- 57 Foster 2007, 574.
- 58 Foster 2007, 573. “Protevangeliū” is a variant spelling of Protoevangelium used by Foster.
- 59 Berselli and Gharib 1982, 22.
- 60 Harris, R., and A. Mingana, 1920, *The Translation*. Vol. II, *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon*, Manchester: University Press, *Google Books*, http://books.google.com/books?id=wIBtAAAAIAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false, 298-299.
- 61 Terry, M. S., trans., 1899, *The Sibylline Oracles*, New York: Eaton and Mains, *Internet Sacred Text Archive*, <http://www.sacred-texts.com/cla/sib/sib.pdf>, 63.
- 62 Berselli and Gharib 1982, 30.
- 63 Berselli and Gharib 1982, 30.
- 64 Berselli and Gharib 1982, 30.
- 65 Berselli and Gharib 1982, 45.
- 66 Berselli and Gharib 1982, 46-47.
- 67 Berselli and Gharib 1982, 47.
- 68 Berselli and Gharib 1982, 46.