THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION

THE MONASTERIES OF THE WADI 'N NATRÛN

PART I

NEW COPTIC TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION ON THE LIBRARY AT THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS BY

HUGH G. EVELYN WHITE

WITH AN APPENDIX ON A COPTO-ARABIC MS. BY G. P. G. SOBHY



Reprinted by Arno Press • 1973

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The Death and Assumption of the Virgin (No. VIII B, frag. 1, recto).

PREFACE

The nucleus of the texts here published or described comprises a selection of the more important of the leaves and fragments found by me at the Monastery of Saint Macarius in the Wadi 'n Natrûn in the course of archaeological investigations carried out in 1920–1921 on behalf of the Egyptian Expedition of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. With these are grouped a number of other leaves and fragments, once belonging to the same MSS., which were recovered by Tattam in 1839 and Tischendorf in 1844. Fragments of texts already published or known to be extant in complete MSS. are merely described (with a collation wherever possible), unless their divergence from the recensions already known seems to justify publication in full. Owing to the shortness of the time during which I was permitted to retain the MSS., I have been able to deal with only a few of the liturgical groups.¹

My first care has been to secure transcripts as accurate as possible, but owing to the condition of the originals, torn, rubbed, faded and otherwise maltreated as they are, many passages must remain unintelligible: such passages, though obviously faulty, are printed as I copied them. Had I been able to retain the fragments longer, repeated examination would have removed some at least of these defects. The large and frequent lacunae have been filled in as far as possible: where they can be improved upon, Coptic scholars will doubtless replace these stop-gaps by other and sounder restorations. That they may be able to judge the length of the lacunae, the originals have been reproduced page by page, and line by line.² I have departed from this rule only in two or three of the more lengthy texts where lacunae are infrequent and where the lines of the original are too short to be reproduced without undue loss of space. For the rest, all features of the original—punctuation, diacritical marks, etc.—are reproduced (where visible) so far as modern type allows. The words have been divided throughout, not on any scientific system, but into their simplest elements.

I have not attempted to deal with the fragments of the numerous copies of the *Theotokia*: the new material has been utilized by Dr. De Lacy O'Leary in his *Coptic Theotokia* (London, 1923).

2 The nature of the Coptic script calls for relatively short lines, which were probably adopted for that very reason by the ancient scribes. The long lines of many modern editions are hard to follow and are wearisome to the eye.

PREFACE

The order of the texts themselves is determined by their contents. The Apocryphal Fragments (I-VIII), arranged in sequence, are followed by Hagiographical Texts, where, after material relating to the Archangels, Elias and others, the Diocletianic Martyrs naturally take precedence of the fourth and fifth century worthies (IX-XXXII). After two miscellaneous items (XXXIII *et seq.*) come a series of Homiletic and Ascetic Fragments (XXXV *et seq.*). The Biblical Fragments (XXXVII), which seemed to deserve no higher place, followed by the text of two Greek Anaphoras and by the remains of certain Coptic liturgical books, are treated, for the most part, summarily (XXXVIII). The series is concluded with a rough list of vocabulary fragments (XXXIX).

Appendix I contains the text of a number of leaves from an Arabic text inscribed in Coptic characters: these have been transliterated into ordinary Arabic script by Dr. G. P. G. Sobhy, who has also commented on the pronunciation of medieval Coptic as illustrated by these fragments. In Appendix II I have gathered up what information I could find relating to the Libraries of the Minor Coptic Monasteries: the Library at the Syrian Monastery is studied at length elsewhere.¹

The whereabouts of each fragment (Cairo, Leipzig, Manchester, or Cambridge) is of course indicated in every case. An Introductory Note describing the fragments included and dealing with the subject-matter has been prefixed to each group; additional notes (following the Text and Translation) have been found necessary in only a few cases. Since I lay no claim to Coptic scholarship, I have not attempted to deal with matters of grammar or lexicography, though I have tried to emend (always noting the reading of the original) what seemed to be sheer blunders in the texts. The aim of this publication is to make the Texts accessible to the ordinary student of Egyptian Christianity as well as to Coptic scholars, and it is for the former, of course, that the Translations are intended.

I am most deeply indebted first to S. E. Marcos Pasha Simaika, Director of the Coptic Museum in "Old Cairo," for the very great trouble he took in 1920–1921 to facilitate my work in the Monastery, as well as for permission granted me to publish the new-found fragments; and secondly to the Very Rev. El Kummus Maximus, Abbot of Dêr Abû Makâr, for his liberal and enlightened action in allowing me to remove the fragments from his Monastery to the Coptic Museum in Cairo. My cordial thanks are also due to the authorities of the University Library at Leipzig for permission to publish so many of the Tischendorf-leaves, and to Dr. Georg Steindorff, who most kindly secured for me that permission as well as photographs of all the leaves which I wished to copy. The Librarians of the University of Cambridge and of the John Rylands Library at Manchester have also been good enough to allow me to make full use of the Coptic fragments, derived from the Tischendorf and Tattam collections, under their charge.

To W. E. Crum I owe a peculiar debt of gratitude, first because it was at his suggestion

1 H.N.S., Excursus.

PREFACE

that I undertook the editing of these texts, and secondly for his never-failing help and guidance whenever I have applied to him. Wherever in this edition I have erred, it is because the particular point or passage has not been submitted to Crum. Dr. George Sobhy of Cairo has not only helped me with information on certain topographical points, but has consented to edit and translate the curious Copto-Arabic fragments published as an Appendix. To Dr. De Lacy O'Leary I am deeply indebted for consenting to revise and correct the proof-sheets of the same Appendix.

Finally—but very specially—my thanks are due to those who have made the publication of this work practically possible—to Edward S. Harkness for his signal and splendid generosity in undertaking the entire cost of production, and to Albert M. Lythgoe and H. E. Winlock for the unfailing support and encouragement they have afforded me during the preparation of this work as on numberless other occasions.

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HE untimely death of Evelyn White in the summer of 1924, while this volume—the first of several recording his brilliant researches into the history of the Monasteries of the Wadi 'n Natrûn—was yet in the press, has left to his associates the willing responsibility of carrying through, to the conclusion which he had planned, these results of his broad scholarship. White's study of these monuments, which had played so important a part in the history of the Early-Christian church in Egypt, took definite form in the autumn of 1917, when, incapacitated for further service with the British forces in Egypt by a general breakdown in health, he was able to undertake again the less exacting sides of the work of the Museum's Expedition, of which he had been a member from 1909 till 1915.

The earlier years of his connection with the Expedition had been spent at Khargeh Oasis and at Thebes. From 1909 to 1911 he assisted Winlock in the excavations which that branch of our Expedition had undertaken at the Temple of Hibis, in the Oasis, and copied the Greek decrees in the temple for eventual publication. At the same time he explored this northern end of the oasis for Greek inscriptions, devoting himself especially to the cataloguing of those in the Christian cemetery of El Bagawat.

In 1911-13 he was associated with Winlock in the Museum's excavations at Thebes at the Palace of Amenhotep III and in the Assasif—and in 1913-14, in the investigation of the Monastery of Epiphanius and neighboring Early-Christian sites in the Theban necropolis.

With the outbreak of the war in 1914 and his inability to secure admission to the British army in that first winter of the struggle, he returned to Thebes and, with the Expedition's programmes completely disrupted by the cataclysm, he made possible the resumption of our excavations and through the spring of 1915 superintended alone the clearing of a considerable additional area at the Palace of Amenhotep.

In the autumn of 1915, after persistent efforts he secured a commission in the British army and was eventually assigned to the force which was then engaged in throwing a

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railway across the Isthmus of Suez and advancing into Palestine. There his health, always precarious, finally broke down and in 1917 he was invalided out of the army with no hope of further entry.

Later in that year it proved possible for us to ask him to undertake a task, in preparation for which certain preliminary work had been carried out in 1910–11 by our Expedition a study of the architecture and history of the Monasteries of the Wadi 'n Natrûn. Beginning with the study of the history of the monasteries from literary sources, which included the investigation of original documents preserved in as many as four languages, he pursued his task unremittingly at Cambridge from 1917 to 1919, constantly expressing to us his gratitude for the facilities so readily afforded him by the authorities of the Library of Cambridge University and for the help of several British scholars whose aid he sought at times in their respective fields.

With this labor approaching completion, he returned to Egypt in the winter of 1919–20 and journeyed to the monasteries, spending some time there with the monks and conducting a careful study of the architectural and archaeological evidence exhibited by the structures. In the following winter of 1920–21 he made two further visits to the Wadi 'n Natrûn, on the first of which he was accompanied by two other members of our Expedition staff, Messrs Hauser and Burton, who coöperated with him in the completion of the exhaustive architectural survey and photographic record of the monasteries, on which the Expedition had previously worked in 1910–11.

In two comprehensive reports which White made to the Museum in those years¹ he outlines the main results of his researches and of his investigation of the monasteries during these visits—which were destined to be the last he would make to the Wadi 'n Natrûn and describes his discovery of the important documents which form the subject of the present volume. Nothing could illustrate more clearly some of the outstanding qualities in White's character than the record of accomplishment to which those reports bear witness —his whole-hearted interest and persistence in pressing an investigation; his thoroughness in whatever problem or task might be entrusted to him; and his invariable modesty concerning any such achievement which his untiring application and sound methods of work had produced.

White's larger labor on the history and the architecture of these monasteries had been so far concluded at the time of his death that his manuscript, to be published in two volumes, was in the process of revision preliminary to entering the press. While the work of revision which still remains to be done is a heavy one, owing to the scope and thoroughness of his investigation and the resultant mass of evidence which that labor yielded, it is our hope that the publication of the volumes may not be unduly delayed. Provision for

1 Cf. MMA. Bulletin, July, 1920, Part II and November, 1921, Part II.

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their publication, together with the present volume, had generously been made in 1922 by Mr. Edward S. Harkness, Chairman of the Committee on Egyptian Art.

The Museum is under a special debt of gratitude to W. E. Crum, who had given helpful advice and assistance to White in various matters relating to the Expedition's publications in which they were associated, and who later undertook to see the final pages of this volume through the press after White's death. We also wish to express our grateful appreciation to M. H. Davis for generous help in preparing for us the Index of Coptic words.

Albert M. Lythgoe.

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SYMBOLS AND SUMMARY ABBREVIATIONS

I. IN COMMENTARY, NOTES, ETC.

A.A.C.M.	= Architecture and Archaeology of the Coptic Monasteries in the Wadi 'n Natrûn.
<i>A</i> . <i>M</i> . <i>G</i> .	= Annales du Musée Guimet.
Apophth. Patr.	= Apophthegmata Patrum (in Migne's Patrologia Graeca LXV).
B.M. Cat.	= Catalogue of the Coptic MSS. in the British Museum.
<i>B.O.</i>	= Assemani's Bibliotheca Orientalis.
Bibl. Nat.	= Bibliothèque Nationale.
Cairo	= The Coptic Museum at the Church El Moallaka in "Old Cairo."
Cat.	= Catalogue, Catalogus.
Cod. Tisch.	= Codices Tischendorfiani (as catalogued by Leipoldt ap. Vollers, Katalog).
Cod. Vat. Arab	. – Codices Vaticani Arabici.
Cod. Vat. Copt.	. = Codices Vaticani Coptici (as catalogued in Mai's Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio, t. IV).
<i>C.S.C.O.</i>	= Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium.
C.U.L.	= Cambridge University Library.
Eth.	= Ethiopic.
<i>H.E.</i>	= Historia Ecclesiastica.
Hist. Patr.	= History of the Coptic Patriarchs.
H.N.S.	= History of the Monasteries of the Mount of Nitria and Scetis.
Lit. Or. Coll.	= Renaudot, Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio, Ed. п.
<i>P.G.</i>	= Migne's Patrologia Graeca.
<i>P.L</i> .	= Migne's Patrologia Latina.
<i>P.O.</i>	= Graffin-Nau, Patrologia Orientalis.
P.S.B.A.	= Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.
<i>R.O.C.</i>	= Revue de l'Orient Chrétien.
Rylands	= Catalogue of the Coptic MSS. in the John Rylands Library.
S.V.N.C.	= Mai, Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio.
T.S.B.A.	= Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.
Vollers, Kat.	= Katalog d. Islamischen, Christlich-OrientHss. d. Universitätsbibliothek zu Leipzig.

II. IN THE TEXT.

 $\langle \rangle$ indicate that the words enclosed have dropped out of the text.

[] indicate a lacuna owing to damage done to the original.

{ } indicate that the words or letters enclosed are superfluous.

() indicate the expansion of a contraction.

.... indicate that so many letters are missing or (if not within brackets) unrecognizable.

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

- P. 10 l. 4 nacons, read as Ms. (transl.), l. 2. For "my
- brethren," read "ye thieves" P. 14 (transl.), l. 2. For "have been cast away," read "had des-
- paired." P. 19, l. 14. Delete (na)
- P. 20, l. 14. For sune, read suns P. 30 (transl.), l. 3. For "spake unto him with harsh speech," read "threw mud at him"
- P. 34 (transl.), l. 6. Delete "lying"
- P. 41 (transl.), l. 11. For "with many miracles," read "daily till evening"

P. 43, l. 5. For mins, read corns

- P. 45, l. 11 monon, read as Ms.
 - " (transl.) F, l. 8. For "Only," read "else"
- P. 46, l. 1. For ωx2, read ωτ2 (?)
 - " (transl.), l. 2. For "material creatures," read "molten images"
- P. 47, 1. 5. For xaxwn, read xa- $\mathbf{x}\omega\mathbf{n}\mathbf{i}$
- P. 49, l. 8. For mnini, read mnini ,, note 2. For (Mon., read (Not.
- P. 50. Delete note 1 (text) " (transl.), l. 5. Delete "and enchantments"
- P. 51 vo. l. 2. For on [1, read фнот[1
 - vo. l. 8. For Tpe, read Tpe
- P. 52, l. 14. Delete $\langle na \rangle$
- P. 53 (transl.), l. 4. For "unto her," read "unto him," according to text as emended
- P. 54, note 7. For the appearance of Jesus as one of the children slain by Herod see Martyrdom of Matthew §§ 1, 3 (ed. Tischendorf, pp. 167 f., ed. Bonnet, pp. 217, 219)
- P. 63 vo. l. 17. For ymc, read wmc P. 67 vo. l. 29. For oue, read cue P. 68, l. 3. For mut, read mut Р. 70 vo. l. 3. For сфнри, read шфнри
- P. 74, l. 9. For wornghr, read wor прит
 - (transl.), l. 2. For "...of heart because of," read "but I have had patience respecting"
- P. 79, note 9. Add to authorities Synax. Amshir 10, ed. Basset, pp. 779 f.
- P. 87, note 9. After "Synax. Arab. Misra 1," add "ed. Basset, pp. 1239 f."

- P. 92, l. 1. For nehro 92, read nehiopi
- (transl.), l. 1. For "a dumb ,, man," read "a land-owner"
- P. 94, nn. 4, 5. The Synax., ed. Basset, pp. 1143 f., commemorates Thomas on Baûnah 27
- P. 95, note 4. For "see the Arabic Synax. Abîb 25 (ed. Forget, ii 244)," read "see Synax. Baunah 4, ed. Basset, pp. 1078 f."
- P. 96, l. 12. For nat on oworr, read παιό ποονωτ
 - (transl.), l. 4. For "(and) this statue also," read "these seventy idols,'
- P. 97 (transl.), l. 4 from below. For "ravenous," read "that had whelped"
- P. 100. Delete note 1
 - (transl.), l. 8 from below. For "Only," read "Verily"
- P. 101, l. 8. For ma nranon, read манкапон
 - (transl.), l. 3. For "guarded ,, the appointed place," read "turned the instrument"
- P. 102, note 4. Add "Astratole is mentioned, though not by name, in the Martyrdom of Thomas; see Synax., ed. Basset, pp. 1079 f."
- P. 104, note 7. After l. 1 add "see Synax., ed. Basset, pp. 1229 f."
 - For "Athûr," read ult. ,, "Abib;" and to note 10 add "see Synax., ed. Basset, pp. 1234 f."
- P. 108, l. 26. For conc, read comc P. 110 vo. l. 3. For meto coro, read
- MET9050
- P. 111, l. 27. For [eqpaot], read [eqpact]
- P. 112 vo. 11. 19, 25. For owort, read oovwr
 - (transl.), l. 5. For "these ,, insults I forgive thee," read "I am weary of forgiving thee"
- P. 116, l. 3. For cagt, read cagt
 - ,, vo. l. 5. For n[e]R, read ner
- P. 117 (transl.), l. 4 from below. For "Give thanks unto," read "By the weal of"
 - (transl.), l. 2 from below. For "Does not their God pro-

tect," read "Verily their God fights for"

- P. 117 (transl.), ult. For "dumb," read "deaf"
- P. 118 (transl.), l. 4. For "of gold," read "overlaid with"
 - (transl.), l. 4 from below. For "the pillar," read "each pillar." For "one pillar," read "throne"
 - (transl.), l. 2 from below. For "near the," read "by each." For "throne," read "thrones"
- P. 121 vo. l. 2. Delete (n1)
- P. 123 vo. l. 4. For Injor, read 20[46
- P. 125, l. 16. For Rot, read Rot
- P. 126 (transl.), ult. After "measures," add "of bread"
- P. 130 vo. l. 15. For xe namini, read sem
 - (transl.), l. 3 from below. ,, For "I fear," read "Needs must"
- P. 131 (transl.), l. 2. For "(will)," read "must needs"
 - (transl.), l. 5. For "He should speak of my visitation upon it," read "in which He shall visit me"
 - ,, note 7. For the first two lines read "Mesore 19. See Synax., ed. Basset, pp. 1276 f."
- P. 137 (transl.), l. 5. After "Heaven," add "whereby we ascend"
- P. 147, l. 25. For must, read <u>; и]¢</u>йøı
- P. 151, l. 24. For T[Enoan, read T ENOLM
- Р. 154 vo. l. 15. For шфір, read щфнр
- P. 159 vo. l. 10. For toong, read 469на
- P. 160 (transl.). For "thousand (sic)," read "hundred"
- P. 162 (transl.), l. 2. For "spring," read "canal"
- (transl.), l. 5. For "heat (?)," read "cooking food"
- P. 175, l. 6. For ns, read ns
 - ,, vo. l. 19. For рнт, read рн†
- P. 176, l. 22. For pwg, read pwc
 - Delete note 2 ,,
 - vo. 1. 22. Read антархн-,, enteronoe

THE LIBRARY AT THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS AND THE NEW MS. FRAGMENTS

1. The Monastic Libraries in General.

O Library, in the formal sense of that word, is known to have existed in Scetis (or at the Mount of Nitria, or Cellia) in the fourth and early fifth centuries. Nevertheless, the germs from which the later monastic institution developed were already present. Frequent references show that books were by no means rare as private possessions of the monks. Books are mentioned among the goods of Theodore of Pherme (fourth century) seized by robbers;¹ and the same monk consulted Macarius as to what he ought to do with the three cherished volumes which constituted his library.² Paphnouti of Scetis also was falsely charged with the theft of a volume which a malicious brother had hidden in his cell.³

Whether the possession of books was strictly lawful or no was an open question: Macarius advised Theodore to sell his books, even though he was accustomed to lend them to the brethren to their great edification; and Sarapion (as we shall see) was emphatic on the subject. Yet very many evidently considered such private possession to be legitimate.⁴

These private collections of books were kept in their owners' cells, where they were stored in cupboards ($\theta v \rho i \delta \epsilon s$)—niches recessed in the walls of the cells—as we gather from the *Apophthegmata Patrum*. Sarapion,⁵ for example, reproved a book-loving brother with the words: "You have taken that which belongs to widows and orphans and have placed it in this cupboard.' For he saw it full of books." And to a brother who boasted that he had written for himself a copy of the Old and New Testaments, one of the Fathers replied:

I Apophth. Patr., Theodore of Pherme, XXIX.

2 id. 1.

3 Cassian, Collationes, XVIII, 15.

4 The Tall Brothers possessed a collection of "excellent

and canonical books" which were burned by Theophilus: see Palladius, *Dialogus de Vita Johannis Chrysostomi* (Migne, P.G. XLVII, I, i, 24).

5 Sarapion 11.

Privately owned books

Bookcupboards

"You have filled your cupboards with papers."¹ Another saying shows that these recesses were ordinarily closed, for Amoi declared to his disciples, "I have seen men fleeing and leaving their cupboards littered with parchment books, nor did they (stay to) close the cupboard doors, but departed leaving them open."²

Before his death a monk (we may suppose) often gave away to his disciples or companions such books as he possessed. But in many cases books must have been left undisposed of. These would have become the property of the community in general and have been stored at the Church, as the center of the settlement. The Church, indeed, was the one place in a monastic settlement of the early Antonian type where books would most naturally collect, where they would be most accessible, and least likely to be dispersed. Here at least there must have been a series of books for liturgical use, lectionaries, and collections of homilies. And to these would be added important doctrinal manifestoes, such as the yearly Paschal Letters issued by the Patriarchs of Alexandria,³ or standard works like the "book of the holy Athanasius" wherewith Sisoes routed his Arian visitors.⁴ Possibly it was from such a collection that the superior visitor to the Mount of Nitria was furnished with the book with which he was expected to beguile his time.⁶ The Church, then, in all probability was the center at which the monastic Library began to develop into a formal institution.

In the earliest times books were brought into the monastic settlements from outside; but the avowed poverty of the monks makes it probable that most of the volumes current were either gifts or were produced by their own copyists, rather than trade-copies. These monastic copyists worked in their cells,⁶ either for their own support,⁷ or to furnish them-selves with reading-matter,⁸ or to accommodate others.⁹

So far as we can learn, the works thus produced were either copies of the Scriptures¹⁰ or theological and ascetic works: they were valued for their 'edifying' matter rather than for any literary quality; and there is little or no ground for the pious belief sometimes expressed that here and there the writings of a Greek poet or orator were copied and studied as works of art. Pagan literature was surely one of the "things of the world" which every serious-minded monk renounced—if, indeed, any were tempted to suchlike sin.

First direct evidence of a library in Scetis

Growing collections

Sources of supply

at the churches

It is in the latter part of the sixth century that we find the first definite evidence of a permanent library. This is a note inscribed in a Syriac MS. brought by Assemani from the Monastery of the Syrians to the Vatican.¹¹ It reads as follows: "This book was bought

4 Apophth. Patr., Sisoes xxv. The lemma prefixed to the Morgan Life of Maximus and Domitius asserts that 'Pshoi,' the author, wrote his work "in a volume (TOMOC) of papyrus and deposited it in the Church." 5 Palladius, Historia Lausiaca, Ch. VII.

7 As did Evagrius at Cellia (see Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca*, XXXVIII). 8 *R.O.C.* XVIII, p. 143, no. 385.

9 Apophth. Patr., Abraham III.

11 Assemani, Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae Catalogus III, no. CXLIII (pp. 245 ff.).

¹ R.O.C. XVIII (1913), p. 143 (no. 385) = Migne, P.L. LXIII, 929. 2 Apophth. Patr., Ammoes v.

³ See Cassian, *Collationes* x, 2. 2. Similarly in the Theban Monastery of Epiphanius a Paschal Letter of the Patriarch Damianus, as well as earlier documents, such as the Letter of Athanasius and the Anathemas of Cyril, were preserved —though, indeed, these were inscribed upon a wall.

⁶ See Apophth. Patr., Marcus I.

¹⁰ It is (or was) the opinion of Dr. Steindorff that the Bohairic Version of the New Testament originated in the 'Nitrian' Monasteries in the fourth or fifth century: see Nestle, *Einführung in d. griechische N.T.*, p. 107.

on the thirtieth day of the month Thamuz (July) in the year (of the Greeks) 887 (=576 A.D.) for the holy monastery of (*sic*) Scetis, in the days of the most religious Mar Theodore, the Abbot, by the gift of God and his (Theodore's) own money. This book he bought together with others, for the contemplation, reading, and spiritual advancement of all those who shall open it. May God (for Whose Name's sake he caused this treasure to be laid up in his own monastery) requite him... But whoso shall seek this book to read in it... and shall not return it to its owners, may he inherit the halter of Judas for ever. Amen."

Though Theodore's "own monastery" was probably no more than a 'cell' of Syrian monks attached to one of the Four Monasteries or Laurae, it is clear that this 'cell' as a body possessed a collection of books intended for the use of the brotherhood—that is to say, a Library in the technical sense. And we may surely infer that the 'cell' was not peculiar in this respect, but that in the later part of the sixth century (and probably much earlier) each Monastery in Scetis possessed its Library. Moreover, when in the first half of the seventh century Anan-Isho visited Scetis to gather material for his *Paradise of the Fathers*,¹ it is highly probable that, as a stranger, he found his documentary sources² in general collections rather than in the cells of individual monks.

2. The Earlier Libraries at the Monastery of Saint Macarius.

With a few possible exceptions³ all the books existing in the primitive Monastery of Saint Macarius, whether publicly or privately owned, must have perished in one or other of the Barbarian Raids which took place in 408, 434, and 444 A.D.⁴

Two events in subsequent history are likely to have favored the formation of a new and considerable Library. Late in the fifth century the Emperor Zeno bestowed on the

1 Thomas of Marga, *Book of the Governors*, ed. Budge 11, p. 175.

2 Abbot Butler (Lausiac History 1, 85 f.) shows that Anan-Isho incorporated a Syriac recension of the Lausiac History in his work, but he need not necessarily have found this in Scetis. He cannot have depended to any very considerable extent upon oral tradition, and we may conjecture accordingly that he made use of the lost Coptic work known as the Paradise of Shift ninapasercoc fite wint twice mentioned in the Life of Pisenti (ed. Amélineau, Mém. de l'Inst. égypt., 11, 339, 363), and more adequately noticed by Zacharias in the Life of John the Little (ed. Amélineau, A.M.G. XXV, 322 f.). It is there called The Book of the Old Men (TIXWM ANIDERNOI) or Paradise, and is described as relating the "deeds and sufferings" of a number of Fathers, who are named. Zacharias claims to have followed it closely in his biography of John. It was certainly a work of great renown; for it is mentioned together with a Paradise of 'Nitria' (Mngocm) on a Theban ostracon (see Crum, Coptic Ostraca, no. 250; cp. p. 63 and note).

3 e.g. the Life of Maximus and Domitius by 'Pshoi of Constantinople.' A note prefixed to the Morgan Ms. of this

Life (cp. Cauwenbergh, Étude sur les Moines d'Égypte, p. 71, note 4) states that the text was carried by Apa Isidoros from Scetis to the Hospice at Alexandria when the desert Monasteries were destroyed by the Mastiki (Mazices). It remained there until the days of the Patriarch Michael when it was restored by a deacon Eustathius to a monk of Scetis resident at Enaton. Cauwenbergh assumes that the destruction mentioned was the Sack of Scetis temp. Damian, and identifies the Patriarch Michael with Michael I (744-767). But the Apa Isidoros who rescued the book is certainly identified with the fourth-century Isidoros the Priest (who died, however, long before the first Sack of Scetis), and this statement at least must be fiction. That the book was saved during one of the Sacks of Scetis is probable enough, but (unless the date of the Morgan Ms. contradicts this) it is more likely to have been saved in the fifth and last Sack of the Monasteries (c. 817 A.D.) and restored under Michael II (850-851), or Michael III (881-909 ?). Yet the rescued Ms. is likely to have belonged to the Monastery of Baramûs rather than to the Monastery of S. Macarius.

4 *H.N.S.* 1, x, §§ 3 ff.

Earliest and subsequent collections

Monastery an annual subsidy, which afterwards became a permanent endowment, and thus enriched it materially.¹ Secondly, the transfer thither of the Patriarchal throne of the Monophysites at the middle of the sixth century added to the place a peculiar ecclesiastical importance.² Once more, however, any accumulation of books formed under these influences must have been dispersed when (towards the close of the sixth century) the Monastery was sacked for the fourth time.³

For many years after this disaster the Monastery remained in ruins and utterly depressed, and it is unlikely that any attempt to form a new Library can have been made until the changed conditions following on the Arab Conquest led to a vigorous period of restoration. Then indeed (if we may trust our documents) we find the Patriarch Benjamin I, who had come to the Monastery to consecrate a new church of Saint Macarius, instructing his *syncellus*, Agathos, to "bring forth the books which are requisite for the consecration."⁴ Presumably, therefore, the Monastery had already (about the middle of the seventh century) been reëquipped at least with indispensable service-books. Some years later we hear that a certain Abba George, *syncellus* of the Patriarch Simon I (689–701 A.D.), compiled a history of the Patriarchs from Cyril I to Alexander II († 730 A.D.) "in the *gebel* (desert) of the holy Abû Makâr in Wadi Habîb;"⁵ and it is reasonable to suppose that this work together with a copy of the more famous Chronicle by John of Nikiu⁶—was in the monastic collection. At the same period, possibly, there was to be seen there the voluminous correspondence of Peter III (Mongus) together with a letter of the Emperor Zeno.⁷

There is no evidence to show to what extent the Library was developed in the century following. The ninth century brings us to a crucial date in its history, for about 817 A.D. the Monastery was sacked for the fifth and last time.⁸ That sack was peculiarly thorough, and we shall hardly err in assuming that the Library hitherto existing was completely destroyed:⁹ certain it is that not a fragment of Ms. derived from this source can be ascribed to a date earlier than the ninth century.

3. The Library in the Middle Ages.

Reconstitution of the Library

Prompt and vigorous steps were taken to repair the disaster, and circumstances were peculiarly favorable. The Monastery held a practical monopoly of the Patriarchate. Not only was the Patriarch almost invariably chosen from among its inmates, but he had even

3 id. 11, iv, § 5. 4 Hist. Patr., p. 243.

5 *id.*, p. 344. In the eleventh century this work seems to have been at Nahya whither it may have been carried when the monks of Scetis fled to that place in the days of Benjamin I (cp. H.N.S. II, v), or at the sack of the Monastery in the ninth century. Possibly we have a fragment of this work in No. xxxI.

6 On John of Nikiu and his intimate association with the Monasteries of Scetis see *id.*, pp. 286 f.

7 *id.*, p. 183. But it is not certain whether this statement should be ascribed to the above-mentioned George or to the assistants of the tenth century Severus of Ashmunên who made some use of the earlier work in compiling the *History of the Patriarchs*. In the latter case the reference may be simply to the Ms. still extant: *Cod. Vat. Copt.* LXII, 4.

8 H.N.S. III, vi, vii.

9 A few damaged volumes may possibly have survived and have been recopied.

¹ *id*. 11, i, § 3. 2 *id*. 11, iii, §§ 1-3.

to submit to a secondary enthronement there; and there some of the most solemn rites of the Coptic Church were celebrated.¹ Thence, too, were drawn men to fill the episcopal sees, at any rate of northern Egypt. Then and through the greater part of the Middle Ages Dêr Abû Makâr was the premier monastery in Egypt: it was at once a semi-Patriarchal seat and a nursing-ground for future Patriarchs and prelates.

A fine and adequate Library was, therefore, not only in keeping with the dignity of such an institution, but, so far as study counted for anything, a necessity. Until the new catalogue of the Coptic Mss. (many of which were brought from Dêr Abû Makâr) in the Vatican is issued, it will be impossible to gauge with full assurance the growth of the Library; but the following list of dated or closely datable examples may roughly represent the development.²

- (I) 830 A.D. Translation of Saint Macarius (fragment).³
- (2) 884 A.D. Martyrdom of James the Persian, written by Cyriac, 'son' of the deacon Stauros, A.M. 600.⁴
- (3) Ninth century, Archelaus of Neapolis, Sermon on the Archangel Gabriel (by the same hand as the foregoing).⁵
- (4) 914 A.D. Martyrdom of Macarius of Antioch (written by Jacob, the 'son' of John Kamé).⁶
- (5) 918 A.D. Moses of Keft, Encomium on Pisenti of Keft (written by the same Jacob).⁷
- (6) 925 A.D. Martyrdom of Isaac of Tiphres (written by Theodore at the direction of Abbot (?) Abraham of Coltha).⁸
- (7) 933 A.D. Cyril of Alexandria, Homily on the Three Children.9
- (8) 956 A.D. Martyrdom of Saint George.¹⁰
- (9) 957 A.D. Dioscoros, *Elogium on Macarius of Theou* (written by Theodosius, 'son' of Mennas, priest of the Great Cell).¹¹
- (10) 962 A.D. Saint Athanasius, On the Three Patriarchs (written by a monk of Saint Macarius "whose name is known to God alone," when Chael was archpriest).¹²
- (11) 962 A.D. The Deaths of the Three Patriarchs.¹³
- (12) 962 A.D. Basil of Caesarea, Sermon on the Monastic Life.¹⁴
- (13) 979 A.D. Paphnouti, Life of Unefer (Onuphrius), written by Gabriel the Deacon.¹⁵
- (14) Tenth century (first half), Martyrdom of Theodore the Eastern.¹⁶
- (15) Tenth century, Gregory Nazianzen, Homily on the Sacrifice of Abraham (contains a note dated 995 A.D.).¹⁷
- (16) Tenth century, Gregory Nazianzen, Homily on Poverty (contains a later note dated 1025 A.D.).¹⁸
- (17) Tenth century, Martyrdom of Eusebius (contains later note as above).¹⁹
- (18) Tenth century, Martyrdom of Saint Luke.²⁰
- (19) Tenth century, Life of Macarius the Great.²¹
- (20) Tenth century, Menas, Elogium on Abba Macrobius.²²
- (21) Tenth century, Life of Joseph the Carpenter.²³
- (22) Tenth century, Life of Simeon of Mesopotamia.²⁴

2 Probably the ninth-century list should be largely increased.

3 Cod. Tisch. XXIV, fols. 22, 32, 24 (= No. XXIII D, below).

- 4 Cod. Vat. Copt. LIX (Hyvernat, Album, Pl. 21).
- 5 id. LIX (Hyvernat, Pl. 22).
- 6 id. LIX, 4 (Hyvernat, Pl. 22).
- 7 id. LXVI, 5 (Hyvernat, Pl. 42, 3).
- 8 id. LXVI, 3 (cf. Zoëga, Cat., no. XIX).
- 9 id. LXIX (Hyvernat, Pl. 24).
- 10 id. LXIII (Hyvernat, Pl. 26).
- 11 id. LXVIII, 7 (Hyvernat, Pl. 27).

12 *id.* LXVIII (Hyvernat, Pl. 29).
13 *id.* LXI (Hyvernat, Pl. 28).
14 *id.* LXVIII (Hyvernat, Pl. 29).
15 *id.* LXV, 3 (Hyvernat, Pl. 40).
16 *id.* LXI (Hyvernat, Pl. 41).
17 *id.* LXI (Hyvernat, Pl. 32).
18 *id.* LXVI, 12 (Hyvernat, Pl. 30).
19 *id.* LXVIII (Hyvernat, Pl. 31).
20 *id.* LXVIII (Hyvernat, Pl. 41).
21 *id.* LIX (Hyvernat, Pl. 41).
22 *id.* LVIII (Hyvernat, Pl. 33).
23 *id.* LXVI (Hyvernat, Pl. 34).
24 *id.* LXI (Hyvernat, Pl. 35).

Extant dated Mss.

¹ op. cit. 11, iii, §§ 1-3.

- (23) Tenth century, Alexander, Elogium on Peter of Alexandria.¹
- (24) Tenth century, Martyrdom of Peter of Alexandria.²
- (25) Tenth century, Sermon of John Chrysostom.³
- (26) 1067 A.D. History of Joseph the Carpenter.⁴
- (27) 1153 A.D. Acts of Isaac of Tipbres.⁵
- (28) 1211 A.D. Mark the Priest, Martyrdom of John of Phanidjôit (written by Peter, son of Abû 'l Farag).⁶
- (29) Twelfth-thirteenth century, Martyrdom of Saints John and Simeon (contains a miniature painting by David the Limner, πιζωσpaφoc).⁷
- (30) 1255 A.D. Life of John Khamé (Kamé), written by Paul, priest of the Church of Abû Shenûdah in Bebig (?).⁸

If the list given above presents anything approaching a true perspective,⁹ the formation of the Library must have been vigorously pushed forward in the ninth and tenth centuries; but in the eleventh—thirteenth centuries the movement very markedly slackened. That slackening was due not so much to a decline in the appetite for monastic literature as to the fact that Coptic, as a living language, was now fast succumbing to Arabic.¹⁰

A library for research

Limited but adequate evidence shows that the Library was so extensive as to be used for purposes of 'research,' as well as for other objects.

(1) Severus of Ashmunên specially mentions the Monastery of Saint Macarius as one of the principal sources whence he derived material for his *History of the Patriarchs*.¹¹ As stated above,¹² it was probably in this Monastery that Severus consulted the history of the Patriarchs from Cyril I to Alexander II compiled there in the eighth century by the monk George. Occasionally the historian makes definite reference to some document consulted: thus in his history of the Patriarch Dionysius (247-264 A.D.) he notes that while the Life on which he mainly relied gave that Patriarch a reign of seventeen years (in agreement, as he frankly adds, with the *Book of the Annals* by the Melchite, Sa'id ibn Batrik or Eutychius), "in a copy in Dêr Abû Makâr it is said that he continued on the episcopal throne seven years." ¹³ Another such specific reference occurs in the history of Michael I who is stated to have "remained upon the evangelical throne, according to the statement which we found in the Library in Dêr Abû Makâr, twenty-three years."¹⁴

The new texts published below enable us to check the statement of Severus in other directions. The account of the Martyrdom of Saint Mark,¹⁵ for instance, is no other than an abridged translation from the Bohairic *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, whereof considerable

1 Cod. Vat. Copt. LXII (Hyvernat, Pl. 38).

2 id. LXII (Hyvernat, Pl. 36).

3 id. LXIII (Hyvernat, Pl. 42, 1).

4 id. LXVI, 11 (= Zoëga, *Cat.*, no. XXV).

5 *id.* LXIX, 3 (= Zoëga, *Cat.*, no. XLIII).

6 *id.* LXIX, 2 (= Zoëga, *Cat.*, no. XLVII); edited by Amélineau, *Journ. Asiatique*, Ser. III, t. ix (1887), pp. 113 ff.

7 id. LX (Hyvernat, Pl. 43).

8 id. LX, 4; edited by M. Davis, P.O. XIV, fasc. 2.

9 The fragments appear to corroborate the evidence of our list so far as the tenth century is concerned, but they also indicate that the later centuries were not quite so barren as they are represented to be.

10 Even in the early tenth century we find Arabic ousting Coptic, for it is definitely stated that the *Life of John the Little* was translated into Syriac from an Arabic version and not from the Coptic original.

11 Ed. Evetts, p. 8: "These histories were collected by the care of Abba Severus ibn el Mukaffa... who relates that he gathered them from Dêr Abû Makâr and the Monastery of Nahya and other Monasteries." Cp. also p. 32.

12	p. xxiv.	13 Hist. Patr., p. 93.
14	<i>id</i> ., p. 469.	15 <i>id.</i> , pp. 43 ff.

fragments have been recovered (No. v1).¹ Secondly, in the history of Benjamin I he inserts a document which he is far more likely to have seen at the Monastery of Saint Macarius than anywhere else. This is the narrative, ascribed to Agathos the Priest, of a vision seen by Benjamin during the consecration of the Church of Saint Macarius.² The extant Coptic fragments (No. XXIII D) show that Severus or his assistants translated this work into Arabic with only the slightest changes, and so incorporated it in the *History*. In all probability our fragments belonged to the actual copy handled by the compilers.

Another extant work from the same monastery used by Severus is the *Life of Isaac* (686–689 A.D.) by Mena, Bishop of Pshati;³ but on the other hand very summary, if any, use is made of the *Life of Timothy Aelurus*,⁴ of which an interesting example now emerges (No. XXXI).

(2) Mauhub, who continued the *History* of Severus, was no less indebted to the monastic Library, since his associates record that they found there the lives of the Patriarchs from Michael III to Shenûdah II written (about 1055 A.D.) by Michael, Bishop of Tinnis, as well as the lives of nine other Patriarchs.⁵ Unfortunately very little of this 'historical' material survives in Coptic.

(3) Some years after his consecration (1047 A.D.) the Patriarch Christodulus, while visiting the Monastery, censured the monks for practising Reservation from "the Sunday of Palms to Great Wednesday." The monks having replied defiantly to this slur on their local use, the Patriarch "arose in anger and went out to his cell, and there was great disorder. Then the Father Patriarch brought out from the Library of the Monastery a homily which expressed this very opinion of which they disapproved; and Abba Michael, his secretary, read it before the assembly."⁶ Clearly the Library was extensive enough to meet any calls made upon it.

(4) From definite fact we turn to what is less concrete. We know that under Gabriel II (1131-1146 A.D.) "many monks of the Monastery of Saint Macarius" formed part of the commission which compiled the simplified *Book of the Passion*—a Lectionary for use in Holy

2 Hist. Patr., pp. 239 ff.

3 For the Coptic see P.O. x1, 303 ff.; for the Arabic summary see *Hist. Patr.*, pp. 275 ff.

4 See *Hist. Patr.*, p. 181. Possibly the Coptic *Life* of *Timotby* was written by the monk George, since he "informed us of what happened in the time of Marcian, the unbelieving prince, and the trouble that overtook our Fathers" (*id.*, p. 345).

5 Mauhub's preface (Bibl. Nat., Fonds arabe, 202, p. 135) is as follows: "At the Monastery of Abû Makâr we discovered the histories of ten Patriarchs, from Michael to Shenuti, composed by Michael, Bishop of Tinnis." Hence it follows that the interesting note standing earlier in the *Hist*. *Patr.* (ed. Evetts), p. 301, has somehow been misplaced. That note reads as follows: "Hereafter will follow that which we have translated from the documents in the Monastery of Abû Makâr, namely the history of ten Patriarchs from Michael the last (*i.e.*, Michael III, 881–913) to Sinuthius the First (*read* Second). We also translated in this Monastery the lives of nine other Patriarchs in the Year of the Martyrs 796 (= 1079–1080 A.D.). This is written by Apacyrus the Deacon and Michael, son of Apater of Damanhûr. Through the grace of God which enabled us to find the histories in the Monastery of S. Macarius with the help of the brother Theodore the Steward, son of Paul, on Sunday, the sixth of Ba'ûnah, in the Year 797 of the righteous Martyrs (= June, 1081). We have compared the manuscripts with one another and found them corresponding to what we copied, and so we assured ourselves of their authenticity."

6 Paris, Bibl. Nat., Fonds arabe 304, pp. 143 f.: cp. H.N.S. IV, iv, § 1.

I The MS. to which these belonged is much later than the time of Severus, but it may well have been copied from an older MS. used by him.

Week¹, and the prominent position assigned to the great saints of Scetis² in the Coptic Anaphora and other liturgical works suggests that these also were, deliberately or otherwise, shaped in the desert of Saint Macarius. Early in the fourteenth century a certain Makârah (Macarius), a monk in the Monastery of John the Little,³ compiled his Nomocanon, a collection of the materials on which rested the Canon Law of the Coptic Church. These materials were derived "from various books which he found in the Monasteries of the desert (*i.e.*, in the Wadi 'n Natrûn) and at Cairo."⁴ Though no fragments of Canons in Coptic are known to have been found there,⁵ it is beyond doubt that the Library at Dêr Abû Makâr-the chief of the 'desert Monasteries'-was one of the sources of material. Indeed an Arabic Ms. in the Vatican containing the Constitution of the Egyptian Monks of Saint Antony (compiled by John XIII, 1521–1526 A.D.) was derived from "three very old copies of Councils which existed in the desert of Saint Macarius."6

(5) One of the most interesting features in the history of the Wadi 'n Natrûn is the presence of non-Coptic monasteries, Syrian, Armenian, Abyssinian. Of these, the Syrian Monastery attained independent existence probably as early as the eighth century;⁷ the Armenian Monastery may have emerged in the eleventh-twelfth century, and the Abyssinian Monastery at the same period or slightly later.⁸ How far Armenian and particularly Syrian monks⁹ may have availed themselves of the Library at Dêr Abû Makâr we cannot tell. But there is ground for suspecting that the ecclesiastical literature of Abyssinia is, in part at least, derived from the Monastery of Macarius. For though the Abyssinian Monastery (of Elias) is not mentioned until well on in the Middle Ages, there were certainly Abyssinian monks in the desert before that date, and an intimate connection between the desert Monasteries and Abyssinia existed from the early ninth century. Thus, the Ethiopic Synaxarium¹⁰ for Hamlé 17 (July 24) commemorates a certain Andrew (Endreyas) "superior of the Monastery of the great country of Dabra Libanos," who "received the monastic habit at the hands of our father Abba Yohannes Kama;" and John Kamé, or Khamé, founder of a minor Monastery in Wadi 'n Natrûn, died in 859.¹¹ More important is the fact that several Metropolitans of Abyssinia were selected from among the monks of the desert.¹² In the Patriarchate of Yusâb or Joseph (830-849 A.D.) one John of El Baramûs was appointed to this dignity;¹³ under Cosmas III (920?, 923?) Peter a monk (presumably of the desert)

2 See, e.g., Renaudot, Lit. Or. Coll. 1, p. 17.

3 Otherwise John Colobos or the Dwarf. It was second in rank of the Monasteries in Wadi 'n Natrûn.

4 Paris, Bibl. Nat., Fonds arabe 251 (see de Slane's Catalogue).

5 Crum (see Riedel and Crum, Canons of Athanasius, p. 81) observes that the Arabic text of the Athanasian Canons is certainly derived from a Bohairic version. Surely a copy of this version must have existed in the Monastery of S. Macarius.

6 Cod. Vat. Arab. DCLXII (= Mai, S.V.N.C. IV, ii, p. 584). 8 id. IV. V. § 4.

7 H.N.S. III, ix, §6.

9 Study of the Syriac Mss. from Dêr es Suriân might possibly furnish evidence as to this. A priori it is most likely that the Syrian monks would have availed themselves of so important a library, especially to make translations of the lives of Egyptian saints.

10 P.O. VII, 345.

11 See his commemorative inscription, A.A.C.M. III, iii, §5.

12 Others, probably, are unrecorded.

13 Hist. Patr., pp. 622 f.

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I See Dillmann, Catalogus Codicum Aethiopicorum in Museo Britannico, no. XXVII (p. 30).

was consecrated;¹ under Philotheos (981 ?-1002 ?), Daniel of Dêr Abû Makâr became Metropolitan;² and in 1102 George, from the same monastery, held that office for a short time.³ Now such prelates, as well as lesser dignitaries accompanying them, and Abyssinian monks or pilgrims returning southwards from the Wadi 'n Natrûn, must have carried with them greater or smaller quantities of the ecclesiastical literature current in Egyptian Church circles. Any survey of Abyssinian literature ought, therefore, to recognize the possibility that the distant Monastery of Saint Macarius is one of the sources from which the dependent Church borrowed its remarkable apocryphal and hagiographical writings.⁴ That the Monastery possessed a matchless series of the Acts and Lives of Saints has long been recognized, and now the new texts (Nos. I–VI) witness to the existence of a remarkable class of apocrypha in the Library.⁵

(6) Finally, we have reason to believe that, apart from research work, the Library was not infrequently used by the ordinary copyist and translator (from Coptic to Arabic).⁶ A few instances may be noted: (1) An Arabic Ms. at Paris⁷ containing a compendium of cardinal theological doctrines (such as the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Commandments of God, Confession, Communion, and the duties of the monastic life) is definitely stated to have been copied at the Monastery in A.M. 930 or 980 (1214 or 1264 A.D.). (2) An Arabic version of the Commentary on the *Epistle to the Romans*⁸ by John Calliopaeus was transcribed from Mss. at Dêr Abû Makâr in 1379 A.D. (3) So, also, a copy of the *Nomocanon* of Makârah above mentioned was made there in 1372.⁹ (4) The liturgical collections in the same Library must often have been sought out by copyists. To that Monastery peculiarly belonged the elaborate rituals for Palm-Sunday, Holy Week, and the Consecration of the Chrism on Maundy Thursday.¹⁰ Further, we have definite knowledge of a ritual for the Blessing of the Altar "according to the rite of the Monastery of Saint Macarius,"¹¹ and so obviously copied there.

4. The Scope of the Library.

Here we may pause to consider in the light of extant MSS., of fragments, and of other evidence what was the scope of the Library. In general terms it may be defined as wholly religious (theological would be a misleading description) and designed to meet the needs

Its purpose solely religious

1 Renaudot, Historia Patriarcharum Alexandrinorum,

p. 326. 2 *id.*, pp. 381 f. 3 *id.*, p. 475. 4 Much of the Ethiopic literature seems to have been translated from Arabic versions, a fact which suggests relatively late importation (say, after the tenth century : the *Chronicle* of John of Nikiu was translated so late as 1602). Yet it is quite conceivable that other works were derived from the earlier library (destroyed in 817 A.D.). The Ethiopic version of the *Martyrdom of Apoli* was certainly made before the extant Coptic fragments were written (tenth century), since a prophecy relating to the translation of the saint's body is interpolated in the latter (see below on No. xv, frag. 5). 5 The surviving fragments are probably but a meagre remnant of a once large class. Orthodoxy must occasionally have frowned on such productions.

6 The destruction of Church books in anti-Christian riots at Cairo makes this peculiarly probable.

7 Bibl. Nat., Fonds arabe, no. 184.

8 Cod. Vat. Arab. XLIV (= Mai, S.V.N.C. IV, ii, 80).

9 *id.* DCLXII (= Mai, S.V.N.C. IV, ii, 584). The date is uncertain since Mai gives the impossible equation A.M. 940 = A.D. 1372.

10 Since these rites were for so many centuries observed in their fullest form or exclusively in the Monastery.

11 Cod. Vat. Arab. DCLXII (= Mai, S.V.N.C. IV, ii, 584).

of life in the Monastery alone. Works of secular learning—much more works of imagination —were entirely absent.

Biblical

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It is surprising to find that Biblical MSS. are very scantily represented among the relics of the Library. A copy of the *Pentateuch*, now in the Vatican,¹ almost certainly came from this source; whether the two leaves from *Exodus* found in 1920 (below, No. XXXVII A) belong to the same or to another copy cannot yet be stated. But there is no evidence as yet that other extant MSS. of books of the Old Testament are derived from this Library. Psalters, indeed, are numerous,² but they were produced for liturgical or devotional purposes and not as parts of the Scriptures : the remarkable Barberini Psalter³ is no exception. The New Testament is only slightly better represented. A single copy of the Gospels was brought away by Huntington,⁴ our own No. XXXVII c, 2 (containing the Third and Fourth Gospels) represents the second volume of another copy, and a few leaves of a larger copy for use in Church have also been recovered (No. XXXVII c, 1). Of other books nothing is known save that Tattam saw there a beautifully written copy of the Epistles:⁵ the fragments from the Pauline *Epistles* (No. XXXVII D) hardly merit such a description and may therefore represent another copy. Presumably scriptural books, being in constant use, were rapidly worn out and destroyed.

Patristic

Catenae on the Gospels (*i.e.*, running commentaries formed of excerpts from the works of the Fathers) were to be found in the Library and, apparently, were closely studied.⁶ The copy acquired by Curzon at the Monastery of the Syrians was written by a monk of Dêr Abû Makâr and doubtless belonged to that Monastery;⁷ the fragments which were recovered by Tischendorf⁸ and in 1920–1921 represent a second copy in two volumes.⁹

We might have expected patristic literature to be abundant. Yet, in fact, it occupied no very prominent position in the Library. To the Egyptian mind metaphysical dogma seems to have been distasteful, doubtless because it was unintelligible.¹⁰ Hence, the abstract side of dogmatic theology is almost unrepresented, and there was an obvious tendency to select only the more practical (ethical) tracts or homilies of the Fathers. Thirty-seven excerpts from the writings of Saint John Chrysostom¹¹ form the largest collected body of *patristica* from the Library: other works of the Fathers—and they are not very numerous—are invariably isolated tracts appointed to be read in the Church on stated occasions and are not

2 id. v (tenth century) probably came from Dêr Abû Makâr, but even this seems to be a service book since the Canticles are appended.

3 See below, pp. xxxvii f.

4 Now in the Bodleian Library (Hunt. 17), described by Horner, *Coptic Version of the N.T.* 1, p. xxxviii.

5 See below, p. xl.

6 This is suggested by the numerous Arabic glosses written in the margins.

7 It was probably carried to Dêr es Suriân by J. S. Assemani from Dêr Abû Makâr and accidentally left there. 8 See below, pp. xl ff. The former are at Leipzig (Cod. Tisch. xxvIII); for the latter see below, No. xxxvII E.

9 The pagination indicates that the copy was in two volumes.

to This is contrary to the usual assumption that the Egyptians delighted in metaphysical subtility. Yet the real Copts (as distinguished from the Hellenists of Alexandria) certainly judged of such questions as that at issue at Chalcedon on an entirely concrete level.

11 Cod. Vat. Copt. LVII.

¹ Cod. Vat. Copt. 1.

designed for study. In this connection it may be recalled that the Syrian Patriarch Dionysius commented unfavorably on the state of learning among the Egyptian monks.¹

Hitherto Dêr Abû Makâr has not been recognized as a source of 'primary' apocryphal Apocrypha material.² Secondary documents, indeed, such as the Discourses of Evodius and Theodosius on the Assumption, have long been known and published.³ But apart from the littlenoticed⁴ Leipzig fragments of the Assumption of the Virgin attributed to Saints Peter and John, the Monastery had yielded up no true apocrypha. We now know that works of this class were well represented in the Library, since we possess fragments of a Christian Apocryphon on Adam, of an Apocryphal Gospel, of a Descent into Hades, of an Apocalyptic. Gospel, of the Mysteries of Saint John, and of the Apocryphal Acts in a Bohairic version (Nos. 1-VII)—as well as further fragments of the secondary Assumption narratives. These are probably but a few poor relics of a once considerable group-a group (as pointed out above) from which the Abyssinians may have derived some of their apocrypha.

But perhaps the outstanding feature of the Library was the great collection of Acts of the Martyrs and Lives of Saints and worthies honored by the Coptic Church. It was probably from this rather than from some similar series of Hagiographa that the existing Arabic Synaxarium of the Coptic Church was compiled.

These texts are sometimes furnished with rubrics or directions stating when and where The rubrics a particular tract was to be used. Thus a Sermon by Theophilus and an Encomium by Cyril on The Three Children⁵ has the following direction: "These two sermons are to be read on alternate years (on Pashons 10) while the Office of the Doxology is being celebrated in the Sanctuary of the South;" the Life of Macarius⁶ is to be read "on Epep 14 in the Sanctuary of Abba Makari to the South;" the Martyrdom of Saint Apatil⁷ has the note, "On Epep 16 read first this book: then read John of the Golden Gospel which is to be found on (page ?) 143 and in (volume ?) 91-both on the same day;" or lastly, the Correspondence of Peter Mongus and Acacius⁸ is to be read "on Athor 4..... If you wish, use them on the last Sunday of the month Paopi or Athor."

The rubrics make it clear that these texts were (1) intended for public reading on definite occasions, and (2) that when complete the series covered the whole year. Can this be the Coptic "Lectionary for the whole year" in four great volumes which Huntington saw?

2 For the use of apocrypha in Egypt (fourth century) see the Canons of Athanasius (ed. Riedel-Crum, pp. xv, 33) where their reading is forbidden or discouraged; also Apophth. Patr. Sopater (P.G. LXV, 413): "Let no woman enter into thy cell and do not read apocrypha." Such works were known in the 'Nitrian' Monasteries even in the eighteenth century. Sicard (Lettres Édifiantes, t. v), having once suggested to the Superior at the Monastery of El Baramús that it was time for Vespers, was informed that on the contrary it was "exactly the hour when the demons make their prayers." Clearly this monk knew the Apocalypse of Adam (see Renan, Journal Asiatique, Ser. v, t. 11 (1855), p. 452): "First hour of the Night; it is the hour of the adoration of the demons."

3 Lagarde, Aegyptiaca, pp. 38 ff.; Robinson, Coptic Apocryphal Gospels, pp. 90 ff.

4 Their importance has been remarked only by W. E. Crum, who was the first to point out that they belonged to a single MS.

5 Cod. Vat. Copt. no. LXII = Zoëga, Cat., no. LVII.

6 id. = Zoëga, Cat., no. xxvIII.

7 id., no. LXII = Zoëga, Cat., no. XXI.

8 *id.*, no. LXII = Zoëga, Cat., no. LIII.

Acts of the Martyrs, &c.

The purpose of the collection

¹ H.N.S. III, vii, § 2.

The suggestion may at least be raised in view of certain circumstances presently to be noticed.

Distribution of the remains

By far the most important surviving part of this collection, comprising a large number of Lives, Martyrdoms, and other pieces, was brought by Assemani from the Monastery of Saint Macarius in 1715, and is now in the Vatican Library.¹ The parchment fragments brought back from the Wadi 'n Natrûn by Tischendorf in 1844 certainly belonged to the same collection as did Assemani's richer spoils. For (1) though the discoverer makes no statement as to their provenance,² internal evidence proves their derivation from this Convent;³ and (2) they have 'rubrics' exactly parallel with the 'rubrics' in the Vatican texts, such as— "To be read on Mesore 19 after the Doxology in the night;"⁴ and (3) in respect of date, script, and general appearance their correspondence with the Vatican codices is close.⁵ Some of these fragments are of great interest despite their imperfect condition. Two may be specially mentioned: one, relating to the consecration of the Church of Saint Macarius by Benjamin I,⁶ another dealing with the Translation of Macarius' body to Shiêt.⁷ The second is particularly important as being indirectly dated 830 A.D. and therefore proving that less than fifteen years after the Fifth Sack of Scetis one at least of the monastic Libraries was being rehabilitated.

Other fragments of the series had been secured a few years previously by Tattam, who found in the Monastery besides a copy of the *Epistles* and about one hundred liturgies, "a great number of fragments and loose leaves." Of the last-named he secured about one hundred, some of which passed through the Library of the Earl of Lindsay into the Rylands Library at Manchester, where their relationship to the Tischendorf fragments was recognized by Crum.⁸

Many further fragments of the same collection were found in 1920–1921. Their intimate relation to the Tischendorf and Tattam series (many pieces in the three groups are derived from the same MSS., and some even from single pages of the same MSS.) demonstrates what was previously not altogether certain—that the great majority of the Bohairic fragments at Leipzig and Manchester were brought from the Monastery of Saint Macarius. Moreover, two groups of the new fragments definitely belong to defective MSS. in the Vatican.⁹

I Codd. Vat. Copt. LVIII-LXIX; see Mai, S.V.N.C. v, Pt. ii.

2 See Tischendorf, Anecdota Sacra et Profana 1, pp. 69 ff. But in his Travels in the East (p. 52) Tischendorf mentions the discovery of certain parchment leaves and fragments in the Monastery of Macarius, but without stating what was their character. For a summary catalogue of these fragments see Leipoldt *ap.* Vollers, Kat. d. Isl., Christl.-Orient...Hss. zu Leipzig, nos. 1086–1090 B (Codd. Tisch. XXIV-XXX).

3 e.g., one fragment (Leipoldt *ap*. Vollers, *Kat.*, p. 395 = *Cod. Tisch.* XXIV, 31) has a colophon written by a Psalmodist "of the Church of our Father Abba Makari of Shiêt." Others contain matter which is peculiarly 'Nitrian.'

4 loc. cit., p. 393 = Cod. Tisch. XXIV, 22.

5 As W. E. Crum informs me. Can the fragment *Cod. Tiscb.* xxIv, I-2 (*loc. cit.*, p. 388) from the Martyrdom of Anatolius the Persian actually belong to *Cod. Vat. Copt.* LXVIII, which is defective at the beginning and end?

6 Cod. Tisch. XXIV, 23 (loc. cit., p. 393).

7 Cod. Tisch. XXIV, 22 (loc. cit., p. 393). For the text of this and the foregoing fragment see below, No. XXIII C, D.

8 Rylands Cat., no. 438, the hand of which is described as 'Nitrian' in type. No. 441 is identified as belonging to Cod. Tisch. XXVI, fol. 1; no. 442 (probably) to Cod. Tisch. XXIV, fols. 14, 15 and XXVI, fol. 23; and no. 448 to Cod. Tisch. XXIV, fols. 43 ff.

9 On the relationship of the groups of fragments to one another and to the Vatican Mss. see below, p. xliii.

Zoëga has pointed out¹ that the various items in the Vatican codices are arranged upon no system whatever, though they might be expected to form a sequence following the days and months of the calendar. In other words, these MSS. are the disordered remains of a great Lectionary. This disturbance perhaps came about in the following way. In the dark days of the late fourteenth and of the fifteenth century the collection as a whole fell into decay and much of it perished. But at a subsequent period-possibly in the early seventeenth century²---such remains as were in tolerable condition were gathered together and rebound without regard to the true sequence of the various tracts, while mutilated and defective leaves, and even hopelessly ruined volumes, were discarded altogether. The former would then be Assemani's codices, the latter the fragments recovered by Tattam and Tischendorf.³ May not "the Coptic Lectionary in four great volumes" seen by Huntington be identical with a *part* of the group acquired by Assemani? The question can only be raised, not answered. Reference to the fragments published below and to the complete texts already available⁴ will best show the nature of these documents. It should be added that since the series was intended for liturgical purposes, it contained, besides strictly hagiographical narratives, the Lives of Patriarchs who were ordinarily commemorated,⁵ and even a number of Homilies appointed for certain days.

As we have already seen,⁶ there is reason to believe that the Monastery was possessed of Canon Law, &c. a collection of the authorities and documents on which Coptic Church law and practice were based, though nothing of all this seems to have survived. Possibly the 'homily' dealing with Reservation with which Christodulus refuted the monks was something of this kind. Moreover, in the seventeenth century the Abbot of that day appears to have parted with a MS. of 'Councils,' though indeed this may have been no more than a copy of the Nomocanon of the monk Makârah.8

We turn next to two classes of books which must be regarded as biblia abiblia. As we might expect, the number of strictly liturgical books, Anaphoras, Lectionaries, Theotokias, Psalters, and of works of devotion such as Horologia, shown by discarded fragments alone, was extremely large; and many complete or nearly complete volumes in various European libraries may ultimately be shown to have come from our Monastery. Such books were naturally in constant use and, moreover, not of the most durable quality; hence it is that

4 e.g. the Acta Martyrum (edited by Balestri-Hyvernat, C.S.C.O., Script. Copt., Ser. III, t. I (Arabic)).

5 Thus the MS. of the Life of Isaac by Menas has the rubric or note "(To be read on) the 9th day of Athor" (see P.O. XI, 302, note 1).

7 See below, p. xxxvii.

8 If so, it may be the Paris Ms., Bibl. Nat., Fonds arabe, no. 251.

Possible history of the collection

Liturgical books

¹ Cat., p. 4.

² It was in 1626 that the Barberini Psalter was rebound: this may indicate some general effort to put the Library in order.

³ But since the various tracts were acquired by the Monastery at different dates and differed in size, it may have been impossible to bind them up in sequence. The apparent references to numbered volumes (see below, p. xliv) seem to indicate that the lack of sequence was an old-standing feature and not due wholly to the ignorance of later binders.

⁶ Aboye, p. xxviii.

with one exception¹ their remains are all relatively late, dating at earliest from the twelfth or thirteenth century. Yet the fragmentary copies of the Theotokias, of the Difnar (Antiphonarium), and of the smaller collection of hymns recovered in 1921 may reveal local divergences from the normal medieval Egyptian uses.

Copto-Arabic vocabularies

The Arabic Library Reference has already been made to the decay of Coptic as a living language from the beginning of the Middle Ages;² and though the Monastery of Macarius even in the fourteenth century prided itself on the exclusive use of Coptic in the Church services, yet Arabic had been for centuries the vernacular current amongst the monks in their every-day life.³ Most of the clergy and brethren, therefore, must have learned Coptic as a dead language is learned. For the benefit of these the Monastery was equipped with a number of dictionaries or rather vocabularies designed to familiarize the reader with the Coptic text of the New Testament and the ordinary liturgical books. But how large was this section of the Library, and whether it included the full cycle of Coptic philological works,⁴ the extant fragments (below, No. xxxix) do not allow us to judge.

The item last mentioned leads up naturally to mention of a side of the Library which was as large or larger, if less monumental, than the Coptic sections—the collection of Arabic Mss. As Arabic became more and more the common, every-day language in use among the Egyptians,⁵ there arose a demand for versions in that language of Coptic works. Though the monks of Saint Macarius might exclude all but Coptic from their Church services, for private reading they would prefer to use an Arabic text of the Martyrdom or Homily which they wished to study. Hence, perhaps, it is that after the tenth century there is such a marked falling off in the acquisition of Coptic books for the Library.⁶ It is quite impossible here to outline the scope of the Arabic collection,⁷ for to do so is a task to be undertaken only by an Arabic scholar who has at once a wide knowledge of Oriental Christian literature and a genius for reconstruction. Not only must he determine, if he can, which of the Arabic Mss. in the Vatican, at Paris,⁸ and elsewhere came from this source, but he must examine the volumes so inaccessibly stored in the modern Library at Dêr Abû Makâr, and must further sort and reconstruct the masses of leaves which still lie in the oubliette beneath the ancient Library.⁹ It is quite possible that he who will do so may

I Below, No. XXXVIII E.

2 See above, p. xxvi.

3 This is proved by the notes, glosses, etc., written in the margins of the Mss.

4 For these see Mallon, Grammaire Copte², pp. 4 ff.

5 To evidence already cited add the significant statement of Severus (*Hist. Patr.*, p. 17) as to the state of things in the tenth century. He informs us that he invited the assistance of certain "Christian brethren" to aid him in translating the materials for his History from Greek and Coptic into "the Arabic tongue current among the people of the present day in the region of Egypt, *most* of whom are ignorant of the Coptic and the Greek." 6 See above, p. xxvi.

7 But generally speaking it can have comprised little more than versions of the Coptic works in the other side of the Library. Yet many of these Coptic originals are now entirely lost or survive only in fragments. Original works in Arabic were probably but few.

8 I suspect that many of the Christian Arabic Mss. in the Bibliothèque Nationale come from this Monastery.

9 I must confess to being guilty of a grave error of judgment in not removing, when I had opportunity and permission to do so, all the 'waste paper,' Arabic as well as Coptic, lying in the Monastery.

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recover literary treasure of really high value: even fragments of the intermediary Arabic version (though hardly of the Coptic original) of John of Nikiu's Chronicle may be forthcoming.

But though the few items which can even now be identified are too little representative to deserve further notice here,¹ mention must be made of two noteworthy works. First, on the testimony of the monk 'Abd el Messiah we know that there exists in the modern Library a medieval copy of the Book of the Reasonable Paradise—a work studied by novices in Egyptian Monasteries—remarkable as preserving in a note an important architectural record;² secondly, appreciable fragments have now been recovered of an ascetic work which though composed in Arabic is written in Coptic characters.³

The vast majority of works in the Library were either (in consequence of the geographical position of the Monastery) in the Bohairic dialect of Coptic, or in Arabic. Yet there were also alien elements, though these seem to have been small, and may indeed have been only accidentally present.4

First, a few works in the Sahidic (Southern) dialect existed there, though all of these (1) Sahidic appear to be of relatively late date. Thus we have a single leaf from the Sahidic version of the Encomium on Saint Michael by Theodosius (No. 1X, frag. 2); a number of leaves from a Sahidic-Arabic vocabulary (No. XXXIX i); and two fragmentary Horologia (No. XXXVIII D) wherein the text of the Psalms (but not the remaining matter) is in the dialect of the South.

In the earlier Libraries, the last of which perished in 817 A.D., there were doubtless many works in Greek. But, though the Coptic Church did not utterly abandon the use of Greek.⁵ there can have been few who understood the language from the ninth century onwards. Notwithstanding, we have definite knowledge of two Greek Mss. existing in the Library. A Life of Pachomius was translated into Arabic from a Greek text at Dêr Abû Makâr in 1259 A.D.;6 and we now possess twenty-five leaves from the Greek Anaphoras of Saints Gregory and Basil (No. XXXVIII A).⁷ There are grounds for believing that Greek was occasionally used for liturgical purposes at other of the desert Monasteries.⁸

Syriac is represented only by a single fine and early leaf (fifth-sixth century) from (3) Syriac

I Certain of them are mentioned above (pp. xxviii f.).

3 See the text as edited by Dr. Sobhy in the Appendix. This work may even be partly identical with the Paradise above mentioned or with the Paradise of Delights extant at Paris (de Slane, Catalogue, no. 279).

4 i.e. brought to the Monastery by monks from the Sa'id, or left there by chance visitors or pilgrims.

5 The Patriarch Macarius II (1103-1131) was 'proclaimed' in Greek, as well as Coptic and Arabic (Synax., Tût 4, ed. Basset, pp. 6 ff.). Moreover to the present day passages in liturgical books are retained in Greek.

6 See Crum, Theological Texts from Coptic Papyri, p. 175. Note that a Melkite had to be called in to do the translation. Probably the Greek original is now lost, unless indeed it be one of the Mss. now in Europe.

7 Since one of these contains a petition of the Monophysite Patriarch, Benjamin II (about 1330 A.D.), this Ms. cannot be of Melkite origin.

8 From the neighboring Monasteries of Anba Bishoi and El Baramús come fragments of a Lectionary for Holy Week in Greek, Coptic, and Arabic (Crum, B.M. Cat., no. 775, and Bodleian MS. Copt. 3). From the same region, I suspect, comes the Graeco-Arabic Lectionary for Holy Week now at Leyden (Cod. Scaligeri, 243), for which see Baumstark, Oriens Christianus, N.S. III, 142 ff. (with illustration).

Alien elements in the Library

(2) Greek

² See A.A.C.M. I, iii, § 2 (VIII). I have not seen this MS. The modern Library is a small cell on the west side of the existing Monastery, which is only to be entered with elaborate precautions.

the *Life of Saint Alexius*, by a second small parchment fragment, and by some tatters of a late liturgical paper book.¹ They, however, are best regarded as 'strays' from the neighboring Dêr es Suriân.

5. The Decay of the Library.

Neglect of the Library

The growth of the Library was practically stopped by the obscure but crushing disaster which overtook the Monastery about 1350 A.D.² Just as the few remaining monks had to abandon so many of the buildings designed to accommodate hundreds, so the Library, vastly exceeding their needs, was allowed to fall into decay³—the more so since the community, poverty-stricken and shorn of its privileges, was probably now recruited from the illiterate or semi-literate classes. Moreover, owing to their heavy, ill-hinged bindings, the medieval Coptic volumes must periodically have fallen into disrepair: leaves and quires would become detached, the outer margins torn and broken, or the stitching of an entire volume would give way and the loose sheets and quires would be thrust aside, disordered and crumpled, into some corner.

After the downfall of the Monastery such damaged volumes were not likely to be repaired: duplicate copies especially and 'obsolete' books would be regarded as worth only the material of which they were composed. Yet the decay of the Library was not wholly due to impotence or carelessness. Whether owing to the quality of the ink itself or to imperfect preparation of the parchment, the ink has flaked off the flesh-side of many of the parchment sheets, rendering the text dim or almost unintelligible and for practical purposes useless. Spasmodic attempts (see No. XI) were made to retrace such texts, but in general volumes in this condition seem to have been abandoned as worthless.

Seventeenth century repairs

So far as we know, only one attempt was made to bring back the Library into order. A note in the Barberini Psalter states that it was rebound in 1626;⁴ and it is possible that the tracts in the Vatican codices were put together and bound about the same time.⁵ But the process was a rough one: leaves and quires seriously damaged or stained were rejected and the sound remainder of the particular tract was bound up without the defective portion.⁶

Whatever may have been the causes of neglect or decay, certain it is that many volumes were treated as mere waste material. First, blank margins were clipped off (the text usually

I These fragments (recovered in 1921) are unnoticed below, but for the script of the first see Plate XXVI B. 4 For the note see *P.O.* x, 217.

5 Many of the newly found leaves show rebacking and restitching which may have been done at this period.

6 Thus the Martyrdom of Apa Apoli (Cod. Vat. Copt. LXI) was bound in without its damaged first part, fragments of which are now published (below, No. XVII), and the Homily of Severian on Penitence (Cod. Vat. Copt. LXVIII) without its conclusion, to which belongs our fragments No. XXXV A.

² See H.N.S. 1V, x, §6.

³ The monks themselves asserted (1921) that their Library was wrecked in an incursion of the desert Arabs, but they can assign no date to this event, which may be merely a confused recollection of the Barbarian raids in the ninth and earlier centuries. Yet the books may well have been very roughly handled when Muslim officials were sent to search the Monastery: cp. H.N.S. IV, vii, § 5.

being spared);¹ then whole leaves were cut up to serve as ties or backing or even covers for other volumes.² Other leaves met a more piteous fate, being used to line shelves or even to wrap round jar-stoppers.³ Much, also, was ruined by sheer neglect and the effects of exposure to damp or vermin.

On the whole, then, we may conclude that while the better-preserved volumes were put into some sort of order in the early seventeenth century, there remained a mass of odd or mutilated leaves which were regarded and treated as worthless. The succeeding centuries doubtless added to this pile of waste.

6. The Dispersal of the Library.

So far as can be ascertained, the dispersal of the Library began in the seventeenth century. Pietro Gassendi⁴ informs us that the French bibliophile Peiresc "conceived very great hopes of obtaining out of the east both Coptic and other rare books...when about the very same time (1633) that very good man Aegidius Lochiensis (Gilles de Loches), a Capucin, returned out of Egypt. For he, being received with great exultation by Peireskius, ... told him of rare books which were extant in divers Convents and Monasteries. And remarkable it is how he saw a Library of 8000 Volumes,⁵ many of which bore the marks of the Antonian Age." Urged, probably, to follow up the clue furnished by de Loches, another Capuchin, Agathange de Vendôme, writes to Peiresc from Cairo on March 18, 1634,6 to report that he is on the point of securing a MS. of the Psalms written in six (sic) languages: Coptic, Arabic, Greek, Armenian, Abyssinian, and Syriac. The volume, he reports, is at the Monastery of Saint Macarius, and the Superior, who has already parted with a volume of 'Councils,' will only part with it in exchange for some object needed by the Conventthe quid pro quo to be a silver chalice and paten. Peiresc was all afire to receive this treasure of six or eight Columns! Amongst the which there was a Psalter distinguished into 6 Columns and so many several languages."

On July 25, 1635, de Vendôme wrote⁹ that he was sending this MS., now correctly described as being written in Coptic, Armenian, Abyssinian, Arabic, and Chaldaic (Syriac). But the book never reached its destination. The vessel by which it was dispatched was taken by Barbary pirates; and though Peiresc arranged for the redemption of his property,

4 Life of Peireskius (trans. Rand), 11, 89 f.

5 Almost certainly this was the Library of the Syrian Monastery (see Assemani, B.O. 1, Praef., § VII).

6 Correspondance de Peiresc avec plusieurs Missionaires, p. 24.

8 Life of Peireskius, 11, p. 154.

9 Corr. de Peiresc avec plusieurs Missionaires, p. 154.

The Barberini Psalter

I e.g. Nos. XX, XXIX.

² See No. XXXVII A. In the modern Library the joints of many volumes are reinforced with strips cut from ancient \dot{M} ss.

³ In the Chapel of El 'Adra in the Keep the lower shelf of the lectern is lined with a parchment sheet now too blackened to be legible. No. VIII A (*cf.* Pl. IX A) has been cut out to wrap round a jar-stopper, but never actually used.

^{7 &}quot;C'est le même qui donna les conciles" (see P.O. x, 218, and above, p. xxxiii).

another and worthless volume was substituted. Somewhat curiously the Psalter reappeared in the hands of the Grand Master of the Knights of Saint John at Malta, who presented it to Cardinal Barberini.¹

The MS. with this romantic history is the Barberini Psalter (Barberini Or. 2), written, probably, in the fourteenth century.² Whether it was written wholly or in part at the Monastery of Macarius, we cannot say, but it is almost certain that it belonged to that Monastery from the first. For an Arabic note³ states that it was rebound there in 1625 by Anba John or Jonas, Metran and Reis (Abbot) of the Monastery of Abû Makâr in the Wadi el Latrûn (*sic*). It is evident that this and similar polyglot MSS. from the Wadi 'n Natrûn were service-books.⁴

News of this acquisition seems to have attracted other Europeans to the Monastery, probably in search of manuscripts. At any rate, graffiti in the *Kasr* at Dêr Abû Makâr show that French visitors were there in 1640 and 1644.⁵ How far they or others like them were successful is unknown, but collectors like Colbert and Coislin certainly obtained Syriac Mss. from the neighboring Dêr es Suriân and may well have secured Coptic Mss. from Dêr Abû Makâr also.⁶

Later in the same century Wansleben ("Vansleb") attempted but failed to reach the Monastery. Had it been otherwise we should doubtless possess a really valuable account of the Library as it then was. In 1682–3, however, Robert Huntington, chaplain to the Levant Company, visited the Monastery and has left the following notice of what he saw there:⁷ "In the Library of this (Monastery), many manuscript codices are preserved, such as a large volume of Saint Chrysostom in Coptic on parchment, a colossal (*elephantinus*) tome on Saint Matthew by the same in Arabic (*sic*), lections of the Church for the whole year in four volumes in Coptic, etc." But apart from the single⁸ copy of the Gospels mentioned above, I do not know that he brought away any Mss.⁹

I See the original documents quoted by Nau (P.O. x, pp. 217 ff.).

2 For a specimen facsimile see Tisserant, Specimina Codicum Orientalium, Plate 80 and cp. p. xlvii

3 Text in P.O. x, p. 217, note 1.

4 See *H.N.S.* IV, V, § 4.

5 See A.A.C.M. 1, iii, § 2 (VIII).

6 Perhaps bibliographers acquainted with MSS. from these collections can settle this point.

7 Huntingtoni Epistolae, no. xxx (ed. Smith, p. 69). Of the items mentioned the first is certainly to be identified with Cod. Vat. Copt., no. LVII (Mai, S.V.N.C. v, ii, 152; cp. Zoëga, Cat., nos. x-x1; facsimile in Hyvernat, Album, Pl. xx). The second, I believe, is the Catena Patrum, published by Lagarde, Catenae in Evangelia Aegyptiacae (specimen facsimile in R. Curzon's Materials for Writing, facing p. 41), acquired by Curzon in 1837 at the Syrian Monastery. For (i) the Curzon MS. certainly once belonged to Dêr Abû Makâr, and may well have been carried by Assemani thence to the Syrian Monastery and accidentally left there; (ii) after the *lemma*, which begins **†epments fire nievervelion cooreft rate masseon**, follows *Matthew* 1, 1 (a single line) and then a commentative passage beginning with the name *wannuc nixpicocromoc*. Thus it might easily be described as a Commentary on S. Matthew by John Chrysostom; (iii) the statement that it was in Arabic may be a pure blunder due to deficient notes or faded memory, for Huntington's letter was not written until March, 1695-6, long after the actual visit.

As for the Lectionary for the whole year, in four volumes, may this not be a part of the series of Acts of Martyrs described above? Huntington may have assumed (though wrongly) that it covered the entire year.

8 See the Memoir by Smith, Huntingtoni Epistolae, p. xvii.

9 But very possibly other of the Huntington Coptic Mss. in the Bodleian were acquired at this or other of the desert Monasteries.

French visitors 1640, 1644

N. Wansleben, Robert Huntington

INTRODUCTION

Early in the eighteenth century (1706) the Maronite Gabriel Eva paid a visit to Wadi 'n Gabriel Eva, Natrûn and to Dêr es Suriân, where he saw the precious Syriac Library. As a result of his report, Elias Assemani was sent out as agent for the Vatican in 1707 and secured a splendid series of Syriac Mss. Though it is not positively known that either¹ visited the Monastery of Saint Macarius, Elias Assemani may well have seen the Coptic MSS. there and have brought back the information on which his cousin Joseph was to act later.

Claud Sicard the Jesuit first visited the Monastery in 1712. Unfortunately he devotes Claud Sicard only a single general notice to all the monastic libraries in the valley : "In each tower there is...a library consisting in three or four chests full of old manuscripts in Arabic or Coptic, covered with dust."²

The year 1715 is the most important landmark in the whole later history of the Library; J. S. Assemani for it was then that Joseph Simon Assemani, who had been sent to the East to collect Mss. for the Vatican Library, visited the valley in company with Sicard. Achieving only moderate success at the Syrian Monastery, Assemani turned to the Monastery of Saint Macarius. His achievement there is summed up in a single sentence: "From these monks [of Saint Macarius] we acquired manuscripts of the highest quality (optimae notae) written in the Coptic tongue...nor had they any others which would give pause even to the most greedy."3 Doubtless Assemani with his rich booty felt scorn for the heaps of loose and tattered leaves which he must have seen in the Library : yet the "greedy" gleaners who have followed him have not gone unrewarded.

Sonnini (1778), as is well known, was deterred from visiting Dêr Abû Makâr; but his Sonnini account of the Library at Dêr el Baramûs doubtless applied equally to all the Monasteries, and is worth quoting to show the deplorable state in which the Libraries now were. "Here, too [in the Keep], they keep their books written in the Cophtic language.... Though they never read them, though they let them lie in heaps upon the ground, gnawed by insects and mouldering in dust; they are not to be prevailed upon to part with any of them."⁴

Andréossy (1799) contributes little to our knowledge. Speaking generally of the Andréossy Monasteries, he says that their books "are ascetic," written on parchment or cotton-paper in Arabic or Coptic with Arabic translations. He took away some of these which "appeared to be about 600 years old," but does not state from which Monastery.5

Early in the nineteenth century (about 1818) the Monastery yielded up more of its B. Drovetti treasures. A fragmentary Bohairic Psalter, given by Drovetti to Peyron and now at Turin,

I For both Gabriel Eva and Elias Assemani see J. S. Assemani, B.O. 1 (Praefatio).

2 Lettres Édifiantes, t. v (Levant) p. 21.

3 See Assemani, B.O. 1, Praef., § x: "Ab his Monachis [S. Macarii] codices Coptico sermone scriptos accepimus optimae notae...nec alios habebant qui hominem etiam cupidum morarentur." So far as I know, this is the only

extant record of Assemani's achievement, but possibly his correspondence, if preserved, would expand the story. 4 Travels in Upper and Lower Egypt (trans. Hunter),

11, 162.

5 Mém. sur la Vallée des Lacs de Natroun (Descr. de l'Égypte: État Moderne 1, 279 ff.). Can any of the volumes taken by Andréossy be identified at Paris or elsewhere ?

Elias Assemani

was certainly acquired there.¹ And it is highly probable that the other Bohairic MSS.² which accompanied the Psalter are of the same origin. Whether Drovetti personally visited the Monastery or acquired the MSS. from some other person, does not appear.

Somewhat later Lord Prudhoe (1828) visited El Baramûs and the other western Monasteries, though he is not known to have penetrated to Dêr Abû Makâr. Robert Curzon (1837), who was so fortunate at the Syrian Monastery, states definitely that here he saw none but the Church books.³

Henry Tattam

Lord Prudhoe,

Robert Curzon

Two years later, however (1839), Henry Tattam arrived in the desert. His interests called him mainly to the western Monasteries, but his step-daughter, Miss Platt, records that on his way back to Cairo he "called at the Monastery of Macarius as he passed: here he found about one hundred liturgies and a beautiful copy of the *Epistles* in Coptic which the monks refused to sell. There were also a great number of fragments and loose leaves from which he selected about a hundred, which he was permitted to take away."⁴ Most or all of these "fragments and loose leaves" passed, when Tattam's own library was sold (June 16, 1868), into the possession of Lord Lindsay and are now in the Rylands Library at Manchester.⁵

Tischendorf

But a few years later (April, 1844) the Biblical scholar, Constantine Tischendorf, visited Dêr Abû Makâr as well as the other Monasteries and found there a mass of leaves and fragments, now preserved in the University Library at Leipzig⁶ and at Cambridge. On the state of the Library and the circumstances in which this second series of fragments was found, Tischendorf makes the following statement:⁷ "The special locality set apart for the Library in the several Monasteries is the tower chamber (*sic*)... Here are to be seen (I speak of the first Monastery [= Saint Macarius]) the manuscripts heaped indiscriminately together. Lying on the ground or thrown into large baskets beneath masses of dust are found innumerable fragments of old, torn, and destroyed manuscripts.⁸ I saw nothing Greek;

I Since the new find includes many leaves from the selfsame Psalter (see below, No. XXXVII B, (b) 5 and cp. the facsimile published by de Rossi, Di Alcuni Manoscritti Copti nella Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino [Mem. della Reale Accad. della Scienza di Torino, Ser. II, t. XLIII (1893), pp. 226 ff.]).

2 These include: (1) Fragments of a Sermon on Penitence (op. cit., pp. 203 ff.): to this possibly belongs our own No. xxxv F, frag. 3. A leaf from another copy of the same work is Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 42. (2) A Martyrdom of S. Theodore(*id.*, pp.318 ff.): to this (almost certainly) belongs our No. xv, frags. 1-3. (3) A Martyrdom of S. Victor (*id.*, pp. 326 ff.), to which fragments at Leipzig may or may not belong.

3 Visits to Monasteries in the Levant (1849), pp. 82 f.

4 See Quarterly Review, LXXVII, p. 58.

5 The following can be identified with certainty as being derived from Dêr Abû Makâr: nos. 437-442, 445-449 (of Crum's *Rylands Catalogue*). Of the leaves bound up in no. 459, those belonging to the Sahidic vocabulary (= Crum, no. 114) come from the same MSS. as our No. XXXIX i; the remaining vocabulary leaves are from the same volumes as Nos. XXXIX ii ff.; and the Anaphora fragments (= Crum, no. 428) belong to No. XXXVIII B.

6 Codd. Tisch. XXIV-XXIX (cf. Tischendorf, Anecdota Sacra et Profana, p. 64) are all certainly from Dêr Abû Makâr. For the contents see Leipoldt ap. Vollers, Kat. d. Islamischen, Christl.-Orient....Hss. zu Leipzig, nos. 1086 ff.; also Crum, Hagiographa from Leipzig MSS. (P.S.B.A. XXIX, pp. 289 ff.). The fragments at Cambridge, sold by Tischendorf's heirs in 1884-6, are mostly of secondary importance, but include a leaf from the Apocryphal Acts, a fragment from the Vision of Benjamin, and two leaves from the curious Copto-Arabic Ms. published in Appendix I. 7 Travels in the East (English translation), p. 52.

8 Of these (paper) MSS. Tischendorf evidently selected only one or two specimens characteristic of each script, since Tischendorf's paper leaves at Cambridge contain a single sample of each of the groups lately recovered.

INTRODUCTION

all was either Coptic or Arabic For my own part I made a most lucky discovery of a multitude of Coptic parchment sheets of the sixth and seventh (sic) centuries, already half destroyed and completely buried beneath a mass of dust. These were given me without hesitation; but I paid for the discovery by severe pains in the throat, produced by the dust I had raised in the excessive heat."

There is no doubt that the "tower chamber" in which Tischendorf found the débris of the Fortune Ame Library was a room in the south-west angle of the Keep, on the second floor. Whether sooner or later after this visit the whole mass of 'rubbish' was shot into the oubliette lying beneath the floor of this room, and there it has remained almost or quite undisturbed ever since. Greville Chester, who came to the Monastery in 1873, states that he was not permitted to enter the Kasr, because shortly before a certain Fortune Ame had robbed the Monastery of its plate and "all the valuable Mss."¹ Doubtless this exploit was grossly exaggerated;² and if he really made away with any MSS., these are likely to have been Church books or possibly Arabic Mss., and not the 'débris' with which we are particularly concerned.

It was now tacitly assumed that Dêr Abû Makâr, as a mine of literary material, was worked out.³ This view has proved to be mistaken. When on Palm Sunday, 1920, I first visited the Monastery to study its architecture and archaeology, one of the monks who was guiding me over the Keep, led me into the inner of two communicating rooms which occupied the south-west angle of the second floor. Descending beneath the floor by a trap-door. he reappeared with his arms full of loose leaves of paper MSS. in Coptic and Arabic which he tossed carelessly upon the floor. It was clearly imperative to search this waste-paper deposit, however I concealed my eagerness until I should have made good my footing in the Monastery. But so soon as I was on friendly terms with the monks, I asked and obtained the consent of the Amîn ed Dêr to allow me to examine the secret chamber for myself. To this he and the other monks good-naturedly agreed.

The 'oubliette' proved to be about 2.5 m. deep, and to occupy the whole interspace between the second-floor room and the dome of the first-floor room below.⁴ Here, mixed with the large broken baskets seen by Tischendorf, with rags, broken glass, wood fragments. and large stones, was a vast quantity of loose leaves, some in chaotic heaps, others half buried in the thick bed of dust or soil with which the crown of the dome beneath was overlaid. Paper predominated, but here and there search revealed a leaf or a fragment of

1 Archaeological Journal, XXX, 106.

2 I have been unable to hear of any Mss. which can be traced back to Ame, who may, indeed, have been only an agent; though many Arabic Mss. in the Bibliothèque Nationale might well have come from Dêr Abû Makâr. Yet I may add that after I had taken away a number of fragments in 1920 with the permission of the Amîn ed Dêr, an anonymous monk wrote to the Patriarch stating that the khawageh had beaten the monks and carried off 'by force' twenty-five large books.

4 An offset running round the walls shows that this oubliette was once floored, but I saw no indication of any window or loophole.

1920-1921

³ I was so assured by an eminent French Egyptologist in Cairo. Other visitors to the Monastery may have seen but (I believe) have not examined this cache. During the war Dr. G. A. Auden visited the Monastery and was given some leaves of MS., including one from the Difnâr described below (No. XXXVIII F).

parchment. Working by candle-light (for there was no window or loophole) and in some haste, I collected all the parchment I could find and some paper leaves taken almost at random. These the monks most kindly permitted me to take away with me when I left the Monastery; but when I mentioned the find at Cairo, the Coptic authorities decided that the material was of the nature of *wakf*, and must be retained for the Coptic Museum. At the same time they courteously permitted me to take the entire find to England to be flattened,¹ repaired, and copied.

Examination soon showed the importance of a number of the leaves, and systematic search through the whole contents of the oubliette was consequently desirable. On my return to Egypt, the Very Reverend Abûna Maximus, the Abbot of Dêr Abû Makâr, most kindly authorized me to search for and bring away to Cairo any loose leaves or fragments of Mss. In April, 1921, therefore, I returned to the Monastery. The monks, less complaisant than formerly, affected to regard the project as a piece of sacrilege and read over to me certain of the anathemas directed against any who should remove from the Monastery the books in which they had once been inscribed. These warnings being of no avail, they implored me not to carry away the whole of their paper. They became so pathetic that in a weak moment I consented to take only a large selection.²

On these terms the monks withdrew their opposition and left me to incur my own damnation unmolested. For five days (from Tuesday in Holy Week), therefore, I worked in the oubliette, turning over and scrutinizing, handful by handful, the entire mass of paper, raking through the mass of dust, and selecting every fragment of Coptic which seemed in the least likely to be of value. The process, carried on in appalling conditions,³ was repeated thrice and resulted in the recovery of many more parchment leaves and fragments and some hundreds of paper leaves.

On Easter Monday I left the Monastery and returned to Cairo,⁴ where the Coptic authorities again agreed to allow the collection to be taken to England for study. The two series are now deposited in the Coptic Museum adjoining the Church called El Mo'allakah in "Old Cairo."

I Almost invariably the parchment leaves had been roughly folded twice or thrice, and besides, being much twisted and crumpled, were parched and highly brittle.

2 This was, of course, a deplorable piece of weakness, since I was authorized by competent authority to carry away the whole deposit. As stated above, the Arabic leaves may quite possibly include fragments of really valuable works; but I hope and believe that little or nothing of primary importance has escaped me so far as Coptic leaves are concerned.

3 If another should ever have the opportunity of exploring this 'waste-paper room,' he should be forewarned

that it is entirely lightless and airless and that every movement raises choking clouds of fine dust which cannot be dispersed. Furthermore, the ancient timbers overhead swarm with voracious vermin which are roused to activity by the light or warmth of candles, and the proximity of a latrine adds a final touch of unpleasantness.

4 To illustrate the accidents which beset the working archaeologist I may add that I was nearly arrested at the railway-station of Khatatba at the instance of the Abbot of another Monastery, who had hastily concluded that my spoils were snatched without his leave from his own Convent.

INTRODUCTION

7. Relation of the New Fragments to the Earlier Collections.

By a singular good fortune a considerable number of the newly-found fragments (liturgical matter is ignored in this connection) belong to works not otherwise extant, or surviving only in Ethiopic and Arabic versions and short summaries. Examples of the first class are the Apocryphal Fragment on Adam (No. 1) and the leaves from the Apocalyptic Gospel (No. v), both of which are entirely new. The Vision of Benjamin (No. XXIII c) and the Controversy of John IV (No. XXXIII) now for the first time appear in the original Coptic: both are extant but hardly 'known' in later Arabic versions. The Martyrdoms of Thomas of Shentalet, Astratole, Kradjôn and Amoun, and Paêsi and Thekla (Nos. XVIII-XXI), or the Lives of Pidjimi, Timothy Aelurus, and Apa Hôr (Nos. XXIX, XXXI, XXXII), if known at all, are known only in the brief *résumés* included in the *Synaxarium*.

It may be felt that fragments of such lost or almost lost works are so isolated, so exiguous, as to be of little value. True it is that in no case has a complete or even approximately complete work been recovered. Yet these fragments have their importance. Some of them, notably the above-cited examples from the apocryphal group, are valuable as they stand for the light they cast on the ideas and the mentality of early and medieval Eastern Christianity. Others do not stand alone, but supplement MSS. or fragments of MSS. previously discovered.

Some examples may be cited. First, the fragments from the Martyrdom of Apa Apoli (No. XVII) actually come from the missing first half of the Vatican MS. LXI, 2 and partly fill the initial lacuna in the published text.¹ Or, again, the two homiletic fragments (No. XXXV A) belong to the missing conclusion of the Homily on Repentance by Severian of Gabala, which has recently been published from *Cod. Vat. Copt.* LXVIII, 9,² and form an appreciable addition to that tract. Secondly, again and again it has been found that new-found leaves or fragments belong to the same MSS. from which came the remains rescued by Tattam and Tischendorf. Often the 'new' and the 'old' leaves prove to be successive leaves: often a torn fragment or half-leaf completes a corresponding fragment preserved by the earlier discoverers. A single instance will suffice to illustrate this.³ Seven leaves in all from the Martyrdom of Thomas of Shentalet (No. XVIII) have survived: of these the first, fourth, and sixth are 'new;' the second, third, fifth, and seventh are at Leipzig (Tischendorf's find); but the lower part of the third is completed by a fragment (recovered by Tattam) at Manchester, and the lower two-thirds of the fourth by a large fragment found in 1921.

1 Balestri-Hyvernat, Acta Martyrum (C.S.C.O., Scr. Copt., Ser. 111, tom. 1), pp. 242 ff.

2 H. de Vis, Homélies Coptes de la Vaticane, pp. 200 ff.

3 For further examples see Nos. xx, xxi, xxiii c,

xxvIII, xxIX, and xxXIII (the last two named are derived in varying proportions from the finds of Tattam, Tischendorf, and myself). Importance of fragmentary texts

New matter

The three¹ series of fragments must, therefore, be 'pooled.' This has been done in the present volume, and we recover, not indeed any complete work, but specimens of a number of works which, if not constant, are varied in their interest.

Whether future research is likely to add to the series it is impossible to say. It is quite possible that in some other hiding-place in the Monastery fresh fragments—perhaps of real value—may be found. The modern book-room of the Monastery seemed to contain nothing earlier than some late medieval liturgical Mss., but little opportunity was allowed me adequately to examine its contents.²

8. The Library and Technique of the MSS.

The Library

In the earliest times the monastic collection of books was usually housed in the Church, and this was probably the case with commoner service-books at all periods, as it is today. But the danger of barbarian raids led the monks to store all the books not in immediate use in the Kasr or tower of refuge,³ where a room was set apart for their accommodation: this book-room was known in Coptic as לאיאלאנסטאאיל or in Arabic as الولثاكى. In the Monastery of Saint Macarius the small chamber with the oubliette, situated in the southwest angle of the second floor of the tower,⁶ seems to have been assigned for this purpose; and, since the collection was a large one, the adjoining and connected room immediately to the north served as an annex—possibly as a workroom where binding and repairing could be carried on. Here the books were packed away in chests,⁷ no fittings being apparently provided. There is some evidence that to facilitate reference the volumes in the Library were numbered (see below on No. XXXVIII E, 3, note, and G, frag. 12). This is borne out by a 'rubric' in the Vatican Ms. of the Martyrdom of Apatil,⁸ where some reference is made to another work to be read on Epep 16 with the direction equen pur orog que, i.e. probably "on (page) 143 and in (volume) 91." The collection was entrusted to the steward, who also seems to have made purchases for it;⁹ though we hear once¹⁰ of a monk who "had charge

1 *i.e.* at Leipzig, Manchester, and Cairo (the Tischendorf Collection, however, is now split, the less important leaves and fragments being at Cambridge [University Library]).

2 In 1920 this Library was shown to me, but the whole fraternity thought fit to be present also and to press on my attention various modern printed books. Moreover, since the volumes are stored in high piles, even cursory examination is almost impossible.

3 Cp. the note (dated 1270) in Cod. Vat. Copt., no. 1X (quoted by Horner, Coptic Version of the N.T. 1, p. lix f.): "it shall not be carried up into the tower, like the rest of the books...but it shall be in the Church with the [service] books." Similarly the monk who in 1624 set in order the Library of the Syrian Monastery states that he "arranged them (the books) in the tower of the fortress" (see Wright, Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum, no. CCLXXIV [p. 305]).

4 See Zoëga, Cat., no. XLIV (p. 66); cf. Cod. Tisch. XXIV, 31 verso.

- 5 Hist. Patr., p. 469.
- 6 See A.A.C.M. I, Ch. III, § 2, VIII (a).

7 A note in the Morgan MS. of the Life of Maximus and Domitius states that the original of the copy was disinterred from a chest (Θ HRH) of old books. So, too, Shenuti provided an inlaid chest (in the Church) for books and other valuables (*Hist. Patr.*, pp. 350 f.). The notices above quoted from the narratives of Sicard and Sonnini show that this custom continued down to the eighteenth century.

8 See Zoëga, Cat., no. xx1 (p. 16).

9 An Arabic note in the polyglot Epistles in the Ambrosiana at Milan states that "the priest Salib, the provider (steward) at the Syrian Monastery...provided for it" (see Horner, *Coptic Version of the N.T.* III, pp. xvii f., and *H.N.S.*, Plate 1x).

10 See Zoëga, Cat., no. x (pp. 7 f.).

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of the sacred writings" (agai approxy innersage cooral) and who may have been a special librarian. There seem to have been no Library rules other than that theft was forbidden under pain of most comprehensive anathemas; though in one instance (at the Syrian Monastery) the ban is extended to any who should keep the book for longer than six months.¹

Nothing like the *scriptorium* of a Western Monastery seems to have existed. Copying was indeed sometimes carried on in a 'common room,'² perhaps the Library itself, or in the large hall found in the *Kasrs* of all Monasteries. Thus we hear that on one occasion Bessus, Superior of the Monastery of John Kamé, "remained fifteen nights copying books" in company with several brethren without needing to replenish his lamp.³ No doubt copying was done by night in order to evade the flies which then, as now, afflicted the scribe working by daylight. This is amusingly illustrated in a Ms. from the Syrian Monastery,⁴ where an infuriated copyist, after excusing his bad writing on the ground that the vellum had been ill-prepared, has written: "Lord, help me to fight against these accursed flies !" and again, "May God smite these flies, which war with me these days;" and lastly (driven, as we suppose, to distraction) he observes helplessly after leaving a blank space, "This is due to the devil's deceit." But ordinarily copying was carried on privately in the cells, since certain Mss. are known to have been written and presented anonymously.⁵

After papyrus had gone out of use,⁶ the material generally used down to about the thirteenth century was parchment or vellum.⁷ The skins used were occasionally imperfect: in such case deficiencies were made good by stitching on a piece of the required size, while ordinary rents were neatly sewn up (see Pls. I D, V c). From the thirteenth century onwards first cotton-paper and then coarser native and European papers came into general use.

The ink used is ordinarily a deep and glossy black, unfortunately quite soluble and liable to flake off the parchment. This is perhaps the ink which "the Egyptian Fathers who lived in this desert used for writing." The recipe is preserved in a MS. from the neighboring Dêr es Suriân⁸ and is as follows: "If you wish to make ink for parchment, take the parings of the root of a tree which grows in this desert, called *arta*, and pound them whilst fresh, and boil them on the fire in black wine and vinegar made from wine. Then strain, and add a little vitriol and gum arabic." In certain of the MS. fragments, however, the ink

4 See Wright, op. cit., no. cccxxvIII (p. 274).

6 I found not a scrap of papyrus at the Monastery of S. Macarius. Probably it was quite unknown there from the ninth century downwards.

Production of Mss.

Materials

¹ See Wright, op. cit., no. xvii.

² See Bibl. Nat., Fonds arabe, no. 302, p. 159 (quoted in H.N.S. 1V, iv, § 2).

³ See H.N.S. IV, iv, § 2 (and reference).

⁵ See Zoëga, *Cat.*, no. xxv (colophon, dated 1067 A.D.), and Wright, *op. cit.*, no. ccc1x (Syriac), where we are told that "a weak man—God knows his name! wrote it."

⁷ A Coptic recipe for the preparation of parchment has been edited by Crum (P.S.B.A. XXVII, 166 ff.).

⁸ See Wright, Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum, no. DCXCV (p. 580).

used is of a dark rusty-brown, or a yellow-brown (almost sepia) ink was occasionally employed. Red—possibly an ocher—was used in earlier Mss. only for stops and (with yellow) for the illuminated cable-pattern framing on title-pages. When paper came into use, however, the first or first and second lines of a new section were commonly inscribed in red, while capitals and prominent letters in the text were touched up with the same color.

Before setting to work the scribe carefully ruled guide-lines to direct his hand. The sheet to be used was placed upon a board,¹ down the sides of which pins were fixed at regular intervals. A ruler was placed against each pair of pins, and horizontal guide-lines were scored with a pointed instrument, the board beneath being slightly incised so that the parchment might be indented. A guide-line might be drawn for every line of the text, or for every alternate or third line.² A vertical guide-line was also ruled down the left side of the sheet (sometimes also on the right) to ensure regularity in the column and margins. Each sheet would then be folded down the center to form two leaves, and every four sheets (eight leaves) would be placed loosely together to form a gathering or quire.

The scribe

The scribe then set to work. The title of the tract to be copied was written in small, informal uncials and was enclosed in an illuminated frame of cable-pattern or interlaced work in red and yellow, which was also carried down the right margin of the page. Next, the initial line of the text proper was inscribed in great ornamental characters : one or more lines in enlarged uncial script followed (see Pls. VII B, XIII A, XVII A, B). The body of the text, written in single column,³ is broken up into short paragraphs each beginning with an enlarged capital which is carried out into the left margin. Ordinarily the words are not divided but are combined in groups which could be pronounced without pause in reading:⁴ where natural pauses occurred the scribe left a short blank in which the rubricator⁵ was to insert a stop, or he himself marked the punctuation with a stop (usually - or =).

In parchment MSS. the script is ordinarily a handsome and very regular uncial with thick vertical and fine horizontal strokes and without flourishes or affectations. The introduction of paper, however, led to the use of a less formal script (hereafter designated "the paper-hand") characterized by double-curved strokes and a tendency towards artificial rusticity of style. The partial coexistence of these two scripts is established by one of the new-found paper leaves (Pl. IX A-B).

Apart from the framing of the title the earlier (parchment) MSS. do not appear to have been illuminated, though occasionally ornaments of fine penwork are added in the margins

4 Thus in No. XXIX, frag. 4, verso, the grouping is τοτεπεχεπιςωτηρῶπιζατιος χεπιχιμιπαςωτη τωπκμαιμεπακέπεκτμι, &c. Occasionally (as in No. XVII) the scribe splits a word, writing αq εροτω or πε χαq, but this is mere affectation.

5 Doubtless scribe and rubricator were often one and the same person.

¹ Such boards are still used in the Monastery of S. Macarius for ruling manuscript-paper.

² The letters 'hang' from these guide-lines.

³ From the ninth to tenth century the division of a page into two columns had evidently been abandoned by Bohairic scribes (except in the case of bilingual texts, when Arabic and Coptic, of course, are inscribed in parallel columns).

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(see Pls. XXIII B, XXV-XXVII). The introduction of paper opened the way to a freer use of illumination. In all likelihood the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles and the Gospels MSS. (Nos. VI and XXXVII C, 2) were provided with full-page miniatures.¹ The paper MSS. also show a good deal of effective penwork in the form of head-pieces, marginalia, and elaborated capitals (*e.g.* Pls. XXV B, XXVII).

The number of quires in the MS. varied, of course, with the length of the work which it contained. In parchment MSS. four sheets (*i.e.*, eight leaves or sixteen pages) usually made up the quire or gathering. Occasionally (doubtless for exceptional reasons) the quire seems to have contained an odd number of folios. Each quire was numbered on its first and last page, and ordinarily either the folio- or page-numbering was marked on the *verso* of every leaf.² In addition, the first and last leaves of every quire (sometimes every leaf or page) received a small central ornament in its upper margin—a cross or a quatrefoil of interlaced work alternating with the abbreviated words of the Sacred Name and Title, such as $\overline{mc} = \frac{1}{n \times c} \sqrt{c} \sqrt{c} \sqrt{c} (sic).³$

When the scribe had finished his task, the quires were stitched and the MS. was ready for binding. By an unfortunate chance no well-preserved specimen of a book-cover has survived at Dêr Abû Makâr.⁴ In the Chapel of El 'Adra in the Keep alone there is a fragment of such a cover. It is a stout board of *sunt* wood measuring 32×24 cm., lined inside with paper, and covered outside with untooled black (or blackened) leather: near the upper and lower edges are pairs of brass rivets or bosses with flattened conical heads which may have secured a strap. The quires of the MS. were presumably secured inside the cover by ties of parchment passed through the stitching and glued to the covering-boards.

Sometimes the scribe would add on a blank page or in an empty space at the end of the Colophons volume his own name, usually with a petition for the prayers of the reader, the name of the benefactor who had paid for the production of the volume, the date, and other particulars.⁵ But Coptic MSS. of the earlier Middle Ages (such as those from the Monastery of Saint Macarius) seem to lack the anathema so regularly inscribed in Syriac, as in later Coptic MSS., against any who should venture to steal, injure, or deface the volume.⁶

2 In the later MSS. pagination is often not marked or only the left-hand leaves in the quire are numbered, perhaps because the quire was stitched before the scribe set to work.

3 Sometimes an invocation is substituted, such as \overline{rc} $n\overline{\chi c}$ nas nas: "Jesus the Christ, have mercy on me."

4 In the large vaulted hall (Curzon's "oil-cellar") in the Kasr at the Syrian Monastery are many fragmentary book-covers, once belonging to the Syriac Mss., now in the Vatican and the British Museum. These are elaborately tooled in much the same style as the examples figured in Budge's *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, pp. lvii, lx. But at the Syrian Monastery we hear of splendidly-bound books. Thus in 1211 A.D. a copy of the Gospels was presented whose binding was covered with gold and silver (probably inlay work and affixed plaques): this was provided with a special protecting case (see Assemani, *B.O.* 11, p. 236).

5 See Zoëga, *Cat.*, nos. x1x (pp. 21 f.), x1iv (p. 65), 11v (p. 105).

6 For examples of the anathemas inscribed in books see H.N.S., Excursus, § 8 (Anathema of Severus or Cyriac), and Horner, Coptic Version of the New Testament, 1, p. cxiv. Binding

I These were probably saved when the broken Mss. were discarded. To one of these two Mss. seems to belong the fly-leaf with the elaborate pen-work cross shown in Plate VIII D. In a fine thirteenth century copy of the Gospels at Dêr es Suriân there is a full page containing miniatures of the Four Evangelists.

Besides official inscriptions, the MSS. show numerous unauthorized notes of a miscellaneous character written in blank spaces or margins by readers. One at least of these notes is of high historical value,¹ but for the most part they are, if undated, of slight or of no importance, as are the examples seen in Nos. XVI, Frag. 7, and XXIII B, Frag. 2.

Various palaeographical features

A few further particulars of interest found in our fragments remain to be noticed: (1) Attention has already been drawn to the use of both the "parchment-" and the "paperhand" in a thirteenth-century text (No. vi, p. $\overline{\tau n \Sigma} = Pl. XVII B$). The former has not the appearance of an archaizing imitation, and the concurrent use of both scripts may, therefore, be of interest to Coptic palaeographers. (2) The upper margins of certain of the title leaves (e.g. Nos. XXIII C, D) have 'rubrics' or directions as to the place and occasion on which the work was to be read. These notes, always in small, informal uncials, seem to be nearly contemporary with the text proper, though not written by the original scribe. The same is true of certain marginal directions intended to regulate the public reading of the book. Thus (No. xxvIII, Frag. 3, verso) we find the word you ("unto") followed at a longer or shorter interval by wy ("read"), and the note ponge ("translate it") in No. XXIII D, appended to a citation from the Psalms. The two former seem to indicate that the intervening passage was to be omitted in public reading: the second may have signified that the citation was to be rendered in Arabic.² (3) The new fragments contain no notes or colophons of historical or topographical value such as occur in the Vatican Mss. Yet palaeographically and for the light it throws on the medieval pronunciation of Coptic the note appended to the Martyrdom of Justus (No. xyI, Frag. 7 = Pl. XII B) is interesting, since it is both written in a cursive hand and resolves the special Coptic consonants into their Greek equivalents. (4) The orthographic sign -, a very short horizontal stroke placed above the letter affected, is regularly used. It occurs, normally, over liquids to indicate the half-vowel, as in the forms intep-, mennes. It is also added to a number of Coptic vowels, such as the verbal prefix is when separated from the verbal stem; to the pronominal prefix et-; to the prepositions e, eporn, ehol, &c.; to n and to i (especially when final) as in opi, toorni and ini; and to o and w as in two, opi, eporw. Initial and final & (also medial a, 1, 0) in Greek words are similarly marked : e.g., antioxia, atorAntianoc, attoc, apianoc. But in all these respects the fragments are strictly parallel with their fellows, the Bohairic мss. in the Vatican.

I The statement of Joseph the Deacon concerning El Håkem's persecution (Zoëga, *Cat.*, no. LIV, p. 106). 2 See Crum in *P.S.B.A.* XXIX, p. 307. Certain critical signs appear in No. XXVIII (see p. 144).

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

I. APOCRYPHAL FRAGMENT ON ADAM

Parchment. Two leaves (Cairo, no. 22), numbered on the versos $\overline{K_{A}}$, \overline{KH} , and forming a single sheet from a quire. Since the numeration is apparently by folios,¹ the number of leaves in the quire was odd, three leaves (six pages) forming the center of the gathering.

The first leaf, which is nearly complete, measures 28×20.5 cm.: the written column is 21.7 cm. high and about 14 cm. wide. A vertical guide-line is ruled down the right side of the column: horizontal guides are drawn at intervals of five or more lines of the text. The only stops used are - and -. For the hand (XII or XIII century ?) see Plate I A.

On folio 24 the rejection of Cain's sacrifice and his consequent hatred of Abel are narrated. Cain treacherously induces his brother to walk abroad with him. Being giants, the two reach Golgotha (by implication the center of the earth) in three days: there Abel is slain. The missing leaves 25–27 seem to have contained an account of the burial of Abel, of the death of Adam, and of the Flood.² Folio 28 relates the finding of Adam's skull by men of a later age who bury it on Golgotha. The text then describes how the renewed sins of mankind necessitated the Redemption and dwells on the sufferings of Christ, reminding us that at the Crucifixion the Cross was set up on the same Rock of Golgotha where both Abel and the skull of Adam were buried. The Blood and Water which flow from the Savior's side rend the rock and all Nature is convulsed: Adam arises and comes to the Cross, where the Lord reaches forth His hand...

Here after a fragmentary mention of an Archangel, the text breaks off. But it is clear that we have to do with the fragment of a work which, while using Jewish Apocryphal elements, is Christian in its intention. Its aim was to establish a connexion between the First and Second Adam,³ at once comparing and contrasting Abel and Christ.⁴ Though the text has elements in common with such works as the Ethiopic Book of Adam and Eve,⁵ the Book of the Bee, and the Old Testament History lately translated from the Ethiopic by Grébaut,⁶ it does not belong to any of these: all, perhaps, draw upon the same general mass of apocryphal material. Apocrypha relating to Adam were numerous, and among these was a work mentioned in the Decree of Gelasius entitled the Penitence of Adam.⁷ Of this practically nothing beyond the title is known; but it is possible that there was at least some connexion between our fragment and the Penitence. For the situation at the close of the former can have developed only into a reconciliation between Christ and Adam.

As to the contents of the first twenty-three leaves, we may conjecture with some probability that they included the Creation of Man, the Fall, and the birth of Cain and Abel. One very slight scrap of evidence, the reference to an Archangel (fo. 28^b, l. 28), suggests—but only suggests—that the work may have ended with an Assumption of Adam to Paradise. But if this indication is misleading, then the text may have concluded with a Descent of Christ into Amenti.⁸

I The implied contents of the missing portion would have required three leaves (six pages).

2 These are implied in subsequent references.

3 See Rom. v, 15, i Cor. xv, 21 ff., 45 ff. The same also was the intention of the Book of Adam and Eve (trans. Malan, p. v).

4 Cp. the Coptic Gospel-fragment published by Révillout, Évang. des xii Apôtres, p. 48 (P.O. 11, 164), where Christ declares: "Since Cain killed Abel his brother, the blood of that one keepeth not silence, crying out unto this hour. It will not cease to cry out, until My blood crieth and his keepeth silence."

5 According to Malan (*l.c.*) this was translated into Eth. from the Arabic: doubtless it was previously current in Coptic.

6 R.O.C. xvi (1911), pp. 171 ff.

7 See Preuschen, Analecta, p. 154; James, Lost Apocrypha of the O.T., pp. 1 f.

8 Cp. No. IV.

(Cairo, no. 22.)

Пы рну пе ёре фу ли ймод пем тедпрозересис ебнапед Стадпая йже кып педсоп ё фн ёт едірі ймод = адхор ё-

5 pod ben οτχος εάξωστ = aqini χως έβολβεη ημιμορη ñοττας ñτε τεςκοι ηξαησλιλ πηστ =

Сщип астоиненол = таскаос

- 10 μεπ πευρητ = xε φ4 στεμ ελι απ = ψαυρεμεί εξορμι πτευστόμοτ άπεμφο άποτ = μεπ τευμετλαμητ επα(τ) 4άςο α φ4 χοτψτ ρι-
- 15 жен тпрогересис пайед гизен пищотщьютщи же пте кан мпест ёгонц ёроц = '

А кып ъе ер якар прит-а пец-

- 25 απ ben οτςωοττεη = 2[θηκ² ηθοκ αε άκερποδι = παι ρητ ά καιη αωητ ε άδε[λ πειςοη αε παρε φτ μ[ει ώμοι έδοτε (ε) ροι με

∻ <u>къ</u> ← Ψ

Πεχας πας ben στχρος πτε πεςιωτ πιδιαβολος κε μαροπ ε τκοι πτεπσιεσρας μληοπ ποτκοτχι

- 5 Σε οτηι ταρ ά φ7 θαπιο ñεωμ πιβεπ ñē πεεοοτ Παι ph7 on = αθθαπιο ώπιρω-
- йё пероот амо-Щі

Соде фат à кат мющт пем авед пецсоп пर пероот

- 15 ภัмощі щатеці ё Іпетра йте пікодкова = німшіт йте ідня пімшіт ёте ммоп тімі ямат = хе мпате ромі щопі ммат
- 20 **n**]e =
- Иејачер пал 2006 фал= ñæe ка]лп плпопнрос = æe ñпјещтем печиот сотјем е течсмн ечпађо-
- 25 T]eb మnegcon = etaqini m]negcon epphi hopph n]orkorzi ñoihb = enatc]azi aqkwdo epphi ez]wg ñnegoat

¹ Very doubtful: ? read mei. ² For magone?

× Recto

× Verso

^xThus it was—God approving him (sc. Abel) and his good disposition—that when Cain his brother saw that which he did, he envied him with a wicked envy. He also brought of the firstfruits of his field offerings to the Lord. Whensoever he brought them, he would say in his heart: "God eateth not anything": he would sit down to eat them in the presence of the Lord in his unpardonable greed. God had respect unto the disposition of Abel, but to the Sacrifice of Cain He paid no heed.

Now Cain was vexed in heart: his countenance changed through shame. God said unto Cain from Heaven: "Wherefore art thou vexed in heart? Though thou didst well in bringing them, thou didst not well in dividing them.¹ Bethink thee that thou hast sinned." So Cain was wroth against Abel his brother, because God loved him (Abel) more than him.

^xHe said unto him (Abel) in the guile of his father the Devil: "Let us go into the field to take our pleasure for a little." For, lo, (as) God made all things in six days, so also He made man a giant, (so that) if he journeyed from the eastern parts, he would come to the western in six days' journey. Therefore Cain journeyed with Abel his brother three days' journey, until he came to the Rock of Golgotha, the place of Jerusalem, the place wherein there was no town; for as yet there was no man there. Cain the wicked one did this thing that his father might not hear his (Abel's) voice when he should slay his brother.

When he had brought his brother up thither like a little lamb which is dumb, he trampled upon him with his feet.

* * *

1 See Note (p. 6).

APOCRYPHAL FRAGMENT ON ADAM

кер1 ймоц = щатеці ежен пімығ ёт атфын йпспоц мпецинрі евод пынтц = ётатпат ёроц йже пірымі

- 5 атершфирі ёмащы = етаы ймос = ае фаі отаі пе ёводбеп пірымі пархеос атфомсц беп піма ётеммат =
- 10 Атмот ерод же піма йте пікрапіон ща ёботп є фоот= а[т]кŵт й Накі Беп піма етеммат =

аща імфин атэ пто этов

15 аттасоюот ёррні ё потпові пархеос = Піщнрі 2е йф7- йпечщулі

ёроц-ецпат ё Агіяшп тнрс пте Аметршмі ес-

20 паще пас ё птако Адрек піфноті = пте піфноті

Аді ёпеснт адтнід йматата ёгрні ё пепхіх² ппірецер-

25 пові = атфеап ероч ё ф[м]от адеретпомении [е півасапос тнрот Бец[отсард •• [

[...

¹ sc. [2 пімшот скор]|кер.

² ēncyziz, MS.

RH T

× Recto

[...The waters of the Flood] \times rolled it,¹ until it came to the place wherein his son's blood was poured forth. When the men saw it, they marveled greatly, saying: "This is one of the men of old time:" they buried it in that place. They called it The Place of the Skull unto this day, and they built the city in that place.

So when men were multiplied, they turned back to their old sins. But the Son of God could not endure when He saw that the whole image (sic) of manhood would go to perdition. He bowed the Heaven of Heavens and came down: He gave Himself up into the hands of sinners. They condemned Him to death. He endured all torments in [the flesh ?...]

[Three lines lost.]

*They took His cross and fixed it upon the Rock of Golgotha, the place where Adam's skull was buried Verso with Abel his son: they hanged the Savior upon the Cross. (Yet) after all this His Godhead did not separate from His Manhood.

They thrust a spear into His holy side, and thereout came water and blood which fell upon the ground. It (the ground) was rent: the depths were troubled, because He unto whom they did all this was God: the luminaries² of Heaven were darkened.

When the First-created saw all this he marveled and arose and drew near to the Cross to behold that which was come to pass. The Savior stretched forth His holy hand upon him who approached...his arising (?): He [commanded the] Archangel...

1 sc. the skull of Adam. See Note (p. 6).

2 *i.e.* $\sigma \tau o \iota \chi \epsilon \hat{\iota} a$, the sun (and apparently the moon and stars).

Атылі мпеца атлозці ёгрні Бен тпетра ите пікодкова = піма ёре пікрапіоп ñт[є] атем а- роми эмое мая 5 her печшнрі -Атащ пісштир ё піф мене(п-) са паз тирот мпе течметпот фира с тедметри-MI = 10 Атр потщеплотун с печсфир свотав аді свод пынту παε οτμωοτ πεμ οτεπου α αγρι εχεπ πικαρι αγφωχι = атщоортер йже пиюти = 15 code se of netatep has thpor nag = Атерхані йже пістоіхіон йте тфе = Стачпат ё паг тирот йже піархноопласма адерщфири 20 αστωπη ασβοπτη έβονη є пі = xє птецероє wpin е фн етацщопі-А пісштир соттеп тецхіх 25 eoorah e]hod ben oh ergen т. . .] пецщал = »q-• • ٢. . ар]хнагче-[loc ٢. ¹ sic: for $a \tau 2 0 3 q = a \tau 0 0 3 q$.

Fo. 24 recto

ll. 1–8. Closely follows *Genesis* IV, 3 ff. Elsewhere Cain's hatred is attributed to sexual jealousy, Adam having purposed to wed Abel with Cain's twin-sister (whom Cain himself desired), and Cain to Abel's twin-sister: cp. *Book of the Bee* (ed. Budge) ch. XVIII, pp. 25 f.

II. 9-14. Somewhat similar is the account of Cain's offence given in the *Book of Adam and Eve* (trans. Malan) 1, 77: "But as for Cain, he took no pleasure in offering; but...he offered up his gift once; and when he did offer it up, his eye was on the offering he made" (*i.e.* he grudged it: cp. Malan's note no. 43, op. cit., p. 221).

ll. 14-26. Genesis IV, 4-7 again closely followed.

l. 24. "Thou didst not well in dividing them:" see Malan's note *ut supra*. A man is said to 'divide' his sacrifice when after slaying the victim he takes the flesh for himself.

Fo. 24 verso

ll. 3-4. Cp. Gen. IV, 8 and Book of Adam and Eve I, 78 (Malan, p. 99): "thou hast never been one day in the field to take thy pleasure."

ll. 5-12. I can quote no parallel for the proportion of the earth to primitive man. The obvious implication is that Golgotha (which is reached in three days: cp. l. 14) was at the earth's center. So in the Ethiopic Old Testament History (R.O.C. XVII, 1912, p. 23) Shem, when about to carry Adam's body away for burial, is told, "Lo, the angel of the Lord shall go before you to the place called Golgotha: verily that is the center of the earth:" (cp. also id., p. 25).

1.8. For the gigantic size of primitive man cp. Bartholomew, Book of the Resurrection (ed. Budge, Copt. Apocr., p. 196): "Now Adam was four score cubits in height and Eve was fifty cubits." Other authorities assert that man's stature was reduced after the Fall; but the compiler of our text seems to have been unaware of this.

ll. 27 f. Cp. Isaiah LIII, 7 (applied in Acts VIII, 32 ff. to Christ).

Fo. 28 recto

ll. 1–9. Adam's skull appears to have been found and buried by men of later ages, after the Flood. In John Chrysostom's *Encomium on John the Baptist* (ed. Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha*, p. 134) the Flood is said to have carried Adam's body to Jerusalem, though no reference is there

NOTES

made to its burial by human hands. But in the *Book of Adam and Eve* (III, 18) and in the Eth. O. T. *History* (R.O.C. xvII, p. 25) Adam's whole body is said to have been buried on Golgotha; though the latter inconsistently adds: "The name of this place is Golgotha: verily it is there that (Shem) laid the *bead* of the father of all creatures."

ll. 21-3. Cp. *Ps*. XVIII, 9: "He bowed the Heavens also and came down," and CXLIV, 5 "Bow thy Heavens, O Lord, and come down."

Fo. 28 verso

ll. 1-5. Thus connexion between Adam and Abel on the one hand and Christ on the other is established. Cp. the *Book of Adam and Eve* 111, 19 (Malan, p. 168): a voice announces to Melchizedek (who accompanied Shem with the body of Adam) that, "upon the land to which we are going shall the Word of God come down and suffer and be crucified on the place in which my body is laid."

ll. 6-9. Whether interpolated or original these lines appear to be a Monophysite protest against the 'Chalcedonian' doctrine of the "Two Natures;" or possibly against the Aphthartodocetists of the v1 cent. (on whom see *Hist. of the Patr.*, ed. Evetts, p. 190).

ll. 12 ff. The precedence given to the water is noteworthy. Probably, though this is not directly stated, the water and blood are conceived as flowing down and *baptizing* Adam's skull. For the passage above cited from the *Book of Adam* continues: "The crown of my head shall be baptized with His blood, and then shall my salvation be wrought; and He shall restore me to my kingdom, and shall give me my priesthood and my gift of prophecy." So too in a Bodleian Ms. (Payne Smith, *Cat. Codd. MSS. Bibl. Bodl.*, Pars VI, cols. 452–8) of the *Book of the Bee* is a long account of the baptism of Adam (cp. Budge, p. 95): unfortunately Dr. Budge has not included this passage in his edition.

Il. 24 ff. The author forgets that Christ is crucified; or does he postulate a miracle? We can only conjecture to what this action led: possibly the hand was outstretched in token of forgiveness; or did the text represent Christ Himself as baptizing Adam 'into His blood'? So too the reference to the Archangel is baffling (unless we assume that Adam was to be conducted forthwith into Paradise).

ACROSTIC HYMN ON THE NATIVITY

II. ACROSTIC HYMN ON THE NATIVITY

Paper. Four leaves (imperfect), 25×17 cm., from the first volume of the *Difnâr* (No. XXXVIII F). For the hand and style see Plate XVIII B (showing a leaf from the same MS.).

The text includes considerable fragments of a long Hymn on the Nativity (Khoiak 28–29), the second of two appointed for that festival.¹ It is to be chanted to the mode "Adam." The hymn contained twenty-four stanzas, each beginning with a letter of the Greek Alphabet and divided into four lines or verses.² There is a caesura or pause in the middle of each line marked by the stop *. After each stanza follows a refrain (given at length after Stanza 1, but thereafter in abbreviated form).

The substance of the Hymn is derived mainly from the First and Third Gospels, but in the seventh and following stanzas the author has introduced a notable apocryphal element,³ asserting that Joseph was inspired to enroll not only his own and the Virgin's name but also "the name of his son Jesus"—before the Child was born.

A fragment only of this Hymn (Stanzas 1-5, lacking the refrain) is found in the Rylands Difnâr.⁴

× Fo. 31 <i>recto,</i> l. 10	мьеб по ровп×	وابصًا ادامر
	Амшии тнрот йфоот » и	Алос пте пкарі *
	аріфейріп » йплімт	стнриоп +
	•	> ébodhen Anapoenoc +
	авие сперма ñp[wmi	*] Mouledcod [nuou]
× Fo. 31 verso	Пареприс ёро[ч » пел	+ зобэтлан [×] [
	ьеп паі ртмпос соо г	°a£ + ñēnorpanıon +
	хе отшот Беп пн етс	босі йф4 » пем отгірнин гіхеп пікагі »
	nem ortmat Peu uib	шмі + ze aqī agcw† ймоп +
	Внолеем пте тютбеб + 1	эеті Реи олобуну
	же ачфірі ёвод пънт	с 🗧 йхе фрн йте Фмедмні 🧇
	ετε πτς πχς + πιλου	ос етачелсару >
	а маріа масу » есоі	мпаро(єпос) →
	Парепешс ёроч » пем	ηι[αννελος *]
	Графн пі]веп етсьнотт »	[пн ет бущорп ñхотот ÷
* Fo. 32 recto	* аже птрофнтне *	eole nxmī ūn <u>y</u> c +
	αταωκ έδολ πφοοτ	 ибриг Рец уноусет *
	овакі йпотро Затіз	+ ет атмасч пап пънтс +
	Парепрыс ёроч » пем	піанчелос +

The same again. (Mode) "Adam."

1 Come all ye peoples of the earth today, behold this mystery, how unto us God is born of the Virgin without human seed, that He may save us.

With the Angels let us praise Him in this holy, heavenly hymn: "Glory be to God on high, and peace on earth, and goodwill among men"; for He hath come and saved us.

2 Bethlehem of Judea, rejoice in exultation, for in thee hath arisen the Sun of Righteousness, even Jesus the Christ, the Word Which took flesh, Whom Mary bare being yet a maiden.

With the Angels let us praise Him!

3 Every Scripture written, those things which the Prophets foretold touching the coming of the Christ, are fulfilled today in Bethlehem, the city of King David wherein He is born.

With the Angels let us praise Him!

I The first hymn is non-acrostic and less well preserved. 2 In the original the third line is always written as a new paragraph (with capital projected into the left margin): in our text this is ignored as tending to obscure the alphabetic system. 3 The source of this incident appears to be the Discourse on the Nativity by Demetrius (Budge, Misc. Copt. Texts, p. 93): cp. the Death of Joseph the Carpenter, ed. Lagarde, ch. VII (= Robinson, Copt. Apocr. Gospels, p. 133).

4 Rylands Library Copt. 21 (Crum, Cat., no. 435), fo. pmc.

Затіх піпрофитис + ерхиретія пан¹ +

Εταφί ñze οτοω[n ē]b[ολ ριτει ποτρο +]

хе ометсыё йпеусы > отёводдеп симп > ечёї йхе ф4 > беп отмпр ёвод > пот йте піхом > беп отсмн йсадпіччос > Парепомс ёроч > [пем пі]аччедос >

× Fo. 32 verso

[xe ñte foikormenh thpc +] *tpenc ёботп ё сблі + пте пютаі пютаі + ще ё внолеем + ñteqcbai мпедрап + пем фрап ñte педіют + Иарепрюс ёрод + пем піарчелос +

Зеонтыс адтынд » йже пюмні ішснф » йбод пем маріа » Апар(бе)пос сботав » атешу ё внодеєм » сбротсье потрап » паре Апарбепос » єрвокі йпенсштнр » Шарепешс ёрод » пем пі[аччей]ос »

* Fo. 33 *recto*

× Fo. 33 verso

потмъс[тнріоп . .] *Беп пжіпорецсбаі + же апок ішснф + пем маріа тецсеімі + пем інс пецщнрі + Парепошс ёроц + пем піатчелос +

Нън е]чсбал + йже пл[өмні 1]шснф +

Өшөтү тирот мфоот + аргөейрип + йтал пищү йщфири + мпара20[2]оп + хе беп пхинорецсбе пецрап + пем фран йупароепос + пем инс пецщири + мпатотмиси ммоц + Иарепешс ёроц + пем платтедос +

Ic πιμτετηριοπ + agotwng nag2 ehol +

Парепешс ёроу » нем планчелос »

¹ ? read αριχωρετικ κεμακ. ² κακ, MS.

4 David the Prophet, exult with us (crying): "Out of Sion shall God appear in perfect beauty"—even the Lord of Hosts with the sound of a trump.¹

With the Angels let us praise Him!

5 When there came forth a decree from the King that all the world should be enrolled,² that each should go to Bethlehem to write his name and his father's name;

With the Angels let us praise Him!

6 Straightway the righteous Joseph arose, he and Mary, the pure Virgin, and went to Bethlehem to write their names; the Virgin being with child with Our Savior.³

With the Angels let us praise Him!

7 While the righteous Joseph was writing a mystery...in that (?) he wrote: "I am Joseph, with Mary my wife, and my son Jesus."

With the Angels let us praise Him!

8 Assemble all ye today, behold this great marvel so amazing, in that he wrote his name and the name of the Virgin and (the name of) Jesus his son ere yet He was born.

With the Angels let us praise Him!

9 Lo, the mystery! The Angel revealed it unto him touching the vision, which he uttered, and spake with Joseph: "Take unto thee thy wife; for He Whom she shall bear,—call Him Jesus."⁴

With the Angels let us praise Him!

I Cp. Psalm L, 2 and XLVII, 5.

2 Cp. Luke 11, 1.

3 Cp. Luke 11, 5. 4 Cp. Matth. 1, 21.

FRAGMENT FROM AN APOCRYPHAL GOSPEL

	Ке гар атм	os epox *	gāin əxñ	005 ·>		
	еөре †	пърө⟨єпос	:> MICI + J	йпепсωтнр) *	
	пехас	піюснф ∗	xe ápiko	н о т ёроі	*	
		стщоп Бе				*
		se épod ∻				
	Хогпон стач	jnav → ñz	е піфині	ιωснф ∻		
	ε πιπι *	томоћ †и	* стхн ; *	веп песро	* *	
× Fo. 34 recto	×[•]zmċ[• • •		
	[at]mic	и пютеп [і	ayoor + i	потсытнр	Peu pu[e	эле]ем ч
	Παρεπευ	oc époy ∻	твіп мэп	τελος ∻		
	тлып эхэП	ехос + пп	เพลหลัดเมอา	5 .>		
	26 TW	отпот мац	уе пωтеп	» ёррні ё	рнолее	u .≯
	тетепп	ar ê noc	» ет бун	асу пънто	*	
	едХн	Беп отоп е	у » ñте ş	antehnwo	ชī ∻	
	Πορεπρυ	oc ēpoy +	тем піат	телос »		
×Fo. 34 verso	Ръщі отпоч	ймютеп ^э	×[٠	•	
	[•	•	•	•	•]
		٠	•	•	•]
	[avx1]/	иг лпепсы	тнр 🔸 от	ος ατοτωι	ут ймоч	
	Парепро	oc ēpoq ∻	пем піач	τελος ∻		
	Сштем ё піл	э + эотан	гбітій Ре	en orwne .	۶	
	мпхипі мп <u>хс</u> + ьеп ідня +					
	хе ацошп фн ёт атмасц + потро пте пиотдаі +					
	gung	ё пецсіот	anī ze ē	iTenoรพบา	г ймоч «	>
		oc ēpog o				

10 And lo, the days were accomplished that the Virgin should bear Our Savior. She said unto Joseph: "Help me; for He Who is in my womb would come to birth."

With the Angels let us praise Him!

11 Then when the righteous Joseph saw the great grace which was in her countenance...¹

15 ... unto us is born today in Bethlehem a Savior.

With the Angels let us praise Him!

16 The Angel spake unto the shepherds: "Arise, go ye down to Bethlehem: ye shall see the Lord Who is born therein, lying in a manger of cattle."

With the Angels let us praise Him!

17 Rejoice ye and be glad...² They found Our Savior and worshipped Him.

With the Angels let us praise Him!

18 Harken to the Wise Men proclaiming openly the coming of the Christ in Jerusalem! "Where is He Who is born the King of the Jews? We have seen His star and are come to worship Him."

With the Angels let us praise Him!

[The remaining six stanzas are lost.]

III. FRAGMENT FROM AN APOCRYPHAL GOSPEL

Parchment. A single leaf (Cairo, no. 23), 26.5×20 cm., without page or folio number. The height is nearly but not quite complete: at the lower left-hand corner a piece of parchment, stitched on to complete a defective sheet, has become detached and lost. Guide-lines are ruled for every alternate line of the text: the only stop used is - (black). For the somewhat peculiar hand see Plate I B.

1 The latter part of Stanza 11 with the whole of 12-14 2 Two and a half verses are lost. (occupying one leaf) and part of 15, is lost.

The text is a fragment from the story of the Crucifixion¹ as related in an Apocryphal Gospel, or possibly in a discourse embodying apocryphal material. On the *recto* the Good Thief addresses the people, declaring his faith in Christ, and begs the Lord to remember him. Jesus promises that the thief shall be with Him in His Kingdom, whereupon the second thief, Gestas, reviles his companion. On the *verso* the narrator (apparently), after pausing to execrate Gestas, explains Pilate's purpose in setting up an inscription over the cross of Jesus.

It is no doubt only accidental that here, as in the Gospel of Saint Peter,² the Good Thief remonstrates with the bystanders at the Crucifixion. Rather the fragment is similar in level to certain of the fragments collected by Revillout in his Évangile des xii Apôtres.³ Possibly it belongs to the same cycle as Frag. xv of that collection (pp. 57 f.) where it is asserted that the body of the thief was found in Christ's tomb. Revillout conjectures (*ib.* p. 58, note) that in the sequel the Thief arose and gave his testimony concerning Christ: if this is so, then the Thief may be the undefined narrator in our fragment. It is not apparent whether or no the Gospel to which the leaf belonged had any definite doctrinal tendency.

(Cairo, no. 23.)

матоі кыф ёроц от-2е цаі гоплоп = Внппе цащі Беп тете(п-) мн† ш пасопі¹ = йфрн‡

- 5 ποται μπετεπρηή αποκ τω μμος = απ έ οτμετοτρο φρος οτςηοτ=αλλα οτμετοτρο щα έπερ = ροταπ αςщα(n-)
- 10 דשחע εגסאטר חו בס-אשסדד - קחברסס[דס]ד-קס צוצבה סדסה חוגרה חו בדסחט הבא חו בסאש-סדד
- 15 Сове фаг ры агхос хе паот артамевг акщант Беп текметотро адероты йхе пнс хе фо
 - оь] Хиейти иемні Ре(и)
- 20 таме]тотро Тоте] піасевнс честас] адотогем []педщфнр
- [eq]عن شمامد = عد 25 [. .]nobs an

ſ

¹ пісопі, *MS*.

.]πε ū

амеи4 те годзес = еррнг Реи те изд ядог и4101 итеи же у йог кеодог омни 4200 умос ит-

- Πιλατος οτη έταψηατ Σε οτοη οτμη<u>μ</u> ήλαος μοη δεη ίλημ - μηιςμοτ έτεμματ - εβολ-
- 10 βεη μιλολ πιβεη πεω Χωρα πιβεη = αφοτοης πτς πωοτ εβολ τε ποτρο ήτε πιοται πε αφεραι ποττιτλος
- 20 ωщ μμος1 = δςщδητωης σε είπδ ñτ[οτщτε(μ)σολς εβο[λ δςεβδι μμετρ[ωμεος εθβε πιρ[ωμε 25 ος ετχή [ben ie-

ротсь[Лнм пе[. . . П[. . . .

¹ п.м. моч. MS.

× Recto

[He did not resist when the] *soldiers sought Him, nor did He take weapons. Lo, He hangeth in your midst, O my brethren, like one of your own kind. I speak not of a kingdom for a season, but of a kingdom for ever: when He shall have arisen from the dead, He shall reign over all, the living and the dead. For this same cause I say: My Lord, remember me when Thou shalt come in Thy kingdom." Jesus answered: "Today shalt Thou be with Me in My kingdom."

Then the impious Gestas rebuked his companion, saying: "[If He were ?] not a sinner (?)..."

I I do not know whether Cod. Tisch. xxvI, 10 (see Leipoldt *ap*. Vollers, Kat., p. 409) belongs to the same Ms. as our leaf.

2 ed. Swete, §4. 3 =P.O. 11, 173 ff.

THE DESCENT INTO AMENTI

*Verily I say unto you that this one (Gestas) also departed and received the portion of Judas in Amenti. * Pilate, therefore, when he saw that there was in Jerusalem at that time a multitude of people from every nation and every country, showed forth Jesus unto them as the King of the Jews. He wrote an inscription in this manner (and placed it) upon the cross. He wrote it in Hebrew because of the Jews who were in the city and the strangers also; that they might read it when he should have raised it up, that they might not deny it. He wrote in Latin because of the Romans who were in Jerusalem...

NOTES

Recto.

ll. $16-17 = Luke \times 111$, 42 (with **Ben** "*in* thy Kingdom," as usual in the Coptic version and most Greek Mss.).

ll. $19-20 = Luke \times 111$, 43, save that our text has "in my Kingdom," instead of "in Paradise" (which is read both in the Greek *Acta Pilati*, ed. Tischendorf, x *ad fin.*, and in the Coptic, ed. Revillout, *Apocryphes Coptes*, p. [121]).

ll. 21 ff. Cp. Luke XXIII, 39. In the Greek Acta Pilati the two thieves are named Dysmas and Gestas; in the Coptic Demas and Kestas (*ll. c.*).

Verso.

ll. 1-5. Apparently a comment by the narrator.

ll. 6 ff. Cp. John XIX, 19 f., the only one of the Four Gospels which directly ascribes this action to Pilate and uses the word $\tau_{1T}\lambda_{0c}$: both features occur in the Greek and Coptic Acta Pilati.

ll. 7-11. Possibly a reminiscence of Acts 11, 5.

l. 16. The explanation is not wholly clear. Probably the meaning is that by writing in three languages Pilate clearly proclaimed the identity of Jesus to every nationality present at the Crucifixion.

I. 19. The 'strangers' are Jews from foreign lands who had come to Jerusalem for the Feast.

IV. THE DESCENT INTO AMENTI

Parchment. Four fragments derived from two distinct Mss.

Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 61. i), 29.5×23 cm., is a nearly complete leaf, numbered on the *recto* $\overline{10}$. The upper left-hand corner is detached. The hand (see Plate XIII B) is a medium-sized, well-formed uncial. No stops are visible. The written column is 14.5 cm. wide: horizontal guide-lines are ruled for every alternate line of the text, and there is a vertical guide-line to the left of the column. Line 1 of the *recto* is in large characters indicating the commencement of the work. The space above is left blank, possibly for an illuminated heading or formal title: in the midst are the beginnings of two lines in minute lettering, presumably a make-shift title.

Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 61. ii), 16×22 cm., is the upper portion of a leaf numbered $-\overline{\lambda H}$: the written column averages 12 cm. in width. The script is identical with that of Frags. 3-4.

Frag. 3 (Cairo, no. 61. iii), 22×20 cm., is an imperfect, much-stained, and decomposing leaf in the same script. It has however been identified by W. E. Crum as belonging, not to the *Descent*, but to S. John Chrysostom *On Psalm VI*. The complete Coptic text of that work is extant in the unpublished *Cod. Vat. Copt.* LVIII (brought by Assemani from the Monastery of S. Macarius), our fragment answering to folios 136^{vo} l. $2-137^{vo}$ l. 14.

Frag. 4 (Cod. Tisch. XXVI, 18¹), measuring 26×20 cm. and numbered $-\bar{n}$, is by the same hand as Frags. 2 and 3, and contains the conclusion of the whole work.

All three fragments are concerned with the Descent into Amenti or Preaching of Christ in Hades. Frag. 1 contains the exordium of such a work, and in Frag. 2 we have the appeals of various souls to Christ for deliverance. Frag. 4 shows the conclusion of a discourse pronounced by Christ, briefly records the raising up of Adam and Eve with certain others from Amenti, and concludes with a brief peroration and ascription of praise to the Trinity.

A Discourse on the Descent into Amenti by Mark III (?), Patriarch of Alexandria, is extant,² but to this, as Professor Hyvernat informs me, our fragments do not correspond.

1 See Leipoldt ap. Vollers, Kat., pp. 411 ff.

2 Cod. Vat. Copt. LXV, I.

× Verso

5

Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 61. i).

41 41

> ΗΠ ΠΕ Φ[ΑΙ] Ε[ΤΑ4] ΤΗΟΥΨΕΗφατ nament Οτος agest

епщи[1] ппн едмиотт отог ад-4 по[т]подемос Беп пкаги м-5 фм[0]т Отог едщоп Беп от-

реи омн4 ципсот Олоб dXm ип ије фот елсоиб олоб ебоо2 се[и]ин

Вјнине фот еле Реи иедмољ ед4 10 bed(еиољ) ероуРеи шХоки тор инн еореи итдлеко ео-

- потшпь пвери отог ис тХюра ппиредмиотт щоерошр Беп пецхипгид ёботп ёрос
- 15 Шім пе фаі фн ет а пкарі ппірецмшотт сштем ёроц отор ацтиотп
 - Οτος ις τοτщοεροωρ πρητη παε πικας ετκωτ πςα πιμε-
- 20 λ**ο**ς
 - Ηιм πε φαι έταςςωπε ππιαφτ δεπ τοτχωρα πιρεςμμως ώπικαει φμοτ πεμ πεαταπας Ηιм πε φαι φΗ έτοττ έαως ñot-
- 25 χλομ ποστρι στος ατθοζη αηειστί έλολ μπλομ μφμοτ ππεητασθοη αε έθωщ

Οιщιπ[ι πακ ω φμοτ] οτος αριέμι τε φ[αι πε π<u>χ</u>ς] πιμιμρι ñποτ] π[.....]ρ ερλατι απ ειτεπ [.....ο]τεςοοτ απ πε

- סדשר חושראו[שח] חשרכ[ש]סדח האסט שו חר אשרים חודיסאדיסשש סדספ שדנסדשחין שרח חשו[ח]סאסד-אסחארה השר חובדסות[ו]סח פודר[ח]
- 10 i[e]dcwh Peu üŋmü üned 10 i[e]dcwh Peu üŋmü ünebXh uew ui 10 i[e]dcwh Peu üŋmü ünebXh uew ui-
- 15 бие ёре Астатрысис ан те [атнасотын пщнрі ан пе же пім пе
 - ben tetatpweie atnat thp[of orog atcorwny fixe oron [11-
- 20 **hen**
 - Πιιοτρος ης πους οτας υσεη[.... απ ε πιαεμώπ πη ετα[γсοτώπ πщηρι μφτ
 - Xe nooy you . . . exwy an eo-
- 25 речемі же пім пе Беп течасовеній ацтамоп є тжом пте тецметжирі Охог Беп тецста хрисіс ацої ппіжнохищт гітеп піпот-
- 30 🕇

Den φη εщатрег приту йхе піхωрі тирот а[т]τωστη йσοц Отог ατ[7ω]от пац

× Recto

[×]Who is This Who hath trodden down Amenti and hath brought up the dead, and hath made war in the land of Death, and is in state ?¹ Who is This Who bindeth and maketh fast in the midst of the brethren, and releaseth them that are in the prison that He may bring them forth from darkness ? Lo, This is He Who by His death giveth new life, and, behold, the country of the dead is troubled at His entering into it. Who is This Whom the land of the dead heard and arose, and, lo, the bodies therein were troubled, seeking after their limbs?² Who is This Who hath bound the strong ones in their country, the destroyers of the land of Death and Satan? Who is This Who weareth on His head a crown of thorns and is pierced? He hath cast off the corruption of Death. He will not return...

× Verso

*Be ashamed, O Death, and know that This is the Christ, the Son of God... (1.6) Not even the demons failed to know Him upon Golgotha, and the elements knew Him when they quaked at His voice. By the unveiling of His flesh He hath confounded powers and authorities and astounded them in that they knew Him upon the Cross. Had it not been for the Crucifixion, they would not have known the Son, Who He was; but at the Crucifixion they all beheld and knew Him, every one. Judas himself not even... the demons who knew the Son of God. For he did not take... upon himself to know Who it was Who in His weakness showed us the power of His mightiness, and at His Crucifixion received the adoration of the Gods. On that (*sc.* the Cross) whereby all the strong ones are laid low they raised Him up and glorified Him...

I For these interrogations cp. the Descensus Christi ad Infernos, ch. vi (ed. Tischendorf, Evang. Apocr., p. 399).

12

2 sic.

THE DESCENT INTO AMENTI

Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 61. ii).

(Gano, no. 01. n).	~
	λн
] пхихем пхе	Собе фаі пірш[мі тнрот]
текм]етщеприт етощ	етщоп ьеп тса[pz aq-]
n[&oc]	хем поущин бхе [ф] ні-
Κε[0]γαι χε πορεμ ήταψτ-	λουος ειτεπ ονς[α]pz
5 XH-Ebolden ament	5 сотоп птас ймат пот-
етсапеснт	Уухн йлошкн
Κεοται χε απιοτι πταψτ-	Ηιψόχη σε ου έτδυφωρα
Хн-евоудеп амен4 ет-	еводда пісшма адот-
сапесит	ousd édmos Peu omen4
10 Κεοται χε άπιστι πταψτχμ	10 21τεπ τψτχη πηουτ
евольен паг штеко	eoorah-echopx éhod
Κεογαι αε ππεκςωαπ π-	ne
таутхн беп амеп4	Откотп марепінс ймо(п)
Κεο ται χε μαρεγι επ <u>ψ</u> ωι ê-	птепще пап ебрні ё а-
15 водьен птако йже па-	15 ment Ben neurst üre(n-)
wny noc nanort	na»
Φαι σε εταγεωτεμ έρωστ	Σε πως ben οταμαδι eq-
ñже фаніметщенент	
етощ пхс-ач7 ак[апн?	s · · · sdamabi ežorcia c
20]nas et[
	20 ETEM]MAT-ĒXEN.[.]Ē
* * *	* * *
етощ пХс-аq4 аў[апн? 20]паі ет[* * *	. ·]. ως hen nichov 20 ετεμ]μαν-έχει.[.]έ

[(The souls in Amenti cry out to Christ)... And another said: "Let] *Thine abundant mercy [come] speedily * Recto unto me, my Lord."¹

Another (said): "Deliver my soul from the depths of Amenti."²

Another: "Bring my soul out from the depths of Amenti."

Another: "Bring my soul out of this prison."³

Another: "Thou wilt not leave my soul in Amenti."⁴

Another: "Let my life come up from destruction, O Lord my God."⁵

*

Now when Christ Whose compassion is abundant⁶ heard them, He saluted (?)...

*

*For this cause God the Word visited all men who were in the flesh through the medium of flesh, there $\times Verso$ being therein (sc. in the flesh) a reasonable soul. But as for the souls which were separated from their bodies, He appeared unto them in Amenti through the medium of the holy divine soul which is separate (from the body). Therefore let us haste to go down to Amenti in our understanding that we may behold how with... might He seized authority...at that time...

*

1 <i>Ps</i> . cx1x, 41.	4 <i>id</i> . XVI, 11.
2 <i>id</i> . LXXXVI, 13.	5 <i>id</i> . xxx, 3?
3 <i>id</i> . CXLII, 9.	6 Cp. id. LXIX, 17, LXXXVI, 15.

Frag. 3 (Cairo, no. 61. iii).

πεμ 2070 ε ΦΗ[ετ εςκω⁴¹ πεως agpi[μι πχε πετpoc agepετιη[ñorχω εβολ [ε]βολοιτ[οτκ

2 Идок Зе Укф Ш[ой]л [ияд иле фенку[нс1]у [и]л[е ин елР]е(и) омелогоро ийіфнолі

Ονπαιρη4 ναρ πε πεκ[θ]αμιο Βεπ πη ετ ανειά το[τ]ον

10 псшот ісхен щорп пем беп пн ете ммоп тшот ммат йүх[1]² ñуехпіс йотхаі йб[н]тк пем беп пн ет атфор

- 15 ΜΜΑΤΑΤΟΤ Ε ΠΚΑΣΙ Πά-Μεπ‡ 2ιτεπ Φποδι έδκοτωπο πωοτ εδολ πομετηιψ‡ πτε τεκμετμδιρωμι
- 20 Сөве фаг он † τω μα[ος οτος Υπακκή απ ε[ίτω μμος τε ματ[απροι εθδε πεκπαι τε [μμοή φη ετ β]εη φμοτ ε[qμετι εροκ

25 Νιμ π]ε εθπαщίοτωπο πακ εβολ] ben αμεπτ Gob]e φαι τικς εθβίε φαι τς]εβτίω]τ είθβε φαι τβοςι ει]εμι [σε αq-

зо Бю]ит [еботи ерог

¹ = Cod. Vat. Copt. LVIII fo. 136^{vo}, l. 21. ² So Cod. Vat.: $5 \in n$, $2 \lambda_1$, MS. [...] <u>ις</u> & <u>μ</u><u>x</u><u>c</u> [...] <u>τ</u><u>ε</u> μσερεζο]νόγοιτι ε μμσερεζο]νόγοιτι ε μσερεζο]νόγοιτι ε μσερεζο]νόγοιτα ε μσερεζο]νόγοι ε μσερεζο]νόγοι ε μσερεζο]νόγοι ε μσερεζο]νόγοι ε μσερεζο]νο ε μσερεζο]νογια ε μσερεζο]νογια ε μσερεζο]ν

- 5 м]моп Хш евод мененса]фмот ймон хип]Хш евод Бен пімрат
- 07щої гор пе пойгос фыі 10 0702 еф осоп а піла-
- пнстнс² отштев ммо(п) ed[1 ed]пащерщш . . отос ñте[g]o1 Xdom ben піма eтеммат еф осоп ад-
- 15 ταξοι άχε πιέχωρε μηάτε ςοτωπε εκολ [άχε] 4απορα κεμ πιεμοτ

C[ω]τεμ σε οτ πε ετε τυρα-20 φμ] σω μμος εθάε ρωμι πι]άεπ ετατσεκ ποτάιος ελο]λ³ σε φμοτ γαρ

] πιρωμι [. . . .

]μωιτ δ[

]. pon[

25

].. דאת [(slight remains of four more lines)

¹ = Cod. Vat. Copt. LVIII fo. 137^{ro}, l. 19. ² sic (?= πιατωπιστης): εχατιοπ (= εταχιοπ), Cod. Vat. ³ Cod. Vat. adds \bar{n} παλως.

× Recto

× Verso

....[×]and more than she sought. Peter wept and asked forgiveness of Thee, and Thou gavest him the keys of the Church of them who are in the Kingdom of Heaven. For such is Thy ...¹ upon them who have been cast away from of old, and upon them who had not there any² hope of salvation in Thee, and upon them who came alone unto the land of Amenti by reason of sin, in that Thou hast revealed unto them the greatness of Thy love for man.³ For this cause I say and will not cease to say: "Quicken me for Thy mercy's sake.⁴ For in death there is none that remembereth Thee. Who shall be able to show Thy praise in Amenti ?"⁵ For this cause I hasten, for this cause I prepare, for this cause I labor, knowing that there draweth nigh unto me [×]the end of my life. Shall I confess God at all in Amenti?...There is no deliverance after death, there is no deliverance in the grave. For my life is a...; and while its course (?) passeth, there is none to contend (?)...and to gain the crown in that place; while the night taketh hold on me ere yet the market with its goods is opened. Harken unto that which the Scripture saith concerning all men who end their lives (well): "For death..."

1 Some word like 'mercy,' 'compassion' is required by		3 The meaning is obscure.
the context.		4 Cp. Ps. cxliii, 11.
2 As the text stands, " <i>in</i> any hope."	-	5 Ps. VI, 5.

14

THE DESCENT INTO AMENTI

Frag. 4 (Cod. Tisch. XXVI, 18).

Чсевтωт ихе планщеλ[ε]τ qc[εβ]τωτ ихе пібриві ε[τ ατ]сев[τ]ωτοτ ε πιζοπ сес[ε]βτωτ n-

5 αε πιςκηπη πεω πιμοπη πεπες Сεοτηπ παε πιαγωρ πτε πιάναθοη сεριμορη

ηςεβτωτ ηχε Φαετογ-10 po ñεηες ñτε ηιφηογί Οεοςι εγχογμτ εβολ ñχε ηιάγαθοη βαχεή ηιρωμι

Или те пем пн ётопі ймю-

15 от ецъю ммюот {ñ-} ñъе піъеспоънс ммні пхс ацтотпос азам фн етацеротаї пемац отор ацтотпос ета

20 πεμας Οτος αςτοτπος ςαπκεμημ άςωμα άτε πη εθοταβ-ετατεπκοτ ιςκεη πεπες οτος ας-

епот сводбеп піл-

Статрішіщ птапаста-

25

202

crc

ñ

ητε πισεςποσης μεπεπζα π η[ε]2007 σαι έταςщοή έροη δεη ογραμι ε απόπ δα πιπις-5 τος εαπηαν έρος απερ αμαληχ έρος Παρεπερχωρενιή σε ήπον- πεμ πιαυτελός μαρεπεριμαι πεμ πιαρ-10 χηματτελός Οτος πτεπτωόν πεμωόν ενςοπ- ώφη έταςπονηοςτεη εβόλ-

δεπ πτακο π∑ς 15 Φαι ετε φως πε πιωογ πεм πιάμαδι πεμ πεςιωτ παταθος πεμ πιππα ε[θ]ογαβ πρεςταπδο 4πογ πεμ πςμογ πιβεπ

20 הכא שם כהכף הדב הזכהכף דוףסה לאוחה

_ .÷

× Verso

----- . .

-	
->	
·\$·	
·>·	

*" Prepared is the bride-chamber, prepared are the victuals made ready for the marriage-feast, the tabernacles * *Recto* and the everlasting habitations are prepared. Opened are the treasuries of good things, already prepared is the everlasting Kingdom of the Heavens. The good ones stand looking down upon men."

While the true Potentate, Christ, was speaking these and such like words, He raised up Adam whom He had reconciled with Himself; and He raised up Eve together with him. And He raised up also many bodies of the Saints who slept from of old,¹ and He brought them forth from the tombs. And they preached the Resurrection \times of the Lord after three days;² the which took place to the joy of us,³ the faithful; and when we beheld it, we welcomed it.

And now let us exult with the Angels and hold festival with the Archangels. Let us give glory with them unto Him Who hath raised us up from destruction, even Christ.

To Whom belongeth glory and might together with His good Father and the Holy Spirit, the Giver of Life, now and at all times and throughout all ages. Amen.

1 Cp. Matth. xxv11, 52 f.

2 According to the *Descensus Christi* (ch. x1) the revived dead were forbidden to speak with any man until special permission should be given them, though Leucius and Carinus, the narrators of the *Descent*, were permitted to pass three days in Jerusalem "to celebrate the Pascha of the Lord with our parents in testimony of the Resurrection of the Lord Christ."

3 Possibly one (or more) of the Apostles is here the narrator rather than Carinus and Leucius.

15

V. FRAGMENTS OF AN APOCALYPTIC GOSPEL

Parchment. Five leaves (ten pages) from a single manuscript.

The hand is a medium-sized, squarish, but decidedly rough uncial (see Plate II A, B), probably of the early tenth century.

Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 7–8^{Add}) is a single leaf numbered $-\overline{p[1]k}$, and measuring 27.8 × 17.6 cm. (the inner or left edge is broken away). The written column is 20.9 cm. high by 12–13 cm. wide. Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 8) is a sheet of two consecutive leaves, foliated on the versos $\overline{p_{15}}$, $\overline{p_{15}}$: each leaf measures 28 × 20.4 cm., all the margins except the upper, which is slightly cropped, being complete. Owing to damp there is a certain amount of 'cross-printing' from opposed pages making decipherment difficult though rarely impossible. The column measures 20.5 × 12–13 cm. Frag. 3 (Cairo, no. 7) is again a sheet comprising leaves $\overline{p_{AE}}$ and $\overline{p_{AE}}$.¹ Each leaf is 24.5 cm. high by 16.6 cm. wide, the lower and outer margins having been cropped:² the written column here measures 20.2 × 12–13 cm.

These five leaves come from an Apocalyptic Gospel which may well have occupied the whole of the original Ms. For we can plausibly conjecture what preceded Frag. 1, and such matter may well have occupied the lost folios 1–111. The following reconstruction may therefore be suggested.

The Apostles, assembled after the Resurrection³ either in Galilee or on the Mount of Olives,⁴ are warned by Christ that He must shortly ascend up into Heaven,⁵ but are consoled with the promise of His Second Coming to establish His Kingdom on earth for the 'Thousand Years' (Millennium). They would then ask to be told the sign or signs of the Parousia or Second Coming.⁶ Beginning with a general warning against deceivers, Our Lord (we may suppose) would reveal to them the tribulations which must precede the Advent, the appearance of anti-Christ, his miracles, his deception of the people, and his conflict with Enoch and Elias, the 'two witnesses'⁷ sent to refute his pretensions.

The narrative would then pass on to the actual Coming of Christ. In fo. 112 we have the close of the 'blessing' to be pronounced by God the Father immediately before the Son descends to earth: then Christ will be acclaimed by the host of Heaven. The missing folios 113–115 doubtless developed the latter theme, and must have contained a question⁸ of the disciples: "Who will be upon the earth at the time of the Parousia?," together with the beginning of Christ's reply. Fo. 116 opens with the assertion of a resurrection in the flesh for those who are to partake in the Kingdom, and of their assumption to meet the Lord. With these Christ will descend in view of the sinners. To the question, Where, then, shall the sinners dwell ?, Christ replies that while the saints will be with him, the sinners will be swept away by the Angel of Wrath. A Judgment (fo. 117), over which the Apostles are to preside, will then be held in Amenti, and anti-Christ with his following will be cast into chains of fire. Enraged at this, the 'Great Devil' will establish himself in Chorazin and Bethsaida and lead many astray; though Enoch⁹ will deny his pretensions. At this point the loss of fourteen folios (118–131) breaks the thread of the narrative. Possibly the missing pages told of a conflict between the Devil and Enoch (with Elias ?) in which the former was overcome with the help of the angels and consigned to the bottomless pit.¹⁰ The condign punishment of Chorazin and Bethsaida (see below) also may have been foreshadowed here.

On fo. 132 Christ relates how, long ago, God the Father refused to spare Sodom and Gomorra, the cities of the Devil's own choice—and that despite the intercession of the righteous. How is this to be connected with the foregoing? In all probability the Apostles, hearing the doom of Chorazin and Bethsaida, had interceded for them; but were informed that as of old the Devil's favored cities were not spared, so would it be with his resort in the last days.

With fo. 141 (?) the situation again changes. A speaker (apparently Mary) tells the Apostles of the effect

1 The second numeral is so indistinct as to be practically conjectural.

2 The upper margin, however, is intact.

3 This is made clear in fo. 141.

4 The setting of the *Pistis Sophia* is the Mt. of Olives; of the Ethiopic *Testament in Galilee* (Guerrier, *Le Test. en Galilée*, \S 2), Galilee.

5 Again see fo. 141.

6 As in Matth. XXIV, 3, the pseudo-Clementine Second

Coming (R.O.C. xv, 208), the Testament in Galilee (ed. cit. § 4), and the Syriac Testament of Our Lord, § 11 (ed. Rahmani, p. 5).

7 See Rev. x1, 3 ff.

8 This is directly implied in fo. 116^a, ll. 24 ff.

9 For the appearance of Enoch at this stage see Notes (p. 26).

10 Cp. Rev. xx, 1-3.

FRAGMENTS OF AN APOCALYPTIC GOSPEL

of a potent prayer uttered by a second person (surely Christ Himself) in Chorazin, and bids them apply to "him" for further particulars. The Apostles then hasten to the Lord and declare their desire to hear none but Him, since He is so soon to be parted from them. Christ replies that even after His Ascension He will appear to reveal to them whatsoever they may wish to ask.

Two questions now arise. First, what was the occurrence (related as past, not predicted) in Chorazin and its connexion with the preceding fragment ? We can only conjecture that, moved by the entreaties of the Apostles, Christ had gone down (accompanied by Mary) to Chorazin in a last effort to convert its people and to save them from their doom, and that the miraculous prayer and the miracles mentioned were signs intended to break down their unbelief. Secondly, was the remainder of the Gospel much or little in extent ? The tone of Christ's reassurance on fo. 141 (?) distinctly suggests that the conclusion of the work is near: very possibly the whole was rounded off, after a repetition of the "prayer in Chorazin," with a narrative of the Ascension.¹

The essential theme of the whole Gospel—certainly of the extant fragments—was therefore Chiliastic, *i.e.* it dealt with the establishment of Christ's reign upon earth for the "Thousand Years:" to this the episodes of anti-Christ's tyranny and the insurrection of the Devil were really subsidiary, however largely they may have bulked in the narrative. The main points in the development of belief in a millennial reign of Christ on earth may be briefly stated.² It originated in the later Jewish Apocalyptic literature which consoled the chosen people in their affliction with the promised coming of a Messiah, who should deliver them from intolerable oppression and himself reign over them. At first this Kingdom—which was to be a period of marvelous fertility³—was to be "an everlasting Kingdom;"⁴ but its duration was subsequently reduced. In iv *Esdras* v11, 26 ff. the reign of Messiah is estimated at four hundred years, after which both Messiah and his people will die and the world pass away. But ultimately the Messianic period was reckoned at a Thousand Years, and that on the following grounds. In six days God created all things and rested on the seventh day. But since one day is with God as a thousand years,⁵ after six thousand years of labor the world will enjoy a Sabbath-rest of one thousand years under the Messiah. In this later form the belief was taken over by Christianity,⁶ Messiah being identified with Christ, and the oppressor who is to precede His Coming with anti-Christ (at first recognized in the Emperor Nero).

The early Christian, then, believed that in "the last times" a false Christ would appear, leading very many astray; that he would persecute the remnant of true believers, and would be opposed and ultimately overthrown by Enoch and Elias;⁷ and that finally Christ would descend to earth, raise up in the flesh the faithful dead, and reign over them for a thousand years. By the simple, unsophisticated and hard-living Christians of the early centuries—and even by others⁸—this period could only be pictured as one of material ease, luxury, and sensuous delight.⁹

The Gospels and Pauline Epistles give no direct support to this belief in an earthly kingdom,¹⁰ though they accept as axiomatic a Second Coming to be preceded by the appearance of one or many false Christs.¹¹ On the other hand it finds explicit expression in *Revelation* xx, 1–7 where it is stated that the Devil will be imprisoned at the beginning of the Thousand Years, and that the souls of those who have resisted the Beast (anti-Christ) will enjoy the First Resurrection and reign with Christ for a thousand years. In post-Apostolic literature it occupies a prominent place. It was accepted by Papias¹² and by 'Barnabas:'¹³ Justin¹⁴ regarded Chiliasm as an orthodox belief, though one not universally held. Cerinthus, according to Eusebius,¹⁵ taught

I Exactly as does the *Testament in Galilee* (ed. Guerrier, § 62; Schmidt, Gespräche Jesu, § 51).

2 See especially von Harnack's article *Millennium* in the *Encycl. Brit.*, the article in Hastings' *Dict. of the Bible* &c.

3 See Apoc. of Baruch (trans. Charles) xx_{1x} , 5 ff., and cp. Papias *ap*. Irenaeus v, 33, §§ 3-4.

4 Daniel VII, 13 ff.

5 Psalm xc, 4 (cp. ii Peter 111, 18): the argument is set forth in the Epistle of Barnabas xv.

6 Doubtless through the medium of Jewish converts.

7 So in Apoc. of Elias (ed. Steindorff), p. 105.

8 e.g. Cerinthus, Irenaeus and Nepos (see below).

9 Especially drinking and feasting: this was probably inferred from such passages as the Parable of the Great Supper (Luke XIV, 15 ff.). There is no need to suppose

that the ideal was otherwise sensual. The Egyptian *fellab* would have been incapable of forming any other than a material picture of the Kingdom; just as at the end of the iv century the Egyptian monks could not conceive of a God without body, parts, and passions (see Cassian, *Coll.*, x, 2).

10 Yet i Cor. xv, 25 ff. ("For he must reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet") seems to imply a protracted but terminable reign of Christ; and Luke xx11, 30, if literally understood, can mean only that the Kingdom is to be a period of feasting.

14 Dial. 80.

11 e.g. Matth. XXIV, 5, 23-26; ii Thess. 11, 2-12.

12 ap. Irenaeus v, 33, 3-4.

13 Epist. xv.

15 Hist. Eccl. VII, 25.

that there was to be an earthly Kingdom of feasting and good cheer, as also did Irenaeus.¹ In the latter half of the second century the fanaticism of the Montanists discredited belief in the earthly Millennium, and it was sapped by the allegorizing teaching of Origen at Alexandria. The belief also finds expression in the *Apocalypse* of *Paul*—whatever be the date of that work—; though 'a new earth' or mystic 'land of inheritance' is to be the scene of the Thousand Years' reign.² But while Alexandria and other intellectual centers might philosophize and spiritualize, the simple and illiterate peasantry of Egypt retained the material beliefs which alone were intelligible to them. Before 260 A.D. an Egyptian bishop, Nepos, led a reaction in the Arsinoite nome against the Origenistic school, teaching belief in the Thousand Years as a period of bodily luxury and delight.³ The movement was formidable enough to call for the intervention of the Archbishop, Dionysius, who in confuting it impugned (as others had done) the authenticity of the *Revelation*, the corner-stone of the Chiliastic doctrine. Very possibly the opinion, though outwardly silenced, remained unshaken in the country villages; but it never again found an articulate champion in Egypt.⁴ Methodius of Tyre (early fourth century) and Apollinarius of Laodicea (c. 368 A.D.) were the latest exponents of Chiliasm in the Near East,⁵ but do not seem to have been connected with Egypt.

Now our fragments certainly represent an attempt to express in authoritative form the Christianized belief in the Millennium, and, as was usual, the belief has been embodied in a 'Gospel' or 'Revelation.' To produce such a work the compiler has selected passages or episodes from the Johannine *Revelation*,⁶ and after working them up to suit his purpose, has made them the backbone of his narrative. But—perhaps because the *Revelation* was open to challenge—he has also worked in strands from unimpeachable sources: such are the resurrection of the righteous and their assumption to meet the Lord (fol. 116^{ro}),⁷ the Coming of Christ in full view of the sinners⁸ and the severance of the wicked from the just⁹ (fol. 116^{ro-vo}), and the introduction of Chorazin and Bethsaida¹⁰ (fol. 117^{vo}). Further instances will be found in the Notes.

Other elements are apparently either invented—e.g. the 'blessing' pronounced by the Father (fo. 112) or are derived from Old Egyptian beliefs, the Judgment in Amenti (fo. 117^{ro}) being a notable instance of the latter.¹¹ The presence of this typical Egyptian belief suggests that the 'Gospel' is Egyptian in origin, or at least extensively worked over by Egyptians; and the play (if it is deliberate) on the words coltr-celtur(fo. 117^{ro} ll. 9f.) points in the same direction.

If this is so, we have here fragments of an Apocryphon of local origin upholding a definite belief not known to have been publicly championed *in Egypt* after the second half of the third century. Though our leaves contain nothing distinctly pointing to this period, neither (I think) do they show marks of later date. Possibly, therefore, the 'Gospel' is to be connected with the anti-allegoristic movement headed by Bishop Nepos in the Arsinoite Nome. Conjecturally, but only conjecturally, we can go a step further and identify the original work with the apocryphal book ascribed to Nepos and entered on the black list in the Decree of Gelasius.¹² If so, the fragments assume something of historic importance.

The 'Gospel' was doubtless attributed to some venerated name by those who used it, but on whom it was fathered we cannot tell. In fo. 116^{ro} Bartholomew is introduced, but quite without significance; nor does the only other definite personal reference (to Mary, fo. 141^{vo}) furnish any clue to the authorship.

I *l. c.* Irenaeus argues from *Matth.* xxvI, 29 that in the Kingdom wine is to be drunk and that this postulates a resurrection in the flesh.

2 Budge, Misc. Copt. Texts, p. 562 (=Latin in James, Apocr. Anecd., p. 22).

3 Eusebius, H.E. VII, 24: Νέπως ην ἐπίσκοπος τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον, 'Ιουδαικώτερον τὰς ἐπηγγελμένας τοῖς ἁγίοις... ἐπαγγελίας ἀποδοθήσεσθαι διδάσκων, καί τινα χιλιάδα ἐτῶν τρυφῆς σωματικῆς ἐπὶ τῆς ξηρᾶς ταύτης ἐσεσθαι ὑποτιθέμενος. δόξας γοῦν οῦτος ἐκ τῆς 'Αποκαλύψεως 'Ιωάννου τὴν ἰδίαν κρατύνειν ὑπόληψιν Ἐλεγχον 'Αλληγοριστῶν, λόγον τινὰ περὶ τούτου συντάξας ἐπέγραψεν. Cp. Jerome, de Viris Illustr., LXIX.

4 How far back the references to the Thousand Years in Coptic Literature (see note on fo. 112 *recto*, ll. 19–21) extend it is not easy to decide. But since one of these passages is from a Martyrdom under Diocletian, the belief must still have been held by some after (probably long after) 300 A.D.

5 We are not here concerned with Chiliasm in the West, or in medieval and modern times.

6 See Notes passim. 7 Cp. i Thess. IV, 14 ff.

- 8 Matth. XIII, 41, 49; XXIV, 5. 9 Ib.
- 10 Based upon Matth. x1, 20 ff.; x111, 58.

11 To an Egyptian there would be nothing inappropriate in making the Apostles appear (as judges) in Amenti. Another possible indication of Egyptian origin is the identification of the West as the place of punishment and death; but this (see Notes) is not exclusively Egyptian.

12 See Preuschen, *Analecta*, p. 153: "Liber qui appellatur Nepotis." This is clearly an apocryphal book and not the doctrinal treatise mentioned by Eusebius VII, 24 (quoted above): it is "apocryphus;" *i.e.* it masquerades in the guise of Scripture.

FRAGMENTS OF AN APOCALYPTIC GOSPEL

_		\sim ·	- oAddy	
Frag.	I (Cairo,	7-8Add).

.]..е ексерф[м]еті птаафе пем тахіх

потіпам птекхос хе усмаршотт пхе паі-

5 ωτ ετδεπ πιφηστί α]ε οτηι έρε οτοπ πιμε(π) πααο]ς αε αποκ η[εμ]ακ αποη] οται ποτωτ]

10 Xe η]φοκ πε πεμοτ ñτε τα]μεθηστή ηβαρακτη]ρ ñτε ταστειά πεμ τα]χομ πεμ οτμετοτρο] ποτωτ ήεμ οτμετ-

- 15 ос] потыт нем отерщі]щі потшт]
 - Τοτ]ε ακιμαπρωλ επε[c]ητ 912]εη πικαρι άτεκερ-
- 20 Щы] пем піхікеос Бе(п) пщ]о промпі пте теккдн]ропомій

Исеп]нот щарок йже піатте]дос пем піпіщ4 й-

25 x0]μ πτε πιφμοτι ετ-..] πτοτερεξοοτ παναθ0]π πτεκοτηση μμοκ πε]μ πη εθοταδ πτακ ειχε(π) πκαε[1] $\overline{p[r]b} \sim rhc \sim \bigotimes \sim [n\overline{\chi}c \sim ...]$

Піро пте піфноті па-Sewei edos[Hu] ebe u[1атаооп пнот [е]песнт ε πικοςμος [ε]βολβε[η ин етоост жехас ет[е-5 Хю Боршот йин сө[отab nh condotum eb[o]? n[94-TOT Ησεεμι σε ετσλημωι ηπι-10 araoon nte nikapi [nxe патаметотро пот[нр Οτος μεπεπελ φρε πλιω[τ смот срог сытем [с пі--M rohu(201) + + Hd 15 pow μιχαήλ πέμ ναβριήλ [πέμ ραφαμλ παερςαλπιζ[ιπ 2-I]TOH MMOI OITEN [IIOT-מפכמפווו חדר חמוωτ 20 Τοτε ή στρατια η[τφε псеерстефапо[т м-MOOT NCEZO NO[727M-NOC PITCH MMOI ET [260 Mмос 25 Хе піанчелос ращі [пем піфноті єрща[і] ж[є Алетотро ослос

1. 20 $\overline{\mathbf{oc}}$ is an equally possible restoration.

1. 7 εφοτωπ, MS.

пем печхс

*"'...Thou shalt remember My head and My right hand,¹ that Thou mayest say: "Blessed be My Father * *Recto* Which is in the Heavens." For lo, every one shall say that I and Thou together are one. For Thou art the form of My Godhead, the express image of My essence and My might, with one kingdom, one dominion and one power.

When Thou shalt go down upon the earth that Thou mayest hold festival with the righteous in the Thousand Years of Thine inheritance, there shall come unto Thee the angels and the great powers of the Heavens...that they may spend good days (?), that Thou mayest delight Thyself with Thy holy ones upon the earth.

*The door of the Heavens shall stand open, while good things come down upon the world from them who are on high, that they may remain with them, (even with) the saints who shall eat of them. They shall know how far above the good things of earth are those of My kingdom.'

And after that My Father shall have blessed Me, hear the manner in which I shall come. Michael and Gabriel and Raphael shall sound the trumpet before Me at the command of My Father. Then shall the host of Heaven crown themselves, they shall raise a chant before Me, saying: 'Ye angels rejoice, and ye Heavens hold festival; for the Kingdom is of the Lord and of His Christ.'...''

1 On this passage see Notes (p. 24). God the Father is addressing Christ.

× Verso

Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 8).

пем папароспос соотай пем перткратис статхwк свод Бен оттотво йсебде сратот

- Итечсолсел ймшоч
- 10 тирот йже платедос йте пипросыпон йтедтадиот ежен пигарма ите пихеротЕим йтедоторпот серни
- 15 ё тфе сөротмощі пемні Беп потсару гіхен пібнпі пте тфе-
- Η τέπατ εροι πεμωοτ έι-20 πηοτ επέςητ εκολβε(η) πιπτλη άτε πιφηοτί άχε πιρεφερποκι πη ετατώπ ε πιαπτιχρς έρε παι πε πη εθπαщωπι
- 25 είχεη πικαει πητεξοον ητε ταπαρητία Αφερονώ πχε βαρθολομεος πεχας χε παστ

1. 26 sc. TANAPOTCIA: so also in verso 1. 3.

s

pic

.. סדשש צוחם חדב ד... פ גבו חובצססד חדב דברחסארכום באב חושו-אבסכ צוצבח חואסצו שחו-

5 що промпі ере піредернові падемсі комп мн сепашпь пем пізікеос пте теккдиропо-

DIM OI

- Α γεροτω ñze πιςωτηρ πεχας χε ben πιε20οτ έιπηοτ ειχεη πισηπε πτε τφε ερε πη εθ-
- 15 от]ав тирот пемиг гсжеп адам пем авраам пем гсаак пем гакше
- 20 пем пізікеос тнрот Іпаоторпот сатен ймоі
 - סדסצ אוכדףגאא חוגידינ-אסב חדב חצשחד קוג-
- 25 οωστ ππιρεφερπολι τηρον ε πεα πεμεπτ μπικαρι τηρη πτεφολον ε πιχωρα ετεαλολ ε πιμωιτ ετε παπτιχρε

1. 29 COC, MS.

× Recto

× Verso

"[I will raise up the bodies of My martyrs...], *and My pure virgins, and the continent who finished (their course) in purity. They shall stand upon their feet, their souls returning into¹ them in a moment. The Angel of the Presence shall comfort them all: he shall take them up upon the Chariot of the Cherubim: he shall carry them up to Heaven, that they may walk with Me in their flesh upon the clouds of Heaven.

They shall behold Me with them as I come down from the gates of the Heavens—even the sinners who were numbered with the anti-Christ: these are they who shall be upon the earth in the days of My Appearing." Bartholomew answered and said: "My Lord, *wilt Thou that...² in the days of Thine Appearing? If the righteous shall be upon the earth for the Thousand Years, where shall the sinners dwell? Surely they will not live with the righteous of Thine inheritance?"

The Savior answered and said: "In the day when I come upon the clouds of Heaven, all the pure ones shall be with Me from Adam, and Abraham, and Isaac and Jacob, and all the righteous: I will set³ them before My face. And Mistrael, the Angel of Wrath, shall gather together all the sinners to the western part of the whole earth, that he may⁴ remove them to the regions which are without, unto the place which is anti-Christ's.⁵

1 Lit. 'being in them.'

4 Or, "(and) he shall remove them."

2 The text is partly illegible and the restoration baffling.

3 Lit. 'send.'

5 There is no break between the texts of fos. \overline{prc} and \overline{prz} .

FRAGMENTS OF AN APOCALYPTIC GOSPEL

Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 8).

Отоп отстодос потыпі йфрн4 йотрат пащыпі Беп тамеп4 4меорымі тнрс ето[щ

- 5 πλεπς ε πιμα ñ‡χαπ Ηθωτεπ Σε ερετεπ γιχε(π) πετεπθροπος ςαδογή
- мпісовт єретенсев-10 тыт є Јоли пкесыхи
- גפי החושאחו חא פדפ חכפ-חמשלים מח פ חושו חלפמח כפומפפאכו צוצפה סדכד-לסכ הסדשוות ה[כפ]פףשפ-
- 15 δριπ ππн ετ12απ πε*μ* πн ετον12απ ερωον

ben πιέροον έτεμμαν πιαυντέλος ήτε παωητ

20 Ηπαθρογοωλ εβολ βέ(π) πικοςμος άζεμογρ μπιαπτιχρς πεμ πη εθπεμας πςεεπογ έβογ(π) βεπ οδησαλγεις άχρωμ

25 {Xpwn}

Беп 405ног (д)похшит пхе піотщіпі дпотшид йхе піпіщ4 йхіаводос piz

птедогонод евод Бен пікосмос птедірі попметпдопос йтедерпдопн йнімнщ хе о-

інс

- 5 ποκ πε φ4 μμοπ κεο»αι εδηλ εροι Υπαρωλ έρρηι ε παπολις
- πη ετ στόδι υρητού μασ σου οδοδ υμοσμοδ4

15 **пепот**ро

> Τοτε επωχ παχος πωοτ ben πιεροοτ έτεμματ χε φαι απ πε φτ

20 лперпар4 ерод адда фаг пе пщнрг п4апомга

Флі пе пізілбодос фн етсюрем ппірюмі

25 ι czen щорп савод йпотωпь ic n<u>yc</u> ben пкаει ητκληροπομιά egnaτραπ

1. 1 overvoe, MS. (and so in 11. 13-14).

*"There shall be a Pillar of Light, like unto silver, in Amenti: all the multitudes of mankind shall be * R_{1} brought unto the Place of Judgment. But ye upon your thrones within the wall shall order¹ the judgment. But the rest of the righteous—they who shall not be able to attain unto the measure of the judgment²—shall sit upon a Pillar of Light, that they may behold them who do judgment and them who have judgment done upon them.

In that day I will cause the Angels of Wrath to go forth in the whole world, that they may bind the anti-Christ and them that are with him and cast them into chains of fire. Straightway the Shameless One shall wax wroth, the Great Devil shall arise: *he shall show himself forth in the world, he shall cause error, he *Verso shall make the multitudes to err, (saying): 'I am God; there is none other save me.' He shall go up unto the³ cities, wherein I did My mighty works and they believed not on Me, Chorazin and Bethsaida: he shall lead forth a multitude following after him and crying out: 'Thou art God, our Christ and our King.'

Then Enoch shall say unto them in that day: 'This is not God: believe not on him! But this is the Son of Iniquity: this is the Devil, who from the beginning hath led men astray from life.⁴ Lo, in the land of the Inheritance shall the Christ do judgment'..."

1 Lit. 'prepare.'

2 *i.e.* those whose virtues are not high enough to qualify them to act as judges.

3 The Coptic has "my."4 Lit. 'out of their life.'

×Recto

Fra

πεμ επως πεμ πωε	ρλέ 21ης πτεκταςσωον έ- ροκ χε αγςορμον πχε πιχιαβολος δεπ πεηθάη-
	иглероуос Реи иедбрн-
nem Idget	
ием меугууену	ονί ετρωον
5 ад о роторі єратот м-	5 Πεχαι παιωτ πωοτ εκολ-
иедиво сроу Реи Фин[4]	рітеп отсерафім хе
πηματικλός πτε πωογ	отні ммоп щхом є пат
οτος πεχας πω-	е плит алда пісерафім
07	ετοι πεοσπι πως πεμ
10 Хе гнипе атащаг ихе пі-	10 NH COOTAL TH-
2bноті йте підіаводос	por
Беп сохома пем гомор-	Χας άχε παιωτ χε ώ κα-
рь блащаг ихе печсюч	εωτη πομηί ο πιεοχί
пънтс	просі єводбен рыі хе
15 От пе ететепотыщ п-	15 Апарокоот Апарокоот
таліц пшот й пломні	αε α π εαταπάς σάςη βε(π)
τηροφον εχωον πον-	пецеперть ецхи л-
Хрым пем отонп пта-	MOC
рокоот ща потсеп-	Хе фыг не нкърг тирч
20	20 пімшіт є тотшу є щш-
Тоте атрімі йхе піфмні	пі приту Апъщшпі
лигана свод тигана	рнппе ысштп пні й-
εταω μμος αε φτ	nraqi ncozomithe
огог финт пте Асо-	லாயுமார நீநн-
25 фเล้ ทเวеспотис ถ้те	25 тч
птаретн пем птппа Хю	Вниие 4иол 4и грокбол
πωοτ εδολ πτεκ† πωοτ	отор птъщерщирот
йпімшіт	me uorcen4
l. 4 sic apparently. l. 13 асащая, MS.	1. 12 xxxy sic.
1. 14 ? read пънтот 1. 16 пштеп, MS.	l. 14 npocī sic.

× Recto

"..., \times and Enôs and Nôe and Iaphet and Melialeêl. He¹ made them to stand up in His presence in the midst of the Angels of Glory, and said unto them: 'Lo, the works of the Devil increase in Sodom and Gomorra:' his abominations increase in them. What will ye that I should do unto them, O my righteous ones? I will cast upon them fire and brimstone that I may consume them to their foundations.'

Then the righteous wept in the presence of My Father, saying: 'O God and Father of Wisdom, the Lord ×Verso of Virtues and of Spirits, pardon them that Thou mayest show them the way, *that Thou mayest bring them back to Thee; because the Devil hath led them astray through his wicked works.'

My Father said unto them by the mouth of a Seraphim-for lo, it is not possible (for any) to behold My Father save the Cherubim who are His council, and all the pure ones—My Father said: 'O My chosen, the righteous, the word hath gone forth from My mouth: I will consume them, I will consume them; because Satan hath exalted himself in his workings, saying: "Mine is the whole earth: the place wherein I wish to be, (there) I will be. Lo, I choose for myself the land of Sodom: I am therein." Lo, now I will consume them and destroy them to their foundations'...."

1 sc. the Father. But the incident is narrated by Christ.

FRAGMENTS OF AN APOCALYPTIC GOSPEL

Frag. 3 (Cairo, no. 7).

pma ε сωτεм ε πεκλας ετπηεπαια εβολ απηληλ дода иснот півеп отор аухы потпрос-Παριά τεπεωπι τεπαι-ETTH & RIKAPI KIM OTOP мі ймос йснот півеп а тполіс тирс єрктиєеөрессахі пеõ ип е пъл съ пем 5 пен $\Phi \delta I$ NOOR DE REEDOOT A E-Отор ещин тетепотτ εκπλαιτον βατοτεπ ωщ є сωтем є †прос-WATECZWR EBON AZE етхн етеммат он е-10 т аухос савод пхора-10 71n Τωονή άριασιοιή μμου nət πτευοτωπο πιος εрытеп пем піхом ет ач-15 15 altor ben nicuma maτευ τογποςογ αε 9ιπα птетепсωтем ñтетепершфнpicaal nemoрг 20 TEIT 20 Тоте піапостолос ат-4 мпотог тирот е пеп-COTHP 23 to 1 E negsis even amoc se $\pi\epsilon(n-)$ or orog nenpegtchw 25 τεποτωщ απ εθρε ολι 25 сахі пеман імн+ поок же отні тепотшц

†пептнкостн мепе(n-) сωс птекоωλ едриг є піфноті єводугто-Адероты йже писытир пехац хе й памаонтис еретепъш блос же алщапрых е піфноті те--63 πο πο ιομμ ιμιχοππητ Алнп Таш алос пштеп же пат півеп стетеппаеретіп потсахі рыв півсп ётетепплерётіп ймоц Беп парап нен фран Апагот Апнот Бен Тотпот птата-

l. 1 In the upper margin is the invocation l. 1 perhaps to be altered to nneqx1x... aquilab. +поот инс пол пні омни.

1. 27 SC. ATATA MOY HWTEN]

"[...spreading] *forth our hands we prayed, and He¹ uttered a prayer. The earth quaked and the whole ×Recto city bowed to this side and to that. And if ye wish to hear that prayer which He uttered in Chorazin, arise and beseech Him to declare it unto you together with the mighty works which He wrought upon the (sic) bodies until He raised them up, that ye may hear and marvel."

Then the Apostles all hastened to our Savior and kissed His hands, saying: "Our Lord and our Teacher, we would not that any man should speak with us, save Thee. For lo, we wish x to hear Thy sweet voice at all times. (As for) Mary, our sister, we find her at all times to speak with us; but (as for) Thee, there are two more days which Thou wilt spend among us ere the Pentecost² is completed, and after that Thou wilt go up into the Heavens from among us."

The Savior answered and said: "O My disciples, though ye say that when I shall have gone up into the Heavens, ye will find Me no more to speak with you; verily I say unto you that every time that ye shall ask a question,³ everything which ye shall ask in My name and the name of My Father, I will come straightway to declare [it unto you]..."

1 Probably Christ: the speaker seems to be Mary (see Notes, p. 26).

2 For the use of this term see Notes (p. 26). 3 Lit. 'ask a word.'

×Verso

23

Fo. pihro

ll. i-3. The passage is difficult; possibly the allusion is to an oath (sworn by the head), and to the might (symbolized by the right hand) of the Father.

l. 7. Cp. John X, 30 "I and My Father are one;" XVII, 21 ff. ll. 10 ff. An almost verbal parallel is found below, No. IX, Frag. I, p. 8, ll. 18 ff. and in the Coptic Paschal Letter of Damianus (*Mon. of Epiphanius*-II, pp. -333 f.). Cp. also *Hebr.* I, 3 "Who being the brightness of His glory and the express image ($\chi a \rho a \kappa \tau \eta \rho$) of His person...;" ii *Cor.* IV, 4 "Christ Who is the image of God;" *Phil.* II, 6 "(Christ) Who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God."

This passage is somewhat nearly related to the Ethiopic *Test. in Galilee* § 28 (ed. Guerrier, p. 60: cp. Carl Schmidt, *Gespräche Jesu*, pp. 58 f., and—for the Coptic text—p. 7*) "I am wholly in My Father and My Father in Me; for I am His image, (I am issued) from His likeness, His power, His perfection, His light: I am His perfect word;" and to a passage in the ps.-Clementine *Second Coming (R.O.C.* xv, 434) "I am one with My Father in Godhead; for I am come forth from His essence and His love."

ll. 19–21. The Thousand Years were, according to many Chiliasts (see Introductory Note), a time of festival and good living: cp. l. 27 where $\bar{\pi}\tau\epsilon\kappa\sigma\sigma\pi\sigmaq$ has the same connotation. This view was doubtless based upon a literal interpretation of *Luke* XXII, 30 "That ye may eat and drink at My table in My Kingdom, and sit upon thrones" &c. See also the Copt. *Death of Joseph (ed.* Lagarde, *Aegyptiaca*, pp. 30 f.) $\lambda\lambda\lambda$ ($\tau\epsilon\kappacapz$) $\epsilonce\bar{o}gi$ Jen $\pi\epsilon\kappa$ coma ya $\pii\epsilon goo\pi$ $\bar{\pi}\tau\epsilon$ \piismion $\bar{\pi}\tau\epsilon$ \piisgo $\bar{\pi}pommi$ ("But thy flesh shall remain upon thy body unto the day of the *Banquet* of the Thousand Years"). The festivities of the Thousand Years are also mentioned in the Martyrdom of Victor of Siût (*Synax.*, Kihak 5, ed. Basset, p. 305).

ll. 23 ff. For the part to be played by the Angels in the earthly kingdom cp. *Apoc. of Elias* (ed. Steindorff), p. 106.

Fo. prhvo

ll. 23 f. Perhaps Rev. XIV, 3 is here echoed.

ll. 28 f. Cp. *Rev.* x1, 15 "And the seventh Angel sounded (his trumpet), and there were great voices in Heaven saying, 'The kingdoms of this world are become (the Kingdom) of our Lord and of His Christ.'" Note how our compiler reshapes the context.

Fo. prc ro

II. 1–8. For the First Resurrection (in which the Saints alone participate) see *Rev.* xx, 4–5: the Second or General Resurrection is deferred until the end of the Thousand Years. The Resurrection of the saints was not a purely Christian belief: it is found in the *Apoc. of Baruch* xxx, 2 "Then shall all who have fallen asleep in hope of Him (the Jewish Messiah) rise again." Saint Paul, ignoring the alleged earthly kingdom, states that "the dead in Christ shall rise first. Then we which are alive...shall be caught up together with them in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air, and so shall we ever be with the Lord" (i *Thess.* IV, 16). No reference is made to a Second Resurrection of the mass of mankind. Noteworthy is the prominent place in the First Resurrection assigned to the virgins and the continent. This is Encratism indeed, but not necessarily heretical Encratism. Yet Aphraates the Syrian held that "strict continence is the way to secure the physical efficiency of Baptism for a good Resurrection on the Last Day" (F. C. Burkitt, *Early Eastern Christianity*, p. 153): see *Nicene and post-Nicene Fathers* XIII, 367. In the *Apoc. of Elias* (pp. 104, 106) Christ descends to 'bring the Thousand Years' accompanied by 'all the pure ones' (*Minetorsche thpor*). Il. 10-11. The "Angel of the Presence:" Gabriel (see

II. 10–11. The "Angel of the Presence:" Gabriel (see Luke I, 19).

l. 13. The "Chariot of the Cherubim" frequently appears in Coptic works, *e.g.* Theodosius, *Death of the Virgin*, § VIII (ed. Robinson, *Copt. Apocr. Gosp.*, pp. 120 f.). The conception is based on *Ps*. XVII (XVIII), 10; LXVIII (LXIX), 17.

ll. 15 ff. For the Assumption of the Righteous cp. i *Thess.* 1V, 16 (quoted above). For their descent with Christ see *id.* 14 "Them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with Him;" and *Apoc. of Elias* l.c.

ll. 21 ff. Based on *Matth.* xxIV, 30 "And they shall see the Son of Man coming in the clouds of Heaven with power and great glory;" cp. also *id.* xXVI, 64.

l. 24. Clearly the Apostles had previously inquired who should be on earth at the time of the Second Coming (see Introductory Note).

Fo. prevo

ll. 13–15. Again cp. *Matth.* XXIV, 30. For the association of the saints with the Lord, see i *Thess.* IV, 17 (*ad fin.*), and for the Old Testament worthies who are to appear with Christ cp. *Oracula Sibyllina* 11, 245 ff.

l. 24. The name Mistrael is quite clear but is probably an old-standing corruption of $\mathbf{n} \in \mathbf{c} \in \mathcal{H}$ (*i.e.* Azrael, with the definite article). For while 'Mistrael' is apparently unparalleled, in the ps.-Clementine Second Coming (R.O.C. xv, p. 212) we find a certain 'Ezrael, the Angel of Wrath.' The two names are surely to be regarded as identical.

'Angels of Punishment' appear in the Book of Enoch (trans. Charles) LIII, 3, LXIII, 1. In the Mysteries of S. John (ed. Budge, Copt. Apocr., pp. 65, 248) an anonymous 'Angel of Wrath' ($\pi\pi\pi\pi\pi^{2}\Lambda^{0}$ $\pi\pi\sigma\mu\pi^{0}$) is introduced; elsewhere four 'Angels of Wrath' are mentioned (Budge, Misc. Copt. Texts, p. 1060 $\eta\pi\sigma\sigma\pi\pi\pi\pi\pi\pi^{0}$ $\Lambda\pi\pi\pi\pi^{0}$, and the undefined plural occurs below in our own text (fo. 117^{ro}, l. 19). They are doubtless equivalent to the oi $\kappao\lambda \Delta'_{\zeta}ov\pi\epsilons$ $\Delta'_{\gamma}\gamma\epsilon\lambdaoi$ of the Apocalypse of Peter (ed. Harnack, § 21).

ll. 25 ff. For the separation of the wicked from the righteous see *Matth*. XIII, 41 "The Son of Man shall send forth His Angels, and they shall gather out of His Kingdom all things that offend"—clearly the source of our own passage. Stress is laid on this separation in the Apocrypha. Thus in the ps.-Clem. *Second Coming* (*R.O.C.* xv, 209) Peter says: "Christ made me to see... how the just and the sinners shall be separated."

l. 26. The wicked are driven away to the west—to an Egyptian the recognized region of Amenti. Yet the touch need not necessarily be Egyptian; for in the *Book of Enoch* also the west is the place of punishment: "And he will imprison those angels who have shown unrighteousness in

that burning valley which. Enoch had formerly shown me in the west" (trans. Charles, LXVII, 4: *cp*. XXIII, 1-4; XXVI, 4-XXVII, 2).

Fo. przro

ll. 1–6. In the Apoc. of Elias (ed. Steind. p. 100) Gabriel and Michael create a pillar of light ($n \approx \bar{p}$ -ctr $\Lambda oc \bar{n} \circ r \propto \bar{s}[ne]$) to guide the faithful into the Holy Land (cp. Exodus XIII, 21). Here the function of the Pillar is not at first sight clear. Is it to lighten the gloom of Amenti, or to lead the souls to the place of judgment? Perhaps the compiler himself was not altogether clear on this matter; for in ll. 14 f. the Pillar is made to serve as a vantage-point for the undistinguished righteous. In the first instance the Pillar set up at the Judgment is paralleled (as Dr. M. R. James points out to me) by the 'great Pillar' at the Last Judgment in Oracula Sibyllina (cd. Geffcken) 11, 238 ff.

ήνίκα δ' ἀνστήση νέκυας μοῖραν καταλύσας κοὶ καθίση Σαβαὼθ 'Αδωναῖος ὑψικέραυνος ἐς θρόνον οὐράνιόν τε μέγαν δέ τε κίονα πήξη.

In the second (ll. 14 f.), the compiler has reproduced a Manichaean belief (probably without being aware of its origin) that the souls of those who fell short of perfection (cp. ll. 11 f.) were placed in a 'pillar of glory' or 'pillar of light' to undergo purification: see A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, 11, p. 44 and note, and Epiphanius, *Panarium*, 11, 66, 26 there quoted.

It seems beyond doubt that the Judgment takes place in Amenti—a conception familiar to an Egyptian. But this Judgment is not the Last Judgment (which comes at the end of the Thousand Years), but a preliminary examination to determine who among the dead are to share in the Millennium; for (as we shall see on fo. $\overline{pr}\zeta^{vo}$) there are still "multitudes" on earth for the Devil to lead astray. This provisional judgment is probably derived from *Rev.* xx, 4: "And I saw thrones; and they sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them."

l. 7. For the Apostles as judges see *Matth*. x1x, 28: "Ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the Twelve Tribes of Israel" (cp. *Luke* xXII, 30).

1.9. The function of the "wall" is not obvious. Perhaps we are to imagine a hall or basilica in which the judges sit at one end separated by a barrier from the arraigned. There can be no connexion with the twelve walls surrounding the city of Christ (Budge, *Misc. Copt. Texts*, pp. 1055, 1060).

1. 21 ff. The fate of anti-Christ is noteworthy. According to ii *Thess.* 11, 8, "the Lord shall consume [him] with the spirit of His mouth, and destroy with the brightness of His Coming:" in the *Apoc. of Elias* (p. 104) he is to be slain by Enoch and Elias before the Second Coming. Here he is seized by the Angels of Wrath and put in chains of fire, as is the Devil in *Rev.* xx, 1–2. Probably our text is very freely following *Rev.* x1x, 19, where the Beast (anti-Christ) with the False Prophet makes war against "Him Who sitteth upon the Throne," and is cast into a lake of fire.

ll. 26 ff. This insurrection of the Devil occurs at the beginning of the Thousand Years; a second (see *Rev.* xx, 3) is to occur at the end of that period. Yet our passage is certainly colored by the account of the Second Insurrection (*Rev.* xx, 7 f.).

The epithets "Shameless One," "Son of Iniquity" (below, Il. 21 f.) here applied to the Devil are reserved for anti-Christ in the *Apoc. of Elias* (*ed. cit.*, p. 92: ω nature, ω nympe \bar{n} tanowra); though in one passage anti-Christ is identified with the Devil (*id.* p. 100: "what hast thou done unto us, O Son of Iniquity, saying 'I am the Christ,' whereas thou art the Devil?").

For the term "Shameless One" (ἀναιδήs) see further the Greek text of Ephraem Syrus (ed. Assemani, 111, p. 142).

Fo. przvo

ll. 1-6. Here and in ll. 19 ff. there is verbal correspondence with Apoc. of Elias, p. 86: gnaorwng ahad бе п<u>щ</u>нре птапомга, ечхот бмас хе апакпе пус, επτας επ πε $m\bar{n}\bar{p}$ -πιςτετ = ερας. Cp. also the ps.-Clement. Second Coming (R.O.C. xv, 209): "In the last days there shall come false Messiahs. They shall say in their promises, 'I am Christ who am come into the world';' and Ascension of Isaiah (trans. Charles) IV, 6-8: "He (anti-Christ) will say: 'I am God, and before me there hath been none'... And all the people in the world will believe on him...saying, 'This is God, and beside him there is no other."" These passages, which seem to spring from a common original, are ultimately based on ii Thess. 11, 4: "So that he as God sitteth in the temple of God showing himself that he is God;" and Matth. xxIV, 5, 23: "For many shall come in My name, saying: 'I am Christ,' and shall deceive many;" "If any man shall say: 'Lo, here is Christ,' believe him not."

ll. 7 ff. The compiler here draws upon the Canonical Gospels. See *Matth*. x1, 20 ff.: "Then began He to upbraid the cities wherein most of His mighty works were done, because they repented not: Woe unto thee, Chorazin ! Woe unto thee, Bethsaida!...For if the mighty works which have been done in thee had been done in Sodom, it would have remained unto this day. But...it shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom in the day of Judgment than for thee:" cp. *id.* x, 15. The comparison of Chorazin and Bethsaida with Sodom in this passage affords a valuable clue to the connexion between our Fragments 2 and 3.

Chorazin and Bethsaida were consequently in bad odor, but they do not seem to be connected with eschatological legend elsewhere than in the *Book of the Bee*, ch. LV (ed. Budge, p. 129), which states that anti-Christ will be conceived in Chorazin, born in Bethsaida, and reared in Capernaum; in pseudo-Methodius (ap. *Mon. Patr. Orthodox.* 1, pp. 98, Greek, 112 Latin), who affirms that anti-Christ is to be born in Chorazin and Bethsaida: obros $\gamma \epsilon v v \partial \tau at \epsilon v X \omega \rho a \zeta \hat{\eta} (sic) \dots \kappa a i B \eta \theta \sigma at \delta a$ —though Bousset (*The Anti-Christ Legend*, trans. Keen, p. 173) strangely proposes to read Chorasmia—; and in the Armenian *Revelation of Nerses*, which again assigns anti-Christ to Chorazin (op. cit., p. 255).

II. 13 ff. Cp. Ascension of Isaiab IV, 8 (quoted above on II. 1–6).

1. 17. In ordinary tradition (see Bousset, op. cit., pp. 203 ff.) Enoch (and Elias) are the opponents of *anti-Christ*, not of the Devil himself. In *Rev.* XI, 3 ff. the 'two witnesses' oppose and are slain by the Beast (anti-Christ), but are raised to life and taken up to Heaven. According to the *Descensus Christi* (ed. Tischendorf, § 1x) Enoch and Elias after their translation were "reserved against the coming of

anti-Christ:" in the Apoc. of Elias (pp. 163, 169) they are again opposed to anti-Christ, by whom they are slain, and whom they in turn destroy after their Resurrection; and in the Bohairic Death of Joseph (ed. Lagarde, ch. xxxI) we have: "For the Anti-Christ shall slay these two men and shed their blood upon the earth for a pot of water (sic), because of the rebukes which they shall give him." [N.B. in the following chapter anti-Christ is alluded to as "the Son of Perdition;" cp. fo. 117 recto, ll. 26 ff.] Whether Enoch here reappears on earth to confront the Devil after a former contest with anti-Christ, and whether (in the lost sequel) Elias was associated with him—we can only conjecture. Quite possibly here as elsewhere the Devil and anti-Christ are confused.

ll. 19 ff. For verbal parallels see above on ll. 1–6. Add Ephraem Syrus *Discourse on anti-Christ* (Gk., ed. Assemani 111, 142): Enoch and Elias cry out, $\pi\lambda \dot{a} vos \dot{\epsilon} \sigma \tau \iota v$, \ddot{a} $\ddot{a} v \theta \rho \omega \pi o \iota$. $\mu \eta \delta \epsilon \dot{i} s a \dot{v} \tau \phi$ $\pi \iota \sigma \tau \epsilon \dot{v} \sigma \epsilon \iota \epsilon v$.

ll. 21 f. "The Son of Iniquity :" see note on fo. 117 recto 26 ff. The verbal expression is derived from ii Thess. 11, 3, 8, where anti-Christ is alluded to as $\delta \, d \nu \theta \rho \omega \pi os \, \tau \eta s \, d \nu o \mu (as . (v.l. d \mu a \rho \tau (as)), \delta \, v i \delta s \, \tau \eta s \, d \pi \omega \lambda \epsilon (as ... \delta \, d \nu o \mu o s.$

ll. 24 f. Cp. perhaps i *Jobn* 111, 8: "For the Devil sinneth from the beginning."

Il. 26 f. For the "Land of the Inheritance" compare the Coptic Apocalypse of Paul (ed. Budge, Misc. Copt. Texts, p. 562) пкар йтекАнропомы.

Fo. phhro

l. 4. In the Genealogy of Christ (*Luke* 111, 37) the Coptic (ed. Horner) has $ma\lambda\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\mu\lambda$: an uncollated ms. seen by the Editor at Dêr es Suriân (dated 1220 A.D.) has $me\lambda\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\mu\lambda$.

Il. 24 ff. For the titles here used compare *Enoch* LX111, where we have "the Lord of Spirits" (*passim*), "the Lord of Wisdom" (v. 2). But the intercession of the righteous is probably reminiscent of the intercession of Moses and Aaron (see *Numbers* XVI, 22: "And they fell upon their faces and said: 'O God, the God of the spirits of all flesh...'").

Fo. phe^{vo}

II. 7 ff. Cp. Testament in Galilee (ed. Guerrier, § 30 = Schmidt, Gespräche Jesu, § 19): "But they (the Angels) are not suffered to see the majesty of My Father;" and Asc. of Isaiab 1x, 37: "And I saw the great glory... and I could not thereupon see, nor yet could the Angel who was with me, nor all the Angels whom I had seen."

For the Seraphim of the Council see the liturgical fragment No. xxxvIII, G, Frag. 8 (Fo. скб.), where a *psali* begins ф† фн етхор йёдотсіастнс-отор планчедос йте пинщ† йсобні; and No. IX, E, Frag. I (fo. 2), ll. 4-5. ll. 22 ff. The Devil's deliberate choice of Sodom furnishes a clue to the connexion of this Fragment with Fragment 2. Satan in days of old chose Sodom and Gomorra as his favorite domain; and their inevitable doom is here recalled. In the last days he will choose Chorazin and Bethsaida, and their fate cannot be different. Cp. *Matth.* x, 15, and see above on fo. $\overline{p_1 \overline{c}}^{vo}$, ll. 7 ff.

Fo. pmaro

II. 1-6. The speaker is presumably Mary (since in 1.3) of the verso the Apostles decline to hear her narrative). If the reading in 1.1 is not corrupt, the 1st person plural must indicate Mary and one or more companions, possibly Saint John. For convulsions resulting from magic prayers cp. Theodosius, Dormitio Virginis, §§ 111-1V (Robinson, Copt. Apocr. Gosp., pp. 102 f.): "Now when she had finished this prayer...behold there were thunderings and lightnings, and all the place was moved to its foundations." Possibly this earthquake was suggested by Rev. X1, 13.

ll. 10 f. The mention of Chorazin connects this leaf with fo. $\overline{P^{T}\zeta}$. Since the events here narrated are past (not predicted), we can only conjecture that Christ (with Mary and possibly others) had gone down to Chorazin in an attempt to bring it to repentance (cp. p. 17 above).

l. 15. The (dead) bodies raised up can hardly be those of Enoch and Elias. They might be either the corpses of emissaries sent by Christ and slain by the people, or of undetermined persons raised to life in order to impress the people of Chorazin.

Fo. pmavo

1.3. "Mary our Sister," sc. the Virgin herself, cp. Theodosius, op. cit., § VII (Robinson, pp. 118 f.) where the Jews cry out: "We will believe on Thee and on Thy Virgin-Mother; for she is our sister."

ll. 7–8. The time of the Revelation is here definitely shown to be post-Resurrectional, and as shortly preceding the Ascension, with an account of which the work may have concluded (cp. *Test. in Galilee*, ed. Guerrier, $\S 62$ = Schmidt, *Gespräche Jesu*, $\S 5$).

Il. 9 ff. Pentecost is here the period beginning with Easter and ending with the Ascension: see Schmidt, *Gespräche Jesu*, p. 605 and authorities there cited.

Il. 21 ff. In the main an adaptation of John XVI, 23: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, Whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in My name He will give it you." But the promise of Christ to appear whensoever the Apostles desire guidance seems to be extracted by a bold inference from id. 16: "A little while and ye shall not see Me, and again a little while and ye shall see Me...(22) I will see you again."

Addendum. The relatively early date of the Gospel suggested above (p. 18) is not unobjectionable. If in fo. $\overline{p_1 \zeta}$ recto, ll. 10-14 we have to deal with a doctrine exclusively Manichaean, it is hard to believe that Manichaean views can have been so quickly absorbed in Egypt. And in fo. $\overline{p_1 \zeta}$ recto, ll. 7-17 we seem to have an anti-Arian protest and perhaps an Athanasian formula. Yet this latter passage, if not the former, may well be interpolated.

THE APOCRYPHAL ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

VI. THE APOCRYPHAL ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

Cotton-paper. Thirty-nine leaves or seventy-eight pages (Cairo, nos. 5-6+C.U.L. Add. 1886, 3), 25.8×17.5 cm. where intact. There is a single column (20×12 cm.) of twenty-one lines to the page. A guide-line is ruled for each line of the text. The script is a good-sized thirteenth century hand;¹ the ink is glossy and deep black; capitals and large letters (as Φ) in the body of the text are touched in with red. The stop \Rightarrow (marking pauses in reading) is uniformly used, generally in red ink but sometimes in silver-paint. The title to each of the main sections in the work is in small informal uncials and is preceded by a head-piece. The text opens with one line in enlarged ornate uncials followed by some lines in a formal vellum-hand (see Plate XVII, A-B). Diacritical markings are as usual, but there is a marked preference for the grave as against the horizontal form. Paragraphs are frequently emphasized by a sign, \Rightarrow , in red placed below the enlarged initial letter. The numeration is by pages, though alternate (left-hand) pages or versos only are inscribed; but the first and last pages of each quire always bear both page- and quire-number, and are further distinguished by an abbreviated sacred motto, the words being divided by a small central ornament thus: \overline{vr} (Ornament) \overline{xr} , "Jesus Christ, the Son of God." The quire contained five sheets (ten folios or twenty pages): apparent irregularities may be explained on the supposition that each narrative was preceded by a full-page miniature of the Apostle whose adventures were recorded.²

Of the thirty-nine leaves preserved, thirty-eight were recovered in 1920–1 and are at Cairo. The remaining leaf (pp. 787–8 of the same MS.) was found by Tischendorf and is now at Cambridge. The MS. was therefore a large one containing, probably, close upon 800 pp.,³ and doubtless covering the whole series of *Acta*. The remaining nine-tenths of the MS. may have perished, but not impossibly further portions survive in some other hiding-place within the Monastery.

Fragments of Sahidic and other versions of the Acts have been published by Guidi⁴ and von Lemm;⁵ but with the exception of the Vatican Martyrdom of S. Luke,⁶ of possible fragments from the Acts of Matthias at Leipzig,⁷ and the Cambridge leaf from our own Ms.,⁸ no portion of a Bohairic recension has hitherto emerged. From the Bohairic the Acts were translated into Arabic⁹ and thence into Ethiopic.¹⁰ A version of the Martyrdom of S. Mark, only very slightly abridged, is incorporated in the History of the Patriarchs by Severus of Ashmunên.¹¹

Our fragments belong to the following sections in the collection: (A) The Journeyings of Saint John; (B) The Death of Saint John; (C) The Preaching of Saint Philip; (D) The Martyrdom of Saint Philip; (E) The Preaching of Saint Bartholomew; (F) The Martyrdom of Saint Matthias; (G) of Saint Mark; (H) of Saint Luke. The order of the narratives in the Coptic MS. was evidently the same as in the Arabic MS. at Dêr es Suriân edited by Mrs. Lewis: both versions (as also the Ethiopic) seem to represent the same recension (which, be it noted, is different from that of the Vatican MS.), the divergencies being relatively slight and due chiefly to translation.

In this edition of the Bohairic text the division into lines is ignored; but both the paragraphs and the punctuation of the original are retained. Where errors or omissions appear to be certain, attempt has been

I Possibly identical with the hand of No. XXXVII, c (= Pl. XVII A) and closely contemporary with the hand of the Coptic Gospels at Dêr es Suriân (on which see *l. c.*, note), dated 1220 A.D. Occasional corrections (mostly the addition of letters accidentally omitted) are found. These are usually by the original hand; some are due to a second but contemporary hand, but very few are late.

2 Thus Quire \overline{in} (18) is paged from p. \overline{inc} to \overline{inc} inclusive (*i.e.* it contained only 19 pp.). Doubtless a fullpage picture of the Apostle was prefixed to the section.

3 Probably the *Martyrdom of S. Luke* was the last section in the volume (S. Mark and S. Luke are of course not Apostles, and so would take the last two places).

4 Frammenti Copti in Atti della Accad. dei Lincei III, i, 47 ff.; III, ii, 19 ff., 65 ff., 177 ff., 251 ff., 368 ff. (see also Gli Atti Apocrifi degli Apostoli in Giorn. della Soc. Asiat. Ital. II (1888), pp. 1 ff.). 5 Koptische Apocryphe Apostelakten in Bull. de l'Acad. Imp. des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg XXXIII, 509 ff.; XXXV, 233 ff.

6 Cod. Vat. Copt. LXVIII, 2 (publ. by Balestri, Bessarione, IX (1905), pp. 128 ff.). This MS. also came from Dêr Abû Makâr.

7 Cod. Tisch. XXVI, 2; XXVII, 3, 8 (cp. Crum in P.S.B.A., XXIX, p. 303).

8 Published by S. Gaselee, J.T.S., x, 52 f.

9 Edited (mainly from a MS. at Dêr es Suriân) by Mrs. Lewis, Arabic Version of the Acta Apocr. Apost. (Text), and Mythological Acts of the Apostles (Translation) = Horae Semiticae III and IV.

10 S. C. Malan, Conflicts of the Holy Apostles; E. A. Wallis Budge, Contendings of the Apostles.

11 Ed. B. Evetts, pp. 43 ff.

made to rectify the text with the help of the Arabic and Ethiopic versions;¹ but since these have not been closely compared, nothing like a complete *apparatus criticus* is possible. The divergencies of our own text from that of *Cod. Vat. Copt.* LXVIII, 2 in the *Martyrdom of S. Luke*, have, however, been noted. In the margin of the translation references to the Arabic and Eth. versions are indicated by the signs L. (= Lewis, *Mytb. Acts of the Apost.*) and B. (=Budge, *The Contendings of the Apostles*, vol. 11).

× (сца) храпхрима пънмостоп +

Стадситем ёрог егам йрапсааг + парреп подітархос + адотарсарні над ефредхат ёвод +

Αγχατ Σε έλολ + οτος γιτε(n) π πεγοοτ + διφος έ τάςιά οτος διί γισει οτκοι + ε πεςραπ πε μαρμαρεωπ + οτος θαι παςχη γισει φιομ πε +

Цен піхіпорідемсі »е діхе(п) отдако + ечхн діхеп фіом ебрійтоп ймоі поткотхі сводбен падохдех + пем пайкад понт + а підіпім тадоі +

иепепсис етоложи павал + орние падинот еволде подом пасотато собор ец[с]ия отор сото исто исто собор ецентально е цсик хотор есос ящ[с]ца собор с

Άποκ σε εταιπαν έρος αιτωπτ ήεπ ογχωλεμ + έ щеπήιςι πεμας γως σε έται έβολ γω + ήεπ ται θληψις πται μαϊή +

Наісшоти гар ан же ішанинс пе з аіще ині ефріфтот немац з бен пжінфрібшит же еботи з же йтасоттщ(п) тажіж ёвод з итаамоні ймоц з йтатотносц

Αγτωης αφεριμορη έροι στος έταπεράμαλης έ πε(n)έρηστ απριμι » στος αμμεπεμοτ πτοτς μφτ Οτος βεπηςιπθρεπώτο(n) ώμοη ποτκοτςι » πτε ποητ πιωαπηκί τ έρος » απςω πηη ετατιμωπι

Two folios (four pages) missing.

× $(\overline{cq}\chi)$ × [n] ercuma + noog se nezag nac ze ce +

Άςχοτιμτ έδοτη έχωι πέχας μηι + χε έκχω ώπος χε οτ + πέχε ιωαπηκό πας + χέ παςόη πε + πέχας πας + χε παι κέσται τέρχριά ώπος + έ πρωβ ήτμετπερεχιτκό + ότος ασσιτέπ έ τςείώστη + Ι ωαπηκό μεπ ασαμή εθρέσθωκ + άποκ γω ασαιτ ώπερεχιτκό + παςτ παπ χε ητ λιτρα ήωικ ώμκηι πε Βεπ πίμας Σ χε πέζουτ + ώπε ιωαπηκό έμι ήθωκ έ τσίώσται + ασάμοπι ώμος + ασραβτή έβρκι + ασχιστί ερος ήκακως + βεπ οτμεταθηαι

[3]π μεπ ιχεριεριά ωχρε 90τΟ

A. The Travels of Saint John.

[S. John, appointed by lot to preach in Asia, takes ship at Joppa accompanied by Prochorus. His prophecy that they will suffer great hardships at sea is fulfilled; for the ship is wrecked. John disappears, but Prochorus with the crew is cast ashore at Seleucia. The sailors attribute the disaster to the arts of their passengers and bring Prochorus before the magistrate on a charge of sorcery. He is saved by the intervention of an imperial official visiting the city on public business.]

... *affairs of state. When he heard me speaking in the presence of the *politarch*, he bade him let me go. And he let me go; and in forty days I reached Asia, and came unto a plain called Marmareôn. And this was by the sea.

Now as I was sitting upon a headland which was by the sea, that I might rest a little from my affliction and sorrow, sleep took hold on me. Afterwards, when I opened my eyes, lo, there was coming in from the sea a rolling wave; and by means of a rolling \times and great wave it (*sc.* the sea) cast up John. Now when I saw him, I arose in haste to help him, since I also was escaped from affliction of this same sort: for I did not know that he was John. I went to give him my hand. But as I drew near to reach out my hand to catch him and raise him up, he was before me and arose. And when we had embraced one another, we wept and straightway gave thanks unto God. And while we were resting a little that John might recover his spirit, we spake of those things which had come to pass.

[John and Prochorus go to Ephesus. Outside the city they meet Romanna, keeper of a bath-house, who invites them to enter her service.]

(She said: "... I will give thee wages and necessaries for) *thy body." And he said unto her: "Certainly." She looked towards me, and said unto me: "What sayest thou?" John said unto her: "He is my brother." She said unto him: "I have need of him also for the work of a bath-man." And she took us to the bath-house. As for John, she set him to fire (the furnace); me also she made bath-man. Now she used to give us three pounds of bread a day.

But on the fourth day John forgot to fire the bath: she seized him, thrust him within, and beat him sorely without mercy. And she spake these words unto him: *"O thou who art fled from thine own country, that dost

I In all other respects the orthography of the original is unaltered.

[×] p. 291 (= B., p. 228; L., p.

40)

× cqh

× p. 297 (= B., p. 230; L., p. 41)

× p. 298

28

*Хе й фн ётауфит сводбеп теуподіс фн етмпща пшпб ап + ісхе ймо(п) щхом ймок ё ерхръсіметіп × CUH ё отушь » їё сове от акф лискотої єроц Бен отеротот » апок сонавши євой пискметрецерзай »

Ин ётакі емпаі йоок ё сшы йрымаппа + баі ет а пессыіт фог ща рымн + хпащхып ёроі ап + ебве хе поок павшк →

Скотим екси щакотпоч ймок » ё ероид »е щакербеппе » й фапісмот етоиот » щівт птектимн » йтекщемщі промонно

Апоя зе ётысыты ё пы + есяю ймын быллан + ё ьс4 пья йолппщ4 йщнщі + чыщыпі беп - ×(счө) отпщ пемкьр прнт пем отриви

Пехац ъе пні йхе ішаппис з хе пащирі прохирос з собе от акерент й

Ксшоти пар же ётапрыд йёслё беп фюм + отор йоок ког йемкар йонт ежеп отщепкотр йотыт йте οτεριμι + κεμ οτκοται ñawnt +

Βωλ έ πιρωθ έτ ατθαιμκ έρου στορ πτεκαιυ μεν στεροτοτ + πενιστ γαρ ικς πε(n)ρευθαμιό + αττκοτρ пац алугоац Беп пецуо атермастичной ймоц + атерстатрыний ймоц +

Апон зе бпон пецболиб бущоптен беп пеуспоу ймін ймоу + отор бпон хунн ймон бен отеротот + ×Ŧ Сачерщорп йхω пап йнаг тнрот + аλλа беп течрупомонн + еннахфо йненфтхн

Наі зе ётадхотот пні аіще пні + аієрешь ё піршь ётатбащт ёрод + ёвохрітеп рымаппа +

Пфпат зе йпіотыні йпеураст + асі йхе рымаппа ща ішаппнс + отор пехас пач йпаі рнт хе ёщип κερχριά πκερλι πτε πιςωμα πατηί πακ + μοποπ¹ μαρθηκ έ πιρωθ πκαλώς +

Ιωαππης σε πεχαι πας + σε τχριά άπιςωμα ρωψι έροι + οτος πικεςωλ τεππατοπη έρου II]exac nay + xe ië eobe or ce-

One folio (two pages) missing.

хъеп пат ма + оъъе боутс фолтт ан ефбектенти тиог цкесон + Ішанпис же ётадёмі беп піппа же отхемши пе адтыво мфран мфішт пем пщирі » пем піппа έθοταλ + οτος πτοτποτ ά πισεμων φωτ ben οτщин

Педраст зе б рылаппа ї есям ймос + пішаппнс + яе атяе заплищ пні ефитк яе кт пронк ап έ πεκρωλ πκαλως + αλλα μεα πεκοτωщ ετρωοτ + κιρι πασι σε ριαα πταχακ έλολμε(n) παι мь + οτος ймон шхом ймок ñrecon è gwh ñtot

¹ *mmo*(*n*), MS.

not deserve to live! If thou canst not serviceably perform a task, then why didst thou undertake it eagerly, leaving me to undo your carelessness? Art thou come hither to mock Romanna, her whose fame reaches unto Rome? Thou shalt not be able to escape me; for thou art my servant. In eating and drinking thou delightest thyself, but for doing work thou art remiss. O thou ill-favored one, †change thy disposition, that † (B., p. 231) thou mayest serve Romanna."

Now when I heard these things which she said to John dealing him sore blows the while, *I was in great × p. 299 sorrow of heart and grief. But John said unto me: "My son, Prochorus, wherefore art thou perplexed? For thou knowest that we set out boldly on the sea, and art thou grieved in heart at a single buffet from a woman and a little anger? Get thee to the work assigned thee, and perform it cheerfully. For our Lord Jesus, our Maker, was buffeted: they spat in His face, they scourged Him, they crucified Him. Us, even us. His handiwork, He Himself hath redeemed with His blood, and gladly 'became like unto us: and He told us all these things beforehand. But in His patience let us possess our souls."

Now when he had thus spoken unto me, I went my way and toiled at the task appointed me by Romanna. And when the morning of the next day appeared, Romanna came to John and spake unto him in this wise: "If thou needest aught else for the body, I will give it thee: only give heed to thy work properly." John said unto her: "I have enough for the needs of the body; and as for the work, we will attend to it." She said unto him: "Then why do many (complain of thy neglect ?").

[John explains that he is unused as yet to his task. A demon in the guise of Romanna appears threatening and reviling John.]

("...depart) *from this place.¹ I by no means wish that thou shouldest serve me more." But John knowing through the Spirit that it was a demon, prayed in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. And straightway the demon fled away ashamed.

Now on the morrow Romanna came saying unto John: "Many tell me concerning thee that thou payest no due heed to thy work. But thou doest thus of thy perverse wish that I may release thee from this place. And

1 The demon is speaking.

× (Tr)

× p. 300

× p. 303 (=B., p. 232; L., p. 42)

× T Лящапотыщ ё рыд йтот Апаха отаг ап беп пеямедос ецотох + отор бе(n)×пы тирот мпецотырем отвыс йже ишаппыс

Стасёмі че ё теуртпомонн + пем теуметремрату асопу паррас + че отбыштно пе + отор пассачі пемау + Беп отчіпсачі еспаціт + ессатітеп ёроу есчю ймос пау +

Хе мн йдок павшк ап й фа пісмот етешот » екхи ймос хе от » мн керомологип йтекметвик ап » аріотй пні »

Ішанинс че пехац пас хе аза апок певшк апок етошк » отоз прохшрос пе піперехітнс »

× (те) Рыманна же оп он етсеоторт + пе отоп птас потщфир + ё отафе пе ben «пірецфеап + ben пн ётотмотф ёршот же сходастікос + асще пас щароц ассажі пемац + есжи ймос

Хе Ашк А пте плюч ёт лтхат пні + (лтфшт) ісхеп отмнщ промпі + чпот зе ётаті зарої сеербмодогип хе апоп певшк + отоп щхом ймої оп ё семпі пкепрасіс Баршот

Пісходастівос зе пехац пас + хе атщапхос + хе апон певше ісхен нею+ + отон щхом ймо ефретадо йё ймефре ёратот стйдот + йтесемні бен оттахро йтотхін+ ёвод

хте Ішаппис зе адёмі бен піппа з отор пехад пи хе аріёмі пак пащирі ххе ёре таі срімі отощ сореперомологія пас з хе апоп песвок з

Λοιποη μπευθρευερ μκας ύζητ μευ μαι δωβ + αλλα βαщι ύθου ύδους + οτος μαρευίρι μμαι βη4 + xe δινα εμολοιτευ ναι μτε υευ στ της τωνε ται εδινι + xe συου δαυναθητης μτα ν

Наі зе ётацхотот пяе ішанинс + асі ёдоти пяе рыманна + бен отніщ? йметбасіент + отог асерщори памоні пішанинс есям ймос +

Χε ώ πιθωκ πρευφωτ + εθθε ον ώπιπαν έ ψαρε τεκστ ї έδονη + ώπακι έβολ βαχως πτεκονωψτ ώπος +

One folio (two pages) missing.

×(το)
 ×ίωστηι [παε Διοςκοριτης] πως ή άροη[ς πε ε πιε]2007 έ μωρε πω[ι μωπι] ή βητς + φωι Δ[ε στοη] ήτως
 μωων πε πονμη[ρι] εςχη βεη τη προμπι + πε στεδιε Δοπω¹ πε βεη πεςεμουτ + έ πεςβων πε Δομπος
 Οτος πωςδρες έρος πε πηιες007 έρε πιτωκο πωμωπι ή βητον + στος πωςχω μμος ωπ πε έ 2ωλ έ τε είωστηι μπιές000 ετεμμων +

 $1 = ton\omega$.

thou canst not depart again out of my hand. If thou shouldest seek to escape from me, I will not leave fone of thy members whole." And in *all this, John did not answer her. But when she perceived his patience and gentleness, she thought to herself that he was a simpleton, and spake unto him with harsh speech, reviling him and saying unto him: "Art not thou my slave, O ill-favored one? What sayest thou? Dost thou not admit thy slavery? Answer me!" And John said unto her: "Verily I am thy slave, I the fire-man, and also Prochorus the bath-man."

Now Romanna that accursed woman had a friend who was chief among *the judges, among them who are called *scholastici*. She betook herself unto him and spake with him saying: "Two slaves of my parents, whom they bequeathed unto me, (ran away) many years ago; †and now they are come (back) to me, confessing, 'We are thy slaves.' Is it possible for me to establish afresh the sale of them?" The *scholasticus* said to her: "If they say: 'We are thy slaves since the time of thy parents,' thou mayest take three trusty witnesses unto them, in order to establish securely the fact of their purchase."

But John through the Spirit was aware of this and said unto me: "Know, my son, "that this woman desireth us to admit to her that we are her slaves. Now let us not be grieved at this thing, but rejoice the more, and let us do so (as she bids); that by these means Our Lord Jesus the Christ may show this woman whose disciples we are."

†When John had so spoken, Romanna came in in great triumph and straightway seized upon John, saying: "O runaway slave, why when thy mistress entereth in dost thou not come forth unto her to do obeisance to her ?"

[John and Prochorus admit that they are the slaves of Romanna. The bath-house is haunted by a demon who thrice a year strangles the first person to enter.]

* p. 309 † (=B., p. 235) [×](Now the owner of the) bath-house, Dioscorides, used to observe the day on which these things occurred. This man had a son, eighteen years old, very †comely in form, named Domnus. And he used to keep guard over him on the days when the mischief was to occur, and would not allow him to go to the bath-house on that day. So then after we had spent three months at the bath-house, the son of Dioscorides entered

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† (=L., p. 43)

× p. 305

× p. 306

† (=B., p. 234)

- Пепенса өрепірі оти йё йавот беп Ісеїшоти » а пщирі йхіоскорітис ще пац ёботи є Ісеїшоти мматата + сореахикем отор аще пні пемад ёре піскетос йтот + сіщемщі ммод + отор йфотпот ёта×[черщорп ёрог е]тачще ё[Ботп а пізе]мшп охоч

бтассытем »е йже рыманиа » ассі4 мпесерщын зіхен піказі » отоз ассыли ёвол йса пічыі йте тесафе есхи ймос »

Хе отог пні апоя на Аталепшрос 4 агнаер от ісхеп пагнат 4 Цеп ащ про агнахотщт ёбол неп пгро <u>παιοςκοριτής + τέ διηδεροτώ που αε οτ + δήοκ βα τέβιμ(n) + αλλα πκεπθού ρωυ + δυψαηζωτεμ</u> же δ пецинри мот + цпьмот 9ωq + xe отмопоченис пъд пе пъ \overline{cc} x σοπ no c +

- *Фліщ† партеміс арівойдія » пте отшпь щшпі мпаі белщірі беп техом тепсшотп гар тнрот піршмі ×(TIA) пем пірібмі + піремёфесос + же поо петерремі йптиру + тивр ймо ебретотнос певшк Зомпос + οτορ πασεωλη έβολ πε ποα πιμωι ήτε τεσαφε ισχει αχα τ λητέροοτ щα αχα σ + οτορ πε πλιοπ ωπη щоп пе япібеущібі »
- Не б отпин ммни ошот сове піблот з рапотоп меп патеррны сове піблот з рапкехшотні зе патерщфирі промаппа йпіри стесої ймоц Беп песперпі +

Ішанинс зе ётачі ёвохбен ×піма пошк пехач ині »

Хе пащнрі прохирос + от пе паі щоортер етьен таі подіс йфоот ёводоітен таісрімі +

- Етаснат ёроц йже рыманна ецсажі пемні » асбожі асамоні ймоц » пежас нац же й піматос » атаімі ппекметрецерзік з еобнтя гар а тапот зепс савох ймоі з
- Отор аст пад потщепнотр есси ямос + півше етошот + ётані тот ё сшві ямоі + ёкращі ёхеп фн ётацщыні мпащирі » екхю млос хе от й півшк патщат »

Етацсытем ё паі йхе їша йтотс йрыманна + ацще ёботн ё Асеїйотні +

Nine leaves (eighteen pages) missing.

хпиот же ирк пні йфпіщф партеміс же беп отмот пем отипь тетеппаїрі пемні + отор фпатамитеп $\times (\overline{\tau \lambda a})$ чос² ппота едхи блос »

> ¹ annapor, MS. ² sic: perhaps a corruption of ϕ optoc.

into the bath-house alone to bathe. And I went with him, having the utensils¹ in my hand and waiting on him. And straightway, when [×]he had entered in before me, the demon strangled him.

And when his servants knew of it, they came forth weeping and saying: "What shall we do? For our lord is dead." And when Romanna heard it, she cast her mantle upon the ground and tare the hair of her head, saying: "Woe is me, wretched that I am ! †What shall I do henceforward ? With what face shall I look upon the face of Dioscorides ? Or how shall I answer him, miserable that I am ? But as for him, if he shall hear that his son is dead, he too will die. For my lord Domnus was his only son. *O great Artemis, help; that life may return unto this youth through thy power. For we know all, both men and women of Ephesus, that it is thou who reignest over all. I beseech thee raise up thy servant Domnus." And she kept tearing the hair of her head from the third hour of the day unto the ninth hour. And there was no life in the youth.

Now there was a great multitude assembled because of the lad, some lamenting for the boy, and others wondering at Romanna and the way she acted in her grief. And when John was come forth from 'the stokehole, he said to me: "Prochorus, my son, what is this tumult in the city today by reason of this woman?" But when Romanna saw him speaking with me, she rushed (upon him) and seized him, and said to him: "O wizard, thy sorceries are revealed! For because of thee my goddess hath withdrawn herself from me." And she dealt him a buffet, saying: "O wicked slave, that art come now to mock me! Dost thou rejoice over that which hath befallen my son? What sayest thou, O worthless slave ?"

When John had heard these things from Romanna, he departed into the bath-house.

[John restores the boy to life: Romanna, Dioscorides and others are consequently converted. A demon takes the form of an imperial official commissioned to arrest John and Prochorus, and bribes two of the city guards to aid him.]

(The demon said) *unto them: "Swear to me by the great Artemis that in death and in life ye will work with me, and I will show you." And they sware unto him: "We will stand by thee in all things." And he showed them a great load² of gold, saying: "My comrades, do your utmost, and, lo, I these (monies) I have

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1 *i.e.* the appliances used in bathing.

2 Eth. 'something which was like unto a large purse filled

with gold;' Ar. 'a false appearance... of many purses filled with dinars.'

[×]p. 331 (=B.,

p. 244; L., p. 48 f.)

×TI

×TIB

- × p. 310
- † (=L., p. 44)

× p. 311

† (=B., p. 236) × p. 312

Хе пащфир аргатопидесое отор ис пат агсевтитот питеп за петепзии +

Ношот ъе пехшот нач + хе матамон е пекомА + отор аргатршотщ нак +

Πεχας πωοτ χε άποκ βα πιέβιμη + άποκ οτρεμτκεςαρία πτε τκαππαδοκιά πτε παλεςτιπμ1 άποκ × TAB отвойвос + пкомептариснос ×ет ат пи проми А ммогос еводьен имм + фран поты ммоот пе иwannuc + отор фран Апікеотаі пе прохирос +

Апок зе етысттот ыртот е піщтеко + отор беп пімбр з пёроот + адщіні йсшот йже піархшп + οτος τε ατοτωης ελολ + εατίρι άγαης ληστί ετγωστ + οτος εττακηστ +

Οτος έτα πιαρχωή πατ έ παιμαι πποτηετρώστ + παι έτ ατότωπο έλολ αφοτορήστ οη έ πιμτέκο + χέχας ριτεπ τευαιπερέζετα 71(n) πμωοτ + έψεέμι ben οττααρο + εθθε ποτοβηστί ετοωοτ ετοτίρι πμωοτ +

 $\times \overline{(\tau \lambda \tau)}$

Етаюлот отп же птаритот «ё пищтеко » атфыт ёвольеп пажих ритеп отмаша есешот » отор етаитаме фн етхн угхы ё пірше +

Стадщепонт Барои пехад ини + хе ошд й пісвіни птеняшт йсшот + ёщши зе птенщтемепот сароі хпамот пнакыс + отор ещып птенщтемхемот яперноти рарог же +

тсшоти гар йпхинт йпіархин ёботи ёроі + отор начтамо ймиот ё отбісі пиль мфантасіа + ечхи ймос ∻

Хе ысытем ёводрітеп отмній прымі + че сехн беп плі мыт + отор ефве флі лії ё тлі подіс + отор пацрим хле еччи ймос + че тасули пем пащны + пем папані агхат йсші + отор іс рнппе тот

Асорем Бен пы карі пщеммо з

(Ornament) $\overline{\chi r}$ $\overline{i7}$.

Алла фонтен пащфир сопанся + щепонт ва таметщеммо + отог пезшот пад пяе питазиотис +

Хе мперщоортер пепщфир дара ры отоп (пг)матос мпаг ма + пехац пьот хе се + адда чердоч мнпыс птотфыт ёвольеп пы ма + ситеп тотгопн етошот⁸ ете Аметмачос те +

Άλλα φαι άριτη παщφηρ εθπαπετ + ριτοτ έβοτη έ οτμα + άπερχα ρωμι έμι πτετεπβοθλοτ πσιοτί + $\times \tau \overline{\lambda \varepsilon}^4$ птетепбі ппаі хрима + ёт халепот пемні євод

Йошот ъе пехшот пац + хе серпоцрі пак поото атщаптаршот + птенбітот ё текпатріс + ёпіхн атщапмот екпащому ё текполіс пащ прнф

prepared for you in return for your pains." And they said unto him: "Show us thy business and be not anxious." He said unto them: "I, poor wretch, am a man of Caesarea in Cappadocia in Palestine (sic). I am an adjutant of a *comentaresius*, [×]and there were delivered unto me two men, wizards, from Jerusalem: the

name of the one was John, and the name of the other was Prochorus. Now I cast them into the prison.

And on the fourth day the *archon* asked for them[†]; and, lo, they were shown to have wrought wicked and harmful deeds. And when the archon saw the multitude of their evil deeds which were manifested, he sent them again to the prison, that by examination of them he might know of a certainty concerning the evil deeds which they had committed. Now when I had removed them to cast them [×]into the prison, they escaped out of my

hands by wicked sorcery. And when I informed him who was over me of the matter, being vexed with me he said: 'Depart, wretched man, and seek after them. If thou dost not bring them to me, thou shalt die miserably; and if thou dost not find them, do not return to me. For I know the wrath of the archon against me." And he was showing them the semblance of a pile of gold, saying: "I have heard from a number of men that they are in this region, and for this cause I am come to this city." And he began to weep, *saying: "My

wife and my children and they of my house—I have left them behind me, and lo, now I wander in this strange land. But consider us, my good comrades, and take pity on my condition as a stranger." And the guards said unto him: "Be not troubled, comrade. Only, are the wizards in this place ?" He said unto them: "Yea; but I fear lest perchance they escape from this place by reason of their wicked art, that is, sorcery. But do thus, my good comrades. Cast them into some place and let no man know it, that ye may slay them secretly

¹ Both Arabic and Eth. have 'Palestine' alone. TRANnazonia is probably a gloss added by way of hopeful suggestion and subsequently admitted into the text. ² Heading (for end of the seventeenth quire) $\overline{\tau \lambda_{\Delta}}$ $\overline{\tau \tau}$

and receive these †monies *which I have brought away with me."

³ Added (first hand) above the line.

- ⁴ Heading (for beginning of the eighteenth quire) in
- $\overline{\mathfrak{rc}}$ (Ornament) $\overline{\mathfrak{sr}}$ $\overline{\mathfrak{r\lambda}\mathfrak{e}}$.

† (=B., p. 245)

× p. 333

×р. 334

† (=B., p. 246) × p. 335

But they said unto him: "It is much better for thee if they be taken, that thou mayest bring them to thy country; for if they be killed, how wilt thou return to thy city?" But he said unto them: "Slay them, my

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 $\times \overline{\tau \lambda }^2$

× p. 332

Йооц хе пехац пшот хе бообот пащфер сопапет » отог стотщ ап ё пат ё таполіс ща ёпег » отхе ё сроейріп ймос пкесоп »

Исатсемпитс пемац ё Бодбот + отор ё бі птоту пфантасіа пте піхрима +

Адёмі отп йхе піатіос іша беп піппа » ё фн ёте піппа етгшот ірі ймод »

Отор пехад ини же пащири прохирос + стоищ сорекёми + отор йтексевте тек утхи е раппирас- $\times \overline{TAE}$ мос + же пиземия фи ствеп пиерфеи йте сартемис + ис рипие цким ё отщищ + пем отпищ й под тус вартом +

IC енппе пар адтотнос й бен нітадійтис ёхшп + ёадхш ёршот йранпетршот совитен + отор адтамої йхе їнс папот є ршя півен ёт а піхемши хотот бароп + тахро йрит оти пащирі прохшрос + отор йтексевтштк паррен паі +

Hai orn eque amoor nui nue iwannue + orog à nipumi \overline{b} i nan + éganébolbe(n) 4tazic atàmoni amon +

 Δ ιος κοριτής δε παι μπαν απ πε μπιπαν έτεμμαν + ^xαλλα έται χωλ έ πειμι + εφβε γαηγθηονί $\times \langle \overline{\tau \lambda \gamma} \rangle$ πδημοςιο(n) +

Iwannhe de neday nuor de siten au nêtia êtete(n)îpi âdai \Rightarrow ñouor de neduor \Rightarrow de eobe orionh ecquor \Rightarrow ête faetaaroc te

Ішаппис че пехач + че отоз пім етеркатичорі(п) Бароп еобе паі +

Ηθωον δε πεχωον ή ίως χε (τε)πηδολθηπον έ πιщτεκο + ψα τετεπφος έ πετε(π)κατηπορος +

Ішанинс се пехац пшот хе ймон щхом ймштен ё біттен йхонс + ёщшп ймон йтштен ймат йненкатнгорос + йпемво йпенго + їё от ёфднот пе пете(п)гше + етщотіт + пошот се ×атрнотр пішан- × тдн инс +

Отог ben пхинфротсык ймо(n) + йпотолтен ёвотн ё пищтеко + адда атодтен ё отни ймататен + сысхе хе етпавытев ймоп + прос пирнф етадха писыв пьот ёврни + йхе пихемын етобот +

Риманна зе асодниции йзюскоритис + ётадсштем отп йже фн ётеммат + адтшид Беп отхидем + аді адха пап ёвод +

Οτος εαπεαχι ετπαщτ αφχοτοτ πηιταζιώτης εφχω πλος πωοτ + χε στοι ηωτεη απ έ ει ελι πρωλι έβοτη + πποτωσιμοτ + οτος ημοη απ πχε φη ετερκατησοριη βαρωοτ ππεμθο έβολ πποτεο + πεοτό ×[..] χε σε βεη πιμτεκο απ εθοτοης έβολ + αλλα βεη οτηι εφρηπ + εωστε εθρετεποσπι έρωοτ πκακως +

Ις παι ρωμι οτη δεη πακι + έιμωπ έοτοη οται ερκατηποριη δαρώοτ + μαρεςί πτεςόλοτ + οτος πςετζεαπ έρωοτ κατα πιπομος + οτος αςολτεή έ πεςμι ήχε διοςκορίτης +

good comrades; and I do not wish to see my city ever, nor to behold it again." And they agreed with him to slay them and to receive at his hand the semblance of money.

[†]Now the holy John knew through the Spirit that which the evil spirit did. And he said to me: "My son, Prochorus, I would have thee know and prepare thy [×]soul for certain trials. For lo the demon who is in the Temple of Artemis stirreth up reproach and great affliction against us. For, lo, he hath raised up two of the guards against us, having spoken evil to them concerning us. And Jesus, my God, hath showed me everything which the demon hath spoken against us. Be strong of heart, therefore, my son Prochorus, and prepare thyself for these things."

So while John was telling me these things, there came to us the two men who were of the guard, and seized us. Now Dioscorides was not there at that time, *but was gone to his house on some public business. And John said unto them: "For what cause do ye this ?" And they said: "For an evil art, that is, sorcery." But John said: "And who is he who accuses us of these things ?" They said to John: "We will take you to the prison until you meet your accuser." But John said unto them: "Ye may not take us wrongfully. If ye have not here our accusers before our faces, why then do ye vainly this idle thing ?" But they *dealt John a buffet.

And as they dragged us away, they did not take us into the prison, †but took us to a house apart, that they might kill us, even as the evil demon had enjoined upon them. But Romanna made search for Dioscorides. So when that man heard her, he arose in haste and came and delivered us. And he spake harsh words to the guards, saying: "It is not lawful for you to imprison any man unaccused and unless he who accuses them appears face to face with them—much more [×]since they are not in the public prison, but in a private house, so that ye may plot evil against them. Behold now, these men (shall be) in my house; and if there is any man who accuses them, let him come and take them, and let them be judged according to the law." And Dioscorides took us to his house.

×(τλφ)

† (=L., p. 50) × p. 336

× p. 337

× p. 338 † (=B., p. 247)

×р. 339

Ηιταζιώτης δε πεχωοτ πποτέρηοτ + χε μαρεποωλ πτεπίπι πποτκατηφορος απαι + οτος τοτε έπεχεμχομ έ ταςο απιδικεοπ +

Хюскорітнс же Беп пхіпоредобщу йматату ё паі рыв + адщипі едпащт паррат +

- Аті отп ё пима ёт ере пиземы(п) хоемсі пьнту + фн етот[хы] ймос ёроу + хе отёводь[еп] 4тазіс пе + отог хе отвойфос пе йкоментарнскос отог йпотхему + атгеі ёдрні ё отпіщ4 йгны + йатщулі дароу + Атгемсі едрні беп пима ётеммат + етхы ймос хе отог пап + от пе ёт ап(па)агу пагрымі гар ётеммат угемсі йпагма ап + отог ауща(п)хемен йхе згоскорітнс йхы йкерн4 +
 - Отрими не ботоптец-отниц птахро + мнишс птецірі пан пкакис + отог патщоп бен паіма ётеммат етерэны +

Отог госоп сташ пал пем потёрнот + аді пшот пас [підемып...

Four leaves (eight pages) missing.

×(ππθ) ×αε οτ πεταταιή εήσι έβοτ(n) έ τεργαςιά ήτμετμαγος +

Парешп- »е адтамшот » же отап ёвольен Атазіс ёаді ёвольен тотпатріс едшіні йсшот » йбод адотопрот ёвол » пем ин ёт атаїтот бен піма ётеммат »

Пехшот отп ймарешп хе фн ётаці ёт екхш ймос + еөвнтц + мареці йтецтамо ё 4меөмні еөвнтот + Наі зе маротрітот ё піщтеко + щате фн ётеммат і + йтецхе 4меөмні тнрс еөвнтот +

Тоте ателттеп ёвотп ё піщтево ётсавотп ёаттахроп йпехнс + пімнщ хе патешф беп Іполіс тирс етщіпі йса фи ётотмот ёроц «хе отёводбеп Ітазіс пе

Отог патщині йса фаі гітен ніктріз » ёте пи пе етгішіщі » наі же бен пжі(п)фротщтемжему »

Испепса т пероот + ат ща пн стонщ е Inolic + стам ммос + ас мпепаем піршмі + фн стёмі ё Імеомні сове паі римі +

Изрхин зе йте уподіс пехиот пиот + хе бпоп хе отп ймоп щхом ймоп ё бмоні йзвпримі йщеммо + бен піщтеко + ёре поткатнгорос ймат ап йтотеркатнгоріп бариот егграфос +

Οτος ατοτωρη ήχε ημ ετάμοιι ήπολις + ατχαη έλολ έατςιοτί έροη + οτος ατςο(n)[[gen...

One leaf (two pages) missing.

¹ No corresponding clause in the Ar. or Eth.: the words are clearly an interpolated gloss.

But the guards said to one another: "Let us go and bring hither their accusers (*sic*), and then we shall be able to get justice." Now in dealing with this matter alone, Dioscorides was rough with them. So they went to the place where the demon \times was sitting—he who claimed to be one of the guards and an adjutant of a *comentaresius*—, and they did not find him. They fell into great and unendurable lamentation. They sat down in that place, saying: "Woe unto us! What shall we do? For that man is not here, and if Dioscorides shall find us lying (?)—for he is a man of great power—perchance he may deal hardly with us." And they were in that place lamenting.

And while they were so speaking, there came to them (the demon...)

[The demon stirs up the people of Ephesus against John and Prochorus. At the prayer of John the temple of Artemis falls down and the demon is cast out. The two are now brought before the magistrates of the city accused by a Jew, named Mareôn.]

[And the magistrates said:] *"What have they done that appertains to the working of sorcery?" And Mareôn declared unto them: "A man of the guard who came from their country seeking them, he gave information concerning them and the things which they did in that place." Then they said to Mareôn: "Let the man who came, of whom thou speakest, appear, that he may declare the truth concerning them. As for these men, let them be cast into the prison until that man appear, to speak the truth concerning them."

Then they cast us into the inner prison, securing us with fetters. But the multitudes went †about through the whole city seeking for him who was called [×]one of the guards. And they kept seeking for him by means of heralds, who are those who cry out. And when these could not find him, after three days they (*sc.* the people) came to them who governed the city, saying: "We have not found the man who knoweth the truth concerning these men." But the rulers of the city said unto them: "Then we cannot hold strangers in the prison if their accusers are not here to bring an indictment against them."

And they who controlled the city sent and let us go, casting us out and commanding [us not to stay in the city].

[John and Prochorus retire to Marmareôn, but are bidden by Christ to return to Ephesus, whence John should be transported to the Isle of Patmos. The sufferings and achievements of John are more fully recorded elsewhere.]

* p. 340

nT×

250)

× p. 349 (= L., p. 52; B., p.

†(=B., p. 251) × p. 350

ете піречщепысі пе +1

Οτος έχει ποι τηροτ εθαπο * τειτίωτ μοι + πεμ πωμρι + πεμ πιπλ εθοτοί + ωα επες йте піёпер + амнп

ταπαπατείε στος ταιποτώτελ έλολ πτε πιασιος πάποςτολος στος πμειριτ πτε π<u>χς</u> піпаровепос отор петалістис + отор поводого залини пщирі плевежеос + εταςщωπι ben έφεςος πςοτ 2 μπιάδοτ τωδι Беп отрірнин йте фт бмни

*Асщыні зе мененсь оре пенот інс пхс зык евод проікономіь + пте потялі мпікосмос тиру + «тизе пледи икон с пуши с тфе реп облов с катари на на пода с който нас то то кон с токон с треп на на на на на на на теухира ет а пос обще поч э

Астаре піатос имаппис пщирі плеведеос є рішіщ Беп Тасіа +

ETAUI OTH EHOTH E EDECOC + ETE DAL TE AMATPONOLIC ATE LACIA + HAUPIWIM MAINAPT EHOTH E MENTE * тощина и инфинант + хорходпар на нем рапрохра + пем рапифири епашиот +

× THES

Πεπεπιςα θρεφεροπομεπι(π) σε έ οληπιραζμος ετοщ έδολοιτοτο ππαπιμα έτεμματ + εθθε σε πατλοδι пе бен фиетшанше ізоклон + ёболе икенсені тфрнф бол еходолено + фон или ероу + ихе ингранизате за йте ты поліс йотшт ёфесос +

Фн ёт атсавон ёроу Бен пхим пнипразие пте напостолос + еущотщот ймоч ё флнот + ечерънмогории еции инос »

Χε πιρωλι πιρεμέφεςος πιμ πε έτε πηςωοτη απ άτπολις ππιρεμέφεςος ×xε ςεοι ñ(π)εώκερος + πρεηψεμψι × THE йте пієрфеі пте тпіщт партеміс +

Испенса өре иманинс от(n) фн ёботав йстариедистис + кмрц йпиерфеи ствавем ётеммат гитен пецгийщ +

¹ $\epsilon \tau \epsilon \dots \pi \epsilon$: not in Ar. or Eth.: this again is an interpolated gloss.

³ Full heading $\overline{i \oplus i c}$ (Ornament) $\overline{\chi c} \overline{i \pi e}$ (first p. of quire 19).

² Full heading THA IT (Ornament) XT IH (last p. of quire 18). For the script of the opening lines of the text see Plate XVII B.

[... are written] *down in other (works) in an exceeding great discourse which we call Kamatike,¹ that × p. 353 is to say, The Sufferer.

And for all those things which come upon us we give glory to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit for ever and ever. Amen.

B. The Death of Saint John.²

The Repose and the Passing-away of the boly Apostle and beloved of Christ, the Virgin and Evangelist and Divine, John the Son of Zebedee; the which took place at Ephesus³ on the fourth day of the Month Tôbi. B., p. 253) In the Peace of God! Amen.

*Now it came to pass, after that Our Lord Jesus the Christ had fulfilled the dispensation of the saving of the whole world, that He might go up into Heaven in glory, that the holy Apostles were preaching, each in the country which the Lord appointed for him. It was appointed the holy John, the Son of Zebedee, to preach in Asia. When therefore he was come to Ephesus, which is the metropolis of Asia, he was preaching faith toward Our Lord Jesus the Christ, the living God, in *much striving and affliction and with many miracles.

After that he had endured many trials at the hands of the people of that place, because they were frantic in their worship of idols beyond the rest (of mankind); even as has been declared unto us by the Clerk of this very city-he of whom we are informed in the Book of the Acts of the Apostles⁴ as vaunting himself vainly, speaking to the people and saying: "Sirs, ye men of Ephesus, who is there who knoweth not that the city of the Ephesians xis minister and worshiper of the temple of the great Artemis?" So after that John the × p. 356 holy Evangelist had overthrown that abominable temple through his preaching, and had wrought signs and

ι i.e. Καματική (βίβλος). The Eth. has "Kâmâdagi" (the Ar. fails at this point).

3 Both Arabic and Eth. have Patmos.

4 Acts XIX, 27 ff.

2 For a Sahidic recension of this narrative see Budge, Coptic Apocrypha, pp. 51 ff.; 233 ff.

 \dagger (= L., p. 54;

× p. 354

× p. 355

отог птецірі пра(п)мніпі пем гапщфнрі + ймо(п) йпі тої ёршот + гітеп фра(п) йпепот інс пхс + птецтасоо п†хира тирс + схедоп + ёводбеп таї акадарсіа пте підшдоп +

0]τος πτεφοτοθοτ + έλολεα [†]метьши етепщащи пте псатапас + έβοτη έ псотеп (м)пепот ис п<u>x</u> + пем пециит натабос + пем пиппа еботав +

×(πη7) Οτος πτεημος π7χωρα ×τηρς πεκκληςιά πτε ηχς +

Еацфищ еппиот потмищ пепіскопос з пем пресктерос з пем зіакия з

Εαγαιαι λοιπου ονορ αγάιμαι ήτα φυαρτ ύπευσε της ητο τος + υεω πεγέωι ήδρηι ήδητου ιηρου

Отоу мененса оротхык евой тирот яхе напостойос еботав +

Петрос мен атерстатрыни ямоч Бен рымн >

Патдос де атŵді птецафе + отор маркос беп ракот + рітеп отхіпшщт ймоц пероот бі щатецмот + Апазапдис + фотаі фотаі ймшот беп тотхшра ёатще пшот тирот ра пос рітеп рапмищ подіфіс *пем рапхіпмот етщевійотт +

×тпн

Саципь »е веп паг космос потмнщ промпі » пже пімакаріос ішаппнс » ща ёгрні ё Аметотро пхометіапос »

Сачер кеб промпі беп сима + мененса тапастасіс мпот + еачербелло ечкенішотт ммащи +

Ппедвіпнра² хе пооц потхиплот есепщащи³ пте отснуі + їё отвескетос⁴ пхилорікоп + еове же паре пот меі млоц млащы ката пецмища + мфри+ етсьнотт бей пістатедіоп + пооц гар пе фменріт мпот + фи стацерпемища прообец + зіжен омес[[те понт

Six leaves (twelve pages) missing.

×(тоб) Усуподем йснот півен йин етерёпіфтмін Бен потунт тиру ё отхы +

ΦΗ ετ πλου πλιη πλου εθροτοσωη ειτεη φτεις πιδεη + φΗ ετη πφρωστω ππεηςωητ τηρη + ωα εμρηι ε πικοται πζωο(n) + οτος ετεηγολω ε ελι απ

Фн етадоре Фуххн ёпатріоп отор пщадн + щыпі пітверос отор премраящ

ΦΗ εταφοτοηγη πας έλολ εςοι πρεημωσττ + έ ακщοπς έροκ + εςθωλελ μεη θλοιγι πφπολι + οτος ακγοτης έροκ + έ στιμελετ + εςτοτληστ

Geowhel ben τακαθαρειά ππετάπομιά στος ετσρησττ έρος τηρε ςιτεπ πεαταπαε + φη εταγτ πας π-

wonders innumerable through the Name of Our Lord Jesus the Christ, and had brought back almost the whole country from the pollution of idols, and had brought them from the bitter servitude of Satan to the

Added above line by a second hand.
 ² For -πειρa.

³ Before the first $\underline{\mathbf{u}}$ a letter (? \mathbf{n}) has been erased. ⁴ or has been (imperfectly) erased.

[×] р. 357

[×] p. 358

knowledge of Our Lord Jesus the Christ and of His good Father and of the Holy Spirit, and filled the whole country *with Churches of the Christ, assigning unto them a multitude of Bishops and Priests and Deacons, while moreover the faith of Our Lord Jesus the Christ and knowledge of Him spread and increased among them all; and after that all the holy Apostles had finished their course—Peter being crucified in Rome; and Paul beheaded, and Mark in Rakoti drawn for two days until he died: in a word, each one in the country whither the Lord had sent him (having perished) under a multitude of afflictions *and by various deaths—the blessed John (still) lived in this world for a number of years down to the reign of Domitian. He spent seventy years in the body after the Resurrection of the Lord and became an old man, exceeding heavy. He did not taste the bitterness of death by the sword or by any other instrument of execution, because the Lord loved him greatly according to his merit; as it is written in the Gospel. For he was the beloved of the Lord, he who was found worthy to rest upon His bosom...

[God purposes to give rest to John. The Apostle addresses the believers at Ephesus and, after administering the Eucharist to them, causes Prochorus and others to dig a grave outside the city. He then utters a thanksgiving to God.]

".... "Who deliverest at all times those who with all their heart long for salvation; Thou who didst give

Thine own self, that all living things¹ might know Thee; Thou Who hast care for all Thy creation, down to

the smallest creature, and forgettest none (of them); Thou Who didst cause the wild and waste soul to become tame and gentle; Who didst reveal Thyself to her when she was dead, and redeem her for Thyself when she was defiled with the filth of sin, and didst unite her with Thyself as a pure bride when she was defiled with the uncleanness of her iniquities and wholly vanquished by Satan; Who didst give her *Thy hand and raise her

[×] p. 371 (= L., p. 57; B., p. 260)

× p. 372

1 Lit. 'every nature' (orcic).

36

^хтецхіх » ацточносс ёводьен ністон йте несхахі » ёакөрес†пііатс¹ йфн ётеммат » ецрабт сапеснт – » тов йнесвадатх »

Фн ёвотав йматату + отор евмотеп ймоц Беп пн ёвотав інс пхс паотро + піредхе йматату +

Фращі пин етьеп піфнові + фредарег пин етріхен пікарі + тро† пин етсапеснт микарі + повпоц пин ёте повк тиров +

Фн етрыс ё пн етсоттып Бе(п) потент тнру + фн етщып ёроч Беп отбот ппн етйпща ймоу + щопт ёрок сы [к]ата пексахі + пем пек[щ]орп пощи етхн пні ёбрні + сіпа птайтоп ймоі +

Two leaves (four pages) missing.

*Ны ётапсобмот + апотощт ппецъгх прімі Беп отрімі едепщащі + отог етапсохиц Беп піщік + (тоз) апще пап ё Накі + аптаме пісинот ё роб пібеп +

- Йошот че сатотот аті ёвод пеман » ё піма ётеммат отор йооц мен піатчос йетаттедістис мпенчему » апчімі че йпецувшс пем пецошоті » пем откарі ецвеві ёпщші » ецровс ёвод ёчен піщік ёт апхац йбнтц » піма ёт ацще ёпесит ёроц » отор аперщфирі йфи етацщшпі » йпепщсотеп фма йпіщік че ёте пецсима оомс йбнтц рітеп пащаї йпікарі » ётацвервер ёпщші » отор ётацршвс ёвод ёхеп піма тирц »
- ×Отор пы рнф аптасооп ё факи епфиот йпхс пеппотф фн етеремот йпалемот йты маій йпн х тон етерйпща ймшот » фн ётацфшот йпетецмеі ймоц » піапостодос соотав » отор йстагтедістис йша » Беп таі хіпмот йщфирі » пара пкесепі йпіапостодос тирот »

 \tilde{C} хеп пат хе наношс + отор пан \tilde{T} шот + йненнот \tilde{T} патавос + пенот п \overline{X} с + пенотро ймнт + Бен ран \tilde{V} мос пем рансмот + пем раношън йнпаттяюн +

Χε πθος ερε πιώον ερπρεπι πας + πεώ πεςιωτ πάναθος + πεμ πιππα έθοναβ πρεςτα(n)50 + ονος πόμοοντιος πεμας + πον πεμ παιον πιβεπ + πεμ ψα έπες πτε πιέπες τηρον + άμη(n)

1 sic, for -truate.

up from the fall caused by her enemy, making her to guard (?) against¹ †him, and casting him down under her feet; Thou Who alone art pure and abidest in them that are pure, Jesus the Christ, my King, the only Gracious One, Joy of them who are in the Heavens, Protector of them who are upon the earth, Dread of them beneath the earth, Delight of all them that are Thine; Who preservest them who are upright with their whole heart; Who takest to Thyself in glory them who are worthy;—take me to Thyself also according to Thy word and Thy promise unto me of old, that Thou mayest give me repose..."

[After ending the thanksgiving, John bids his companions return to the city with a last message to the brethren.]

[×]When we heard these words, we kissed his hands, weeping with a bitter weeping. And when we had left him in the pit, we went unto the city and told the brethren everything; and they straightway went forth with us to that place. And as for him, the holy Evangelist, we did not find him; but we found his garments and his sandals, sprinkled over with dust which covered over the pit wherein we had left him, (that is), the place into which he had descended. And we marveled at that which was come to pass, (for) we did not recognize the place of the pit wherein his body was buried, because of the abundance of the dust which was gathered over it and which covered the whole spot.²

*And so we returned to the city giving glory to Christ our God, Who doth vouchsafe such grace as this to them that are worthy of it, Who glorified His beloved, the holy and pure Apostle and Evangelist John, with this form of death, marvelous beyond the deaths of the rest of the Apostles.

And for these things we laud and we glorify our good God, our Lord Jesus the Christ, our true King, with psalms and praises and spiritual songs. For to Him fitly belongeth glory, together with His good Father and the Holy Spirit, the Giver of Life and consubstantial with Him, both now and at all times and for ever and ever. Amen.

I Literally 'drew (her) attention to.'

2 For the traditional site of S. John's burial (or disappearance), see Tischendorf, *Travels in the East* (E.T.), p. 256. At an early period a small Church was erected on the spot, which was superseded by a splendid building in the țime of Justinian. Remains of these buildings have lately been uncovered at Ayassoluk ($\delta \ \ddot{a}\gamma \iota os \ \Theta \epsilon o\lambda \delta \gamma os$), near Ephesus (Morning Post, Oct. 13, 1921; Journ. Hell. Stud. XLI, 276).

37

† (=L. p. 58)

* p. 377 (= L.

p. 59; B., p. 262)

*** p. 37**8

Six leaves (twelve pages) missing.

× (тца) хоот пънти з адероты йхе півнх йпотв едхы ймос з

Хе ŵ піапостодос пте п<u>хс</u> йперфысі пні + адда ще(п)ент Бароі + птетенфеан ёроі пем паі рымі предернові + апок тар апок отказі ёводбен пказі атодт йхе паі рымі + атфаст йпотв + атбаміої йпаі рнф атхат бен паі ерфеі

Шатщыт йгантевньют йтотмотхт мпотспоц (пем отнрп¹) + етсыві йнірымі + етхы ммос + хе апок еботым ймшот + 4пот хе 4отым a(n) отхе 4сы an + отхе йнісахі пем паі рымі +

хтан алда пем 4пот оп апок а(n) етсаха + адда 4хом етхн мемытеп поос еторо мног е сахі пем паг мнщ +

бтацхе паі ъе йхе півнх йпочв + ацхарыц +

Атро зе ё пібпостолос ёфотав йхе піотнв етхи ймос + хе тепфо ёрште(п) и пібпостолос бпіттеп² ёвольеп піхрим + йперьштев ймоп + отор фн ете теппахоц пап теппали +

Пехе філіппос пшот + хе ёщып птетепхы псытеп мпетепщемщі явот + їё ахос беп оттеппо пте петепент + хе теппает ёрок фт їнс пхс + маре таі билі йхрым ще пас ёвол зароп +

Howor se arwy thon there are tennagt then ϕ inc nxc +

«Отод Беп фотот асще пас йхе фонт йхрым ёвод горос + отод асщыт йфрнф йотдтин ймшот + есотовщ йфрнф йотёрыф + зысле йте пібпостодос єрщфнрі +

Отог пиниц тира падтео ё пібпостолос » сероттамоот ё фи ётотпаац й тотши бири ч

Філіппос хе адоротіні над потбір птог + адсыр п4сен4 пте 4екклисіа +

Отор пеже філіппос й подноті + пем пістодос етхи ріхшс + же бе(п) фран йінс піпа тыреос + фи ётацогісі сапщыі йпіфноті + зефретенще пштен ё півшт йте пні мпос +

¹ Restored from the Ar. and Eth. "mingle their blood with wine."

³ $\leq \epsilon \epsilon r \epsilon \lambda \epsilon r n$ or the like has dropped out of the text.

² Originally $n\tau \epsilon n$: the remaining letters were subsequently added by the first hand.

C. The Preaching of Philip and Peter.

[Philip and Peter set out to preach the Gospel in Phrygia. By their miracles they cause the people to believe. The priests attempt to oppose them, but are encircled with a cloud of fire. Peter casts their idol, a golden hawk, into the fire.]

[And Peter took up that idol and cast it] [×]into it (*sc.* the fire). Then answered the hawk of gold, saying: "O Apostles of the Christ, torment me not but have compassion on me that ye may judge between me and these sinful men. For I, even I, was earth¹ of the earth; and these men removed me: they smelted me, and fashioned me in this manner and placed me in this temple. They are wont to sacrifice beasts and to mingle their blood (with wine), while they delude the people, saying that it is I who eat them (the sacrifices); whereas I eat not, neither do I drink, nor do I speak with these men. Nay, at the present time also it is not I who speak, but it is the power which is [×]with you that causes me to speak with this multitude." †Now when the hawk of gold had thus spoken, it fell silent.

But the priests besought the holy Apostles, saying: "We beseech you, O Apostles, bring us out of the fire, and do not slay us. That which ye shall bid us, we will do." Philip said unto them: "If ye turn away from your abominable worship, then say in penitence of heart, 'We believe on Thee, O God, Jesus the Christ! Let this cloud of fire depart from tus.""

And they all cried out: "We believe on Thee, O God, Jesus the Christ." ×And straightway the cloud of fire departed from them and became as a lake of water white like milk, so that the Apostles marveled.

And the whole multitude was entreating the Apostles to inform them what they should do that they might live thereby. But Philip caused them to bring him a basket (?) of reeds (?) and laid out the foundations of the Church. And Philip said unto the gate and to the pillar² which was upon it: "In the Name of Jesus of Nazareth Who is risen up above the Heavens, (I command you) to remove hence for the building of the house

1 i.e. an element in the earth.

2 The gate and the pillar are mentioned in the earlier part of this work (see the Arabic, ed. Lewis, p. 61).

× p. 391 (= L.,

р. 62; В., р.

151)

 $\times (\overline{\tau q \tau})$

× p. 392 † (=L., p. 63)

† (=B., p. 152) * p. 393

×Отор Бен Фотпот асі ёбрні йже Аптдн пем пікесттдос етхн ріхыс + отор асщыпі йкыт йпемоо – × тухі мпімнщ тиру + отор мпотсытем є брюот йтыс є птиру +

Φιλιππος δε δακοτή έ πιμμщ πέχδη πωστ σε θηπηε τεππάκωτ μπη μπότ + μάρε πιάλωστι μπαρθεπος ї птотерушя є пні мпот » мененсис птеперушя тирот »

Отор пімнщ тиру + піршотт + пем пірібмі + патпнот тирот пе стеррия є пиі йпос +

Изапостолос зе начщоп пе бен пні йкаррын з піархын йте Накі сэращі ёррні ёхен пінарт йхте $\times \overline{\tau q[e]^2}$

Σε χερε πετρος πεμ φιλιππος + πδαποετολος ετταιμοντ + τετεππατ απ ε πιμηщ ετασπαρή ήπον οπη маще пютен ёвод заршоя + птетепфсвы поот лпісаят йте попр + мопон лперераледес + фн

ётетеппаерётия ймоч + йтот Іпатич пютен + таририни есещими пемитеп йснот нибен +

Етадхе паг де пшот йхе тис едог йфрн4 йотрым йотыпг + адще пад ё пщыг ё піфноті + беп отбот Τοτε πετρος πεμ φιλιππος ×πιδποςτολ[ος] έθοτδΑ + δ ποτρο εροτωιπι μεπ πωοτ πιπς έτδιοτωπο έρωοτ + × 1100 Пошот зе етаті ебол » а пімнщ тиру рітот едриі да ратот пилапостолос атотщит лишот »

Ηιάποςτολος Σε αυτουποςον αυτείω πωου στος ευταπο πωωου έ πιπαρτ πτε πος πτς π το στος йтотрепот савод йнотпові йте щорп »

Ηιμηщ σε τηροτ πατσοτί πε ρα πιαποστολος + ετοτωщ έ σιςμοτ πτοτοτ + μαλιστα σε ετπατ έ πωοτ menor inc noc + equat epwor +

Отрыми же оп ёотоп отхемы(п) пемьч + ечыщ ёвод Бепочхищ псмн + ечжы мос + Хе 4420 ёрытеп піапостолос ёфотав йте пус ілерфысі пні + 4паї ёвол йынта +

Тоте підемыя адсіф йпірымі є пікарі з мененсыс аді евод йднту з петрос де нем філіппос з атотарсарні бпіжемши ё щтемкоту ёроу же ща ёнер +

Τοτε πιρωμι έταφογχαι αφριτη έρρηι μα πεπσαλαγχ ππιαποςτολος αφιμωπι εφήφι έρωογ *

Φιλιππος σε πεμ πετρος ατώλι μπιμμι έσει πιμωστ + αστωίς πωστ βε(n) φραπ μφιωτ πεμ παιμρι ием піппій ёвотьв + отор пеже пібпостолос мпімніц хже риппе б пот хш нюте(п) ёвол питеннові

¹ Heading $\overline{\tau q \Sigma}$ $\overline{\imath \tau}$ (Ornament) $\overline{\chi \tau}$ $\overline{\kappa}$ (last p. of quire 20). quire 21).

² Heading [RA] vc (Ornament) ov ru[e] (first p. of

of the Lord." *And straightway the gate came in together with the pillar which was upon it and became × p. 394 (part) of the building in the presence of the whole multitude; and no sound of it was heard at all.

†And Philip turned himself unto the multitudes and said unto them: "Lo, we will build the house of the † (=B., p. 153) Lord. Let the children who are virgins come to work upon the house of the Lord: after that, let us all work." And the whole multitude, men and women, all came to work upon the house of the Lord.

Now the Apostles were in the house of Karron,¹ the ruler of the city, rejoicing at the faith of [×]the whole × p. 395 multitude. At that time the Savior took the form of a man of light and came and spake unto them: "Hail, Peter and Philip, my honored Apostles! †See ye not the multitudes which believe ? Now therefore go forth † (=L., p. 64) unto them that ye may teach them the word of life. Only be not neglectful. Whatsoever ye shall ask, I will give it unto you. My peace be with you at all times." And when Jesus had said these things unto them, being in the form of a man of light, He went up into the Heavens in glory.

Then the faces of Peter and Philip, *the holy Apostles, shone with the glory of Jesus which He had revealed ×р. 39б unto them. And when they came forth, the whole multitude fell at the Apostles' feet and worshiped them. But the Apostles raised them up and taught them, declaring unto them the faith of the Lord Jesus the Christ and (exhorting them) to depart from their former sins. And all the multitudes pressed upon the Apostles † (=B., p. 154) desiring to receive blessing at their hands, especially when they saw the glory of Our Lord Jesus the Christ which surrounded them.

Now there was also a man, possessed by a demon, who cried out with *a loud voice, saying: "I beseech × p. 397 you, holy Apostles of Christ, do not torment me. I will come out of him." Then the demon cast the man upon the ground, and after that came out of him. But Peter and Philip commanded the demon not to return unto him for ever. Then the man who was cured cast himself down at the Apostles' feet and began to kiss them.

Now Philip and Peter took the multitude to the waters and baptized them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. And the Apostles said to the multitude: ""Lo, the Lord hath forgiven × p. 398

1 Arabic has 'Marwân'; the Eth. 'Kĕrôn.'

×[тц]н

× (747)

ёт аретенантот Бен отметатёмі * аріоті мпіпефпанец оп * сатон * ріна йтете(п)в'і пніачафон * йте ометотро йніфноті »

- Иошот же тнрот атыш ёвод стяш ймос + же тепфиот пак ф4 йпетрос пем фідіппос + же акще(п)янт Бароп з акназ пап
- Инапостолос зе атератиати пиот пфекклисиа + отор паре пимищ тиру вотит ёрос пе + Беп отпищф пращі пем ототпоц + етсытем ё пісахі пте ф† +

Ερε φιλιππος ωτι έρωον δε(n) πιπομος1 + έρε πετρος θως βωλ μαωου έρωου + δεη[[πιππ...

One folio (two pages) missing.

хёт адагс щароп Беп [пх1(п)]фрояще йхе дапмнщ йп[0]лгс өфролсштем ёрод [eq]ешщ поор йпаг рн4 ×(TA) йфран йнус + хе пооч п[е] ф† пнаффе нем напка[91 +]

рап тошать на техити на раков на става на стани в станитов на стани на стани на стани на стани на стани на стани Хе пім рыч пе пхс інс мпе(п)сытем є паі рап е́пер + адероты йже піапостолос свотав отор пежад Χε сωτεπ έροι ώ πιρωπι έτθοτητ² + ποι εθοτωщ έ ερπεδεχιπ πτχορις ππχς φ παι +

×[v] Ф4 ё teiwim wwod + uood ue dt eloud + oloo ou edt wumu uolou ulfen eo-[uo]st ebod + umulu ue етщоп Бен фиыт + отор фиыт ещиоп Бен пщири + ёре пиппа ёдотав ог потаг потыт немшот псиот півеп + [пө]оч пе пібфратос + пооч петацоаміо яптиру Бе(п) тецсофіб +

Йооч петачоамио йфиом нем пийршот + нем пилямпи нем пи етепьиточ тироч +

Иооч петачоре епхал піве(п) щыпі з пн етрнп пем пн еботопр ёвой з

Иточ петачы поткарі евольен пкарі + ачерплатін потрымі + ката пеціні нем тецрікын +

×(जरू) Ноод оп пе ётадсмот ё пеніют азам + едзю ймос пад й×паі рну зе азаг отор [...?] мар пнарі + spioc epo[4 +]

¹ Doubtless new ninpoophthc should be added: both Arabic and Eth. read "the Law and the Prophets." ² The MS. has $\bar{e} \circ \sigma \sim h$ which is inappropriate (though supported by the Arabic "blessed"): the Eth. reads "who are assembled," pointing to a Coptic reading ETOOTHT which might easily be corrupted to $\bar{\epsilon} \circ \circ \bar{\epsilon} \wedge \bar{\epsilon}$.

you your sins which ye committed in ignorance. Do that which is good also henceforward, that ye may receive the good things of the Kingdom of the Heavens." And they all cried out saying: "We give glory to Thee, O God of Peter and Philip, because Thou hast had compassion on us and had mercy upon us."

And the Apostles consecrated for them the Church; and the whole multitude was assembled unto it in great joy and gladness while they harkened unto the word of God. Philip read unto them in the Law (and the Prophets), †while Peter interpreted them unto them through (the Spirit).

[The Apostles celebrate the Offering for the people and, after appointing a bishop, priests, and deacons, depart from the country.]

D. The Martyrdom of Philip.

[Title and beginning of the text only lost. Philip journeys to Africa¹ and there preaches the faith.]

(He preached the faith of Christ and the mercy) *which He showed towards us. And as multitudes of the 66; B., p. 156) city were coming to him that they might hear him, while he was preaching unto them in this wise the name of Christ, namely, that He is God of those who are in Heaven and those who are on earth-the men, who did not believe his holy teaching but worshiped the demons, answered and said unto him: "Who is the Christ Jesus? We have never heard this name." The holy Apostle answered and said: "Harken unto me, ye men assembled,² tye who desire to partake of the grace of Christ, the true God. The God whom I preach unto you, He is the living God Who also giveth life unto every one who xbelieveth on Him. It is the Son Who is in the Father, and the Father Who is in the Son,³ while the Holy Spirit is one altogether with them at all times. He is the Invisible; He it is Who hath made all things by His wisdom; He it is Who made the sea and the rivers and the lakes and all things that are in them; He it is Who made all substances to be, those that are unseen and those that are apparent; He it is Who took earth of the earth and fashioned a man after His likeness and His image; 'He it is also Who blessed our father Adam, saying unto him on this wise: 'Increase and fill the earth: exercise lordship over it.'4..."

1 So in both Arabic and Eth.

2 See note on Coptic text.

3 Cp. John x, 30. 4 Genesis 1, 28.

† (=B., p. 155)

* p. 401 (= L.

† (=B., p. 157) × p. 402

× p. 403

Οτος πέχε πιρωμι πας [xe] στος αφθωπ πιποτή ετ[ασ]θαμιό ππαι τηροτ ετ α[κ]χοτοτ + πέχε πιάπος-[το]λος έθοταβ φιλιππος πω[οτ »]

Хе цьеп піфноті отор ц[е]хеп пкарі оп пемап апо[п] ба піршмі + етірі мпецотыщ

ben παιπορε πιαιάλολος έμι + αε εφοτωμ ήαε πιάποςτολος έθοταλ έ ταςθο μπιμημι τηρι γα φ4 πας **ис** пенос +

Ταχα αμαο ποτορητ μεπ πεцмετί ετοωοτ + οτορ αμερέπερτη πμητοτ + ε πιπετοωοτ + αμθροτάμοπι йпіапостолос ёвотав філіппос отор атсопру че атпата[ло]у ечеп отф + отор паі ×[pht] атербелле ×[72] йхе отоп [ni]ben ётатамоні ямоц +

[Os]og à пімнщ тирч щи ёвод [eq]хи ймос + хе оты пе фf [м]пілостодос ёвотав фідіппос + йперьютев [я]піапостолос ёфотав + фаі ётаці ё тотхоп тирот 91 отсоп +

[0]702 плі рн4 й пімнщ тнру порем ёводрітотот ппн еботыщ ё Бытев йпібпостодос ёботав фідіппос + Наумощь он не еудьши бе(n) пьощ тнроз + етки t ёрод еудьши лфt підогос шароз 21 линпі + озод

ечерфабрі ё рымі півеп ёре щыпі сійтот + систе пте пімнщ тнру пте Аполіс кыф ёроч +

×ечфсвы1 имот сов[е фистот]ро пифноті +

Ενίπι πας πραπβελλ[εν ες]ερχαριζεσθε πωον ππιον[ααι]

Стіпі пау пранбалет [еу]талбо ймшот з Бен пі[са]хі пте рыу йматату

Ετίπι παι πραππασετ [ει]ορο πμωοτ έ οτπαι +

Етіпі пац прапкотр + ецоро ймшот ё сштем +

Ετίπι παη² άγαπέλο + εφορο μμωοτ έ сахі γιτεπ τχομ μπχς + ετщоп пърні пънт

тошай фой озтро иши з хахрании парих пате обтог б тоший одоро тобы и сатро по сатро и сатро и сатро и сатро и с

Стіпі пад прапрымі + ёре отоп рапъемын пемьот + едріоті ймьот ёвод + отор *[рітен] прмот птепф × [77] 21[. .] + ταλσο πηαι κεχω[οτη]ι + άπαζαπλως παq[τα]λσο πωωπι πιθεη πεμ [λο]λι πιθεη + πατταλ-

σнотт [...] τηροτ ne ebod gitoty [ū]nianoctodoc eoorab [o]idinnoc +

еощωпі ∻

Йоото зе прото етпат е пи ете потот ммепрат + потщирі пем потщері + пем потспнот пем потщфер етерапота у ссое³ й тотхищемщи + етнае с пхс ис + пимоночение отог й логос й те фимт +

> 2 q is added above the line by a very late hand. 1 eqthw, MS. ³ sic.

And the men said unto him: "And where is the God Who made all these things whereof thou speakest?" The holy Apostle Philip said unto them: "He is in the Heavens and upon the earth with us, the men who do His will."

When the Devil perceived that the holy Apostle desired to bring back the whole multitude unto God, even the Christ Jesus our Lord, he quickly filled their hearts with his evil thoughts tand wrought within them for evil. He caused them to seize the holy Apostle Philip; and they bound him meaning to put ^{*}him upon a cross. And thus everyone who seized him fell blind. And the whole multitude cried out, saying: ""One is the God of the holy Apostle Philip! Do not slay the holy Apostle who is come to save us all at once." Thus the whole multitude delivered the holy Apostle Philip from the hands of them who wished to slay him.

He was journeying also, preaching in all the regions round about him, preaching unto them God the Word with many miracles and healing every man who was sick among them; so that the whole multitude of the city sought after him, "while he taught them concerning the Kingdom of Heaven. When they brought unto him the blind, he bestowed healing upon them; when they brought unto him the lame, he cured them by the word of his mouth alone; when they brought unto him the halt, he caused them to be whole; when they brought unto him the deaf, he made them to hear; when they brought unto him the dumb, he made them speak through the power of Christ which was in him; when they brought lepers, he cleansed them through the laying-on of his hands, while he prayed to God over them; when they brought unto him men possessed with demons, he cast them out; and *through the †grace of our God he wrought (?) healing upon these also. In a word, he was healing every sickness and every frenzy: they were all being healed at the hands of the holy Apostle Philip.

Then the great men of the city were wroth when they saw those things which the holy Apostle did for them that were diseased; but more especially when they saw their beloved ones, their sons, and their daughters, and their brethren, and their companions, renouncing their worship (of idols) and believing on the Christ Jesus, the Only-Begotten and the Word of the Father. And so they assembled together, even [×]all the great

† (=B., p. 158) × p. 404 † (=L., p. 67)

× p. 405

† (=B., p. 159)

× р. 40б

× p. 407

× (TE)



[-ифэт]н Датовъ шилени (э редлитени этэ ни мэн [рш]пистэ пэдин почох эхи ресшена рна ил сочо (77)х λιππος πιάποςτολ[ος +]

Атошот отп етма п[рип +] атсахи пем потёрнот [п]рапсахи льот етхи [мос +]

- эх родэ tronrots [H]ф доламй tщіп ібпі іп[ом]блізтй * полго 19 гондэ[пэт]ин мен rodu эх ап[ос]тодос + ñtenentoten ёррні ёхшч + ñtencwip ммоч ñtenbookey + хе ñnenxay eqond ñte †поліс тако Бен течаформн »
- Οτος οι στρηστ παπ πε φαι σε ππε ποτρο ςωτεμ σε ά ρωμι πщеμμο τ έβοτη έ τε(η)πολις + αφφωησ ×[**тн**] лпонт ñ×[пірω]мі тнрот ете притс пте]цотшрп йтецью[тев й]моп + хе евве от + spe[тепе]рапехесве
 - [0v]02 גדרו הסדרהשאא הסד[w]T השב הוחושל הדב ל[n]olic + הבא הסדפאסד גד[ב]חדסדס בשבה הגהסכדסלסכ έθογαλ + φιλιππος ατάμοπι μμοц + όγος ατζοής γ χωρίς ραπκέζαχι ήχεογά έτ αγχοτόν έδογη βεπ **πε**490 ∻

Отог патер пкещощ ймоч пе + беп гаппин йметречжеота +

Πιάποςτολος δε έθοταλ παιοι πρεμρατιμη πε έ

One leaf (two pages) missing.

- × (712) -«тнрот + еяхи м[мос ze ти]ояп птепсеро п[Хрим] птепст ппе]симль ёрояп ёрод + ze ñt](я«штемжем] пецкас йкесоп »
 - ben παιπθροτσερο [μπι] χρωμ + αε ετια cit [μπεq] cwha eboth epoq + ic n[oc] inc nxc + φμ ετ εquu[n п]паі Бісі тирот ёхеп [пец]рап ёдотав + ацотырп [й]пецарчедос + ациді м[пец]сыма ёводбеп тотмн[4] пем ёвохбен потхіх беп тфащі йпіёроот
 - Сре Аполіс тирс пем песоощ хоящт йсюч + ечонд ё погісі + беп общот пем обтало + ачоопу беп оупетра¹ Беп ідня +
- имоц ие втй щочэ) мохй финин мэн (+ инощ)лтэ ирифий фини э чел) хран шими эденихи пэд (<u>his</u>) х йфt + [атвісі й]тотсин ё пщші [йфt] стыршот потит й[Бршо] тнрот + стай лиос [же отаі] пе фt тий + 19клика[и] мэн + эфтени 70[и] оти + тодиэтэ мыА[и] оспикан фетось об[у]отоспаний ппот [ет]восі ото[9 ²ет]смарнотт + беп тфе [пе]м 91%еп піка91 +

¹ The versions suggest a variant reading nepces (persea-tree).

² [et] doct oro[9]: added by 1st hand.

men and they who did not believe on the holy preaching of Philip. They assembled therefore in a secret place and spake shameful words with one another, saying: "Up, all of us together, that we may seize this great sorcerer who is called 'Apostle,' and lay our hands upon him and bind him to kill him. For we will not leave him alive, lest the whole city perish through his attempt. And moreover, this will be an advantage unto us, that the king will not hear that a strange man is come into our city and overthrown the heart of 'all the men who are therein; lest he (sc. the king) send and slay us, (asking): 'Wherefore do ye bear with him until he corrupt the whole multitude of the city that they may disobey my decree ?.""1

And the great men of the city took one resolve together, and laid hands upon the holy Apostle Philip, † (=B., p. 160) and seized him, and bound him, †adding² blasphemous words also which they spake to his face: and they kept reviling him also with great impiety. But the holy Apostle was gentle...

[Philip urges his persecutors to repent. They hang him on a cross head downwards and torment him until he dies,]

(And they) *all (took counsel together) saying: "Let us kindle a fire and cast his body into it, that his [×] p. 411 (= L., bones be not found any more." But while they were kindling the fire, that they might cast his body therein, lo, the Lord Jesus the Christ, for Whose Name's sake he had endured all these sufferings, sent His angel, (who) took his body out of their midst and out of their thands in the middle of the day, the whole city and the †(=B., p. 161) region thereof gazing after him (sc. the angel), as he rose on high in glory and honor: and he hid it (sc. the body) in a rock³ at Jerusalem.⁴

> Now when the whole multitude 'saw the great marvels which were come to pass and the many great miracles of this man of God, they lifted up their voices on high to God, crying all with one cry, and saying: "One is the God of the holy Apostle Philip, the faithful servant of Jesus, the Lord of them in Heaven and of them on earth, the great God Who is exalted and blessed both in Heaven and upon the earth."

1 This passage is corrupt in Ar. and Eth.

2 Literally 'besides' (χωρις).

× p. 408

p. 68)

× p. 412

3 Both Ar. and Eth. have "in a tree:" see note on text.

4 Jerusalem is probably a mistaken identification of sepa nolic (Hierapolis) with which Philip is ordinarily associated.

42

Отог à fnodic тырс пем песоощ пасt è пепот тыс пхс. + отог атщемщи ймоч тырот + искен поткотки ща потпщ† ∻

Атотырп же прапрымі стергот Батен йфт + ёгрні ёхеп пітшот + сткыт

Four leaves (eight pages) missing.

хетірі прапніцф йхом Беп пн етщшпі з етассштем зе йхе тасрімі асмепре піточдо асще п/ас × (TRA) e]bodea памаенкот $\tilde{n}\tilde{e}^1$ несоот 4∞ ймос $\{a(n)\}$ апок сы 4семсі бен паі кермі * ещип тащімі ннекотс срог ап Апакни срог ап стремст Беп пат кермг шатмот

Gole φαι τε άποκ γω τπαχασμποτ απ ε τ εδοτή ε ταβακι + οττε παλιή² μηπώς άτετεπριωμα лпіточьо » йте тасуімі сытем » йтесще пас ёводуа паманенкот

Ετατεωτεμ ε παι παε πιαποετολος αντασθωον ελολ ενοι πεμκας ποητ

*Пехе барболомеос мпетрос » хе аннаер от щаточолтен ёбочн ё Накі » моі нан почсобні хе × TRA + Рндй щь дэлпль

Пехе петрос явароодомеос + хе точыщ мен ё т очсовні нак + адда мнишс йтекхос + хе ліщен очмнщ йыст ьеп псовит мпатит петрос + адда йоок петоищ + апок 200 Апасенк ёвод ан ё птирч + щатоди ёротп ё твані + беп фотшу мпепот інс пус + потхаі прымі піве(п) +

Отор пехе варволомеос мпетрос + хе тыпк пте(п)мортеп + птеп шів типепсунма + пем пепсмот + πτεηφωλ έδολ bazwq + ×άπδι apxwn + nen naι τεβηωστί + ήτεπzoc naq + ze χηδερ οτμετμαιρωμι × (TRC) пемап » птеколтеп ёђотп ё Авакі пемак »

Ещип птедщентен хе ётетенорнд ёдоти ё Накі пса от + ё щоп от + їё ё † от ёвод + екехос пад Хе пънд ёбори е таі вакі хе пта† мпаі корхі падор птні ёвод пънтс *

Отор ёщип птечхос нак + же ащ те течтопн + ёкехос нач + же отбме пе + отор ащаприх ёботп ё 4 рилл ча рокат сре ф4 патнич брото в роко + 4 пахоч + отор фн ет ечпахоч пни 4 палич + Пехе петрос нач + хе паг собы срщат

¹ The numeral may be $\overline{\mathbf{b}}$, $\overline{\mathbf{o}}$, or $\overline{\mathbf{o}}$. The Arabic has "ten ² ? read of $\langle \epsilon \rangle$ hans or of lenote. days."

And the whole city and the region thereof believed on Our Lord Jesus the Christ, and they worshiped Him all of them, from the least unto the greatest. And they sent God-fearing men up upon the mountain seeking (for the body of Philip).

[At the prayer of the people the body of Philip is brought back by an Angel. It is enshrined with honor in the city.]

E. The Preaching of Bartholomew in the City of the Oasis.¹

[Bartholomew is appointed to preach in the Oasis. He sets out accompanied by Peter and finds a magnate of the city about to return thither with his camels. Hearing that they are Christians, the man refuses to aid them, relating the unhappy plight of a married friend whose wife had been induced to lead an ascetic life.]

*""... performing great miracles on them who were sick.² But when my wife heard them, she loved \times p. 421 (= L., chastity and hath withdrawn from my bed-chamber (these) nine days. I say (that) I also sit in ashes; (and) if my wife will not return to me, I will not cease to sit in ashes until I die.' Wherefore I also will not suffer you to enter into my city or my house (?), †lest perchance ye preach chastity, and my wife hear and withdraw herself from my bed-chamber."

When the Apostles heard these words they turned back, being sorrowful. *Bartholomew said unto Peter: "What shall we do, that they may bring us to the city? Give us counsel how we shall act." Peter said unto Bartholomew: "I am willing indeed to give thee counsel; but perchance thou mayest say: 'I have endured many sufferings through the counsel of my father Peter.' Nay, thou art the disposer (in this matter); and I will not leave thee at all until I bring thee into the city according to the will of Our Lord Jesus the Christ, the Salvation of all men." And Bartholomew said unto Peter: "Arise, let us gird ourselves, and change our raiment and our appearance, and get ahead of *this archon and his beasts, and say unto him: 'Thou wilt × p. 423 do us a kindness if thou wilt bring us into the city with thee.' And if he ask us, 'For what purpose are ye going into the city, to buy or to sell what ?,' thou shalt say unto him: 'We are going into this city that I may sell there this little slave of mine.' And if he say unto thee, 'What is his craft ?' thou shalt say unto him, 'He is a vine-dresser.' And when I am come into the city, that which God shall put into my mouth, I will speak; and that which He shall say unto me I will do." †Peter said unto him: "This plan is suitable."

1 sc. the Oasis of Behnesa: see p. 45, note 2.

2 The archon is quoting the words of his friend.

p. 70; B., p. 92)

 \dagger (=B., p. 93)

× p. 422

† (=B., p. 94)

× TRA «Тоте атщий мпотсхима » атерпсмот прапрыми поты » атер гитен мпіархып » пем питевпьюті » Пехе петрос пац же жере піршиі йте пітевниоті + ацероти йже піршиі + же жере +

Пехе петрос пац + хе хнащер Анетмагрими пема(п) птеколтеп ёдотп ё Авакі пемак + пехе піар- ∞ ω(n) nag + ∞ ε εκρηλ έδοτη έ ται βακι πζα οτ + εκщου οτ + iέ εκ \pm οτ έβολ +

Пехе петрос пач + хе еютищ ё рид ёротп ё Авакі + йтаф ёвод йпаі вик йтні +

Йфотпот à піархип ї ёбрні + отор ацщто ппівамотд + ецхи ймос +

«Хе отпіщі пёроот пні пе фоот « еде хе іс отмнщ перот Ісавой пем патевншоті « пем павши » × (THE) енки пса отвык + птанцопц + мпіженц +

Ic онипе дноч + 1c фн е дкад йсанд авхема + отор пехе плархан апетрос + хе матамог хе от те теціопи з апок сопащону пта пак псотену з

Пехе петрос пач + хе отбие пе + отор пібдоді етщич щачоротрыт пкесоп +

Πεχε πιαρχωη παι + χε οττεχηιτης άπαι ρητ + πε τκωτ ήςωι + εθλε χε οτοη οταιμι πάλολι ήτηι + εισύωμ έ χρα έρρηι έσωστ τηροτ + . τοτε δταθωλα \times πελι τευτική με $\overline{\lambda}$ πεδθηρι + δυολοτ παε πετρος + agcor βαρθολομεος ζα ότζα + agthitot nag εq2ω ώμος 2ε σι πτεκτιμη + 2ac πτοτη + 91па акщапалы потрым ечмоку птект пач евольеп тектим »

Пехе піархип йпетрос + ецёмі ап хе петрос пе + хе риппе акбі йфтіми йте пеквик + амот фпот йтатадок + йтабдк ёботп ё Авакі + йтаїрі йотщопс ёрок + беп отнрп ечощ +

- Πέχε πέτρος που + χε μιοκ ποςοή + πιρμοτ τήρη ετ εκποδή πεμήι + άριτη πεμ ποι άλογ + ογορ ×(TRT) йперхфыст пач + алла арт матршит пемач + хпахемонот гар броч ймащи +
 - Ηδι σε έτδαφολαποτό παε πετρος ύπιδρχωι + πρακώ τραπιτή υπότιτριοπ υλαροιλομεός + οτος δάκοτα е фарот + сорециощі рі пецишіт +
 - Піархип зе риц + адлощі пем варбодомеос + пем пітевпиоті + ебротще пиот ёботп ё Накі + Стмощі зе йже піршмі ёботи беп пітшот + пем пібамота + атсшрем беп пітшот + атмотик йже

ПІМШОЎ ĒTENTOTOЎ →

- × TRH Отор атысі йже піршмі + пем пітевпшоті ммащи + атреі йже пібамотд + атмот + ^хотор атымі йхе піршиі + етхи ммос хе отоі пап + от пе пірше ётацщипі ймоп +
 - Άρμοτ οτεωκ έπαπει α(n) πε παι ρωμι + ισκεπ ειχει σει τειχωρα + οτος à πειστ τηι παπ εκολ + родэ тономжиэий риоц +

*Then they changed their raiment and took on the appearance of husbandmen and appeared before the archon and his beasts. Peter said unto him: "Hail, O Master of camels !" And the man answered: "Hail." Peter said unto him: "Thou wilt be able to do us a kindness, if thou wilt take us into the city with thee." †The archon said unto him: "For what purpose goest thou into this city, to buy or to sell what ?" Peter said unto him: "I wish to go into the city to sell this slave of mine." Straightway the archon descended, making his camels kneel and said: ""Today is a great day for me. For, lo, for many days have I been abroad with my beasts and my servants seeking for a slave to purchase, but have not found one. Behold, now I have found what I sought." And the archon said unto Peter: "Tell me what is his craft, that I may buy him and give thee his price." Peter said unto him: "(He is) a vine-dresser; and the vines which are blighted he makes to flourish again." The archon said unto him: "It is for a skilled worker of this kind that I am seeking; for I have many vines, and I wish to put him in charge of them all."

Then they agreed ^xas to his price—thirty staters. And Peter took them and led Bartholomew aside and gave them to him, saying: "Take thy price and keep it by thee, that if thou shouldest find a man afflicted, thou mayest give him (alms) from thy price."

The archon said to Peter, not knowing that he was Peter: "Behold, thou hast received the price of thy slave; come now, let me take thee up and bring thee into the city, that I may make a feast for thee with much wine." Peter said unto him: "Well done, my brother! The favor which thou wouldest bestow on me, bestow it on this slave, and do not *afflict him, but deal kindly with him; for thou wilt find him exceeding profitable."

Now when Peter had thus spoken unto the archon, he began to speak great mysteries unto Bartholomew: and he turned back to go on his (own) way.

The archon also journeyed with Bartholomew and the beasts that they might go unto the city. But as the men were traveling in the desert with the camels, they went astray in the desert: and the water they had with them failed. And the men and the beasts suffered greatly: the camels dropped and died. *And the men wept, saying: "Woe unto us! What is the thing which hath befallen us? Perchance this man was no good servant when he was in his own country, and (therefore) his master sold him unto us: we have bought

× TRC

× p. 424

† (=L., p. 71)

× p. 425

× p. 426

† (=B., p. 95)

× p. 427

× p. 428

Адрімі зе пяе піархип ецяи ймос + яе от пете(п)пааіц + амоі пітевпиоті ймататот пе + адда anon gwn t[e]nnamor ben nai wage ben nibi +

Τοτε βαρφολομέος αφριμι 9ως + οτος έπαςωληλ πε ben πειρητ εςωщ έβολ απ + τε πποτέμι τε οτάποςтолос пе +

One hundred and forty-eight leaves (two hundred and ninety-six pages) missing.

хотор оп птециы иште(п) ben пероот пте петенхий еводьен сшив >

Ηιρωμι σε πτε πολις + δει παιπθροτώντεμ έ παι + έρε πιαποκτολος έθοταδ μαθίας αω άμωοτ + ά πιδιδωλος ще έδονη ε ποτρητ + διτευ νεάπει ετόποι + νεν νεάμειςστανκοις είδαρεν + νεν νεάπει (υ)ерушь тирот сомер пуроц + пы ёте ямоп риот пынтот +

Πεχωού ππονέρμου + χε άληθως παι ρωμι + ούαι πε εδολβεή πιιδ πμανός πτε ίπς + παι ετκώτ κατα подіс Беп пікосмос тиру + етфирх ппізіомі «ё потры + тепонпот мароп + птеппат хе аппаер от × Фвн пац + мопоп¹ апща(п)хац Беп таз ползе + цпатакос тире птотеп +

Аттьотп зе тирот + атер отсобні пем потёрнот + ефроттаро мпібпостолос ёфотав мафіас +

Οτος παι pht ατάμοπι μμου + ατεοπρυ + ατταλου γισεπ σταλος μβεπιπι ατεαρ + ρωετε йте пищая йте пецсыма бісі + Беп отметрото отоя йте отоп півеп едпат ерщфирі +

Хе б піщар бісі са пщыі йпіблох йте ймарі з отор пехе пімнщ ёте мпецкыт з хе ёщып отфар-| [Maroc ...

Fifteen leaves (thirty pages) missing.

¹ *ū*MOR. MS.

him and have not found him profitable." And the archon wept, saying: "What shall we do? Not only the beasts,¹ but we ourselves †will perish of thirst in this wilderness."

Then Bartholomew also wept; and he was praying inwardly without utterance, that they might not know that he was an Apostle.

[Bartholomew having restored the camels to life, the caravan reaches the city. The Apostle works in the vineyard and while there cures a nobleman who had been bitten by a snake. In consequence, the people are converted and a Church² is built on the vineyard where the miracle took place.]

F. The Martyrdom of Matthias.³

[Matthias, elected to fill the place of Judas, preaches in Damascus, bidding the people renounce their idols and worship God in chastity.]

".... *and also that He may have mercy upon you in the day of your departing out of the body."

× p. 727 (=L., But when the men of the city heard these things which the holy Apostle Matthias spake unto them, the р. 138; В., р. 291) Devil entered into their hearts by means of his evil thoughts and his foul deceits and his doing of all deeds which are full of guile and have no profit in them. And they said among themselves: "Verily this man is one of the twelve sorcerers of Jesus, who go about from city to city in all the world separating women ^x from their × p. 728 husbands. Up, let us go and see what we will do unto him. Only, if we leave him in this our city, he will destroy it utterly." And they all rose up and took counsel together to seize the holy Matthias. Thus they laid hold on him and bound him and placed him upon a bed of iron. They kindled a fire under him, so that the flame from his body rose up exceedingly, and everyone who saw it marveled. For the flame rose up above the bed tfifteen cubits. And the multitude which was round about him said: "If (this man is) a † (=B., p. 202) sorcerer . . . "

[Matthias is found after three days alive and unharmed. The people thereupon believe and destroy their temples and idols. Matthias baptizes and teaches them, and consecrates a Church. Later, he dies in Judea.]

I Literally 'give the beasts alone.'

2 There was a Church of Bartholomew at Behnesa (see Abû Salih, Churches and Monasteries, fo. 75^a) and his body was preserved in the Church of Karbil there. It is clear that the Oasis in question is that of Behnesa.

3 The works preceding this, which are (presumably)

wholly lost, are (1) The Mart. of Bartholomew; (2 and 3) Preaching and Mart. of Thomas; (4 and 5) Acts and Mart. of Matthew; (6) Mart. of James the Less; (7 and 8) Preaching and Mart. of Simon Zelotes; (9) Preaching of Thaddaeus; (10) Preaching of Matthias.

† (== B., p. 96)

 $\times (\overline{\Psi R7})$

 хмат + 01 йатсеві¹ + етоі пщамщі їзийоп + етмер йакадарсіа піве(п) отор етщемщі ппішхр²
 Отор ката ма півеп³ + пем беп тархн йбір півеп + етсов йграпмапщилі пем раперфноті ппіїзийоп + Вапа́потедасма зе пем рапрецеррік + пем рапметпиік + пем рапметрецбатева́дот + патірі ммиот + йбнтс пе +

Стачергыт же ёводенте(n) піблостодос + аці пщорп ё Апептаподіс + не отремймат гар пе Беп пецтепос +

Οτμημ ατηαξή έ πευστ ιπτ πχτ + έβολειτοτη + οτος ατίπι πυσιδωλου έ πευπ + ατφωή πυσιαξιμμημ έβολ + ατσι πφοτωιπι + οτος ατσιωμα πφραπ πφιωτ πεμ πιμηρι + πεμ πιππα έθοταβ +

ben піма ъе етеммат + атбырп пац ёводеітен піппа ёвотав + еврецерешт ё рако+ + вн йте піфарос Three leaves (six pages) missing.

×(427)) ×ñхе піршмі + ёводріте(п) пн ё паре маркос хю ймшот + ётатщыпі йхе запмніпі + пем запщфнрі + Дубішмс йвоц пем пецні тнру + пем отмнщ ецощ + йте піма ётеммат + [ф]рап йпіршмі ётеммат [п]е апіапос + зисте ё[т]ацщыпі йхе отмнщ [е]цощ йте пн ётатпазt [ё] пхс +

[Ат]сытем йже піршмі й[т] з Авакі + же й от чалі[ле]івлі то ў зе ў тайцизщиощиці йте рото + тобацищищі йпи]щемщі й тоба + тоба і з сото +

[Orog n]arkwt ńcwy ne [e ta]20y + e boohey +

×отор атхи пац потмнщ пхорхс ё бообец »

Εταψέμι σε ήσε πιμακαριος μαρκος + ε ποτςοσηι αφφωщεη ήδηιδησε ήεπιςκοπος + πεμ τ ήπρεςβστερος + μηλιος πεμ κερδοπος + πεμ πρ[ι]μος + πεμ ζ ήσιακωη πεμ κειδ ήεμποστ + [ε π]щεμщι ήτεκκληςιά

¹ ñaτcehi corr. from ñaτcohi (by first hand ?).
 ² ñniwxę sic: ? read ñnixwę "things tangible" or "the senses" (?). Cp. the Eth. "gods which could be felt

with the hands:" the abbreviated version in *Hist. Patr.* (ed. Evetts, p. 43) has "the worship of the *creature.*" 3 Men. MS.

G. The Martyrdom of Mark.¹

× p. 759 (= L., p. 147; B., p. 310)

×₩Зн

×р. 760

.

× p. 767 (= L., p. 149; B., pp. 312 f.)

× p. 768

[Mark is appointed to preach in Egypt, Libya, and Marmarika. The state of the inhabitants is described.] (...the people) *there were uncircumcised, being idolaters, full of all uncleanness and worshiping material creatures, and building in every quarter and at the beginning of every street dwelling-places and temples of the idols. And they used to practise therein magic rites and sorcery and fornication and slaying of children.

Now when he (sc. Mark) was sent forth by the Apostles, he came first to Pentapolis; for by race he was a man of that region. He preached unto them the beginning of the word of God and *wrought among them great marvels and mighty works. For them that were sick he healed; the lepers he cleansed; multitudes of evil spirits he healed (sic) through the word of grace. A multitude believed on Our Lord Jesus the Christ because of him, and they brought down their idols and destroyed their groves: they received the light and were baptized in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.

Now in that place it was revealed unto him through the Holy Spirit that he should depart unto Rakoti (Alexandria), (the city) of the Pharos.² [On entering Alexandria Mark meets with and converts a certain shoemaker.] *The man (believed on God) by reason of those things which Mark was speaking, when signs and wonders came to pass. He received baptism, he and all his house, together with a great multitude of that place. Now the name of that man was Anianus.

So when there was a great multitude of them that believed on the Christ, the men of the city heard that "a Galilean is come hither and turneth away the sacrifices of the gods and revileth their worship." And they were seeking after him to take him and slay him, *and they laid many traps for him, to slay him.

But when the blessed Mark was aware of their design, he ordained Anianus as bishop, and three priests, Mêlius, and Kerdonos, and Primus,³ and seven deacons, and eleven door-keepers for the service of the Church.

1 Between the Martyrdoms of SS. Matthias and Mark intervened the Preaching and Mart. of S. James. The Mart. of S. Mark is reproduced with slight abridgment in the *Hist. of the Patr.* (ed. Evetts, pp. 43 ff.). About one leaf and a half of this Martyrdom is lost. 2 *Eth.* (Budge, p. 310) "unto the *takwâm*" (candlestick): as Budge rightly conjectures, the Pharos is indicated.

3 According to tradition each of these in turn became Patriarch of Alexandria (see Eusebius, *H.E.*, 11, 24; 111, 14, 21; 1V, 1, 4).

46

Παλιη οη αιφωτ αιμίε] παι έ τπεπταπολις στος εταιερ μουπι Α μασκ + αιφωμεή πρίατικοπος

ймат » n[em] gankληρικος κατά [nixw]pa » Οτος naλin o[n aqgwλ] è parot »

Атащаі бе беп пір[мот] пем Зепістнин й[ф]

×Οτος αγιεμπι 1 πωοτ ποτέκκλητιά + μεπ πιμα έτοτμοτ $\frac{1}{2}$ έρωοτ + χε τα βοτκολοτ + μεπ πιμα ετςιχεπ – × $(\overline{\sqrt{2}\sigma})$ фіом » Беп отпіщі яма йхахши » сабрні йотпетра »

сарьщі блаций тає піблині отор ётачкила ппечкелі ачтиот ба

Εταγχωκ γε έδολ ήχε οτснот εγοщ + οτορ έτατάψαι ήχε πιχρηςτιάπος + ατςωδι ήςα πιιγωλοπ + охоб алеутат ися игеууниос э

Ατέμι σε ήσε πιελληπος σε αςί έ ματ + ατμορ ήχορ εθθε σε ατεωτεμ εθθε πιμφηρι + έ παςίρι ймшот + пн етщшпі ацер×фабрі ёршот + пікаксерт² ацтотвшот + пікотр ацоротсштем + отмнщ × Wo йвелле ацерумот поот йпипат йвол »

Οτος αφειщенноти нωот ππιταλόο + πελ πις ποτ (. . .) πι 3 ελολριτεή πεήστ ττο πχς + οτος πατκώτ πε йса ё тароч + патхімі ймоч ап пе +

Отор патырахрех пнотнахры пе + отор пырны ыен потоватрон + нем пототпполюн пте потілыхоп + патющ ёбох етфоне ёхоч пе + етхо йлос + хе раппщт пе пібі пхопс йте паі ахоо +

Ачщопі зе йхе пінаїату

Five leaves (ten pages) missing.

*петрос + ефрецхик ёвод Беп римн + паррац ппнрип потро +

Отор психа атеранахирии + атще пиот ё рими апистаниедио(п) + йте пхс инс ben Аперихирос тнрс ётеммат >

Variant readings of Cod. Vat. Copt. LXVIII.

11. 17-19 netpoc-étemmat: V omits.

¹ atcempt, MS.

² ϵ added above the line by second (?) hand. Below (fo. $\overline{\Psi}$ **RARCET** stands unaltered.

Again he fled and betook himself to the Pentapolis; and when he had spent there two years, he ordained there other bishops and clergy, and again went unto Rakoti.

And they increased in the grace and knowledge of God. *And he established for them a Church in the × p. 769 regions called The Cattle-Pastures ($\tau \dot{a}$ Boundor) in the place which is above the sea, in a great quarry, beneath a rock. And the righteous one rejoiced greatly and, bending his knees, gave glory to God.

Now when a long time was passed and the Christians were multiplied, they mocked at the idols and derided the Pagans. And when the Pagans knew that he was come thither, they were filled with envy because they heard concerning the miracles which he was working. Them that were sick he *healed; the lepers he cleansed; the deaf he caused to hear; unto a multitude of blind he vouchsafed sight; and he preached unto them the good tidings of salvation and grace... through Our Lord Jesus the Christ.—And they were seeking after (him) to take him, but did not find him. And they were gnashing their teeth: and in their theaters and their banquets of their idols they kept crying out speaking against him, saying: "Great are the iniquities of this wizard."

Now the hallowed (Feast of the Passover) took place...

[Mark is at length seized and is dragged through the streets until he dies. An attempt is made to burn his body, but it is carried off by the believers.]

H. The Martyrdom of Luke.¹

[When the Apostles began to evangelize the world, it fell to the lot of Peter to preach in Rome. He dwelt there with Titus and Luke until his death in the days of Nero.]

(... And it befell) *that Peter ended his course in Rome in the days of Nero the king. And the rest retired and went their way, preaching the Gospel of the Christ Jesus in all that region.

1 Another Bohairic recension (also from Dêr Abû Makâr) is published by Balestri in Bessarione IX (1005) 128 ff. The variant readings of this recension, to which I give the symbol V (= Cod. Vat. Copt. LXVIII, 2), are noted at the foot of our text. A summary is incorporated in the Hist. of the Patr. (ed. Evetts, pp. 43 ff.): cp. the Arabic Synaxarium for Babeh 22 (ed. Basset, pp. 144 ff.).

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³ Apparently something has here dropped out of the text.

† (=B., p. 314)

* p. 781 (= L.,

p. 152; B., p.

137)

× p. 770

 $\times (\overline{\Psi \pi a})$

Кесар зе пнрып потро ацамоні йпатдос + ацώді птецафе беп рымн + доткас зе ацфыт ёводра про йпотро +

Адщипі едоішіщ ката бакі пібеп з пем тімі пібеп етбеп Апарадіа тирс пте рими з

хупа Ивоц че доткас падог птрамматет япіатю патдос + отог ецераг ката піпразіс + хптац + пем гом півеп евпапет + ёт ецегоніц ямоот + (ben фрап) йте пепот пос +

Заппіщ⁴ пщфнрі пацірі ямов беп пн етщыпі *

Запвеллет шадоротнат мвод + гандаует шадоротмоші + ганкаксет шадтотвшот +

Запкотр щачоротситем запщипи + потоо приф щачерфадрі бриот Беп фрап Апхс +

Статситем зе ё піщфнрі ё пацірі ямшот + йхе пібтіос доткас + атпаст йхе запвакі + пем за(п)тімі (ФПГ) стощ + йте †періхирос ётеммат + удпеккднсіб + пем запмопн + паткит ямшот ката ма +

Ηκ σε ετατπας τ έ πχς ικς + πατρωστ πε + έδοτη έ πιμεμμι άφτ πεμ τς και πιατιος λοτκας + στατπατ σε ήσε πιστην ήτε πιισωλοη + ήτε πιεθπος + αγμε πας έδοτ(η) έρωστ ήσε πεαταπας + οτος ατίρι ήστοσηι πεμ πιιστσαι + ετιμοπ δεη πιτιμι τηροτ + πεμ πιθακι + εθροτθωσττ έδοτη έ πιερφει + ετδεη τμητροπολις + ήτε τοτχωρά + μα έδοτη έ σοτ κ άπιδηστ θωσττ +

× ψπΣ Αςщωπι Σε έτατοωστ × τηροτ + ήχε πιλαος πεμ πιτογδαι + οτος αγще πωοτ έβοτη έ πιερφει ετςοη +

Variant readings of Cod. Vat. Copt. LXVIII.

l. 1 (кесар—рымн): V has ётацёмі є паї йхе кесарос пирып адхипт Беп отпіщ \ddagger йлі!і єботп є патдос пем доткас отог патдос мен адфротилі йтецпар!і.

l. 3: after equiving V adds anierarredion are nenor inc n $\overline{\chi c}$.

ll. 4-5 V carries this section to the beginning of the work, reading: naymhn \bar{e} naydoc $\bar{n} \propto e$ dotkac eyos nay amabetic oros entramater eyedas integrazic throt... amwor den pan anenoc.

1. 6 раппин же ймнини пем рапифири, V || пи сощшии, V.

1. 8 -сютем пем рапкемищ йсмот йщюні &с., V || щадер- : бадер-, V || мпенот інс пус, V.

1.9 ETATCWTEM-ROTRAC: V omits.

ll. 9 f. πτε-έτεμματ: V omits, substituting έ πιραπ έφοταλ πτε πεπσε πτς πχε ετπατ έ πιμμιπι ετεφιρι πμωοτ πχε πεφλωκ λοτκας.

1. 11 nh De thoor, $V \parallel \tilde{u} \oplus \tilde{t}$: ünenor inc nxc, V. 1. 12 nte nieonoc, V omits.

II. 12 f. ауще пау-потсобы: апсатапас мар потрыт атерсобы, V.

1. 13 етщоп: етдеп Ахира тирс ётеммат, V (omitting пем півані).

I. 14 ATE TOTX WPA: Vomits || EDOTH E: Vomits.

ll. 15 f. ет а отмищ едощ пте підеддинос пем піютдаї ошот ёпотёрнот атще пшот ... етсоп отог атремсі.

† (B., p. 138) * p. 782 But when Caesar Nero the king seized Paul and beheaded him in Rome, Luke fled from the presence of the king. And he was preaching in every city and every village which is in all the sea-board of Rome. †Now Luke was scribe unto the holy Paul¹ and wrote down² all his acts ×and all the excellent things which he preached in the name of Our Lord Jesus the Christ. Great marvels was he working upon them that were sick: the blind he caused to receive sight, the lame he made to walk, the lepers he cleansed, the deaf he made to hear, them that were afflicted in what way soever he healed in the name of the Christ.

Now when they heard of the miracles which the holy Luke was performing, many towns and villages of that region believed. *Churches and cells were built in every place, and they who believed on the Christ Jesus were flourishing in the worship of God and the teaching of the holy Luke.

But when the priests of the idols of the Gentiles saw this, Satan entered into them; and they took counsel with the Jews who were in all the villages and towns, that they should come together unto the temple, which is in the Metropolis of their country, upon the twentieth day of the month Thôout. And it came to pass that when they were all assembled, [×]both the people³ and the Jews, and were entered into the temple at one time,

I The Arabic has 'Peter.'

2 Lit. 'wrote according to all the acts.'

3 $\lambda \circ c$: probably denotes the Gentiles.

48

× p. 784

× p. 783

Oto2 niothe fite niepdel new notnott \star natcelcull ben sandanoc finote \star new Sankthu(n) 2 hoto0 4 ∱нqñ

Пепепса паі атремсі йхе підаос тноот + пем піпіщ+ йте піпаддатіоп йте потро + пем піпіщ+ йте Накі + етремсі ріхеп рапоропос пем рапскампіп +

• рехан боло + чилой фини эхи фино з побо

- τοώιμαθμα τό και μα μα το παι μα παι το παραγία το το παραγία το παραγία το παρακτία το παραγία το πα $\times (\overline{\Psi \pi \epsilon})$ пац амавнтис йже інс » фи етотмот ерод же пхс » атвротащаї » йже пімпіні пем піщфирі » стотірі ямшот + ката мшіт
- Атмощі йсь потсяю тирот з йхе піримеос пем потматія з запкехшотні зе адбобот йхе потро » пнрып »

Пъг хет ъе риц же доткъс + ацфит еводра про мпотро + ацсирем потмищ беп тецпдани +

- × Une « рехэн сото техач »
- Хе асщипі йпа†і ё таіхира + паіхн батоту потпомікос беп ідня + ё пеурап пе гамадінд + патоі йархнёретс йпідаос пе + йхе анна нем каїафас + пем адезанарос нем ротвадіос +
- Дэамоні поэршмі же інс аяфрап ёроц + азащу ё оэстаярос + аябоөбеу аяхау беп оэмбая + аутшич «Нолы шине эконо и на выдатия и то состати на сост Состати на со состати на сост Состати на с состати на сост Состати на сост состати на сост Состати на с

Variant readings of Cod. Vat. Copt. LXVIII.

11. 1-4: V omits.

1. 5 Orog : V omits.

1. 6 «τī to -nλann (l. 11): V substitutes an entirely different speech.

1. 12 -voc ne. V.

1. 14 асщыті ймоі єюі пкотхі, V.

l. 17 Ben ... v: Menenca v negoor, V || Cal ne ete, V.

¹ There is evidently a lacuna here. The Arabic reads "the priests adorned their idols with the pictures (sic) and the lamps," &c.; the Eth. has "the priests and their gods were adorned with rich apparel, and in the temple were draperies and lamps." Possibly we should restore патселсых(от Беп заппанос нем перфег) Бен 2anganoc, the omission being mainly due to the similarity of nanoc... panoc.

² ктрык, so the Ms. The word occurs in conjunction with Raunac in the Translation of the xlix Martyrs (Mon. et Extraits, XXXIX, p. 34). But there seems to have been a variant mypun, since the Arabic reads "all the scents" and the Ethiopic "sweet scents of every kind." In the Coptic Service for the Consecration of Church and Altar (ed. Horner, p. 386) the Coptic gankrpwn is rendered Illinoeg (candles, tapers).

and the priests of the temple and their gods were adorned (with rich apparel, and the temple also) with lamps of gold and candles¹ of every kind -----; after these things all the people sat down with the great men of the king's Palace and the great men of the city, sitting upon thrones and benches.

†And the chief priest came into the midst and said: "There are come into our country certain wizards, Galileans, of the Twelve Galileans and the Seventy Two, whom Jesus who is called the Christ made His disciples. They have multiplied signs and wonders which they do in every place; and all the Romans walk after their teaching and their sorcery. Now some (of these) Nero the king slew; but this other, Luke, fled from the presence of the king and has led astray a multitude by his deceit."

Then stood up a Jew whose name was Isaac, a ruler of the Synagogue *of the Jews who were in that country, and said: "It chanced that before I came to this country, I was under a lawyer in Jerusalem, named Gamaliel, when the High Priests of the Jews were Annas and Caiaphas with Alexander and Rubalius.² They laid hands on a man named Jesus; they passed sentence upon Him; they hanged Him upon a cross; they slew Him and left Him in a sepulcher; (but) He rose from the dead upon the third day. He it is Whom this man, Luke, preacheth."

1 Or "perfumes:" see note on the text.

2 For Alexander see Acts IV, 6; or perhaps the names are taken from Mark xv, 21, "Alexander and Rufus." The form Rubalius is supported by the Ethiopic Rayôleyos

(though Budge, p. 139, identifies this as Aurelius), and by the Arabic (Lewis, p. 153) Decalius; though the latter is twice corrupted, R having replaced A in the Coptic original, and r(y) having given way to d(y) in the Arabic version.

† (=B., p. 139) × p. 785

× p. 786

 $\times (\overline{\Psi \pi \chi})$

× Wnн

худеробы ихе пімнщ тиру + бен обброоб побот хе обощ приф пе ихе плі ран же інс + обод же

Асщипі зе ётатяе фра(п) пінс + мпемво ппіпот атреї тнрот + пяе піблидоп + атбомбем мфрн прапведя +

бтатпат де плени и об на стано потопот стани слави стани с стан

Οτος ατφωβ πποτελως ατεωλη έλολ ήςα πιγωι ήτε τοτάφε + ατιμε πωοτ σε + εα ποτρο πηρω(η) έερηι έ ρωμη + ατωμ έλολ εταω ώμος + αε ^{×ω1} πεμ πιματιά ήτε πα[1] ρωμι αε της +

Ποτρο δε δαεροτώ πεχαι πωστ + χε ρωμι πιθεπ εθποςτ έ ποι ραπ μεπ τοιχωρα + διβοθθοτ + щατε ποται χε λοτκας + αιφωτ έθολμεπ ποχιχ +

Элероты пже пімнщ стжы ямос + же енппе іс пы рымі стеммат уфсяь беп тепхыра беп пы рап + же піс отор іс фаі ухи беп фполіс + прокописіос +

Вапмнщ ймніпі адаітот беп пн етщюпі з потбо прн4 з

Аухинт ъе ямащи яхе потро + отог адбрах-[[рех . . .

Variant readings of Cod. Vat. Copt. LXVIII.

l. 1 атериот...пімнщ, V (omitting тирч) || йотыт: V omits, but adds стерщфири.

II. I f. oray... aqtunq: oray next aqtunq, V. 1.3 mnemoo nunort: V omits.

l. 5 пготнв : пгщамщегаюдоп, V || ймащь : V omits.

ll. 6-7 αγμε πωστ ε ρωμη πεχωστ πποτρο χε (the complaint following is entirely different), V.

1.8 кесар пирып пехач пьот, И 🛛 содиыш апаг рап, И.

1. 10 aq-...пілнщ, V II же фаг ры пе пірылі етсырем йтепхыра, V.

ll. 10-11 Бен... інс, V omits. l. 11 отор риппе цьен... проконисон, V.

l. 12 V substitutes a wholly different passage. l. 13 étaqueten de é nat ñde notpo aquent aquipauper, V.

¹ Apparently a lacuna: add (nimetoik).

× p. 787

× p. 788 †=B., p. 140 *The whole multitude answered with one voice: "What sort of name is this, Jesus, and (how) did He arise from the dead ?" Now it came to pass that when they uttered the name of Jesus in the presence of the gods, the idols all fell down and brake in pieces like earthen vessels. But when the priests saw the destruction of their gods, they were enraged with exceeding great fury; and they rent their clothes and tare out the hair of their heads. They departed unto Rome to the king, Nero, and cried out, †saying: *"O, the sorceries and enchantments of this man Jesus!" But the king answered and said unto them: "All men who believed on this name in this country I have slain saving one, Luke, who escaped out of my hands." The multitudes answered saying: "Lo, that same man preacheth in our country in this name, Jesus: and behold, he is in the city of Proconnesus.¹ Many miracles hath he performed on those who are sick in divers wise." Then the king was exceeding angry and gnashed his teeth.

[Nero sends soldiers who bring Luke to Rome. The saint is scourged. His right arm is struck off, but adheres again. He is taken out to sea and beheaded: his head, placed in a sack, is thrown into the sea, but it was washed up upon a certain island,² where it is preserved.]

I This statement is repeated in the Vatican recension of the Martyrdom, but does not appear in the Arabic and Eth. versions. In all that has gone before Luke is represented as preaching in "the seaboard of Rome." Is there some confusion between Old and New Rome (Constantinople)? On such a supposition the introduction of Proconnesus (in the Propontis) is less surprising.

1.6 0rog : V omits.

2 Can this have been Proconnesus?

THE MYSTERIES OF SAINT JOHN

VII. THE MYSTERIES OF SAINT JOHN

Parchment. A single fragment (Cairo, no. 47), 11×15 cm., from a small leaf of which neither the top nor bottom is preserved. The hand (distinguished especially by the forms of μ , z, τ , z, z) is identical with that of No. xxxIII (cp. Plate XI A): the only stop used is - (black; by first hand).

The text, though small, is important as establishing the existence of a Bohairic version of the *Mysteries* of S. John, whereof the Sahidic version was published (from B.M. Or. 7026) by Dr Budge in 1913.¹ The fragment corresponds to the lower part of p. 70 in that edition and to parts of pp. \overline{re} $\overline{\lambda s}$ in the Sahidic Ms.

*	*	*	*	*	*	
]n103	т[22 มกห	20[70]02	Ē r [],	••[
กร]งรลัญลา			δη[ε η]щω[ι ñ]ηιφον[ι Βηππε διτδμ[οκ] ε πιμη[сτηριοκ τηρογ πτε πιφηο[νι ω ιωδη-			
Сщип] ппе т[с]адпид мот† щаре] отсмн щипи пте пі- мотп]ешот ёхеп піка[еі						
			nHC-	· · ·		
Е]ре пігоъ	t[a]g aïaï	-e[pe ni-	Пе]хні пп	іхеротыі	п хе[пь-	
мотприо	r Mødebö	[т тнрот	-		хе о[т петцал	
ё] ащаї - пібара[ваг бмот ете ща]ре пір[шмі] с[рбо4 йбнтот			ερριι] μα τρε έζαψ[ι Οτος η]ε[αε ñα]ε πιχ[εροτάικ			
*	*	*	*	*	• *	

*[The dew cometh upon the earth and causeth to grow] the fruits of the earth, and to increase. If the **Recto* trumpet² doth not sound, there is a sound of rain upon the earth; and the fruits spring up, the rain causing them all to increase. The thunders also whereof men are afraid...

*["... the waters which are] above the Heavens. Lo, I have declared unto the all the mysteries of the *Verso Heavens, O John."

I said unto the Cherubim: "My Lord, I desire to know what it is that beareth up the Heaven so that it is suspended." And the Cherubim said...

VIII. TEXTS RELATING TO THE VIRGIN

A. Life of the Virgin.

Parchment. Two leaves (Cairo, nos. 25, 25^{Add}) from one manuscript³ of which the second is numbered $-\overline{12}$. The one measures 33×25 cm.; the other 25.4×24 cm., having been roughly cut into circular form apparently to wrap round a jar-stopper. For the hand, which is square and very carefully formed, see Plates IV A, IX A. The only stop used is -.

The first leaf deals with the Annunciation, the Conception, and the attitude of Joseph to these events, merely paraphrasing the narratives of SS. Matthew and Luke. It may be compared, though only very generally, with a fragment from a Sahidic *Life* published by Forbes Robinson.⁴ In the second leaf, however, Christ informs His mother of the glory and honor which will be hers in Paradise, and the Virgin replies. The substance is uncanonical and generally parallel with another Sahidic fragment.⁵ No doubt the narrative led up to the Death and Assumption of the Virgin.

The phrase (in Frag. 1 verso, ll. 9 ff.) "even as the Evangelist has shown unto us" clearly shows that the work to which the fragments belonged was a discourse embodying an apocryphal narrative.

I Coptic Apocrypha, pp. 59 ff. (text), 241 ff. (translation).

2 The trumpet gives the signal for rain or dew to fall upon the earth; for the whole context see Budge, op. cit., p. 253.

3 A further fragment from the same MS. is Cod. Tisch. xxv, 6.

- 4 Copt. Apocr. Gospels, pp. 16, 18.
- 5 id., pp. 34, 36.

Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 25).

ля пащшин ерог йнгсот[еп] Фаг пацин ерог йнгсот[еп]

- 5 εωοττ επες Ισχεπ έτ α παρθεπος άστωπ πρως αςςαχι πεμ πιαυνελος ά πιππα έθοται με εδρηι ηδητς αφμος ππεςμελος τηροτ - οτος
- 10 πεχε πιαττελος πας = Χε οτππα εγοταβ γπαι ερριι έχω = οτχομ άτε φη ετσοςι εγπαερβηιάι έρο = εφβε φαι φη έτ ερε(πα)μαςη γοταβ = ςεπαμοτή
- 15 ёрод же пщнрі йфт = пем пкесепі ппітый етоосі ёт аджотот птоебхокос свотав маріа =
- Ιcx[ε]n περοογ ετεμμαν ά πιππά
- 20 ששטחו חגון אדר = ס[ד]סף מכאסף פֿ-אסא הגאדען = ג ד[פ]כתפצו שטחו הקסאל חחא פדפאאסאו צודפה חוצאסד = חפא קאופד החנוזהה בססדמא =
- 25 Ιώςнφ Σε ben πχιπορεμτρομη ε μαριά = agnar έρος ώπαι ρητ ετ α τεςπεχι μοψι εκολ agmoopτερ = ονος agmeri χε τ. Χα αςώκοκι
- 30 Пехац йбрні пбнту хе апо[я отбеддо отог Ттаі[о..]т[. беп паі ероп[..]мінпет... а.мпесм...[..] есш[.... беп тане [.....]
- 35 **II]enenc[.....]orke**[

- Іс енппе тар ф7 пе етог ймеөре ерог хе йпг[що]п пемас е птнрц=
- 5 мнпоте псехемс йпы рн‡ есмвокі псесшы ймос бе(п) өмн‡ йпадаос =
- Ναι σε πεμ παι κεχωστηι εςμοκμεκ έρωστ = κατα φρητ ε-
- 10 те пістарчелістне бімшіт пап = Отог пехац хе ішенф ає пес-
- ε το οτο πολαίζαι τωτης πε πεσελι πε οτο παρλητι πε = πειοτωμι λη ε λις περλο = λειεστη ε 15 χλε εβολ πχωπ =
- 20 Σε ιώς η μηρι πλατιλ μπερερ-20 ξ ε με[n] μαριά τεκ[c21]μι εροκ φη ταρ ετεςπαχφο οτεβολβεη οτηπά εσοταβ πε πεμ πχωκ ππιζαχι τηροτ έτ α πιαττελος 25 χοτοτ πασ¹-
- Адтынц [n]хе ійснф едепкот адірі ката фрн4 ёт а піанчелос сахі пемад адогі ймаріа он ётатып йсыс пад ёдотп ё пед-
- 30 ні мпедсотынс =
 - λ φ λοιπου ερέπεραι πρητς ονος ο πιπη[ο ε]θονοβ μος εκολ ημ[μ]τς - ο[νο]ς πεςςο ερονωηι] ben πις[..]πια εθμες άωον
- 35 ετ]ε πεμ[0]τ μπιππα έθοταβ =

¹ nac, MS.

*But when she heard these things, she cried out and said unto him: "How shall this come to pass unto me? I have not known a man at any time." So soon as the Virgin opened her mouth and spake with the angel, the Holy Spirit entered into her¹ and filled all her members. And the angel said unto her: "A holy spirit shall come upon thee, a power of Him who is exalted shall overshadow thee. For this cause that Holy One Who shall be born of thee, shall be called the Son of God"²—and the remainder of the exalted praises which he spake unto the pure Mother of God, Mary.

From that day the Spirit was within her, and she was filled therewith. Her womb became as (the womb) of them who are with child, through the grace and... of the Holy Spirit. But when Joseph regarded Mary and saw her womb thus increased, he was troubled and thought that...she had conceived. He said within himself: "I am an old man and I honor... [ll. 32-35 are too imperfect for translation.]

 \times ...(l. 2) that I may not keep silence...For lo, God is my witness that I have not been in unto her at all. (I fear) lest at some time she be found thus with child and be mocked in the midst of my people."

These and such like things he pondered; even as the Evangelist informs us and says:³ "Joseph her husband

1 The context clearly implies that the Spirit entered by the mouth of the Virgin: in a Sah. fragment (Robinson, *Copt. Apocr. Gospels*, pp. 18 f.) it is stated that the Virgin conceived "by the hearing of her ears." In the *Testament* in *Galilee* (ed. Guerrier, p. 58 = Schmidt, pp. 52 f.) Christ Himself is alleged to have appeared to the Virgin in the form of Gabriel and to have entered into her.

2 Luke 1, 29 ff.

3 *Matth.* 1, 19. This parenthesis shows that the work was a Discourse or Homily.

×Verso

×Recto

TEXTS RELATING TO THE VIRGIN

being a righteous man and not wishing to make her a gazing-stock, planned to put her away privily. And while these things were in his heart, as he was sleeping, lo, the angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a dream, saying: 'Joseph, thou son of David, fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife; for He Whom she shall bring forth is of a holy spirit'"—and the rest of all the words which the angel spake unto her. "And Joseph arose from sleep and did according as the angel said unto him. He took Mary, his espoused wife, into his house, and knew her not."

Then God wrought within her, and the Holy Spirit increased (?) within her. And her face shone with the . . . full of glory, which is the grace of the Holy Spirit.

Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 25^{Add}).

өпотпі падатіа брещшпі пні йна потор Ин ёвотай тирот паї ёраф псеероефрия мпешот патсахи

- 5 ямоц = етерщфирі же à от-
- сегиг пременсара ерпемп[ща йпаі боў йтаі маін =

Ic gunne ast n[e n]tezorcia w ta-Mar = eo[orak eopo]reperno-

- 10 ταζιη ηω[οτ τηροτ η]ε πεμ ή[ε-305cia n[.....] are Ic mmapa[21coc] ? ?
 - **u[..].**[.....]; ; птесім[....]. п....
- ≫e ≥peω[.....]ωτ ? 15 - 2 пъщ прн[†.....] · apoi tho[. . .] orog &[. .]a[giтеп ппн соотав тиро[т... Срееренхріа мпіпарадісос..

при = ере піагавоп тирот 20 batot - nH ete MNE Bad nar отъе мпотадни ехеп прит прылі

Icze alcusoften ebod ataziz 25

tonusni inousis tronn o]ros sign epoypeu medma •••••]. ωп пън4 = йфрн[4

12

εκολ βα τερή ώ ταματ = οτω[μ отор сш = отноч ямо Бен пі-מימססח המדכמשו פֿםשסט הדב тфе

- 5 Іс унппе тар сесевтыт пе пже епхаі півеп еттаїйотт йτε θμετοτρο ππιφнοτί ω тамат мпар[өе]пос етхнк еhox =
- 10 Паріа же Б[еп пхіпор]есситем e האו דא[וס דאףסד ה]דסדן החפר- $[MHPI] = \delta [MMPI] = \delta [MPI]$ ππα θελ[ηλ μμωщω пь]ητς αςшу ево[х есхи йно]с хе апо[н
- 15 пім апо[к єдпащоп] ппаі та-- א[ושת ושדח] דסקאד סו Тсшот и пащны же аглища
- пщыны пак яма потор рихен πικαρι - αλλα παι τατό τηροτ
- сеототев е пщі пітметрю-20 мі тнрс -
 - Teworn $\hat{\omega}$ nade we armoni be(n) тапехі мө павот беп отмустиргоп патщероефри я-
- моц = лфрнф псрімі піве(п) 25 **етемв**окі Α]λλα πιώοτ τηρη έτ αιπατ ε[poq м]фоот ототев е ф .. [

× Recto

× Verso

"... * the root of David, thou hast been unto Me^1 a place of rest. All the holy ones shall come unto thee to behold thine ineffable glory, marveling that a woman of the daughters of Sarah should be held worthy of glory of this sort. Lo, I give thee authority, O My holy Mother, that they all submit themselves unto thee, and authority...Lo Paradise...[ll. 13-17 too fragmentary for translation.]...by all the holy ones. If thou shalt have need (?) of Paradise..., all good things shall be thine-those which eye hath not seen and which have not entered into the heart of man.² If I stretched forth My divine hand and took thy breast, and drank of the milk...in thee, like...

[Eight lines are wholly lost.]

*before thy face, O My Mother. Eat and drink and delight thyself in the ineffable good things of Heaven. For lo, all the precious things of the Kingdom of Heaven are prepared for thee, O My Virgin Mother, who art perfect."

Now when Mary heard of these glories from her Son, she was exceeding glad and her spirit rejoiced greatly within her. She cried out, saying: "Who am I, even I, that I should receive all these glories after this sort? I know, O my Son, that I was held worthy to be unto Thee a resting-place upon the earth; but all these glories pass the measure of all human kind. I know, O my Lord, that Thou wast in my womb nine months, by a mystery which cannot be contemplated, even as (it is with) all women who are with child. But all the glory which I beheld today surpasses

[Seven lines are wholly lost.]

I Christ is addressing the Virgin.

2 Cp. i Cor. 11, 9.

B. SAINTS PETER AND JOHN

The Death and Assumption of the Virgin.

Parchment. A complete leaf and six fragments from a single MS.¹

Frag. 1 (Cod. Tisch. XXIV, 49²) is a complete leaf, 33×25 cm., containing the title of the work, set in a frame of elaborate interlaced work in red and yellow, and the opening of the narrative proper. At the foot of the page is the numeral \overline{pos} , added by a later but ancient hand and indicating the position of this leaf in the volume in which the tract was bound up. At regular intervals in the right-hand border small rectangular spaces are reserved for an interrupted inscription. The first reads \overline{pos} , the second numeral (?) being exceedingly doubtful; the second reads $\overline{n\tau \epsilon m \cdot}$; the third $\overline{\tau o \epsilon}$; the fourth is utterly illegible. The third must surely be a date—probably 375 A.H.: the first should then be 601 and the second should read $\overline{n\tau \epsilon m p}$ "of the Martyrs." Both dates (if the first is rightly read) answer to 985/6 A.D., the presumed date of the ms.

Frags. 2-5 (Cod. Tisch. XXV, 22, 31, 30, 23³) are the remains of two adjacent sheets in a quire (22 and 23 are connected, as are 31 and 30; and the contents show that 23 follows 30). Frag. 6 (Cairo, no. 48. i), 23×19 cm., is the lower portion of a single leaf. Frag. 7 (*id.* no. 48. ii), 10.2×10 cm., is a mere fragment from the upper and inner corner of the last leaf of the work.⁴

In all the Fragments the script (see Frontispiece) is a large, bold, but not altogether even uncial, identical with the script of Nos. XXIII c and XXIX (cp. Plate III A, B) and of Rylands Library Coptic Mss. no. 440, which Crum identifies with the hand of Hyvernat, *Album* XXXIII. Spaces have been left for stops, but none have been inserted.

The work to which these fragments belonged was a narrative of the Death and Assumption of the Virgin as related by Peter and John. Unlike the other Coptic accounts, therefore, it claims to be primary. Owing to the fragmentary condition of the work, it is difficult to judge what was its relation to the narrative of 'Evodius,' or the secondary account in the Discourse of Theodosius.⁵ Narratives of the Death and Assumption attributed to Saint John are extant in Greek, Latin, Sahidic-Coptic, Syriac and Arabic,⁶ but with these our version seems only partially to have corresponded.

Some particular points of interest may be noted. In Frag. 1 the appearance of Christ as a child accompanied by the Innocents seems to be a feature otherwise unknown;⁷ in Frags. 4-5 the blessings promised by Christ to those who shall honor the Virgin are peculiarly Coptic and appear in neither of the other versions; but more important, perhaps, is Frag. 6 and the incident of the Jewish priest there recorded, since this seems to identify the large fragment published by Revillout⁸ as a further portion of this work (though in a different dialect). It will be seen that the two slightly overlap, and that in both the punishment inflicted on this priest (loss of his arm, but not blindness) is the same.

I This is shown (a) by the contents, (b) by the identity of script and page-dimensions.

2 See Leipoldt, *l.c.*, p. 399.

3 For the actual dimensions of these see id, pp. 405 f. (Note that sheet 30 + 31 is turned inside out. The true sequence—since fo. 30 immediately precedes fo. 23—is 31, 30.)

4 The conventional ascription shows that the fragment belongs to the end of a work. The script and the use of the plural make it probable that it belonged to the present tract. 5 For these see Lagarde, Aegyptiaca, pp. 38 ff. and Robinson, op. cit., pp. 44 ff., 90 ff.

6 For these see Tischendorf, *Apoc. Apocr.*, pp. xxxv ff. and references.

7 See Crum, *Hagiographica* (*P.S.B.A.* XXIX, 304). Crum alone (so far as I know) has recognized the peculiar interest of this fragment, as also that the Leipzig fragments enumerated above belonged to one and the same work.

8 Les Apocryphes Coptes, pp. 58 ff. (= P.O. 11, 174).

TEXTS RELATING TO THE VIRGIN

Frag. 1 (Cod. Tisch. XXIV, 49).

пхий сводьен сыма пте тепот тиреп фосохокос соотав mapia tpeuxde nort ben orмефині йсот па йтшы пем τεςδηδλημίς εθοταλ πςοτ τς **ммесо**урн

елтісторіп ймшот йже петрос пем ишаппнс піапосто-Aoc cooral are nenor inc noc Беп озугрнин йте ф7 амни

- Не с щ о п SE TOEOSOROC MAPIA Беп песмопастириоп етони ступ ратотс йже іф мпароснос соотай Отор
- 5 Kods rown num to to an пе поъпнит блятстириon

Асщыні ъе ета песероот й-

10 енкот бынт ёботн фа et attamoy epoc éhorgiтеп пос

Бен писхоро че йсот й йтшы acnar e orgopana acmort

15 е піпароєпос спатратотс аті щарос пехшот пас хе ον πετщоп πιο ώ τμαν πηστ

60q

πθο]ς δε πεχάς χε αίπατ ε οτρορά-NO DEN NOT EXCEPT ICZER EIпол е потны елхи реи отна пранкоты падшоті стходе

пранстолн ере рапхлом лмар-5 карітис ріжен потафиоті Отщфирі пе є сахі є почшот пем поттаїо

Испенсыс анат е петрос

пем ишаппис Сре рапрышс ёпа-10 пет Беп потхіх

Пехе пікотхі йщирі ині едоі лпсмот пінс пощнрі же ю †сугыт аресобынт же апок нім

- 15 Апок ъе мересоблесое же пощнρι πε πεχηι πδη χε ώ πικογχι пщирі еіпат ерок ушс ісхек енат е гнс пащнрг
- 20 П]ехац пні хе й тамепріт ймат άτπαχατ ςαβολ μποι απ αλλα 4]паох4 Батот рипа йтейто(п) м]но ща епер

От]ор пехні пац хе от пе пошщ пан котан падшоті сомощі пе-25 MAR

- обрани за или же пли режэн собъ п]адмоті єт а приънс Боовот b]еп піснот ет арежфоі є пікос-
- 30 м]ос ечметі хе чнахемт пънт]от пе Сове фаг семощі пем]ні пснот півєп

Отор пехні пач хе пабт Отор па]шнрі ймепріт

*The Departing out of the Body of the Lady of us all, the holy Theotokos, Mary, the very Mother of God, on the twenty-first day of Tôbi, and her holy Assumption on the sixteenth day of Mesurê; according as they were related by Peter and John, the holy Apostles of Our Lord Jesus the Christ. In the Peace of God! Amen.

While the Mother of God, Mary, was dwelling retired in her cell with ten holy virgins abiding with her, unto whom God was revealing great mysteries, it came to pass that, when the day of her repose, which was declared unto her by the Lord, was drawn near, in the night of the twentieth day of Tôbi she beheld a vision. She called unto the virgins who were with her; and they came unto her and said: "What hath befallen thee, O Mother of the Lord ?" *And she said: "I have seen a vision this night, as if I saw my Son in the midst of certain little children clad in robes and with crowns of pearl upon their heads: wondrous to relate was their glory and their honor. After that I beheld Peter and John with fine raiment in their hands. The little child, who was like Jesus my Son, said unto me: 'O woman, dost thou know who I am ?'1 But I perceived that He was my son and said unto Him: 'When I behold thee I seem to behold Jesus, my Son.' He said unto me: 'OMy beloved Mother, I will not leave thee apart from Me, but will take thee to Myself, that thou mayest rest for ever.' And I said unto Him: 'What seek these little children who walk with Thee?' And He said unto me: 'These are the little children whom Herod slew, at the time when thou didst bear Me into the world, thinking that he would find Me among them. For this cause do they walk with Me at all times.' And I said unto Him: 'My Lord and beloved Son...'"

1 Cp. the Sah. in Robinson, Copt. Apocr. Gosp., p. 32, ll. 23 f.

×Recto

×V erso

Frag. 2 (Cod. Tisch. xxv, 22). * * * * * * 	* * * * [].[μαρια πεμ η[ιπαρσεπος εσπε- μας Ο[σ]ος μεχε τπαρ[σεπος εσογαβ πωσγ χε παμ [πρητ πε παι πιμτ πεκιλμος ετε[τεπαις ε- ροι πφοογ Πεχωσγ μας χε ω [τεμμαγ εσογαβ εταπί ε παι μα απ εβο[λ λλλα βεμ παι εχωρς απςω[τεμ ε σγ- βρωσγ πογμημτ πεαλη[ιτζ εςωμ εβολ εςχω πμος Χε [τ]ωσγπογ σοχι ε ίλημ μα μαρια σματ πηχς χε αςι πχε πιςμοτ		
отог папот† [бшрп евод ñ]пн ет акхотот пішапинс [пек- мепріт	ητε πες»[11]οτώτεβ εβολ εφ- βε φ[21] 2πι μ[2]ρο τηρεη πφοοτ ω [τεη]μ[25]		
Frag. 3 (Cod. Tisch. xxv, 31). Οτος δεψφηρι εμδιμω ετας- εωτεμ ε πιεω]τη [εκολ] ππιπδρ- δεπος οτο]ς πεχδς πω[ο]τ χε μδροπ οτ]η πτεπιμληλ ετατ- ιμληλ δε η]ατεδχι ππι- πδροεπος εθ-] πεμδς] Ετι δε ετεδχι πεμ πο]τερμοτ ις δεπ τοτποτ] δηϊ πχε ποτ ιπς πχς] & τ-	от пе поющ йпа[тоту йпетрос [сшоттеп ймш[от ща- роі Пехац пні хе ф[текліс іе о] щапі е] тац[рі[фщ[
пароенос пехас хе п]ащн- рг * * * *	€[* * * *		

*Frag. 2 recto *he said unto me:¹ "...O my beloved brother, remember all those things which the Lord spake. And remember that it was thou who didst rest upon His bosom:² He revealed unto thee all His mysteries;³ there is none that knoweth them but thou and He. For thou art His chosen virgin; and as for me, He did not leave me sorrowful, when I said unto Him:⁴ "My Lord and my God, [show unto me?] those things which Thou hast spoken to John thy Beloved..."

... *Mary and the virgins who were with her. And the holy Virgin said unto them: "What is this great disturbance which ye cause me today?" They said unto her: "O our holy Mother, we would not have come forth to this place; but in this night we heard a sound of a great trumpet which cried saying: 'Arise, haste ye to Jerusalem, unto Mary the Mother of the Christ, for the day of her departure is come.' For this cause are we all come unto thee today, O our Mother."⁵

*Frag. 3 recto⁶ *And she marveled greatly when she heard the chosen (?) virgins. And she said unto them: "Let us go (?) to pray." When they had prayed, they were speaking unto the virgins who were with her.⁷ [And while they conversed] together, [lo, the Lord Jesus the Christ] came. [And] the [Virgin said unto Him]: "My Son...

 \times ...what is the will (?) of my...from Peter...guide them unto me. He said unto me...that thou mayest do it...when I (?) come...

*

1 sc. Peter to John. 3 The reference may be to the Coptic Mysteries of S. John (ed. Budge, Copt. Apocrypha, pp. 59 ff., 241 ff.), or (loosely) to the Revelation.

×Verso

×Verso

4 The reference can hardly be to S. John XIII, 24 and may be apocryphal.

5 The text of the verso differs only slightly from the version of Theodosius (Robinson, Copt. Apocr. Gosp., p. 98).

6 Frags. 2 and 3 belong to consecutive leaves. The restored translation is of course highly conjectural.

7 *i.e.* the ten mentioned above in Frag. 1: the virgins who now visit Mary are a distinct body.

Frag. 4 (Cod. Tisch. xxv, 30).				
Χε φωκ πε πιώ[οτ πεμ πεκ- ιωτ πατ[α]θος πεμ πι[ππα εθοτ- αλ μα επες πτε πιεπες [τηροτ αμημ 5 Αγεροτώ ήχε πεπστ ίπς [πχς εq- χω άμος χε ώ ταματ [μπαρ- θεπος γωλ πιλεπ ετ (ερε)εραπ[ε- τιπ άμωστ ςεπαιμωπι πε 10 Φχω άμος πε χε μαι πιλεπ ετο[τ- παγιωιμ μπαραπ ηβητη β[επ πικοςμος τηρη ετς[0λ]? [π]πιεκκληςία βεπ περαπ[ΦΗ εθπαφι φρ]ωστη βεπ πεq- εμτ η]τεφιρι ποτπε[θ]παπεφ πτ]εφοβαι ώπεβιος εθοτ- αβ] 5 Φπα]οβαι ώποτραπ ε παωμ ώ- πω]ηβ στος ποβι πιβεπ έ- τ α]ταιτστ ειεχατ πωστ εβολ α]ποκ πε πστ Φ]μ εθπαφι φρωστη άπαεταυ- 10 νελιοπ εθοταβ τέ πιςααι άτε π]αάποςτολος πεμ παςωτη ώ- προ]φητης ΙΕ πι]αωμ άτε πισραφη εθοτ[αβ			
Ф[н с]тпооо йдн ст .[* * * *	фио]інідорфі][сіо мию∞]огф[]			
· · ·				
Frag. 5 (Cod. Tisch. xxv, 23).				
* * * * * Хох[мн Беи перап свотав 4па4 Шевіф [пад пр пкюв йсоп Беп та-	* * * · · ·]·p · · ·]θωτ · · ·]τӊϼ-			
METOTRO	.]η πτεςώφε			
5 Фн ебпац[і мфршотщ Ба Апрос- фора ї[е скетос[ІЄ отпе[2Лі мпа[5 еботав ебрні є памнр] мпесщн- рі асмтоп ймос йс]от ка йпі- авот тшві беп отфмаф] йфн ебпа- пнот беп отшот йепо]тра- піоп]			
10 di wuose	10 Пепепса паг зе тирот] пехад ñ-			
щ≈[•]ф[же пепсытир пап же]Хтуен			
<u>س</u> س[ямштеп eh]or			
<u> </u>].e]m			

"... * For the glory belongeth unto Thee with Thy good Father and the Holy Spirit for ever and ever. * Frag. 4 recto Amen."¹

Then answered Our Lord Jesus the Christ saying: "O My Virgin Mother, all things which thou shalt ask, shall be done for thee. I say unto thee that in all places wherein My Name shall be preached throughout the whole world, when they shall build Churches in thy name, he who shall expend that which...

*He who shall take care in his heart to do a good deed and write thy holy life—I will write his name in * the Book of Life; and every sin which he hath committed, I will forgive him: I am the Lord. He who shall take care for My holy Gospels, or the words of My Apostles and My chosen Prophets, or the books of the holy Scriptures—I will set him in the Church [of the Congregation (?)...

... [Whosoever shall give] \times a crust of bread in thy name, I will requite him an hundred-fold (?) in My Kingdom. He who shall take care for the Offering, or ... vessels,² or a ... "

[×]...(l. 4) [she bowed ?] her head down into the bosom of her Son and fell asleep on the twenty-first day of [×]*Verso* the month Tôbi, according to the good pleasure of Him Who shall come in heavenly glory. Now after all these things Our Savior said: "Haste ye..."³

I The prayer of the Virgin here ended is parallel to the prayer in the Theodosian version (Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 110), where however there is nothing corresponding to the promises of Christ which here follow. For these promises compare the Ethiopic Covenant of Mercy (Budge, Legends of Our Lady Mary, pp. 57 f.).

2 sc. the Eucharist and the eucharistic vessels.

3 The passage is parallel to the Theodosian narrative (Robinson, op. cit., p. 110).

× Verso

* Frag. 5 recto

Frag. 6 (Cairo, no. 48. i).

- * ...] δηξώς βδαω[η ποτξώαμ Αππάτικοη Νεμλ αε εκολ ε πιλεατ[πδεξωλ εβοτη ε πεμ[τ ππιδρχμερετς πεαωοτ ππ[οτερμοτ αε μδροη πτεπβωτε[κ πημ ετηδι Απεςςωμό Οτο[ς πτεπρωκς Απεςςωμό βεη οτχρωμ
- Νθωοτ σε πιπαραπομος ετ[εμματ ατσοχι πεωπ άποπ [σε απχω ππεεεωμα εδρηι πεμ [πισλοχ Οτος απφωτ
- Νοωοτ Σε δ πος μλιρι ερωοτ β[επ οτμετβελλε ματε ποται έβ[ολ πβητοτ γιαα πτεςερμεσρε η]πη εσπαμωπι

Frag. 7 (Cairo, no. 48. ii).

 hen ете пі[

 бласни беп[

 бласни беп[

 ша едоі мм[

 ща едрні є пікех[шотпі є

 вод

 Апоп зап бм[і

 етадшані [

 ...]іс.[

 *
 *

.].2s[

ите ис]омо иделе ушоровнос ите ис]омо иделе ушоровнос ие]

- Ηιαπος]τολος σε ετατη[α]τ σε α πιο]τσαι εράπαχωριη πωοτ αττ]ωστηστ ατί εβολβεη πι(μα) ετε] πατχηπ ήβητη ατόρι ερατ]οτ βατεη πεωμα ήτπαρθεη]ος εθοταβ μαριά
- Φα]ι Σε ετ α πεισπας εωλη εκολ μπου εταιμαν έ πιαποςτολος α πειζεμτ ι έρου ονος αυτος έρωον ειχω μπος
- Хе й пабт паі ва таметабпае? отог аді ща петрос едрімі ед-

noog vap not ñnig]ελληπος ετcon nem nixphct]ianoc thpot]

Φδι ετε φως πιδ]μδρι πεμ τομ πεμ πτδιο]πεμ πιώου πχζ φπουτ μμηι ππιχ]ρηςτιδπος ωδ επες πτε πιεπ]ες τηροτ δμηπ]

× Frag. 6 recto

... *We sang over it (*sc*. the body of the Virgin) a spiritual song. But as we were going out to the tomb, it (the song) reached the heart of the chief priests.¹ They said to one another: "Come, let us slay them who carry her body and let us burn her body with fire." Now they, the lawless men, pursued after us; and we set down her body together with the bier and fled. But as for them, the Lord cast blindness upon them (all) save one of them, that he might be a witness of those things which were to happen.

× Verso

... *and it (the fire²) destroyed the multitude, even unto the resting-place of the body of the holy Virgin. But when the Apostles saw that the Jews were retreated, they arose and came forth from the place wherein they were hiding. And when the man, whose arm was torn off, saw the Apostles, his courage returned unto him, and he besought them, saying: "O my lords, have pity upon my unbelief." And he came to Peter weeping and (saying)...³

× Frag. 7 recto

× Verso

... *every [one] whom the... He was found in..... Who is... unto the rest. We also knew [...] which was come to pass... 4

For He is the Lord of the *Greeks together with all the Christians;⁵ He unto Whom belongeth might and power and honor and glory, Christ, the Very God of the Christians, for ever and ever. Amen.

1 The chief-priests are mentioned in this context in a Sahidic fragment (Robinson, *Copt. Apocr. Gosp.*, pp. 78 f.). 2 The Jews are smitten with fire in the narrative of the Assumption of Theodosius (*op. cit.*, pp. 118 f.).

3 The report of the incident is taken up at this point

and carried on in the fragment published by Revillout (see above, pp. 55 f.). The Theodosian narrative (Robinson, p. 118) does not mention the man who escaped blindness.

4 Perhaps parallel to Revillout's text, op. cit., p. 66, l. 14. 5 Cp. Romans x, 12.

TEXTS RELATING TO THE VIRGIN

C. EVODIUS OF ROME

On the Death of the Virgin.

Parchment. Three fragments (Cairo, nos. 31, 31^{Add} i and ii) derived from two copies of the *Death of the Virgin* ascribed to Evodius of Rome.¹

Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 31^{Add} i), 21.5 × 21.5 cm., is the upper part of a leaf numbered $-\overline{\text{MA}}$, the last in quire $\overline{\texttt{A}}$:² the inner edge and lower part have been torn away. The hand (which is identical with the hand of No. 1x, Frag. 3; cp. Plate X B) is somewhat angular, though regularly formed, with thickened down-strokes and may be assigned to the twelfth century. The stops used are * (to distinguish clauses), and \cdot : (marking the ends of paragraphs). Both are in red ink: the stop = (black ink), used by the original scribe, has been allowed to stand in many places.

Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 31), 21.8×27.5 cm.,³ is from the same Ms. The upper right-hand portion of the text has been clipped off diagonally, and the lower margin is missing.

Frag. 3 (Cairo, no. 31^{Add} ii), $26.5 \times 19 \text{ cm.},^4$ has a written column of 31 lines measuring $23.5 \times 13 \text{ cm}$. The stop -z- is used occasionally at the end of a paragraph; but the hand, a thick, rounded uncial markedly smaller than the hand of Frags. 1-2, shows that the leaf belonged to a second and probably earlier copy.

A collation of the new fragments with the text of Lagarde ('L.') is here given.

Frag. 1 recto.

 $(= L(agarde) p. 48^{15-25}$ twosti to w tadpount.)

l. Ι τ]ωογπογ : L. 48¹⁵ τωογπι.

Frag. 1 verso.

 $(= L. p. 48^{30}-49^8 \text{ se siepwf to indoor ben ni-.})$

ll. 1-2 arëput éhoù muuor $\Rightarrow a[...]ny éhoù muuor <math>\Rightarrow : L. 48^{30}$ and éput e. m. (omitting the last three words).

1. 8 Ran apety[...: L. 492 Raze.

l. 11 па[p]ма: L. 49⁸ пгарма.

1. 12 πτασι μμ[oc: L. 494 πταολ4.

Frag. 2 recto.

 $(= L. p. 50^{3-11}$ λοιποн μπερριμι to εφρε φαι μον μα επες⁵.)

11. 7 f. Anaxac an e. mtemor[onge epw]ten: L. 504 Anaxae an novemen espegoronge epwten.

II. 9-10 $\tilde{e}p\omega$ [ten an \tilde{n}]Xwlem + tamat nagone $ep[\omega ten]$ an : L. 50⁵ $ep\omega ten an otae takemat unap$ bence nagode epwten an.

ll. 12-14 για άτεςσεληλ άχε τετεπψτχη: L. 50⁷⁻⁸ για άτετεαπατ έρος άτεςσεληλ &c.

II. 19 f. MH AMON INSON AMOR $* \in$ ITENOPE ON MOT [IJS] ENEQ: L. 50¹⁰ MH MMON INSON EOPE ON MOT IN ENEQ. (Our fragment clearly has the correct text: "Canst thou not cause that she should not ever die?" Robinson's explanation (*op. cit.*, p. 211 note 9) of L.'s text may therefore be abandoned.)

Frag. 2 verso.

(The text is too faint for accurate transcription.)

Frag. 3 recto.

 $(= L. p. 51^{14-25}$ orog namely to e tegmar multiplenoc.)

1. I пащнри амеприт: L. 51¹⁴ omits the latter word.

11. 2-3 отор пт[ац1]аром еісштем: L. 51¹⁴ отор птащшпі Беп отякар прит аісштем.

1. 4 EPOR ERZW MMOC: L. 51¹⁵ omits the two latter words.

I For the text (from Cod. Vat. Copt. LXII, 5—itself a Macarius MS.) see Lagarde, Aegyptiaca, pp. 38 ff. A translation is given in Robinson's Copt. Apocr. Gospels, pp. 44 ff.

2 The verso is headed $\overline{\lambda \mathbf{k}}$ ic (Ornament) $\mathbf{n} \mathbf{x} \mathbf{c} \mathbf{\bar{k}}$.

3 The complete width of the page.

4 The upper and outer margins have been cropped: the heading $\overline{IH[c n \propto c]}$ (sq. ornament) not new is mutilated: the page (or folio) and quire numbers are lost.

5 The indefinite beginnings of four preceding lines in our fragment are ignored.

59

ll. 8-10 eqt 20t nnh et equnor: L. 5117 eqt 20t new bici nnh et equai.

1. 13 mnas pht ie n[am neh]: L. 51¹⁸ mnaspht nwc.

II. 15 f. мнишс й4[пахе]мхом ан йерө.: L. 51¹⁹ йаш йрн4 Апашерөешрии.

1. 18 not 2]e neway (the lacuna admits no more): L. 5120 nenot 2e inc neway.

1. 20 ερεστ εωι: L. 51²¹ omits εωι.

1. 22 птхом афмот: L. 51²² пхом певен пте фмот.

1. 23 f. batot ete anok ne nam npht tepaepoot: L. 5122-23 batot nuc teepoot.

II. 24 f. Батон афмот пем педморфн: L. 5123 Батон педморфн.

1. 28 щепонт пърни п[ънтс] иже инс: L. 5125-6 щепонт иже пос пърни пънту (sic).

Frag. 3 verso.

 $(=L. 51^{26}-52^4 \text{ agg} \oplus \text{ chor } to \text{ comparison} (\underline{\textbf{w}}]\omega.)$

1. 7 птиреп отор: L. 5128 тирот (only).

1. 16 стакис апсим[а: L. 51³² птамакаріа амат.

ll. 20-23 οτος βεπ πεωμα πτα[μαν ή]ταιμωπι πηι μμαπ ήθ παβοτ: L. 51⁸³ οτος εχεπ πεωμα πταμεπριτ μμαν (only).

1. 24 netpoc aque n[a]q eixen пімаперщиотщі: L. 52¹ omits all after netpoc.

D. THEODOSIUS

The Death and Assumption of the Virgin.

Parchment. Five leaves $-\overline{h}, -\overline{n}, -\overline{n}, -\overline{z}$ (Cairo, no. 9, 9^{Add} i-iii) from one MS. of the Theodosian Dormitio Mariae, to which also belong two leaves at Manchester (Rylands Lib., Coptic no. 441) numbered $-\overline{nh}, -\overline{nh}$, and two leaves at Leipzig (Cod. Tisch. XXVI, 1; XXVII, 9), the latter unfoliated, the former numbered $-\overline{zh}$.¹ These were recovered (from Dêr Abû Makâr) by Tattam and Tischendorf respectively. The numeration is by pages, so that $-\overline{n}, -\overline{nh}$ and $-\overline{nn}, \overline{z}, -\overline{zh}$ are adjacent leaves. Since $-\overline{n}, -\overline{z}$ form a single sheet, the quire must have contained at least six leaves (12 pp.).

The leaves $-\overline{n}$, $-\overline{z}$ measure 29.2×22 cm.; $-\overline{b}$ (slightly cropped) is 28.4×21 cm.; the other two leaves having been robbed of their margins,² measure 25.4×15 and 24.3×15 cm. The written column is $22.5 \times 12.5-13$ cm. For the hand,³ which is rough and uneven, compare Plate XII, Hyv. Album, Plate XXII, XLII, 4.

The narrative portion of the work has been edited by Forbes Robinson⁴ from the complete Ms., brought likewise from Dêr Abû Makâr by Assemani, and now at Rome (*Cod. Vat. Copt. LXI, 4*). Below is given the full text of fo. —A, containing the exordium of the homiletic introduction⁵ (omitted by Robinson). A collation of the remaining leaves with Robinson's text is added.

I See Crum, *Cat. of the Copt. MSS. in the Rylands Library*, p. 219; Leipoldt, *l.c.*, p. 408. The association of the Rylands and Leipzig leaves was established by Crum: in style and script the new leaves are identical with the former.

2 Cp. No. XXIX. Margins were cut away to supply 'ties' and other material for binding new books (see Introduction, \S 4).

3 Coptic Apocryphal Gospels, pp. 90 ff.

4 No. XIV (Mart. of James the Persian) is by the same hand and probably formed part of the same volume.

5 To this part of the work Cod. Tisch. XXVII, 9 also seems to belong.

TEXTS RELATING TO THE VIRGIN

οτλουος εδητίδουσο παε πεπτριμ]ακαριος πιωτ AAA OE DOLOCIOC HIAP-XH]EN[ICRO]NOC NTE PAROT סדסף חו[סאסלסתי]דאר בד[בףpopin mnxc Eagtaotog De e tanadom**ψ**ис птепос тн[р]ен †[өео-] Докос соотав марга с-Tel cor ie Aniabot Mecuрн пе Eagephate iczen [toi]Ronomia nte nxc ma [n]xwr eвод пты аты йпа[роспос пем тесапалтифіс соотав стаутаото же блаз хотос **Бен** тран йромпі ет ечнайтоп ммоч пънтс Беп пима 🕂 Ф этй нинисто HOOT ACXII[K] **ΘΒΟΧ ΗΧΕ ΦΠΡΟ-**ФНТІА НТЕ ПІ-STHHULLOC DAT-

ІЗ ОН СТХШ Пnoc Хе стёїні сьоти мпі-

¹ ete : ñ, Robinson

Ā

отро пранпар оснос 91 φαροτ ώμος είτειπι пач ёботп ппеск[ещферг тирот Άληθως ώ πεπιωτ μπροфитис отоп отмусthpion hen naicani Καω ππος αε ενείτι έ-Боли шиюльо цбоиπαρθ[ε]πος γως γιχεπ отмнщ рі фарот й-AMOC PWC PIZEN OFI αε ετέїні нас єботи ппескещфері тнpor ион эх рехэп попюх пні мпетеппотс ецору пем петепка+ ечтотхнотт ріпа пте пісахі мощі атопе тарпо Πφοοτ ταρ ατίπι έβοτ(η) йпютро пранпароспос ете фы пе пісыма япароспикон йте Апароспос пем тесфухн йеуновин etoi ñotai ném notéрнот.

 $^{*}A$ Discourse which our thrice-blessed Father Abba Theodosius, the Archbishop of Rakoti and the Confessor¹ × (p. 1) who put on Christ, delivered. And he delivered it touching the Assumption of the Lady of us all, the pure Mother of God, Mary, which is the sixteenth day of the month Mesôrê; beginning from the Dispensation of Christ unto the End of this Holy Virgin and her pure Assumption. And he delivered this Discourse in his last year, wherein he was to fall asleep. In the Peace of God! Amen.

Today is fulfilled the prophecy of the singer, David, which saith:² "They shall bring in unto the *King × (p. 2) virgins behind her: they shall bring in unto him all her companions also."

Verily, O our Father the Prophet, there is a mystery in this saying. Thou sayest: "They shall bring in unto the King virgins," implying a multitude; "behind her," implying one: "they shall bring in unto her all her companions also,"

Moreover he³ saith: "Give me your devout attention and your heedful understanding, that the discourse may proceed without check. For today they bring in unto the King virgins, that is the virgin body of the Virgin and her very Soul, both together."

I Theodosius I, Patriarch of Alexandria 535-567 A.D., was banished by Justinian in 538 A.D. (see Hist. of the Patr., ed. Evetts, pp. 191 ff.).

2 Ps. XLV, 15. 3 ? Theodosius.

 (1) Pp. (Ао), й (= Robinson, р. 102⁹⁻²⁸ гим птаотшие to тшотні ма)). *Recto* 1.9 пієпер тнрот: R. 102¹² omits тнрот. *Verso* 1.4 йгапрец-: R. 102²⁰⁻²¹ йотрец—.

1. 24 naoponoc: R. 102²⁶ adds nte nawor.

(2) Pp. (\overline{MR}), \overline{MR} (= Robinson, p. 104¹⁸-106¹⁰ asing gapwor to etapeten).

Recto 1. 12 ппіредишот: R. 104²¹ ппіредишотт.

1. 21-ñyzy: R. 104²⁵ enyzy:.

Verso 1.8 retent: R. 1063 ntetent.

1.9 мн съноте sic: R. 1064 мн ссънотт.

ll. 17-21 пснот півеп [та]р пащирі отог [пщ]ирі йф7 Беп отмев[мні]: R. 1067 omits all after півеп.

(3) Pp. ($\overline{M}\overline{\Theta}$), \overline{n} (= Robinson, p. 108²⁰-110¹³ eleveral to acennot).

Recto 1. 5 na Ain: R. 10822 omits.

1.9 noandoduc: R. 10824 omits superfluous A.

1. 21 M& AROT : R. 110¹ M& HENROT.

Verso II. 3 f. mornoy: R. 1104 omits m-.

1. 4 ñeneo : R. 1104 eneneo.

II. 7 f. npocerx H MARS pht: R. 1106 omits and pht.

1.9 cabbawo (one & added above the line): R. 1106 cabawt.

1. II емманотях: R. 110⁷ еманотих.

1. 14 μαροτωπ: R. 110⁸ μαροτοτωπ.

1. 16 ñte tek: R. 1109 ñte nek.

1. 28 acn(rot): R. 110¹³ acenrot.

(4) Pp. ($\overline{n}\overline{\Theta}$), \overline{z} (= Robinson, p. 116⁶⁻²⁵ ben отсемпн to not pwm).

Recto 1. 1 CEMM1: R. 116⁶ CEMMH.

1. 2 ñωλι: R. 1167 επωλι.

1. 5 OTOWOTTEC: R. 1168 OTOWOTTC.

Verso 1. 2 IWATTIM: R. 11616 IWARIM.

1. 8 πnetenhedder: R. 11619 πnetenhad.

1. 20 tennaary: R. 11622 etennaary.

E. An Encomium on the Virgin.

Parchment. Three fragments (Cairo, no. 10, 10^{Add}) from one MS. Frags. 1-2 are two leaves forming a single sheet but not consecutive: the page or folio numbers are lost. Frag. 3 comprises the remains of a similar sheet of which the left-hand leaf is represented only by a small and illegible fragment (not reproduced): much of the outer portion of the right-hand leaf, which is numbered on the verso $\overline{\lambda}$, is lost owing to decay. Possibly other fragments of this MS. may be identified at Leipzig or elsewhere.

The page measures 33×27 cm., the written column 27×16 cm. There are guide-lines to every alternate line of the text: the stop \ast (red) is ordinarily used, but \varkappa and \bigotimes occur once each. The hand, a large, regular, square uncial (see Plate IV B), resembles the hand of Hyvernat, *Album*, Plate xxxvII (x century).

In Frags. 1-2 various Old Testament worthies—Elias, Moses (?), Judith, Gideon—are invoked: the contents of Frag. 3 are not altogether clear owing to its damaged condition. Though in all the Virgin is lauded, certain indications (see Frag. 1, *recto*, ll. 24 ff.) suggest that the work was at least formally a Panegyric on the Nativity.

TEXTS RELATING TO THE VIRGIN

Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 10).	
Οπηροφητ[ης ώμης οτος οτ-	[]к [] ро
ρεςτελώ [οτος οτμαρττ-	[]ероц + отог
ρος οη πε .[[]. g. к упът оп
δατεμ παχαβ[[].
5 μμος τπολ[ις	5 [] мъбнтнс йпът
Οτθατματοτρη[ος πε ετας-	[]уст мпігмот п хс
τοτηος πωή[ρι πτχηρα	[]уст мберт мъ
ёводбеп пн еф[мшотт	[]ос ты котхі
Отрецщапщо п[е пте	[то]твнотт ац-
10 пюрфапос пе [беп піснот м-	10 [с]ђрні ё пімшот е-
πιεάωπ	[овиобд и]еч ивтуски ципио-
Οτρεςιμωτ εάολ [πεμςι ετας-	[Р]еи ийойн цфмет-
Βωτεά ππιτατί [πτε π ος	[]ете инуоос пе ех-
Οτρεςщορщер η[ε πι1]μα [n]ερ-	Α[1]
15 μωοτιμι πτε Ηααλι	15 Οτος πιλωοτ μεπ ετεμματ
Εικαχος σε οτ εθλε οτρωμι	ατολοχ μα εβοτη έ φοοτ
εςεκ χρωμ έλολδεκ τφε	Φμετρωμι σε άςσιμμς βεη παι
πιικατ έτεςοτ-	μωοτ ετρολχ ατηαςτ τη-
шу	рот е еммапотнд + Отор сеон
20 Отог оп пімшот йпінат ётец-	20 апистос пем потщнри ща ё-
отщу [па]і тнрот ёре паі рш-	Ботп ё Апат п[е]м ща епер п-
мі пънтс ² семпула птептеп-	те пиепер
2017 [же пац]пат е ф7	Άλη εω ω ιοτωιτ []. πτε ch-
Дмот донп[оп мф]оот + птекер-	qi ben πιηπα θ[η ετας]ωλι πρητς
25 Μεθρε ΜΠ.[ñbh]τς + Χε ΠΔι	25 πταφε η[τε ολοφερ]ημς + ώμη ñ-
κοτχι Αμ[Ηρι ΜΛΔ]ριδ Μδζς	τεπατ ε θ[η ετας]ωλι ποτπο-
Μφοοτ + Π[]ετζαχι Πε-	λεμος εμ[ολβε]η πκα-
Μδκ ΑΠδτ Πιβεή Πε οτδι Πδι	21
οτδι Πε Οτος Π.τ	Νθο αε + αρε[ωλι] πταφε ποτρω-
30 пе Стадфищ ап отъе етадщи£7 а(п) отатфищ тар пе + отог от- ¹ sic. ² йьнтс, MS.	30 мі потыт отог отдаос пот- ыт пе ёт арепагмец Дмн Апот птепат є маріа ес-

*A prophet¹ [in truth and a] teacher [and a witness] also, [who...] before Ahab [...] him, the city [...]; a worker of miracles [who] raised up from the dead [the widow's] son; a nourisher of orphans [in the time of] dearth; a smiter [with the sword, who] slew the enemies [of the Lord]; a destroyer of the altars of Baal. What shall I say of a man who brought down fire from Heaven at what time he would ? And again, water at what time he would ? All these things which were in the power of this man deserve our belief that he used to see God.

Come, then, today that thou mayest witness the [wonder ? which hath come to pass thereon], namely the birth today of this little child of Mary, [come unto Him] Who spake with thee each several time, and ...; Who suffereth not division nor change, for He is indivisible and un[changing].

*...(l. 5) disciple of this [man...], who received the salt, ² Christ. [Come, to behold the ?] new Mary... this little...purified, he [cast...] into the waters which [were bitter³...], that is, the peoples who [were steeped] in the bitterness of [unbelief] and the impurity of sin; and those waters have become sweet unto this day. And mankind hath received baptism in these sweet waters, and believed all upon Emmanuel, and hath been faithful together with their children unto this time and for ever and ever.

Come thou also, O Judith, [wielder ?] of the sword through the spirit-thou who didst cut off therewith the head of Holofernes; come, that thou mayest see her who cut off a war from the earth. Thou didst cut off the head of a single man, and it was a single people which thou didst deliver. Come that thou mayest behold Mary, who...

1 The presence of Elijah, as of other Old Testament worthies (see below), is here invoked. 2 sic.

3 Presumably the reference is to Exodus xy, 23 ff., and the personage invoked is Moses.

× Recto

× Verso

Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 10).

Ισιμώς......[ρεμι ω ομ ετ[άσ]μας φτ ας ματ έρος οτος αε ποος.. πε πιαπτελος πτε πιπιμτ ποοσ-

5 m

- Ш τεδεωπ πιρεσερδιακριπιπ εθθε οτ ακερπιραζιπ άπότ εστοτπος άποκ πεωτηρ άπιελ πιλαος ππαщτηαρθι
- 10 גובףבדות ב סו הסדאוותו סדסף געשטתו
 - Α πικαταρακτης πτε τφε οτωπ ατιμοτό ποτμοτησωοτ έαεπ οτμα ποτωτ + щατε πι-
- 15 одап йсорт мог ймадату йтекмог йотдакапн ймшо[т й-Бнтч
 - Пененсыс акерётін япіёна[птіон > отор а пімотношо[т-
- 20 тсе пкърі тнру + мпеці ехен пісорт + щатекемі хе ан Хнахемхом Бен піподемос

Арнот етакщшпі гшк потримі лпрофнтис +

- 25 Άρμον έτακςαχι εω[κ] πφρητ ñαστια + φιωτ ππχς + φαι έταςχος + χε ςπμον επεςμτ + πφρητ πογμονήεωον έχεη ονсорт
- 30 Νοοη ποτ πε πιμογπεωογ + μαριά εως τε¹ πιςορτ + τειεδι πατοωλεδ

¹ $M\epsilon$, *MS*. (apparently).

[]. аре пісорт е]ркадарос [п]теціші свод арещап пімотпешот ї ехшц фаі пе йфрн4 п4щедет й-

- 5 мні маріа + фреві патошлев ет а фф ї егрні ехфс еволбе(п) тфе + мпесбісі алла асеротот прото
- Өлт те маріа ётасферщ пес-
- 10 кднма ёвод ща фюм + отог песмотда ща фіаро + отог песьнікі атгийс праптиот ете піфарісеос пе пн еташ ймос ае апоп пе полсі йпіда-
- 15 ος εαςροήςου απεραφουω]ης έμολ + ειτεπ τχομ μφτ εταφερ5μιμι έυος

H[e] cnorns on armay nease ag-

- 20 קונו אֿצר הבנסדדתף בֿצָסדב אוששוות דאססי אדר הואולה-חסב
- Олі те маріа ёт а піщщни тирот гид ё ратс + атаіс потри ё-25 жиот тирот
 - Өлі те Трампос + ёре піхрым инот ёвод пънту + отаткарпос те + же отпарбепос те адда аст мпескарпос етгодж
- 30 пнс пус :-Пехас йхе †параводи + хе а пищщни тиров ошов ё повёрнов

*Recto

×Verso

O Gideon,² the questioner, wherefore didst thou tempt the Lord, Who raised thee up to be a savior of Israel, the people of stiff necks, and didst ask to be given a sign? And it was done. The torrents of heaven

 \times ...(l. 2) O thou who didst give birth to God...the Angel of the great council.¹

were opened: dew was poured upon a single spot, until the wool of a fleece was filled with it, so that thou didst fill a basin of water therewith. Afterwards thou didst ask for the contrary; and the dew watered the whole ground, but did not come upon the fleece, that thou mightest know whether thou wouldest find strength in the war.—Unless³ (it were that) thou also didst become a man of prophecy; unless thou also didst say like David, the forefather of the Christ, who said, "He shall come down like dew upon a fleece."⁴ He, the Lord, was the dew, Mary herself was the fleece, the ewe lamb without blemish.

... *the fleece was pure that he might wash (?) when the dews should come upon it. This (the fleece) is like the true bride, Mary, the ewe-lamb without stain, upon whom God came down from Heaven. She travailed not, but rather rejoiced. This is Mary who stretched forth her branches unto the sea and her boughs unto the river,⁵ and her shade covered mountains, that is, the Pharisees—they who say, "We are the chief of the people." When she covered them, they were obscured through the power of God which overshadowed her. Her roots also filled the land: her fruit was exalted more than all the trees of Libanus. This is Mary, unto whose feet came all the trees, making her queen over all of them.⁶ She is the bramble,⁷ from which cometh fire,—fruitless in that she is virgin; yet she giveth her sweet fruit, Jesus the Christ.

The parable saith: "All the trees gathered themselves together..."⁸

- 1 Cp. No. v, fo. 132^b, ll. 8 f. and note on p. 26.
- 2 For what follows cp. Judges v1, 36 ff.

, 36 ff. 6 See Judges 1X, 8 ff. ion "Wherefore didst 7 ib.

3 "Unless" resumes the question "Wherefore didst thou..."

4 Psalm LXXII, 6.

8 ib. Cp. generally Methodius, Conviv., x, 2 ff.

5 Cp. id. LXXX, 11.

TEXTS RELATING TO THE VIRGIN

Frag. 3 (Cairo, no. 10 ^{Add}).	
рш. [,]е ебрні ё [2]ъдопн пібеп е[тщ]ото ймшот ебрні 2017 йпесотоі ё пепмедос м- підіаводос 2017 гіпім [е]пецбад 5 сром ппецвотрі щатесш(мк?)	флі етадоро е псада[п]ас адиді птедафе біхид [Бе]п Ш іереміас пім петадщид п- Ш іереміас пім петадщид п-
мпедког кп.[] м- мод фн ет[ощг ёрод[рw- мг пгбеп пън[тд	5 глнм адфирх повавтлип Илм пет[а]дтёт ¹ [аде]рехмалитет- тп] .]е ётадщо-
10 Отог пат рн4 ас[шда птафе м- пгаракшп Хю[ріс снуг гі мерег отог ас4 мпібр[о]im ñcon 10 е]фроъхат евод]шот ёђрні ё .]ni ñфоц йфоц ап .]
тнру маллоп ъе ас[15 Отор фн ётаут пас мп[іамарі щатесоро іс гнппе [мфоот уталнотт ёхеп песор[о е фн ета-? усшві еботп ёхшс к[ршс естфі ё ршу от[ор ес-]e[]א הסיסח חולפח אב ג [פ[]א הסיסח חולפח אב ג שאו ח]פ חוכאשו פֿדאקפטכאטש סיסטן אקשטחו האדרח אח- חאי פֿ] חפקעסי אַקטאיל הסי- שאן היסישד פּקאאא פּלא
20 οτωμτ πλοσ σε ñθο[κ ημηρι μ- φ7 Ις 7κεμδ[ριδ] δςΐηι πηε[ς	ец]мер прмот пем мед- 20 мні] [Флі пе п]сахі йпот фн етсахі пемак п]пат піве[п й]фрн4
пем п.[][отог е.[25 мос[отшот[].[].[]сьжі й]ете фы 25]ї щърбк
Огоо + пем[Ашрот[оос м.[] піщ ћ]]рі єтац-]падог
30 жы ац[ма- ріа Фаі пе папот Тк[.]δτεοτ 30]¤[.] ποζεμ] ¹ sic. apparently.

*...down to all pleasures which vaunt themselves. She advanced against the members of the Devil, she * *Recto* laid slumber upon his eyes, sleep upon his eyelids until she ravaged (?) his field.... (l. 10) And so she cut off the head of the dragon without sword or lance, and gave the victory...all, nay rather she...

And He who gave her power to conquer, lo, today is exalted upon her triumph (?)...exulting over her... as she kisses His mouth and worships Him saying, 'Thou art the Son of God.' Lo, Mary also brought her... (l. 32) This is my God...*He who has conquered Satan and cut his head from off him by humility without sword or lance.

O Jeremias, Who is He who laid waste Jerusalem and spoiled Babylon?¹ Who is He Who...when He made captive...(l. 15) This is the Word Which became Flesh and dwelt among us and we beheld His glory as of the Only Son, perfect, full of grace and truth.² This is the Word of the Lord Which spake with thee at all times, as [a man] speaketh with [his friend?]...

1 Cp. Jeremiah LI, 55.

2 Cp. John 1, 14.

× Verso

IX. THEODOSIUS

Encomium on the Archangel Michael.

Three fragments from as many different Mss.

Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 32), parchment, comprises two consecutive leaves (each 36×29.5 cm.) forming the central sheet in a quire. These are numbered $-[\bar{n}]$, $-\bar{i}$ respectively.¹ The condition of the first leaf is extremely bad and reading is correspondingly difficult. The hand is a well-formed, medium-sized uncial, probably of the later tenth or eleventh century. No stops are visible. A vertical guide-line is ruled on the left of the column, and horizontal guide-lines at unequal intervals in the body of the text.

The text corresponds only very generally with the published Bohairic version,² where the paragraphs are differently arranged, and is far nearer related to the Sahidic.³ Hence it appears that there were at least two Bohairic recensions of this work.

Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 32^{Add} i) is a paper leaf, numbered — $\overline{\mathbf{Re}}$, and measuring 25×15 cm. (column, 19×10.7 cm.). No stops are used. For the hand (Plate XXIV A) cp. Zoëga's Class VIII n., XXXI,⁴ or better Brit. Mus. Or. no. 7021.⁵ The text, which is in the Sahidic dialect, corresponds generally but not exactly with the published Sahidic version.⁶

Frag. 3 (Cairo, no. 32^{Add} ii), parchment, is a fragment (14×23 cm.) from a leaf with a written column 17.5 cm. wide. The peculiar angular hand (see Plate X B, ii) is the same as the hand of No. xxxv, F. 3. The only stop used is –. The text corresponds generally with the published Bohairic version,⁷ though here again the relation to the Sahidic is closer.⁸

Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 32).

[••••]	€v[.]&enni oc
ernor[†	•		•]едн[]ево
esibi u[•	•	•]тн [сө]отав са
[.]nwor	пшот	. 2	•[.	.]e. apax e-

5 [£]ολ μηώοτ μφετ[..]ςι αλλα [.]ζ....¹ [μ]ωοτ

ΦΗ έτοι πχαχι ε φΗ εταφθαμιου ε[θ-Δε φαι χε τπον επεριμαι ε πιαρχη[απτελος μιχαμλ χε πθου α τηρ[....]αμ-

- своу] биен [иос] оді енесни.
 гоборого[10...] ероди ероди ... й
 свебодо[10...] ероди ероди ... й
 свебодо[10...] ероди ероди ... й
- 15 αφαμαρί [εροφ] αφοση[2φ] μπεφ Χαφ [εφοφ] διακη ηικαρί μπεφ χαφ [εφοφ] διακη ηικαρί μπεφ

λλην ς[срнол]1 εθητά σε σάδιτά ε 4γρωμ το τροποδ ρ[ε]u οιχόρου ...

20 070[2] ceapez epog [m]a niezoor nie ninimt [nga]n ... [..].. e etac...

¹ Read ? мфн ет[ачер]згаваллт й-.

I No doubt the numeration was by pages (not folios). The quire would then have contained eight leaves or sixteen pages.

2 Budge, S. Michael the Archangel, pp. 6 ff.: see references in the margin of the translation below, indicated by the symbol 'Boh.' [ਸ]

Сытем анок. 4[....]о...... патлос эе [.... апос]толос . [еджи и[мос] \$[е...]. ипсатап[ас адтнее имог .[...].. еботи имог дже

- 5 ... ерод иже п[еи]сштир пачавос едж]ш ммо[с] ... же маще пан са м[еирни псатапас
- 10 мост лпенченос отор йте пісьхі .[щы прото марентасьоп еррні ехе[п пірецоро пірецоїхдом еттаінотт піархначчедос міханд фаі етацхи .[.? тотен йф0[0]т йтрапега еттаінот[т
- 15 πτε πιπιμή πιμωι ετφοριμ πωπ ελολ ώφοον μεπ πιφμονι πεω πικωρι κωτά πιονωρεωρτι ποος πεπος παι πχς ονπονή πονωτ πε ονός πονωτ [π]ε ονωετονρο πονωτ
- 20 τε εсщоп βε[n] †τριας εθοταβ έτοι πομοστείος μ[α ε]πες

3 Budge, *Misc. Copt. Texts*, pp. 327 ff.: see marginal references distinguished by the symbol 'Sah.'

- 4 Zoëga, Cat., Pl. VII.
- 5 See Budge, Misc. Copt. Texts, Pl. xxv.

6 *id.*, pp. 388 f.

- 7 Budge, S. Michael, pp. 4323-442, 4413-21.
- 8 id., Misc. Copt. Texts, pp. 390 f.

ENCOMIUM ON THE ARCHANGEL MICHAEL

21xen ni[ka]21 .. e[..] ... 221 ncapz naep chor an neu[..].... t etyw-07

- 25 Длла хпахос пні ш [па]щфир хе ісхе πιδιάβολος ςω[ng] πε εθθε οτ ππιπατ ет а панчелос n[т]е ф7 атори ера-TOT MNEMBO $MN[\sigma]c$... Rata phf etcDH[03]t Den u[z]ww uimp
- 30 Наш при ац[...]х.... етотпщ+ отор x[.....а]цеп . а мпетриот [п-] IWE o[. eyco]ng

Чхю ммос емі. тубієща ... пт[е arrehoc [. . .] . or aoro. эп пе

- Anon De gun ù n[an]enpat guc enëmi ze -нхави финни им[ха]ын эн финно «το το μορ ιμως ιμω[qn]οσα το και το και
- \$\$ two nay [..] Xa enorum ebox 25 Ben niaradoc e[t nc]ecentutor naay [nхе піархнантело[с] сботав міханд αλλα πεχακ χε ισχε [ογ]αρχωπ¹ μβασιλιкоп пе петоще [ер]оп пе ефрепериа-
- тасхи щатотоше[м] ппщори ероп 30 Ны стог ппщ сводьеп тахди мпот-DO NEM NEGADXHC[T]DATHROC MIXAнλ мепенсыс птепотартен ñcwот ката фрн статерщори пхос2

1 sic, for apicton (cp. the Sahidic).

² The Sah. shows that a line has here dropped out of the text.

*... (They who are in Heaven hold festival because there hath been cast) out from them he who slandered (?) them-he who was the enemy of Him who created him. For this cause we (? they) hold festival in honor of the Archangel Michael, because it was he ... who conquered and humbled the proud one... speedily. And when he had brought him low, he cast him forth ... (l. 4)... he came down and mastered him and bound him in chains which may not be loosed. Nor...did he leave him bound upon the earth; but it is written¹ concerning him that [he cast him into] the lake which is full of fire and (there) he is kept until the day of the Great Judgment. [For if he (the Devil) had remained] upon the earth no flesh would have escaped his evil...

But thou wilt say unto me, friend: "If the Devil was bound, why, when the Angels of God stood in the presence of the Lord, as it is written in the Book of Job,² (and) in what manner did he... and how did he bring evil upon Job, since he was bound?" He saith...

*Harken and I [will inform thee...] Paul the...Apostle saith³ "The servant of Satan buffeteth me..." Our good Savior spake (?) unto him saying: "Get thee behind me, Satan."⁴

But now we will not linger over this story (lit. the word) nor spend long time in speaking of him who hateth our race: †let what has been said suffice (?). Rather let us return unto the Conqueror, the honored wearer of the crown, the Archangel Michael, who hath prepared (?) for us today the glorious table of the great festival which is spread for us today in the heavens and upon the earth according to the commandment, our Lord Jesus the Christ Himself, (Who is) one God, and one Lord, and one Kingdom existent in the Holy Trinity which is consubstantial for ever.

Now as for us, O my beloved, since we know how great a potentate is the great Archangel, let us rejoice with him whom God hath glorified; [let us] eat of the good things which the holy Archangel Michael hath prepared for us. But thou wilt say: "Since it is a royal banquet, it befits us to hold back until they are summoned before us, who are the nobles of the Palace of the King and of his Chief Captain Michael. Afterwards let us follow them." (It is well spoken; for) as was said above,

1 See Rev. xx, 1 ff., 10. 2 See Job 1, 6.

3 See ii Cor. XII, 7. 4 Matth. IV, 10 (confused with Mark VIII, 33). $\times Recto = Sah.$ p. 327; Boh. p. IO

t=Sah. p. 328

× Verso

 $\dagger = Sah. p. 329$

t=Sah. p. 330; Boh. p. 11

w nam]enpat w[a]pe moehio vap oici ονο]ο μαιςωοντεη αλλα ας.επι ονаро]нпот псыг ic піміща аткни ё ще е] паристоп пте міханд а..... се

- .]07 5
- Иали пе пища етатерщорп прытей CWT[e]M BEN ONTROOHY ANOR THATAπωτεπ

азан пен абех

- 10 пем сно пецинрі пем епшх ием мафотсала пем пше пем абраам
- 15 NEM ICAR NEM IARWA пем ішснф пецщирі пем мотснс πεμ αρωπ
- 20 пем юсот йте патй redewn Aapar [cam] wwn ιε[φθ]αιε σατις πο[τ]ρο πεμ сολω- $M[\omega n]$ печширі $n[\epsilon]$ м єсекі ac^1 піотршот помні
- 25 Исалас пем гере[мга]с пем есекину иет эрину и[ш]офилис иет πιτ πατιος πεμ [Η]λιας πεμ ελιςεος липш типроф[н]тип
 - Захаргас пготны пем голппнс пеущн-
- 30 рі пем пий напостолос пем стефапос піархналавши пем стмеши піреууо подну цемні цем цімуртэрос тироэ

Абог апок агсахі ё папікарі ммататот

αλλα εцимат ихе пос савашо ием 35

¹ есекин λ , MS.

ĩ

тытмы тиру пте піфноті .. [отыщ сорікот писсоп є фат-AH NTE MAPXH[an]ned[oc] EBOTAL M[1Xaнд ща папищ [.....]о. соотав пр[шми й-

- nkapi .eop[.....]amenor eole na[i 5 -o]фй кодэ пап ша[w]ф[wsis сбой йф[оот птае.. ероч
- Хе гила птаращи гы мф[о]от пем пн етращи ката исами лисофос содоμωπ1 10
 - Плнп Апаерш[о]рп мфірі ехеп фішт ифметрими тнрс фн ет (a) $\phi \phi \phi$ облиου κατα πευίπι πεμ τευρικωπ пениы азам пооч тар етог проти
- e that epoy [b]en nima npwteh ey-15 ог пщорп Бен ингремикаог итащена мфоот
 - Кап исже апок отречернови адда Апауви зохати рай заканы отатин ф
- xe χερε παιω[τ] εθοταλ χερε φι-20 wt nfmetpw[m]1 thpc nem n[21]0t евотай пн е[т]атщшпі пем [пн] етπδιμωπι
 - Азшап4 пац япаз т [п]раш еттом е пец-
- wor ben nai wa[..] nantwe gnaww 25 евой йфрнф по[т]он тачавос е пецшны этол итепраци пемак бык Реп им итар итач [и]фоол
- Hen nainopiaimi no[v]nappheia nappag
- -ก ны тый उठап эх реоповн 30 рони пе ет а ф7 ерпладии имоч pen negaix main amog .. orog ag-Magy chon ben neyini nem teygiкоп мн поок оп пе ёт о ф7 отор-35
- сарпі пак же отым сводьеп піщнп

1 sic (in error for navloc).

 \times Recto $\dagger =$ Sah. p.331=Boh.p.6 $\dagger = Boh. p. 8$

*O my beloved, humility exalteth and guideth (aright). But arise (?) and follow tme. Lo, the nobles have already gone in unto the banquet of Michael...

These are the nobles who have already taken their places. †Harken attentively and I will declare them unto you:-Adam and Abel, and Seth his son; Enoch, Methuselah, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Joseph his son; Moses, Aaron, and Joshua the son of Nun; Gideon, Barak, Samson, and Jephthah; David the King, and Solomon his son, and Hezekiah, the righteous Kings; Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel, the Prophets; the Three Holy (Children), Elias and Elisha the great Prophets; Zacharias the Priest with John his son and the Twelve Apostles; Stephen the Archdeacon, the righteous old man, the Priest Simeon, and all the Martyrs.

Why do I speak only of men of the earth? Nay, there are the Lord of Sabaoth and the *whole host of Heaven...[But I] desire to return again unto the Palace of the holy Archangel Michael, unto the great ones ... the holy men of earth that I may [inquire] of them concerning this great feast which is spread out for us today, that I may...it; to the end that today I also may "rejoice with them that do rejoice," according to the saying of the wise Solomon (sic).¹

1 i.e. S. Paul (Rom. XII, 15).

× Verso

ENCOMIUM ON THE ARCHANGEL MICHAEL

But I will commence my task with the Father of all mankind, with him whom God made after His likeness and His image, †our Father Adam. For he is the first whom I behold in the banquet hall, foremost amongst the men of earth...today. And although I am a sinner, yet I will pay him reverence with my tongue and say unto him: "Hail, my holy Father! Hail, Father of all mankind and of my holy Fathers who have been and who shall be." If I give him these three greetings which befit his glory at this festival, doubtless he will cry out like a good father to his son: "Come, let us rejoice with thee today at this great festival." And when I find boldness of speech before him, I will ask him: "My lord Father, art thou not he whom God fashioned with His own hands, whom He filled with (the glory of) His likeness and His image ? Art thou not he whom God commanded, saying: 'Eat of the trees...'"

Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 32^{Add}).

2005 адфеоот дипнотте мп пархантедос міханд е[1]та пехе доробеос дбеопестн хе тасш-

- 5 πε εις πποττε αςτωις ñ¹ μαρπ πωρώ γα παρ²χωπ σε α ππατ ιςωπε μπατοτθωκ ε τςεπασϊς ατω ατπωρις
- 10 ληετήος πακοτβιτω(η) προς πταειο μπαρχω(η) Ατω ατκω εςραϊ πηετραπεζα ππεςημτ κατα τετημοΐα ετλετκο-
- 15 φορεί 2007 2π οτελεω εсπριωστ ατάωκ ε τετπαζιε 2π οτποσ πραщε ατω πτεροτάωκ εξοτ(n) ε πτοποε άπαρχανικε-
- 20 Лос міханд атпартот Ехй петро ететха-

1 Supply Engul nim.

² p added above the line by a later hand.

ĸe

рістот мппотте етжы ммос же певемот щнп поттва пкшв псоп те(п-) Феоот пак ппхоеїс мп

5 παρχαυνελος ετογααβ μιχαμλ τε μπεκρογρωπ μπεκπα ατω μπεκωβιίκ ε πεπσλίλ αλλα ακποοτ παπ ή-

- 10 πεκλιττιμεπζετης 2π οτσηπε είτα ππήζαπαί αταί πτρηπη ατάωκ 2π οτσηπε ατοτωπ μπρρο μπετηϊ
- 15 ειθη ππεςπην ανπροςκαρτηρεί εασως λπαρχωη επ ονποσ πςπονώη πτερε πηι ώε Πονό πραщε ατω ατμοτε¹
- ο ήρωμε αταραρατοτ ατωιακοπει εροοτ επ οτποσ ποτροτ επχρία

1 9 added above the line by a later hand.

*...He glorified the God of the Archangel Michael. Then Dorotheos said to Theopiste: "My sister, lo God hath ordered (everything): let us prepare (the table) for the *archon*." For the time was come for them to go to the *Synaxis*; and they spread their great cushions to do honor to the *archon*. And they set the tables for the brethren according to the custom. (Then) they clothed themselves with white and glistening garments and went to the *Synaxis* in great joy. And when they were entered into the sanctuary of the Archangel Michael, they fell down upon their faces giving *thanks unto God and saying: "Thanks be unto thee ten thousand times. We glorify thee, O Lord and the holy Archangel Michael, because Thou hast not deprived us of Thy mercy and hast not forgotten our offering, but hast declared unto us Thy loving-kindness speedily." Then after these (words) they received the (Kiss of) Peace and returned in haste. They opened the door of their house unto the brethren and busied themselves about the *archon* with great zeal. And when the house was full of rejoicing, they filled (it) with people and rose up and ministered unto them in great gladness in (all their) wants...

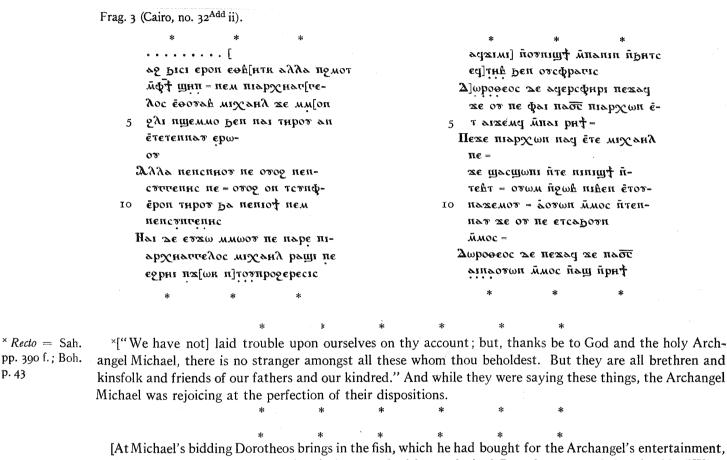
† Boh. p. 8

× Recto

× Verso

= Boh. p. 41²⁵f.;

Sah. p. 388 f.



 \times Verso = Sah. pp. 391 f.; Boh. p. 44

p. 43

and opens it.] *He found a great bag in it secured with a seal. And Dorotheos marveled and said: "What is this, my Lord, which I have so found ?" The archon-that is, Michael-said unto him: "Great fishes are wont to swallow up everything which they find. Open it, that we may see what is in it." And Dorotheos said: "My Lord, how shall I open it . . . "

ENCOMIA ON GABRIEL AND ELIAS

X. ENCOMIUM ON THE ARCHANGEL GABRIEL

Parchment. Single leaf (Cairo, no. 39), 26.2×20 cm., numbered $-\overline{R2}$. The hand is a good-sized, rounded uncial, perhaps the same as the hand of No. XII. The leaf has been exposed to rain and much of the text is indecipherable.

The text deals with the Archangel Gabriel and may be from the Encomium by Archelaus, extant in *Cod. Vat. Copt.* LIX. No doubt the leaf at Leipzig (*Cod. Tisch.* XXVII, 2¹), paged $\overline{i\zeta}$, $\overline{i\pi}$, belonged to the same MS. The following passages may lead to the identification of the fragment.

Recto 1-8:

44 б з дото Кн[1]чавл Датово зокотланхчаний кожт от 4щито змения окалон матари дото Автово гокотланхчания (датово зокотланхчания flao] это пати поти flao] это пата

Verso 1-6:

ארשטחו אב סח הבח [nx]in[op]סדאשד אחרכאד חִדַּבּ לבּגאלארנים באסישא חבין הבין אריטן ארין אריטן אריטן אריטן אריט איצויסד[סד] ב דאצט ... (14-17.) אין באסיח האב סד הבאשארו האקסאדטר אינטן באסין אינטאין באשטיד ...

1 See Leipoldt, ap. Vollers, Kat., p. 416.

XI. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM

Encomium on the Prophet Elias.

Parchment. One leaf (Cairo, no. 53), 34×23.5 cm. The written column measures 28×17 cm. There are horizontal guide-lines to every second line of the text and a vertical line on the left of the column. The only stops used are – and =. The hand, a somewhat large and thick uncial (see Plate XV A), is identical with the script of a leaf in the Rylands Library¹ also dealing with Elias and doubtless brought by Tattam from Dêr Abû Makâr.² Certainly the two leaves belonged to the same manuscript, from which (as their size, contents, and script indicate) three leaves at Leipzig are also derived.³

Our leaf contains the peroration and conclusion of the Encomium published by Budge⁴ from one of the Curzon MSS.; but the divergence of the two texts is considerable and raises once more the question of various recensions (see above, No. x, Introductory Note). The defective Curzon MS. (doubtless one of the Coptic volumes acquired by Curzon at Dêr es Suriân⁵) has a colophon stating that it was presented by Papa Stauros, a monk in the Laura of John (the Little) and a 'son' of the Cell Pehôout, to the Church of Saint Elias.⁶ Our fragment is of interest as containing an exhortation to 'hasten into the Oratory of the holy Elias'—doubtless a reference to the local Church of Elias, and therefore suggesting that the recension is 'Nitrian' in origin.

1 Crum, Cat., no. 438. 2 See Introduction, § 5.

3 Cod. Tisch. XXVIII, 2-4 (see Leipoldt, ap. Vollers, Kat., p. 418). 4 T.S.B.A. IX, Pt. ii.

5 See Curzon, Visits to Monasteries of the Levant (2nd edn.), pp. 82 f.

6 See the Coptic Mart. of Isaac of Tiphre, ed. Budge

(T.S.B.A. 1X, Pt. i, p. 38). The Cell Pehôout (Arabic, 'Behût') was probably identical with the Mon. of the Abyssinians, called by Makrizi (*Gesch. d. Copt.*, ed. Wüstenfeld, VII, § 70) the Mon. of Elias, and was a unit in the Laura of John the Little: see H.N.S. 1V, V, § 2.

...]е піатіос ндіас-ада[2а]прарма йхром

- אבן הוא שבה סאחסד בדהמסו [חסד-אםשא חדב המו הסכאסכ חד[בן-
- 5 щτ]επρωκο παλιστα πιχρίωπ πτε παιοαρμα πχρωπ- ΦΗ [ετ α πιατιος μλιας σρο έρος εσθε πεςτοσβο
- Сове фаг отп памепра4 м[арепмепре пітотво пте[прі-
- 10 репмепре пітото пте[по1оті сабод ймон мпітыбе[м фаі ете [п]ос едищаї псыц [еготе піпобі тнрот
- Тапапн маресщыпі пън[теп 15 – хе Тапапн щассывс е-
- жеп отмнщ йпой маре[пщшпі беп отбебіб йент же о[тбасіент бпотпі те йпетешот пібеп
- 20 Παρεπα]μοπι πτεριπις¹ πτε πιπαςτ ετςον]τωπ παι ρητ απ[π]α-.....].. σωλεβ πεμ π.... ε[.]ητ[0]νβο ππεπψ[ν]χη πε[μ πεπςωμα πεμ πεπςνη[εςις
- 25 Παρεη Απεποτοι έβοτη [ε πιετκτηριοή ήτε φη εθοτ[αδ πιάνιος ηλιάς φαι ετεη[εριμαι πφοοτ
 - Итеперфадии ерод [Беп баибт-
- 30 SH MANATIKON-S[e SINA ATEN- σ_{12} MOT \vec{e} Swar [NTE NOT INC NCC] ¹ sic (as in the Curzon Ms., p. prc).

ητεαχ]ω ποπ εκολ ππεη[η]ο[Αι πτεη]οιτεη εμημο μηε[ηςωμο] πεμ πεηςπος εθοτοκ ποι]ρητ τεπποερμοι μπιο[πιος

- 5 אלומכ חוסדמו חוסדמו אמנדמ דפק-מסא קומצוטל דנמוף [חוכם צלו חדס-דבה מה המאש דנים אמשום באור ב סדווה בדבההמדבאאס הסדמו אואסק אבה הבצססד אהבקבאל-
- 10 M]eVI
 - Бејп отафот ммот сих ката пејпхом теппаерпемпща й пісмјот йпіатіос ндіас фаі ётасјемпща ймоц йхе Тхнра
 - 15 ес]беп серевта пте Астъопта]
 - איז פרפששאו אשא צש חדפס אזאב איז פעשאיז פראיא אשא אאטט צודפא אולצט אדפ אואטיטכ אאואב אואפראדאר
 - 20 μεπ πιεμιστ πεμ τχομ [εςσοςι ητε πεηστ [οτος πεηπο]ττ στος πεης[ωτηρ πτς η]χς

Φδι] ετε εβολειτοτη [ε]ρε ώστ

- 25 הו]אפה הפא דטוס הואפה ה[פ]א הףס]כאשהארכוכ הואפה פאחאפהא הפא לאו]שד הפאשק- הפא הוחהם פטסדם]א האפקדטארט- סדסצ הס-אססדכוס]כ הפאשק
- зо Фпот пем] йснот півеп пем ща епер п]те піепер тнрот амни

×Recto

× Verso

*...the holy Elias, he...chariots of fire. For who among you can touch the fire of this world without being burned?—much less the fire of those chariots, over which the holy Elias had power because of his purity. For this cause therefore, my beloved, let us love purity, let us cast away from us uncleanness which the Lord abhors more than all (other) sins. Let love dwell among us; for love covereth a multitude of sins:¹ let us be humble of heart, for pride of heart is the root of all evil. Let us hold fast the foundation of the right faith:² so shall we [put away] defilement and...., purifying our souls and our bodies and our conscience. Let us hasten into the Oratory³ of that pure one, the holy Elias—he whom we [commemorate] today.⁴ Let us sing of him with spiritual songs, to the end that we may gain grace [from the Lord Jesus the Christ], "that He may forgive us our sins, and that we may make ourselves worthy of His pure Body and Blood. So shall we keep the feast of the holy Elias, each one according to his ability. For he requires nothing from us beyond [our power, but only bread whereon we shall feast together with him on the day of his Commemoration. If we give] a cup of cold water according to our power, we shall make ourselves worthy of the blessing of the holy Elias, even as the widow of Sarepta in Sidonia made herself worthy of it. She also will be with us to make us worthy thereof through the prayer of the holy Elias the Tishbite, by the grace and the high power of our Lord, and our God, and our Savior, Jesus the Christ;

Through Whom all glory and all honor and all worship befitteth Him together with the Father and the Holy Spirit, the Giver of Life and Consubstantial with Him—now and at all times and for ever and ever. Amen.

1 i Peter 1V, 8. 2 Cp. Hebr. x, 23? 3 On the Church of S. Elias in Shihêt see Introductory Note. 4 Tôbi 6.

MIRACLES OF SAINT GEORGE

XII. ENCOMIUM ON THE THREE CHILDREN

Parchment. Two leaves (Cairo, nos. 18, 18^{Add}) from one MS., measuring 29×21 and 29.5×21 cm. No page or folio numbers are distinguishable. Large fragments have been torn off the upper right and lower left corners of the second leaf. Both are stained a deep brown, having apparently been soaked in oil, and when found were caked with mud. The hand is a good-sized uncial probably of the tenth or eleventh century. The only stop used is a high – (black ink).

Other fragments of the same MS. are extant. (1) Two leaves (forming a single sheet), 29.5×23 cm., were in Sept. 1908 in the possession of a Spanish duke.¹ The first leaf begins: nook 2e apeg epwor [....] nermout etemn [..] or nemwor an e nth[pq]-2e ben niegoor et [ar]naoitor nwor-b[en or]mor Xuamor nook. "And thus Nebuchadnezzar took them to Babylon, put them in his treasury and sealed them with his seal (moorp). So he took Joakim and Jekonias to Babylon.² And when the King had regained his calm (epnnqun), he bade mann, his chief eunuch (cp. Dan. 1, 11), to bring him chosen royal youths from the Judaean captives. Thus were the Three Holy Children brought to him; and Nebuchadnezzar rejoiced at their disposition and knowledge. He bade give them of the perfumed wine which he himself drank and of the royal food; but they decided not to eat of such meat..."³ In the second leaf (numbered on the verso \bar{x}) the Devil urges the King to fashion his image (tergeiron new tergeiron) and set it up in the soundpass (? = Roi finps "the field of Ur")⁴ in the land of Babylon and command all men to worship it. The leaf ends: naipht a norpo tago. (2) Two leaves at Leipzig (Cod. Tisch. XXVII, 5, 6)⁵ belong to the same MS. On their relation to the new fragments see below.

In our Frag. 1 the Three refuse to worship the image of the King, who in his anger orders their punishment. The text begins—nergum tennaxorq ebol an, and ends—tote nab[0] $\infty 0 \ge 0$ or 2[ca]eni $nergum tennaxorq ebol an, and ends—tote nab[0] <math>\infty 0 \ge 0$ or 2[ca]eni $nergum tennaxorq ebol an, and ends—tote nab[0] <math>\infty 0 \ge 0$ or 2[ca]eni $nergum tennaxorq ebol an, and ends—tote nab[0] <math>\infty 0 \ge 0$ or 2[ca]eni $nergum tennaxorq ebol an, and ends—tote nab[0] <math>\infty 0 \ge 0$ or 2[ca]eni $nergum tennaxorq ebol an, and ends—tote nab[0] <math>\infty 0 \ge 0$ or 2[ca]eni $nergum tennaxorq ebol an, and ends—tote nab[0] <math>\infty 0 \ge 0$ or 2[ca]eni nergum tennaxorq ebol an, and ends exponent of the followed by Cod. Tisch. xxvII, 6, which begins exports to e and <math>nergem tennov. The following gloss incorporated in the text (verso ll. 16 ff.) may be quoted: nix = 0 and energem tennov ebol an entrop eonnov ebol and entrop entrop entrop eonnov ebol and entrop entrop eonnov ebol and entrop entro

The complete text is extant (Cod. Vat. Copt. LXIX, 5?). The volume to which these leaves belonged was perhaps deliberately discarded as a duplicate not worth repair.

XIII. MIRACLES OF SAINT GEORGE

Parchment. A single leaf (Cairo, no. 26) numbered $-\overline{pn}$, the last of quire \overline{z} (*sic*), and measuring 29 × 24 cm. There are no stops: vertical guide-lines are used to define the column, horizontal for every other line of the text. The hand is rounded and of good size, similar to that of No. XII, but n and m are so carelessly formed as to be often indistinguishable.

The Miracle recorded (the appearance of Saint George to a certain 'King,' perhaps Constantine, in order to secure the deposition of a Steward of the Precinct of Saint George) does not appear in the series of Nine Miracles of Saint George edited by Budge.⁶

The Bohairic texts relating to Saint George all appear to be derived from the Monasteries of Wadi'n Natrûn: the Bodleian MS. (dated 1293)⁷ belonged to "the Church of the Virgin in the Monastery of Baramûs," and may have been brought thence by Huntington;⁸ the Rylands MS. was formerly in Tattam's possession⁹ and therefore was very possibly derived from one of the Four Monasteries; the Vatican MS. (*Cod. Vat. Copt.* LXIX, 5) is part of Assemani's spoils from Dêr Abû Makâr. Does *Cod. Tisch.* XXVI, 29¹⁰ come from another part of the same MS.?

I am indebted for this information and for the analysis to W. E. Crum, who saw the original (described as being in "a large old Nitrian hand") at the British Museum. The present whereabouts of this fragment is unknown.

2 See ii Chron. xxxvi, 6f. 3 See Dan. 1, 3 ff.

4 For the site on which this image is thought to have stood see *Times*, May 14, 1923.

5 See Leipoldt, *l.c.*, p. 414.

6 S. George of Cappadocia, pp. 44 ff.

7 op. cit., pp. x, xi and Hyvernat, Album, p. 18.

8 See Introduction, § 5.

9 See Crum, Catalogue, no. 443.

10 See Leipoldt, l.c., p. 414.

(Cairo, no. 26.)	ph inc & nxc z
пес піатіос [26] темр- [тіос .]е потро []ецхм млос [хе]паі оіко- 5 [полос] фаі хе отні тар []его пе IC отмнщ пегоот Тотющ [ё е]п отхмпт ехмц ад [да .]истпент ефве Тмет-	ατςεμι πας εθέε πιοικοπο- πολος πτε Διαδικια ¹ ετ- ταμο μμος εθέε τεςμετ- αθπαι έδοτη έ πισμκι πεμ 5 πισωβ = Ετσω μμος σε τεπέμι ερ[ε σωβ πιβεη ετε φαι τρι πρητ πωοτ ψα φοοτ αλλα [μπεη-] ψςασι απ εθέε τμετψαμ-
 ΙΟ [ψαμ]ψε ιωώλοη ητε τοκ- λετιαπος Φποτ ωε ακιμαπτωηκ ήτο- ο] τι αλιοτί ηπιψοψτ ητοτη 15 Πμιτοτ ηκεοται φη ετε πιλαος ηαςοτης Ποτρο ωε εταγτωης αςί εβοτη έ πιτοπος έ ψληλ ασχιμι μπιλαος τηρς 	 10 ще їзωλοн ετφορχ εδολ 212εη πκαζι πηρη Φποτ σε πεπότ ά φτ οτορπκ щαροη ποτρεηςωτ 15 αριοτί ππιτκεοη κατα τεκ- μετςαδε Ποτρο σε αηταμε πιμημ πηρη πηη έτ α πιάτιος τεωρτιος χοτοτ παη 20 εσδε [π]ιοικοπομος δε(π)
 20 εσχουμτ εβολ βαχως βεπ ουρα- μι Χε αυχιμι που[0]υρο π- θμηι εσχηκ [εβ]ολ κα- 25 τα φ4 μφρη4 πααυτα 25 τα φ4 μφρη4 πααυτα βυος ε[τ]ασμληλ ασχεμ- ci¹ αυταμος τηρου ¹ αυγεμαι, MS. 	орасот- и 442[0] а- рипа- мети [а- пок Отого адотори сатоту пок адорот[щ] ша йлесни пем пизш[й адорот[щ] ша йлесни пем пизш[й 25 педапоонки отог ат- гит сбоден питопос рила- мета сдо- ри. ме. 21ту сбоден питопос ри. ме. У. ату отог атщен Бен Апо- лап пте. лап 1 sic, for Далика (?). Or is this От is this

× Recto

× Verso

 \dots^{\times} But the holy George [appeared] to the King¹...saying: "...this steward²...for, lo,...Behold, for many days I have desired [to bring] punishment upon him, but...because of the worship of idols of Diocletian. And now, when thou art arisen in the morning, take away the keys from him and give them to another one whom the people shall choose."

And when the King was arisen, he went into the *topos* to pray, and found all the people looking towards him with joy; because they had found a righteous King, perfect after God's own heart, like David and Solomon. And when he had prayed, he sat down; and they all showed him *and informed him concerning the steward of unrighteousness, telling him of his pitilessness towards the poor and needy, saying: "We know of what sort (?) are all the things which this man hath done unto this day, but we could not speak because of the idolatry which was spread abroad over the whole earth.³ But now, O our Lord, that God hath sent thee unto us as a deliverer, do justice according to thy wisdom."

And the King declared unto all the multitude those things which the holy George had spoken unto him concerning the steward in the vision. And he sent straightway and caused them to destroy his house and his garners; and they cast him out of the *topos*. And they made inquiry throughout all the city and found a man...⁴

I Perhaps Constantine.

2 A steward of the *topos* ('precinct') of S. George at Antioch is mentioned in the Miracles of S. George (Budge, S. George of Cappadocia, pp. 67, 74).

3 The meaning seems to be, "we do not accuse him

for his idolatry, since that was universal, but for his harshness."

4 The note in the right margin reads: "I pray (you) make mention of me, the poor one who wrote (this), the son of..."

THE MARTYRDOM OF THEODORE THE STRATELATES

XIV. THE MARTYRDOM OF JAMES THE PERSIAN

Parchment. Three complete leaves (Cairo, no. 51) from one MS., each 28×21 cm. Frag. 1 is the outermost sheet of quire \overline{v} , comprising two leaves paged respectively $\overline{\lambda v}$, $\overline{\lambda \Sigma}$ and $(\overline{M\zeta})$, \overline{MR} . The initial and final quire-headings are: \overline{v} —NSI—(Ornament)—NSI— $\overline{\lambda v}$, and \overline{MR} — \overline{MC} —(Ornament)— \overline{NZC} — \overline{v} . The first two quires therefore contained eight leaves each; the third, only six. Frag. 2 is paged — \underline{ZE} without other heading. The hand in all three leaves (see Plate X11 A) is the same rather rough script found in No. VIII c.

Identity of script, size, and contents proves that the following leaves belonged to the same MS.:—Cod. Tisch. XXVI, 15 (paged $-\overline{\mathbf{R}\mathbf{b}}$); XXVI, 16 (paged $-\overline{\mathbf{M}\mathbf{c}}$, and therefore immediately preceding the new-found leaf $(\overline{\mathbf{M}\mathbf{7}})$, $\overline{\mathbf{M}\mathbf{H}}$);¹ and XXVI, 2 (verso headed $\overline{\mathbf{n}}$ — $\overline{\mathbf{I}\mathbf{H}\mathbf{c}}$ —(Ornament)— $\mathbf{n}\overline{\mathbf{X}\mathbf{c}}$ — $[\overline{\mathbf{n}}]$).² Cod. Tisch. XXV, 4³ (recto headed $\overline{\mathbf{r}}$ — $\mathbf{n} \leq \mathbf{n}$ —(Ornament)— $\mathbf{n} \leq \mathbf{N}\mathbf{c}$), though part of the same work, comes from a different copy.

All these leaves belong to the Martyrdom of Saint James the Persian, the complete text of which is extant in Cod. Vat. Copt. LIX, 1, which was brought from the Monastery of Macarius by Assemani: the divergence of the fragments from this copy are so slight that neither copy nor collation is here given. The following table will show the correspondence between the fragments and the Vatican text:

(1) Pp. — \overline{Rh} , пімнщ адеркедетія... евсе же сесшоті = $Vat. pp. \overline{pzh}$ l. 14— \overline{pzo} l. 19.

(2) Pp. $-\overline{\lambda v}$, $-\overline{\lambda \Sigma}$, $-\overline{\tau eq}$ ade atcher ... etaquory we è nima $n - Vat. pp. \overline{pout} l. 20 - (\overline{poe}) l. 23.$

(3) Pp. $-\overline{\mathbf{MC}}$: nexwor may xe...arbunt we eb[or]n epog = $Vat. \overline{pn}$ l. 13-(\overline{pna}) l. 18.

(4) Pp. — MH: & MWT RHITHE... THOT SE SHOR 2W THEN = Vat. PRS 1. 18-PRE 1. 20.

(5) Pp. — Ле (Cod. Tisch. xxv, 4): с Эметотро пте пифиоти... (end of text illegible) = Vat. pn2 1. 27 pnc 1. 21.

(6) Pp. $-\overline{zh}$: ywt ūniyyhn...orog finsepyralin $\overline{e} = Vat. \overline{pnh} l. 33 - \overline{pq} l. 3.$

(7) Рр. — \overline{n} .: с. щте ... керми с птиру ... с пщири пе ппотршот пте питверос с аттич с. от \overline{n} лот [[ро = Vat. рчо – с.

XV. THE MARTYRDOM OF THEODORE THE STRATELATES

Parchment. A complete leaf and two fragments (Cairo, no. 49. i-iii) from a single MS. Frag. 1, measuring 27.5 \times 21 cm., has a written column of 23 \times 13 cm.: there is a vertical guide-line to the left of the column, but no apparent traces of horizontal ruling. Frag. 2 (27.5 \times 11 cm.) is the outer edge of a leaf; Frag. 3 is the middle portion of a sheet of two leaves measuring respectively 6×12.5 cm. and 10×20.5 cm. A fourth fragment, 6.5×22 cm., is the top of a leaf numbered on the verso $\overline{R_{2}}$, but comes from another MS. as the larger hand and wider column show. The minor fragments, though inconsiderable, are here published in the hope that their complements may be identified at Leipzig or elsewhere.

The script of Frags. 1-3 (see Plate XI B, and cp. Hyvernat, *Album*, Plate xx) is identical with the script of certain leaves at Leipzig, *Cod. Tisch.* xxvi, 28, 33, 34:⁴ all certainly belonged to one Ms., in which (be it noted) Frag. 1 immediately preceded *Cod. Tisch.* xxvi, 28, which begins, μφρμ[†] τωρ ετωκιμωπι μπολεμωρχος gizen πκωρι.

As Winstedt has pointed out,⁵ the version of Theodore's martyrdom thus represented was distinct from the versions of *Cod. Vat. Copt.* LXVI, 7, and of the other surviving fragments.

I strongly suspect that the considerable fragment at Turin⁶ (acquired by Drovetti almost certainly from the Monastery of Saint Macarius⁷), belonged to the same ms. as the new fragments and its fellows at Leipzig. If this is so, our first and second fragments would belong to the earlier part of the work (missing in the Turin ms.), while Frag. 3 (which belongs to the actual martyrdom of the saint) would fall in the lacuna marked by de Rossi, closely preceding p. 5 of the Turin ms. Frag. 4 is likely to have belonged to a collection of the Miracles of Theodore similar to that contained in *Cod. Vat. Copt.* LXVI, 194 ff.⁸

1 On the two Leipzig fragments see Leipoldt, *l.c.*, p. 411.

2 id., pp. 408 f. The text of this fragment is included in the portion of the Martyrdom published by von Lemm, *Iberica (Mém. de l'Acad....de S. Pétersbourg*, VIII Ser., VII, 6 ff.).

3 Leipoldt, l.c., p. 401 (but not there identified).

4 These have been published by Winstedt, Copt. Texts on S. Theodore, pp. 161 ff. 5 op. cit., pp. xxix f.

6 Published by de Rossi, Mem. della Accad. delle Scienze di Torino, Ser. 11, t. XLIII (1893), pp. 318 ff.

7 See Introduction, § 5.

8 Published in Acta Mart. Copt., pp. 182 ff.

Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 49).

- 1 αδ αγπαν έ ποτ της πχς πεμ πεγαντελος έθοταδ ετδ-21 ερατον = έρε πιμα τηρη οι πονωπι = αγερ204 έμα-
- 5 Щw=29ер йфрн† поъргдмшоът
 - Πιεωτηρ δε αφεοττώπ τεφαια έλολ - αφερεφράτιζι(n) ππεφεωμα τηρη ben
- игд идбод ероу бород йехэд ием ин<u>ии</u> еоолор - одфуг фрои үфлөл - ием ийны офрои үфлөл - ием ийны
- Χε σεμπομ τώ παςωτη σε-15 σσωρος ππερεργοτ =
- тыпк ё пщыі йтасахі немак = йтатамок є нн тирот сопащыпі ймок = ріпа йтекщыпі ёре пекрит
- 20 דמאַטָּרָאָד הדפּגפַטְאַרָשָּ הוזכברפּב הַבּוּ הומירשה בּפּ-המהבן = שַמדפּרסו מהואַ אסא הדב הוסטס - הדפּרפּטאָר-טָסוסאות ההומרמסטו הדב 25 סאביסטט ההושָר-
- 25 OMETO 081

илі ет лісевтытот пин едилмепріт - итотірі милоотющ

¹ Traces of a heading.

Τοτε αφεροτώ παε φη εοσταδ οεόαωρος = αε ποοκ πιμ παστ = αε τηατ εροκ έρε παι πιщτ πώοτ κωτ έροκ

- Πεχε πιςωτηρ πας χε άποκ πε ίπς πεκογρο-άποκ πε πιχλομ ήτε πη εθπαάμοπι ήτοτογ- πτογεράγω-
- וס אוזצבנסב בארו צוצבה הג-אח
 - ΠΗ ΚΪ́ΡΙ [μ]φμετι απ μπιέγοοτ έτακμωπι ηδητη = ακχα τοτκ έλολ έ φμοτ = έακ-
- 15 хос парреп ин етки $\frac{1}{2}$ ёрок хе амог пеагермартърос ры пе = йтамот ёхеп фра(n)ип $\overline{\chi c}$
 - арнот Апахімі го поткот-
- 20 жі ппаі патапн Беп пецвнма ётоі про1
 - Фнот же ю пасытп бебъюрос = севтытк гила йтекератынгдесбе ёхен па-

25 pan

5

Алкни ё сойт пак миекма пщши ёгрні беп піфноті агсбаг йпекрап гі піхшм й-

× Recto

[It came to pass that when the] *holy man saw the Lord Jesus the Christ with His holy Angels standing by Him, while the whole place was filled with light, he feared greatly and became as a dead man. But the Savior stretched forth His hand and signed (with the cross) his whole body in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. He took away his fear from him, and said unto him: "Take courage, Theodore My chosen one, be not afraid. Rise up that I may speak with thee and show thee all those things which shall befall thee, to the end that thou mayest be strong of heart and contend in the good contest, until thou shalt receive the crown of victory and inherit the good things of the Kingdom of Heaven which I have prepared for those who shall love Me and do My will."

× Verso

*Then the holy man Theodore answered: "Who art Thou, my Lord, that I see Thee with this great glory about Thee ?" The Savior said unto him: "I am Jesus, thy King: I am the crown of them that take in hand to contend for My Name's sake. Dost thou not remember the day when thou wast sick ? Thou didst escape death by saying in the presence of them who surrounded thee:¹ Would that I also had become a martyr, to die for the name of the Christ, if perchance I might find a little loving mercy at His dreadful judgmentseat.' But now, Theodore My chosen, prepare thyself to contend for My Name's sake. I have finished preparing for thee thy dwelling in the Heavens; I have written thy name in the Book of Life."

1 See Frag. 2 verso (ll. 15 ff.), which should precede this leaf.

THE MARTYRDOM OF THEODORE THE STRATELATES

Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 49).		
-]n1	z [
	nsHen	εω[
]nı	৯ ৩[
]. Ā	$\Pi n \Pi$
5]ром	5 ñt[
]	ne <u>u[</u>
	οταρεα]ρηι εθ-	Пуни т[
]теоти	τεπ τ[
]. піфра	κω π [
10]	10 NAOT IH[C NXC NAQMET E-
	tān pa[Δολ πτ[αμοτ εχεη πεκ-
]nabw-	ραπ έθ[οταβ μπεμ-
]tem.	oo no von niken ethen
]	ал төн
15]anac	15 Инпщ4 [2е пбрхшп пте 4по-
]d · · ·	yić es[km4 mmod
]n	n[
	eo0]226[]b1	.v[]ed[
]атащ	k [] n [
20]c	20 Натхи м[мос пе пем потерн-
	стра]тндатнс	ον = σε ο[ν πε παι ραπ
]ммок ñ	фаг па . [
]noicor	то]хиэхт
]ста птек-	тиел игта и[
25]ep nueuno24	25 Gravyog 26.[
	јощи кору	$\bar{\mathbf{e}}\mathbf{ho}\lambda = \mathbf{aqnas}[$
]θεοπωρος	фн соотар ё[
	κ]αλως ά τετε(π)	μεάποιπ δο[
	20 C	

[Theodore in his sickness cries out] \times ... (l. 10) my Lord Jesus the Christ, deliver me that I may die for \times Verso Thy holy Name in the presence of all them who are in this place." Now the great rulers of the city surrounding him.... (l. 20) They spake with one another, saying: "What is this Name...able...of this great...?" But when ... (plural) arrived..., that holy man saw...his vapor (sic)....

Frag. 3 (Cairo, no. 49).

6. 5 (Out	10, 10. 49	<i>.</i>						
Fo. 1	*	*	*	* * *				
]	Π πε2	ач хе [калш	ος ω]				
	πιαωρι	і мінь[ртърос]. <u></u>				
	Пı ф ёро	ж ñ[те пщнр	і Амні]				
	πφ7 π	нс пхс [фн о	etay-	Ε τα το]ονι δε μωπι αq-				
5 IE MIROCMOC E [NCW]				5 ερκελ]ετιπ εθροτθα-				
ñn1pegepno£[1				md Peu oul]boxoc od-				
	anor 1	ne 1116[]. anitoe				
	тафту	Хh[]ñĥe-				
	*	*	*	* * *				

* ... he said: "O mighty martyr,... to thee the Cross of the true Son of God, Jesus the Christ, Who came * Recto into the world to save sinners.¹ I am the...my soul..." * ... (l. 4) But when it was day, he (the * Verso Governor) ordered that they should fix him (Theodore) upon a wheel. He...

Fo. 2		*	*	*		*	*	*
		п1[] mences	хн
foyp[eu			фн етадора]тіп ппіршот по					
		non =				ui]noXy	отс йвении	ñ
	e L	Àyyaı ze	uuedņo[y	រាយយា		ñ1	ic ament er-	•
	5	ē tāje (Οτος πς[5		л ммшот ē-	
		२० फूम ह	ітачер пефг	p]ənsi			ne กิอุลก-	
		пъч Ото	og nagaw m	MOC			$\tilde{n}[$	
		пе хе п	anort mar	ฃс[ง≈เ]0 v (n)
		фн ет[а		•		*	*	*
	10	R0[
		*	*	*				

× Recto

*...(1.4) He lifted up his eyes to heaven and his (?)...unto Him Who had done good unto him. And he was saying: "My God, the Ineffable, Thou Who didst ...; * Thou Who didst break the gates and the × Verso iron bars² of [the house?] of Amenti..."

Frag. 4 (Cairo, no. 49). K2 πηδι ταλσο έτας εωτε[μ *м*]мос же амоі ёпаре петенішт ё фы асреі ебрні птотө]еохирос япы пе птедпат пот асер йфрн† ппір[ецερ]ωτεπ = μωο]ττ Οτο<u>ρ</u>[]... ūnai = 2... e ag-

× Recto * this healing." When she heard this, she fell down straightway, and became as one dead. And ... * saying: × Verso "Alas! If your father Theodore were here and saw you, ... here ... "

1 Cp. i Tim. 1, 15.

2 Cp. Psalm cv11, 16.

THE MARTYRDOM OF JUSTUS THE STRATELATES

XVI. THE MARTYRDOM OF JUSTUS THE STRATELATES

Parchment. Seven leaves or fragments from three Mss. (1) Frag. 1 (Cod. Tisch. XXIV, 14¹) is the upper half of an initial leaf, 21×25 cm., paged $-\overline{B}$, containing the title (in the usual ornamented framing of cablepattern) of the Martyrdoms of Justus, Apoli,² Theoclia, and Eusebius.³ Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 52), a leaf from which the outer edge has been torn, measures 31.2 cm. (complete height) \times 18.8 cm. (actual width): the column is 18.8 cm. wide. The verso is headed mc (center), as in Frag. 1. In both the hand is a large wellshaped uncial, probably of the x century (see Plate X A). (2) Frags. 3-4 (Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 19, 20⁴) are two consecutive leaves, paged $-\overline{p\pi k}$, $-\overline{p\pi k}$, now measuring 32×24 and 31×25 cm. respectively. The hand is a medium, rounded uncial (? late x or x1 century): capital letters have dotted ornament (usually) and flourishes: capital 0 and 6 frequently occur in the body of the column. Stops (red), * or >. In he right margin of Frag. 3 recto is a drawing of a bird on a conventional spray. (3) Frag. 5 (Cod. Tisch. xxv1, 36⁵), 28×17 cm., though probably contemporary with Frags. 3–4, can hardly belong to the same Ms.,⁶ differing as it does in size and style (e.g. stops have the form =): yet the use of capital O and C elsewhere than at the beginning of a paragraph may connect this with the foregoing two leaves. No page-number is visible. (4) Frags. 6–7. Two leaves (Cairo, no. 4), not consecutive⁷ but forming a single sheet, measure 28.5×21 cm.: the column is 23×13 cm. There are no page- or folio-numbers. The hand is a thick square uncial, carefully formed (Ix or x cent.): the only stop used is =. These leaves (of which the second is the conclusion of the whole Discourse) cannot belong to the same MS. as Frag. 5, since the two texts slightly overlap. The impress of an ornamental title-border on the verso of the second leaf shows that the Martyrdom of Justus was followed by another work (possibly the Martyrdom of Apoli) in the same volume. Palaeographically interesting is the cursive note (by a later hand) in the lower part of the same page (Plate XII B), where the peculiar Coptic letters are replaced by Greek equivalents. For another example of such transliteration cp. Crum, Coptic MSS. from the Fayyum, no. XLIII.

Justus is commemorated⁸ on Mechir (Amshir) 10. The saint was a magnate of Antioch,⁹ who greatly distinguished himself during the Persian Wars of Diocletian, taking prisoner Nicomedes the son of the Persian king (Frag. 1). The prince was entrusted to the charge of the Archbishop of Antioch, who perfidiously released him and swore falsely that the youth was dead.¹⁰ For this cause Diocletian began to persecute the Christians. Justus was absent in Persia at the outbreak of the Persecution and returned to find his son Apoli a prisoner. Thereupon he headed a revolt against Diocletian, but was bidden by Christ, who appeared to him in a vision, to abandon his attempt and to demand of the King that he should be sent to Egypt to be martyred. Justus then freed his slaves and gave away his property (Frag. 2). As he demanded, he was sent to Egypt to Armenius the governor of Alexandria, who dispatched Justus to Arianus at Antinoë, his wife Theoclia to Sai (Sais, Sâ), and his son Apoli to Pouasti (Bubastis).¹¹

At Antinoë Arianus was with difficulty induced to torture so distinguished a person as Justus, but finally inflicted the usual series of torments (Frags. 3–4). After vainly attempting to bribe the martyr, he crushes him to death with a mill-stone, and when he is restored to life by the intervention of Christ, orders him to be beheaded (Frag. 5). The body of the martyr was recovered by a 'faithful man' who placed it in a martyrium in the village of 'Tisi-djereht in P-halé,'¹² to the south of Antinoë (Frags. 6–7).

1 See Leipoldt, *ap.* Vollers, *Katalog*, p. 391; Crum, *P.S.B.A.*, XXIX, 291.

2 The Leipzig leaves from the Mart. of Apoli (*Cod. T.* XXIV, 4, 27: see below, No. XVII) are derived from this same MS.

3 I cannot say whether any or all of the Leipzig fragments relating to Eusebius (see Crum, *Rylands Catalogue*, no. 442) come from this Ms.

4 See Leipoldt, p. 392; Crum, p. 291.

5 See Leipoldt, p. 415; Crum, p. 291.

6 Unless indeed the volume was not uniform.

7 A single leaf or two leaves (the middle sheet in the quire) intervened between the two leaves at Cairo.

8 See P.O. x, 198, 264.

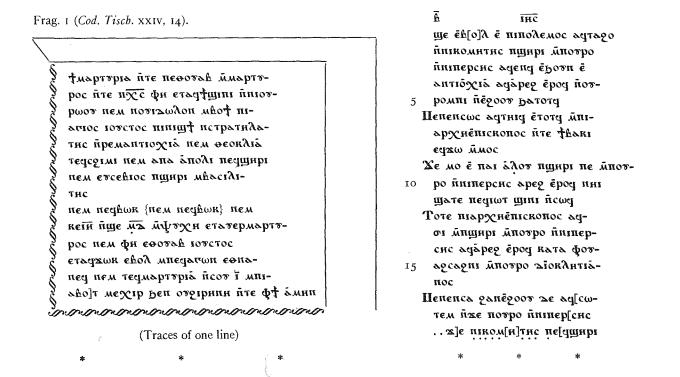
9 For the full story of Justus see the Ethiopic Acta Martyrum, ed. Pereira (C.S.C.O., Ser. Aeth., tom. xxviii), pp. 73 ff.; and Winstedt, Copt. Texts on S. Theodore, pp. 171 ff. 10 Winstedt, op. cit., pp. xvii ff., regards this incident as possibly historical.

11 Cp. No. XVII and Amélineau, Actes des Martyres, p. 177. For a summary of the Martyrdom of Theoclia see Synax., Bashans 11 (ed. Basset, pp. 1014 f.). 12 See Frag. 6, Note 2.

The personages named in the title are all figured in a large xv1 century wall-painting on the S. side of the Chapel of S. Michael in the Kasr at Dêr Abû Makâr.¹ They are also grouped together on a small parchment leaf from a liturgical book (Cairo, no. 99), the relevant passage being as follows:

]аподі пецщирі + [пем беок]дій тецсеімі + атбеі ератот йпембо йпотро Ацсахі пемшот йже пійсевнс + потро люкдитійнос + же пім етеркодіп (sic) ймштен + е ер отешв пара пен¹отищ + [ет]ацсьмі йтот апафа[сіс]² ацотшрпот егриі є тхшра йхимі + атерфоріп мпіхдом пабдим + йте тметмарттрос + піатіос васідітис + етсебнос пем макаріос + атер[фо]ріп йпіхдом йабдим [йте] тметмарттрос,

¹ Above nen- a contemporary (?) hand has written $\tau \in n$. ² sic, for anoquatic.



× (р. т)

*The Martyrdom of the pure Martyr of Christ, who put to shame the Kings and their foul idols, the boly Justus, the great General, the Man of Antioch; and of Theoclia, his wife, and of Apa Apoli, his son; and of Eusebius the son of Basilides; and of his servants and of eighteen thousand and forty-four souls besides, who were martyred with the pure one, Justus, who finished his good fight and his martyrdom on the tenth day of the month Mechir. In the Peace of God! Amen.

* p. 2 (he) *went forth to the war, he seized Nicomedes the son of the King of the Persians and brought him into Antioch and kept him prisoner in his power for a year of days. After that, he committed him to the Archbishop of the city, saying: "Take this lad, the son of the King of the Persians. Guard him for me until his father sends to seek for him."

Then the Archbishop took the son of the King of the Persians and guarded him according to the command of the King Diocletian. But after certain days the King of the Persians heard that Nicomedes his son...

THE MARTYRDOM OF JUSTUS THE STRATELATES

Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 52).

2 (C	airo, no. 52).	IHC
]np กิกอรงอา[าเน	nue]bebsof wa[yyou ze eb-
	йм]шот пем й†[].	ращі] хе бпок Тщоп [пембк
	печ]хог ечергыт ьеп фі-	Спеган тар акт ппекст[пархоп-
	ом пе оъ]ог псені ппеухрима	та ппірнкі пем тек[мефра-
5	agthito]v ebod ก็กเรคหา กем กเ-	5 mao nnixwh anor [ew tna-
	Хнра п]ем піорфапос єтбеп	оюнпот ёботп ё та[метот-
	† πολι]c	ро пта† ехштен "[пісмот
	Пагьнф ајдха буг иад Реи пгебоол	ñte πδιωτ ñtet[εησι мн
	евод]реп петептач тнрч	πηιάναθοη πτε η[αιωτ ben
10]щыпі пе сот ё	10 таметотро п[н ет аксев-
].πε	тытот ппн с[өмеі мпарап
	Henencwc Hen n]xinope nie-	Τωονη έερη[ι
	Σωρ ε ε]τι ετεπκοτ	ере піати[п
	ие енппе пот инс] пот оді ща	hor
15	рмол Реи одмод и]ет лауби-	15 Иперерг[07 Апащшпі пемак
	нд пем міханд етогі ё]ратот	ben [†Хюра ётеммат ет-
	са отипам пем сахаон]	отп[аоторик ёдоти ёрос
] πιςω-	Хаф[нпот
	тнр]. еес ка-	0 тог сы
2 0	n]си апа a-	20 птооті [маще пак єботп ща
	иоут педітны пем] беоку[19	п]лі отро [папомос ахос
	теуссімі патс]орп гар пе	пац
	newad]	Xe chai nhi è b[wteh mmoi(?)
	Олоб Реи фоли]ол у тіхану	ймат егрні [ехеп фрап йпа-
25	смоттеп ев]од мпеущвыт	25 or the nyc x[e othi nna-
	agowe ūnwo]r	ремст йпат ма [ере птрш-
	Тоте етатт]шотпот Бен	мі пасахі пе[мні хе мн п-
	nxinopor]nar ë	оок пе піпіщ[† ñapxwn n-
	пепот інс] пхс пем пецач-	TAI BARI
30	леуос ево]лар едйои Реи	30 Темі же потр[о ё-
	oruitt u]mor rrebsó4	zwr Joinon[
	ємащ ω]	m]\$pod &1 &0.4
	Πεχαι πχε πις]ωτηρ πωο[σ	.]. oc
	Ê	••

 \dots [He gave] a hundred gold pieces (unto each of) them, and twenty... his ship voyaging by sea.¹ And the rest of his wealth he distributed to the poor and the [widows?] and the orphans who were in the city. In this way he left himself nothing of all that was his...happened on (?) the third day...

(1. 12) Afterwards, as the night (?) was... and while they still slept, lo, the Lord Jesus the Christ came unto him with Michael and Gabriel standing on His right hand and on His left ... the Savior ... [Justus was] with Apa Apoli his son and Theoclia his wife; for they were sleeping with him. And straightway Michael stretched forth his staff [and touched them].

Then when they arose and saw our Lord Jesus the Christ with his pure Angels in great glory, they feared greatly. The Savior said unto them:² ×"Fear not, but rather rejoice; for I am with thee. For whereas thou hast given thy goods unto the needy and thy riches unto the poor, I also will receive you (plural) into My Kingdom, that I may bestow upon you the blessing (?) of My Father, and that ye may receive a portion of the good things of My Father in My Kingdom-those which I have prepared for them that love My Name. Arise... the contest... Fear not; I will be with thee in the country to which they will send thee... And... in the morning go in unto this lawless King and say unto him: 'Write' that I am to be killed (?) there for the Name of my Lord Jesus the Christ; for, lo, I will not remain in this place since men will speak with me, saying, 'Art not thou the great prince of this city?' I know that the King...upon thee. Moreover, do not go unto him in fear ... "

1 Cp. the Ethiopic Acta Mart. (ed. Pereira) p. 83 for Justus' distribution of his wealth : *ib*. p. 73²⁷ he is stated to have owned a thousand sea-going ships.

2 The address is partly to Apoli and Theoclia.

3 i.e. a decree. It is implied also that Justus is to be sent abroad for execution.

×Recto

×Verso

Frag. 3 (Cod. Tisch. XXIV, 19).

- Хе отог пні мфоот еготе піотршот тирот йте пкагі + ет а потро хшит ерог + едотищ е бытев птафтхи + ефбе фаг
- 5 адотырп щарог йніпіщ4 й[ст]ратидатис птедгі Хрым є тав[акі 4
- Тоте аттасоо йхе пімнщ а[ттаме іотстос ё гыв півен ета[ущь-
- 10 пі + етадсютем »е адер[ще
 - Пепис[ш]с хе адфротіні п[от-Хартн пем отмеда адсб[аі щарод едхю ммос
- 15 Χε αποκ πε ιούςτος πιεβιμη [π]αρα ρωμι πιβεη + τωρκ πακ ήταομ ετσοςι πτε πασς της πχς + αε μμοη ελι μπετεωού παιμωπι μμο[κ] απ + ειμωπ ακιματίρι
- 20 пн[1] ката тведетсіс йъюкднті[апос] потро +
- ла памре + отог атт пад пт. лсыд + атемд едхн Беп отма памре + отог атт пад пт-
- 25 епістоди » етацыщ же ммос аджемпому поткотжі » отог адтынд аді е піма » є паре пімакаріос іотстос пънту Отог етадпат єрод гі фотеі »
- 30 адфарту йже аріа[и]ос адотшит

Ang

ммоц ецъю ммос » Хе от петацщыні ммок ю пабс ктрі готстос пістратндатнс ъе акі ё паі ма »

- 5 Пехе піатіос іотстос пад + хе е]таторпт пак хе йтекер-А]асапідія ммоі йфрнф етер пак м]епйсшс йтекшді йтафе Сөйе] хе апок пем паі мищ ебот-
- 10 ης η]εωι + αποη γαηχρηετιάπος μη]αρρηειά + στας]εωτεμ αε έ παι παε αριάπος
 - Ρευ 4ο2002 σλεδκ[εγ]ε21μευσίλχενμονη ενσήτο + 0205
- 15 п]ікестыпаріос + ефротуютей мпімищ тиру + Цеписа наі же пежач мпімакаріос іотстос +
 - Хе іс пеневілік тирот лібштев
- 20 Αμωοτ + Ϋποτ χε ισχε πεκοτωμ πε + αριστοία [ρωκ] + Πεχε πιμακαριος πας + χε ποτμοτ απ πε φμοτ ππαθωκ + αλλα έταιοτορποτ ριτρη Αμοι ε πι-
- 25 μα йщеλετ ήτε ηχς + Πεχε αριαπος πας χε εω εροκ βεπ παι ςαχι + ήτεκεροτειά χε οτηι ζωπι βαχωκ + οτχε οπ μμοη ψχομ μμοι εθριερβα-
- 30 сапідія м[м]ок + отъе он й†пащкюру ал пткелетсіс мпаос потро +
- * (p. 151) (Arianus cried out :) *" Woe is me today more than all the princes of the earth. For the King is wroth with me and seeks to destroy my life. Therefore he hath sent unto me the great General that he may set fire to my city."

Then the multitudes returned and declared unto Justus everything which had come to pass. And when he heard, he had great compassion. Then he caused them to bring paper and ink and wrote unto him (Arianus) saying: "I am Justus, the least of all men. I swear unto thee by the high power of my Lord Jesus the Christ that no harm shall happen unto thee if thou shalt deal with me according to the command of Diocletian the King."

So they took the letter and sought for him (sc. Arianus). They found him in a bakery, and gave him the letter. Now when he had read it, he took courage a little; and he arose and went to the place wherein was the blessed Justus. And when he saw him afar off, Arianus cast himself down and did obeisance \times to him, saying: "What hath befallen thee, O myMaster, Lord Justus the General, that thou art come to this place ?" The holy Justus said unto him: "I am sent unto thee that thou mayest torment me as it pleaseth thee and afterwards cut off my head. For I and this multitude which followeth me are Christians openly." When Arianus heard this he was greatly encouraged and straightway ordered the executioners to put to death the whole multitude.

After that, he said to the blessed Justus: "Lo, I have killed all thy servants. Now, if it be thy wish, do thou thyself offer sacrifice." The blessed man said unto him: "The death of my servants is no death; but I have sent them before me to the bridechamber of the Christ." Arianus said unto him: "Be content with these words, and do sacrifice. For lo I feel shame before thee: it is not possible for me to torment thee, neither shall I be able to neglect the command of my lord the King."

× p. 152

THE MARTYRDOM OF JUSTUS THE STRATELATES

Frag. 4 (Cod. Tisch. XXIV, 20).

Пімакаріос ъе пехад пад + хе допу йхе папатщедет ймні інс пхс фаі е †паерстратидатис пад ісхеп †пот + хе васапос піве(п)

- 5 етер пан » пем мот пібеп апітот ёррні ёхші » отор Ссевтшт ё цаі Баршот рітеп фн етфхом пні пабт інс п $\overline{\chi}$ с » мопоп мперєррот є птирц »
- 10 Дріанос ъе етадсштем ё паг а тед-ФТХн тахро ё підото пьнту » отод бен Тотнот адеркелетін ефротащу є піермнтаріон йсебшкі ймод »
- 15 Отог адөротхещ дамхапт ехен пище пъюки статтитот пад Исписис хе адөротхад е песит ги пермитариоп + отог адөротпи прапсаг йвенини + стдовщ
- 20 пХршм » йсерітот ёботп епецмащх щате піХршм персі беп тецафе тнрс »
 - Οτος οι αφοροτίτι έλολ πιες[απαυκεοι + αφοροτχεψ τας[τ εq-
- 25 κερκερ έζρηι εχωστ + Πιμακαριος τε ασσι ππεσμ[αλ επιμωι ε τφε + οτος πε[χασ]
 Χε ςωτεμ έροι παστ πτς πχ[ς αιδις[1] μα ες[p]μι έ φμοτ
 30 ζωτεμ έρο[ι +]φμ ετδεπ [πιωοτ

πεςιω[τ

$\overline{\mathbf{bus}}$

- Хе поок пе плотыпи пем патахро » пем тахом » отырп щарои мпекаттедос соотав » птецтхом пни Беп тай отпот папат-
- 5 RH $\Rightarrow \propto e$ nopo dwr ne naor inc n $\overline{\chi c} \Rightarrow$ nem neriwt navadoc nem ninna edotah ma ener amhn \Rightarrow

Наі зе етаухотот аухотщт са

- 10 отпам ммод + адпат е пісштир + ере міханд са отпам ммод о[то]г гафрінд са хабн ммод Отог пехе пос пад же пасшти іотстос мперергот + адда ма-
- 15 ταπροκ πτεκπεμπασμ + α[1κ[μη ει]ςομή κακ μπε[κ]θροπος δει πιφμογί + ογος πταχα[κ] δει πιμα κτε φογωιπι
- 20 Отог адсоттип тедхіх свод ехеп педсима тиру + адтадтод мпедри 1 + отог ад помt [n]ag едхи ммос хе мперер]го + отъе мперер[к]отхі
- 25 ε πτ]μρς + εθλε φμοτ μπ[α]ι κοςμο]ς τε οτμοτ απ πε + αλλα οτωπβ] μ[α ε]περ
 ]....ταφε ει.τ μπαι]ωτ ιςτε [α]κερεζοριζιπ
 30 [μμ]οκ οτος α[κσι] μωμ πακ εθ-

1 sic.

BHT

× (p. 153)

× p. 154

*But the blessed man said unto him: "As Jesus the Christ, my true bridegroom, liveth—He Whose General I will be from henceforward, inflict on me every torment which pleaseth thee and every form of death, and I am ready to endure them by the help of Him Who strengtheneth me, my Lord Jesus the Christ. Only fear not at all."

Now when Arianus heard this his spirit grew strong within him exceedingly. And straightway he commanded that they should hang him upon the *hermetarion* and torment him. He caused them to pour pitch upon the instruments of torture which they applied to him. After that, he made them lay him down upon the *hermetarion*, and bring awls of iron, heated in the fire, and thrust them into his ears, so that the fire entered into his whole head. And again, he made them lay bare his privy parts and pour molten lead thereon.

But the blessed man lifted up his eyes to heaven and said: "Hear me, my Lord Jesus the Christ! I suffer even unto death. Harken unto me, Thou Who art in the glory of Thy Father; *for Thou art my glory and my might and my strength. Send unto me Thy holy Angel, that he may strengthen me in this hour of necessity. For the victory is Thine, my Lord Jesus the Christ, together with Thy good Father and the Holy Spirit for ever. Amen."

When he had so spoken, he looked towards his right and saw the Savior with Michael on His right hand and Gabriel on His left. And the Savior said unto him: "Fear not, Justus My chosen one, but be strong and of a good courage. I have finished preparing for thee thy throne in the Heavens, and I will set thee... in the Place of Glory." And He stretched forth His hand upon his whole body and healed his frame (?). And He strengthened him, saying: "Be not afraid, neither be dismayed at all. For the death of this world is no death but life eternal. (I swear by) the... head of My Father that since thou hast exiled thyself and suffered shame for My sake,..."

Frag. 5 (Cod. Tisch. XXVI, 36).

по[т]ро совнтот сорецхюс ппотетимь ???? свод

- Отоп поъв се оп [птні
- 5 εθριψεικ διψ[δποτωψ πεμ πεκθοψ τηρ[οτ] δλλδ διχδ πδι τηροτ πεωι εθβε Φμετοτρο πτε πιφηοτ[ι ετδιcotne πηι -
- 10 4]пот же петер пак [арич пни = мперергоя ап е птнру

Ηδι σε εταγεωτεμ έρωο[τ παε αριαπος αγμοορτε[ρ

- 15 Αφε[ρεοσπι] ε βοθλες πε πτες[[μ]ε [n]ας ελολ εαρος Οτος βειι τοτκοτ αφορο[τιπι πης ποτκοτ πεικι
- адоротот[] с]песнт п... 20 ..]отсікі с[ор]о[тка]щ[] п.
 -]астнрі[оп]q aqт . [. . . Бе]п [4-0[т]пот

Orog 2[H]חחב וכ חב[חסד ואל חתר ז

25 επε[cht] εβο[λβεη πιφηοτί ερε ελ[πλιττελος πεμλά αφοτες πηε[gx1x ε πι[ατιος λ]α[от.. пънту отог плі рн7 л[[11]] теуфтХн = єботп ёп[еус]шмл пкесоп = Ду[ерс]фратули мпедпе-

- 5 2[1 пехац] хе оро ммон фн етацоро + отог хемхом w пасштп 10тстос = мперергот тахом есещшпі пеман =
- 10 Άποκ πε <u>της</u> = πεκογρο = παι »ε εταγχοτον πας πχε πιςωτηρ = agt πag πτειρηπη = agme πag ε πωωι ε πιφηονι ben ονωον
- 15 To]te πιμηψ = ετατκατ έ πιμακαριος ιοτότος εταστώνη εβολβεκ κη εθμωοττ κκεcon =
 - Ат]шці ёкод тнрот хе апоп
- 20 εδ]μχριστιδμος ημαρρηςί[ο δ[μ]ήδες το φτ ημισμιος 108[ςτος]
 - 020]6 Peu [402]102 = 9[dzmu-
 - T...]nze spisnoc e[ts]qust

25	€П	ітні	y] €	egoregi nes 10re-
	тос	•	•].⊺€=≊€ €-
	[•	•	.]стнр-
	J	•	•	.]
	Ľ	•	•	.].xe eade or
30	[•		.]. exwor
				1 sic.

× Recto

*''...king because of them, that he should declare their value.¹ I had gold sufficient to buy thee,² if I had wished, with all thy provinces. But I abandoned all these for the sake of the Kingdom of Heaven which I have chosen for myself. And now do unto me that which pleaseth thee. Fear not at all.''

When Arianus heard that, he was troubled and resolved to kill him, that he might depart from him.³ And forthwith he commanded that a mill should be brought and he made them cast him beneath...a mill-stone that they might crush him with (?) a water-wheel⁴...

(l. 24) And, lo, our Lord Jesus the Christ came down from the Heavens, having [angels round about Him: He] laid His hands...upon the [holy one ?...

× Verso

[×]... within him. And so He brought his soul again into his body. He made the sign of the cross upon his body and said unto him: "He who hath conquered maketh thee to conquer. Be of good courage, O My chosen one, Justus. Fear not: My strength shall be with thee. I am Jesus, thy King." Now when the Savior had said these things unto him, He gave him His peace and went up into the Heavens in glory.

Then the multitudes, when they saw that the blessed Justus was arisen again from the dead, all cried out:⁵ "We are Christians openly: we believe on the God of the holy Justus." And straightway Arianus was wroth...when he saw the multitude following after Justus...

(Ll. 26-30 too fragmentary for translation.)

I Justus, the speaker, is refusing promises of wealth offered him by Arianus. 2 *i.e.* "thy city." 4 For the word **actupion** see Crum, Rylands Catalogue, p. 47 note (and refs.).

3 *i.e.* that he might be rid of him.

5 The remainder is a slightly different version of the opening lines of Frag. 6.

THE MARTYRDOM OF JUSTUS THE STRATELATES

Frag. 6 (Cairo, no. 4, fo. 1).

- беп отбриот потит же апоп запХристіапос йпаррисіа
- Άριαπός σε εταγπαν έρωου
- 5 ετοτες¹ πελ ιοτετος ληεμι τε εεπλεροτείλ λη Οτος δεη τοτποτ - ληερκελετιή εφροτοι μπιμλκριος ιοτετος εβολ - πεμ πι-
- 10 мнщ тнру псеюді птозофе

Сатоту »е = адотопяд ёрод пх]е пісштнр = едхи ммос пад]=

15 Σε πο]щωια-ταφμηι-ολιφώ[ς ο[κ]ε[p]οιτωπιζεςθε - οποκ αε εωι 4[ποθ]ρε εοππιμ4 παομ щωπι [be]η πιτοπος ετοτποχω μπεκςωμο π-

20 Бнтч =

- Отог мененсь пекмот тпатніс епент потромі мпістос = енппе цорі ерату тпот пем
- 25 οτμη[Ψ] εθρεσ[εως] μπεκςωμα κατά πεκτα[1]ο [πεμ πεκμψα²

Отог Анавроткыт пот[п1]ш-

30 οτκοτ[x1] n⁴μ[1] caphe nται har[1] nce[Xω] μπεκ-

² sic: for mnua.

1 sic

мпітімі же фсіжерерт **Бен прале**= Отор Апавре раплищ йхол 5 щыпі єводоітотк беп пексима пем Беп маг півеп стотпафірі мпекрап пънтч Отор рымі півеп етщыпі hen zinuwni niken-nem 10 апатки півеп отор птотzoc ben ornagt = ze of mпачюс ютстос арія[онoin epon fuacute[n e-15 ρωοτ μεπ οτχωλ[εμ πταπαι πω**o**T іте пн етщопі іте пи етбеп піщтекшот 20 іте пи етьеп піктиъіпос їте пн єтьєп фіом їте пн етбеп пітаршот ite ordwieh ite otototi 25 іте Беп маі пійеп ite ben anaurh niken Апахык ппотетные тнp[or] nwor ebod Ожегии асщанщыни Бен 30 סשמחמ[דיא]א חדר סשמותאוכ[ו

сыма пънту отор фран

(Two? folios missing.)

(The multitudes cried out) *with one voice: "We are Christians openly." And when Arianus saw them * following after Justus, he knew that they would not sacrifice.¹ And straightway he commanded that the blessed Justus and all the multitude should be led forth and their heads cut off.

Forthwith the Savior appeared unto him (sc. Justus) and said unto him: "My true champion, verily thou hast contended! I also will cause great marvels to be wrought in the sanctuary wherein they shall lay thy body. And after thy death I will put it into the heart of a faithful man—lo, he standeth now with a multitude—to bury thy body according to thy glory and thy worth. And I will cause them to build a great martyrium for thee in a little village to south of this city and to lay thy *body therein—and the name of the village is Tisi-djereht in P-halé.² And I will cause many mighty works to be performed through thee by means of thy body, and in every place wherein thy name shall be uttered. And all men that are sick of any sickness or are in any stress, if they shall say in faith, 'O God of the holy Justus, help us,' I will harken unto them right soon and pity them, whether they be sick, or in prison, or in peril, or on the sea, or on the rivers, or (in danger of) murder, or (of) theft, or in any place, or in any stress: I will grant all their petitions. If a woman shall be in pangs of child-birth..."

(The missing folios contained the conclusion of the promises to Justus and the execution of the Saint and his companions.)

The opening sentences are parallel with the concluding sentences of Frag. 5 but follow a slightly different recension.

2 = Sahidic TCINGEPEQT (see Crum, Cat. of Coptic MSS. in the Brit. Mus., no. 1067—from Hermopolis or Antinoë). Dr George Sobhy points out that the place must be in the region of the modern Deirût (= Copt. $\tau e p \omega \tau$), N. of Assiût, referring to Crum, *Cat. Copt. MSS. in the Rylands Library*, p. 99, note 9, where $\tau e p \omega \tau - g \approx \lambda e$ is mentioned.

× Recto

×Verso

Frag. 7 (Cairo, no. 4, fo. 2).

5

× Verso

- Ηεπεπία παι Σε αφι πχε ογρωμι ώπιστος κατα φρήτ ετα πότ χος πας αφκώς μπεφωμά εθ[ογαβ πκάλώς αφολά [ε τσι-
- хереба Рен ибяуе=

Аткыт потмарттриоп ехыц ката пецища отог

- 10 атхи мпедсима ефотаћ пънтд=
 - Олон сор игреи егдонг Реи хийтил игреи Сорон сор игреи самонать самонать самонать самонать самонать самонать самонать самонать самона
- 15 щащиі є пітадою

Αποπ σε εωπ ω πολεπρο4 ποιο4 οτος ποςπηστ εως οπ δ Φ4 ερχοριζεςσε ποπ π4σωρεο πτε τε[4-

20 мартуріа сообав=

> Пененса пат піщ4 пснот мареп4шот йф4 фішт Беп педоот йпецер-

25 Φμετι ετταιμοττ 2εχας εφεσιγμοτ εγρμι εχω(n) παγρεπ φτ πτεγχα πεπποβι παπ εβολ πχε πιμαιρωμι = πεπστ της πχς Φαι ετε εβολειτοτη ερε ώον πιβεη = πεμ ταιο πιβεη η]εμ προςκνημείς πιβε(η)

5 ерп]репі йфішт немац пем піппа сботав прецтапбо

Фпот = пем снот пібеп пем ща епер пте піепер

αλιθω- ακσζανσατζι αρισοφος ακσζανχα μασζτζ αρινοιν τζε ὄσοφο ενκατ εη πασζηρι ατκωτ εμπηι εμπτζ σμου εροι χω νηι εβολ αριπμεβι εντε πατζ η πχστ χα να[νο]βι νηι εβολ ανοκ χα πιτζωπ ενρεφερνοβι παρα ρωμι νιβεν ετσζοπ ειτζεν πικαει ουοε εον ετοι νατεμσζα εμπιραν εταυτηιφ εροφ πιελ^{αχ} μαρκυρι υ φλ εντε πιτζι^{σ2} αριπαμεβι τε πιτζσ χα νανοβι [ν]ηι εβολ πη ετνα τζο^σ τζε αμην εφετζι εωφ κατα πισμου αμην εσεσζωπι αμην 40 + 3

¹ 1st hand: small sloping, informal uncials.

² Later hand. Greek cursive script: black ink.

* Recto *But after these things there came a faithful man, even as the Lord had said unto him (sc. Justus), and embalmed his holy body properly and removed it to Tisi-djereht in P-halé. They built a *martyrium* over it, according to his deserving, and placed his holy body therein. For (sic) everyone who was sick with any sickness soever, if they worshiped over his body, obtained healing.

Now we also, O my beloved fathers and brethren—since God hath vouchsafed unto us the gift of his pure martyrdom—after this long time let us give glory unto God the Father on the day of his glorious Commemoration, to the end that he may obtain grace for us in the presence of God, that our sins may be forgiven us by the Lover of *Mankind, Our Lord Jesus the Christ—through Whom all glory and all honor and all worship is meet for the Father together with Him and the Holy Spirit, the Giver of Life, now and at all times and for ever and ever. Amen.

The blessing of the holy Justus the General be with us all evermore. Amen.

Verily if thou speakest, be wise; if thou barkenest, understand. For a wise and prudent man, my son, buildeth the House of the Lord. Bless me, forgive me, make mention of me that the Lord Jesus the Christ may forgive me my sins. I am the poor one, sinful above all men who are upon the earth, and not worthy of the name by which I am called, the most mean Markur(ios), the son of Philotheos,¹ of Pidjis.² Make mention of me, that the Lord may forgive me my sins. He who shall say 'Amen,' shall also receive according to (sic) the blessing. Amen, so let it be; Amen; (Amen).

1 Probably the writer was an inmate of the Cell of Philotheos, a unit in the Laura of S. Macarius (see H.N.S. 1V, v, § 2).

given (in Arabic) as Bidjidj, Bidjibidj and the like (op. et loc. cit.).

2 mixic or mioic must be equivalent to the cell-name

3 I am indebted to W. E. Crum for the transcription of this note.

THE MARTYRDOM OF APA APOLI

XVII. SERGIUS

The Martyrdom of Apa Apoli.

Parchment. Four leaves or fragments (Cairo, no. 11) from one MS., and two leaves (Cod. Tisch. XXIV, 27, 4) from a second copy. Frag. 1, paged $-\overline{ic}$, 29 × 26.7 cm., is a leaf complete save for a strip torn off the foot; Frag. 2 is the inner edge of a right-hand leaf (certainly numbered $-\overline{in}^{1}$) forming one sheet with Frag. 3; Frag. 3, numbered $-\overline{isc}$, measures 35.2 × 27 cm. and is a nearly complete leaf. Frag. 4, a much-decayed leaf (to be identified as $-\overline{isc}^{2}$), measures 24 × 22 cm. exclusive of a considerable fragment lately added to the lower part.

The hand, a medium-sized and very regular uncial (see Plate V A), is in some respects comparable with Hyvernat, *Album*, Plate XLII, 2. The capitals are large and are often elaborated with penwork or contain the initials of the Sacred Name. The stops used are - (black ink, by the first hand), and * (red, by the rubricator). In all these features the fragments are identical with *Cod. Vat. Copt.* LXI, 2, to the missing first half of which these fragments originally belonged.³ Probably the first half of the Ms. was judged to be too imperfect or too soiled to be bound up with the remainder in volume form, and so was discarded.⁴ Frag. 5 (*Cod. Tisch.* XXIV, 27), paged $-\overline{\lambda c}$, 32×16 cm. (both margins are cut off), belonged to another Ms., almost certainly the same from which No. XVI, Frags. 1-2 (and No. XX) were derived.⁵ Neither this nor the following fragment can have belonged to the Vatican Ms., which in its present state begins with pp. $-\overline{\lambda}$ and contains a large part of the text of Frag. 5. Frag. 6 (*Cod. Tisch.* XXIV, 4), 33×23 cm., unpaged, likewise belongs to the second copy and duplicates a part of the Vatican text.

Since the Vatican MS. has already been published,⁶ only the new fragments and the opening (unpublished) paragraphs of Frag. 5 are here printed: a collation of the remaining text of the leaves at Leipzig is added.

Apa Apoli,⁷ the son of Justus the Stratelates, is commemorated on Mesore 1.⁸ After separation from his father and mother,⁹ the boy was sent to Pouasti (Bubastis), where Ptolemy was *eparch*. He defied the official, and was first beaten with sticks, and then flayed (Frag. 1). Having been healed by Michael, he was cast into prison, where Christ appeared to encourage him: he was thus able to restore to life the sons of one Ischyrion, who had accidentally been killed (Frag. 2). Ptolemy next tried to burn him; but the fire consumed the priests of Apollo, leaving the saint unharmed. Apoli was then shut out of the city; until Christ appeared, opened the gates, and allowed the martyr once more to confront the governor. He was thereupon cast into a noisome dungeon (Frags. 3–4) and ultimately beheaded. His relics were treasured first at Psenetai, and later at Psobt-hoi (Frag. 5). The story of his passion was written by Sergius, servant of Ischyrion of Pouasti.¹⁰

References to Pereira's translation of the Ethiopic version of the Martyrdom are given (with the symbol P.) in the margin of my version.

I The narrative (Ethiopic version) shows that Frags. I and 2 were consecutive pages.

 $_2$ Again the Ethiopic establishes that Frag. 4 directly followed Frag. 3.

3 A specimen photograph of a page in the Vatican Ms., most kindly furnished by Prof. H. Hyvernat, puts the matter beyond dispute. (The dimensions of the Vatican Ms. are 34.5×27.3 cm.: the written column measures 29.1 \times 18 cm.)

4 See Introduction, § 4.

5 Hand, style, and size of page all indicate this. Moreover the Mart. of Apoli naturally followed that of Justus as a sequel. (See No. XVI, Frag. 1, title.) Frags. 1-4 with the remainder in the Vatican probably dealt with Apoli alone. 6 Balestri-Hyvernat, Acta Martyrum, Scriptt. Copt., Ser. 111, Tom. 1, 242 ff.

7 The fragments give sometimes $\bar{a}na ano\lambda_1$, sometimes $\bar{a}nano\lambda_1$: the latter is merely by apocope, the name (without title) being $\bar{a}no\lambda_1$ (so Frag. 1, verso, l. 5). In Arabic the name is transcribed (بابلو), and is to be distinguished from Apollo (ابلو).

8 See the Menologia and Cal. of Abu'l Barakât (P.O. x, 208, 277).

9 Cp. No. XVI (above, p. 79). The full story of Apoli is told in the Ethiopic Acta Martyrum (C.S.C.O., ed. Pereira) and in at least two Arabic Mss., Cod. Vat. Ar. CLVIII and Paris, B. N., Fonds Arabe 4775: see also Synax. Arab. Misra 1, and Synax. Etb. Nahase 1 (P.O. IX, pp. 239 ff.).

10 See Acta Mart. (Coptic Text), p. 247.

Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 11^A).

ηχε πτολομέος πιεπαρχος ήτε ποτας⁴ = εθροτεή μπιατίος άπα άπολι είχεη πιβήμα¹ = πας δε(n) τά ταρ προμπί πε Οτος έτατ-

- 5 епд ехеп півнма » пехе птодомеос пад » хе пім пе ётадермагіа ёрок » Отог адтаке мпекгнт = ё щте[м]еротсіа ппіпот +
- 10 Πιάτιος Σε άπα άπολι πεχας ππιεπαρχος > χε άποκ > μποτερματια εροι έπες = αλλα πεπιωτ πιχιαβολος > π[ε ετα]q[cω]pe[μ] ππεκεμτ ςαβο[λ μπιςωσττεπ ε]ακερщοτ-15 ψωοτψι[ππαι ποτ τε]τεος =
- Οτο[2] πεχε π[ιεπαρ]χος πας + χε επε ειταςο εροκ απ πε = χε πσοκ οταλοτ + παιπαώλι πτεκάφε πτεηςι πε
- 20 П]ехе пומדוטכ מחם מחסלו² חסך צב מסובאו חמא א צב בדמוו ב חמו אם = צב חדם]אסד בפסאו בצבח לסמח אחם-סד ואכ חצב חשא]סו אסל בדסחה סדספ צב חדם לשו]חו חמא חבא-

25 ιωτ πεαταπας] Άφεροτω παε πιεπαρ]χος + πε[αα]φ

* * * *

īē

адоротщтод ехеп Битд + отог аткощ пр явал етдик еход Пехад ъе пад ихе плёпархос хе + акхемтни йнивасапос о апода +

Πιάτιος δε πεχας πας + χε ποοκ οσχωβ + πεм πεκποστ ετςγοσορτ + παποστ δε ποος πτς πχς ποος εςπατχομ πει + εθριζαι

10 Бо неквосопос + Охог йте па<u>ос інс пус</u> + ерпецпал йохпіщ4 егрні ёхыі +

Πτο[λο]με[ος] »ε [πιε]παρχος + aq-»[ωπτ εμαιμω + 0]γος αφερκε-

- 15 Лети Бе[п Тото]т псеры[лем] мпщар мпе[цсы]ма Отор псетадоц ехеп пецхфог + псеерпергати ммоц Беп потаст тирц Игматог же атрг пац мпаг рит [ет-
- 20 ющ евод еэхо ммос + хе [мперпы йфы + хе йпецерщ[оэщооъщ + йпіпоэ† йте пі[оэрооъ +

Статин м[

*

25 ananw[

.]. me[

¹ The Ethiopic shows that there is a lacuna here.
² Accent and breathings as shown.

Accent and breathings as shown.

 $^{\times}(p. 15) = P.,$ 90^{4-21} [Apa Apoli, separated from his father and mother, is sent to Pouasti (Bubastis) where Ptolemy is *eparch* or governor.] [Then commanded] *Ptolomeos the *eparch* of Pouasti that they should bring the holy Apa Apoli before the judgment-seat. (And they all marveled at his beauty);¹ for he was of the age of twelve years. And when they had brought him before the judgment-seat, Ptolomeos said unto him: "Who is he who hath bewitched thee and corrupted thy heart, so as not to sacrifice to the gods?" But the holy Apa Apoli said unto the *eparch*: "As for me, I was never bewitched at all; but it is thy father the Devil who hath led thy heart astray from the right to worship these abominable gods." And the *eparch* said unto him: "If I did not pardon thee because thou art a boy, I would cut off thy head with the sword." The holy Apa Apoli said unto him: "Know thou that I am come to this place to die for the name of my Lord Jesus the Christ, the Son of the Living God, and to put to shame thee and thy father Satan." The *eparch* answered and said:...

* p. 16 = P., $90^{24}-91^{5}$ [The *eparch* commanded them to bring a bed] *and lay him upon it. And they brake an hundred green palmsticks upon him.

*

*

*

And the *eparch* said unto him: "Dost thou relish the torments, O Apoli?" But the holy one said unto him: "Thou art a poor thing, thou and thine accursed gods. But my God, Jesus the Christ, even He will give me strength to endure thy torments; and my Lord Jesus the Christ will show great mercy upon me." But Ptolomeos the *eparch* was wroth exceedingly, and commanded forthwith that they should tear off the skin of his body, and put it upon his shoulders and lead him about through all Pouasti. And the soldiers did so unto him, crying out and saying: "Do not pity this fellow; for he did not worship the gods of the Emperors." When they had brought him...

1 Supplied from the Ethiopic.

88

Frag. 2 (C	Cairo, no. 11 ^B).			[1H]	
(070[2				.]oron
	τϕ[ε]ēta
	λο. [мэл + ии[
	ēxe[n				1
5	M00[5]pen or
	πεμ[-]q + 26
]nf.				0]c 26
	c. [n]aoc
	ſ]TE
IO	[IO]
	[]øI
(D				14 1
	c]07
	1]
15	[15]eu
_	C		5]~p
	[4~r
	0[].0r
د د	λ. α. [nltatu	MI MIEK-
	Пуну П»'[20	_	
	muedeusoalb + 0206 Peu fornor ?			Peu fornor s u]oc m	
	пот інс і щар[оч пем піархнатте-			е піфноті Бе]п от-	db
	лос соотав [муханд пем пав-			rimt μmu	
	ринд:~			Отор ет а тојоті щшин	-> IIE07-
25	Пехац пац з [пхе пісштир хе Хере		25	оп отрыми Бен и]ота	
5	аподі пібм[ні ймарторос Апа-		-5	wort ebod ze 1c]X1bo	
	щоп пема[к + піагіос де апа апо-			отоп отрамао ема]що	
	лі + пехац [хе поок пім пе па-			чхрима пе Отог] пес	
	ос екщо[и Реи ист игщ4 итол			елщнрі ймае]в Ото	
30	Отор пеже [пісштир пац же		30	-	
5.	апок пе ф7 [етачі щарок екей-		5-	пецні йснот] півеп +	
	ROT EDOTH BE[H			[21 orcon]	emerora
	סה גונאצו חבא הב[גושד וסדכדסב חבא	7		-	ben MI-
	TERMAT = + EISW [MMOC	and the second sec		[]οτωμ μωτι	Den m-
	* * *	*		* * *	

*(ll. 20 ff.) ... prayed ... (and) did not keep silence. And straightway the Lord Jesus came unto him with the holy archangels Michael and Gabriel. The Savior said unto him: "Hail, Apoli, My righteous martyr! 91¹³
I am with thee." And the holy Apa Apoli said: "Who art Thou, my Lord, Who art in this great glory?"
And the Savior said unto him: "I am God Who came unto thee when thou wast sleeping in ... I spake with thy father Justus and thy mother, saying..."

*(ll. 20 ff.) "... I will heal the flesh of thy body again." And straightway the Lord went up into the Heavens in great glory.

And when morning was come—there was a man in Pouasti named Iskhiron (Ischyrion). This man was exceeding rich in substance; and he had two sons. And this man was wont to sit with the *eparch* in his house at all times while they feasted...[And while a] feast was being held in the [house of the *eparch*...].

[News is brought that the two sons of Ischyrion have been killed in the collapse of a house which they were demolishing. They are raised to life by the Saint. The *eparch* next attempts to burn Apa Apoli.]

*[p. 18] = P.,

91²⁵

(p. 17) = P.,

- Frag. 3 (Cairo, no. 11^B).
 - игаллос аи(а) аподг адтовб чирг bh4 edzon wwoc
 - Xe + nade the nxe + nacwthp + cwtem ëpos estude + &h ëtaqcw-
 - тем е птиве мпіеотіт примі Отое адтасоод е тедархи пнесоп
 - Фн + етацсштем ё авед пюмні ац4 потог йпщіщ Беп кагп
- 10 Фн + етаціпі ёвод павраам- + адорецшыпі Беп откагі пшеммо + Отог адпагмец + пем сара тецсгімі-
- Фн ётадпорем пісаак Беп өмн 15 ппіфтлістим= » фн ётад-
- порем пілкше + сводбеп пепхіх пнслъ пецсоп= + фн ётацпорем пішснф ёводбеп пе(n-) хіх пфремпхн[м1]
- 20 Фн ётъдФхом п[107]210 + щатесώλι птъфе полоферпнс= + фн + ётъдпогем пішпас ёболþе[п] дпехі мпік[н]тос
 - Фн » ётацсштем е соъсаппа¹-е-
- 25 водбен ненхіх [n]піпресботерос
 - ден рерауты) фн стаднобет цъовоуреи] отнф ифбьт ухбт Фн + стаднобет цийс ухбт
- 30 חואל בנסלקבה חו]לסגעסר חדב חואס-זו סוונסאסוח] ביס[ו ג]לסססד צוועם
 - []. hep[....] axec
 - []екпо[..] тне потро
 - ητε πιοτ]ρωστ [μα] επες πτε ¹ Supply στος ετασπαςμε.

КЪ

πιέπες τηρογ + ογος έταψχε φαι & πιχρωμ ϊ έβολ + αφρωκς ππιογηβ πτε πιαπολλωπ Πιανιος αε απ(α) απολι + αφόςι έρατη

- 5 мпембо мпімнщ тиру + ммон глі птако щоп ммоу + Отог ат
 - ωщ έδολ τηροτ εσαω μπος + αε οτδι πε φt + ππιδιτιος δπ(δ) δπολι οτος πλοπ κεποττ εδηλ ē
- 10 pog= Отог Бен Јотнот + атуохот е өйнј + пхе й пршлі + пем ппсгімі + пем ій пкотхі падот + атшу ёвод + же апон гапурнстіанос
- 20 ёпнфі + Беп отрірнин йте ф† амни:
 - λεщωπι »ε мененсь пы à піблію апа аподі + Ögi ерату йпембо йпіёпархос + Отог пежау пау
- 25 Хе акощини пем пекнот етсготорт 4 à па<u>ос инс</u> п<u>х</u>с=отфрн йпецанчедос папавос 4 аунагмет сводбен өмн4 [йпихрым сөмоч
- 30 Πτολομέος τε + πι[επαρχος agepκελετικ. [..] cat[μπιπαλλατ[10]κ + Ο[τος εκολβεκ τη[ολ]ις + Ο[τος εθροτμαψοδμ κπεκρωστ κτε [ποταςτ

[×] (p. 23) = P., 93⁵

* p. 24

... *the holy Apa Apoli prayed in this wise, saying: "My Lord Jesus the Christ, my Savior, harken unto my prayer! Thou Who didst harken unto the prayer of the First Man and didst restore him again to his first estate; Who didst harken unto righteous Abel and didst avenge him upon Cain; Who didst bring forth Abraham and cause him to be in a strange land and didst deliver him with Sarah, his wife; Who didst deliver Isaac in the midst of the Philistines; Who didst deliver Jacob from the hands of Esau his brother; Who didst deliver Joseph out of the hands of the woman of Egypt; Who didst give strength unto Judith so that she cut off the head of Holofernes; Who didst deliver Jonas out of the whale's belly; Who didst harken unto Susanna (and deliver her) out of the hands of the Elders; Who didst deliver the Three Holy Ones out of the midst of the fiery furnace in Babylon; Who didst deliver Daniel out of the den of lions;... aid me today, that... Jesus the King of Kings forever and "ever."¹

And when he had spoken thus, the fire came forth and consumed the priests of Apollo. But the holy Apa Apoli stood up in the presence of the whole multitude, and there was no harm happened unto him. And they all cried out saying: "One is the God of the holy Apa Apoli! There is no other god save He." And straightway there sprang forth into the midst forty men and fifty women and twelve young children. And they cried out: "We are Christians openly." And Ptolomeos the *eparch* was wroth and ordered them to be slain with the sword. And they accomplished their martyrdom on the seventeenth day of the month Epêphi. In the Peace of God! Amen.

Now it came to pass after these things that the holy Apa Apoli stood up in the presence of the *eparch* and said unto him: "Be ashamed, thou and thine accursed gods! My Lord Jesus the Christ hath sent His good angel and delivered me out of the midst of the fire." And Ptolomeos the *eparch* commanded [that he should be driven out] of the Palace and [cast] out of the city, and that the gates of Pouasti should be shut.

1 In the Ethiopic (Pereira, Act. Mart., p. 93) this prayer is greatly reduced.

THE MARTYRDOM OF APA APOLI

Frag. 4 (Cairo, no. 11^C).

-]дематархе.[..]. [.....]р[...]нпехей[...]у [.....]do[...] + піатіос же апа аподі] aqo[21] ерата + адфшрщ
- 5 ππες]αια ε[bod] ε щληλ εςαω μμος]
- Xe πδ]στ inc n[X]c + eeiep[Ao] Hoin¹ epoi] Ovog [nt]ek4xom nhi O[v]og ntek4 mniph4 nhi + eopi[g-
- 15 neg]

20

- Ηδι εταφαοτοτ] ά πιςωτηρ οτωης πας εβολ + ερε μιχαηλ πεμ τα]βριηλ ςα οτίπαμ + πεμ ςα αασ]η μωος + Οτος πεαε πιςωτηρ πα]ς
- Χερε] απ(α) απολι παςωτη ο επιαμ ακχω η]ςωκ ππιχρημα πτε παι κοςμος ε]θπατακο- ο Οτος ακταλσο
- πππαθ]ος έρ[0]κ ακοταγκ πεω[1 25 ω παθμηι τηα]ερχαριζεςθε πα[κ π πχλομ οται]εθδε τεκμαρτγρια ετεκ]παχοκς έδολ + Οτος οπ κε οτ]αι εθδε τεκμετπαρθεπος Οτο]ς κε οται εθδε [n]εκχρημα
- 30 е]такхат псш[к] + 4пот ze = йпере]рго4 + 4щ[о]п пемак пснот пив]еп

Отор а пот] отарсарні йміханд:-

1 sic.

- [RC]
- Хе[...]0?[.] опни [...]0 .[.....] Ото[2] . пе[.. еөротер мфрн[7] ппире[дмшотт
- 2 Oros & u[1cm]H[b co]ate[u uft of a u[1cm]H[b co]ate[u u[e o]uion[1]oc [1] ep[o]au [e uorocd Oros o u[1cm]H[b co]ate[u
- 10 πιφнετι <u>b</u>επ οτωοτ
 - Πιατιος σε απά [απολι αφεωλ ща πτολομε[ος πιεπαρχος αφωщ έλολ [εφαω μμος αε
- 15 σιщіпі пак [поок пем пекпотт + еде є[так]гіт є́́β[ολ п†поλіс Отог акмащдам п[пірωот = à паот інс пус йт[. ωп ппіпті пім =
- 20 Πιέπαρχος δε αςμιθορτε[ρ πεαση ππαττοζις - σε απη[αερ οτ μπα]ι κοτσι παλοτ εςτ[[διςι παπ οτος γπαθρε ρωμι πιβ[επ ετδεπ ται βακι ερομο[λουιη μπες-
- 25 ποτή στος ή[. . . ερκι εχωπ ήφ[. . . Ναήταζις δε πεχωστ- [χε μαρεπειτη ε πιщτεκο щατ[.μμο[.] + χε αππαερςο[σπι
- 30 MIATIOC DE AN(a) anoli ato[

]т ёђо[тп .	•	
]буг ой т[.	•	
Ορσε έγι μορω[ιμι	•	

(II. 3 ff.)...*But the holy Apa Apoli stood up and spread abroad his hands to pray, saying: "My Lord Jesus the Christ, come, help me and strengthen me and grant me the means to come unto this *eparch*, and that I may put him to shame and his gods. For the power and the glory belong to Thee with Thy good Father and the Holy Spirit forever and ever."

When he had said these things, the Savior appeared unto him with Michael and Gabriel on His right hand and on His left. And the Savior said unto him: "Hail, Apa Apoli, My chosen! Because thou hast left the perishable riches of this world, and hast cured thy passions, (and) hast followed after Me,...I will bestow on thee three crowns, one because of thy martyrdom which thou shalt accomplish, and again another because of thy virginity, and a third because of thy riches which thou hast forsaken. And now fear not: I am with thee at all times."

And the Lord commanded Michael *[to touch the guards of the gates ?] And [they] all became as dead men. And the Savior stretched forth His hand and opened the gate: the saint entered into Pouasti. And the Savior gave him His peace and went up into the Heavens in glory.

Now the holy Apa Apoli went unto Ptolomeos the *eparch* and cried aloud, saying: "Be ashamed, thou and thy gods! For whereas thou didst cast me out of the city and didst shut the doors, my Lord Jesus the Christ...hath opened all the gates." And the *eparch* was troubled, and said to them of the guard: "What shall we do with this little lad who wearies us, and will cause every man in this city to confess his God, and [will...] upon us...?" And they of the guard said: "Let us cast him into the prison until..., that we may take counsel." And the holy Apa Apoli [was cast] into [a dungeon where there was] no...and no light.

[Christ again appears to the saint in prison. Apoli asks where his body will be buried since he is in a strange land. Christ informs him of the honor to be paid to his relics.]

× (p. 25)=P., 93³¹

× p. 26=P.,

93³⁹

Frag. 5 (Cod. Tisch. XXIV, 27).

5

10 Отог пітмі паєротпіщт є[тпа-
мот ероч же псепеты
отог Апахи йміханд ече-
Διάκοπια έ πιμα έτονπαχω
мпе ксыма пънту
15 Отор е праё пте піснот с[е-
измул тискстия у одини и и и и и и и и и и и и и и и и и и
етмот ероч хе псовт ¹ [ап-
201

¹ Mn-]|201: so Crum. The margin is cut away just beyond T.

[×] = P., 95⁵

^ד I will bring a dumb man unto Egypt with his servant—and this was a devout man¹—and he shall build a little *shubra*² in thine honor, and he shall build a Church in honor of thy name, and he shall lay thy pure body therein. And the village shall wax great, and they shall call it Psenetai.³ And I will cause Michael to minister unto the place wherein thy body shall be laid. And in after times⁴ they shall remove thy body to a village called Psobt-m-p-hoi.⁵

From here onwards the fragment is parallel with the Vatican text already published. A collation of the remainder and of *Cod. Tisch.* xxIV, 4, with the printed text is here added.

	Acta Mart. 1, p. 242.		Frag. 5 (Cod. Tisch. XXIV, 27).
1. 3	Den nitmi ëtemmar	<i>Recto</i> II. 19–21	реп пітопос ёт азнакоту [n]ак реп піма
			ETEMMAT
ll. 5–7	Insipi novoi nrenes	ll. 25–30	4пгол питай [nod огоб 4игин иолкти
			йсебл еббын ехма ием иейтыны та с4 ием
			ā nrened ē ovmhini ya ēnez.
l. 7	ernat	l. 31	eons4
1.8	etnakwc	Verso 1. 1	εθηδκως
l. 9	anor 2w trat	l. 2	tnat (only)
l. 10	Aussoped	l. 4	Апоболся
l. 12	штошфй грапоз нп зото	l. 7	[п]іршмі іе фсеімі едподіфршотщ
l. 13	птотсынтс пак	ll. 8–10	ого[2] исхеп пипат етотпашу пънтс беп
			фекклисть
l. 14	отор птасры	l. 12	tuachai
l. 14 f.	έ παωμ	l. 13	21 NXWM
1. 17	ก้าหเฐ	l. 18	єтн[1q]
l. 17 f.	охог физорещали Реи охрчоии едой	l. 19 f.	птафиђ ппеусима ђеп ођумом
l. 21	άπαπολι	l. 26	апа аподи
l. 21	4и~өbеспюли	ll. 27 f.	Jusopecnici
l. 23	өаласса	l. 31	өаласа
1. 24	ипич тыощи	l. 33	игма имощи
ı Perh	aps an interpolation.	obvious	ly interpolated after the Translation had taken
2 XEN	po is frequently found in Coptic place-name	es place.	
	pomenecin, $A.M.G. xxv$, 301) and = the Arab		he Wall of the Moat," identified by Crum (P.S.B.A.
~	. E. Crum observes that here alone does the		91) with El Khandak. This is confirmed by entries
	ur in isolation, and that in C. H. Becker's Papy		rabic Calendar, s.d. Misra 1: "Aboli at El Khandak"
	einbardt 'shubra' = $\epsilon \pi o i \kappa i o v$, though such a sensity here unless in reference to a farm or ou		, 277). This translation took place before the days II (c. 1078 A.D.), as is apparent from Renaudot,
	s of which the <i>martyrium</i> was the center. (The		atr. Alex., p. 465. El Khandak was on the north
Sanango	a manual the number was the content. (II		and the second standard was on the north

3 = Seneta or Sanada near Pharbait (Amélineau, Géogr., p. 378).

xenpo of l. 5, however, seems to be equivalent to nitmi,

'village,' in l. 10.)

4 Ll. 15-18 do not occur in the Ethiopic, and were

of Cairo (and, as its Coptic name implies, adjacent to the

city wall): see Amélineau, Géogr., p. 220. Vansleb (Wans-

leben) speaks of it as "an old suburb of Cairo, but now ruinated," and the former seat of a Bishop (The Present

State of Egypt... Englished by M.D., 1678, p. 76).

THE MARTYRDOM OF APA APOLI

Acta Mart. 1, pp. 243 f.

ll. 29–1	anor of Ma roc an			
l. 2	se ēpe n X c			
l. 3	ēрок			
l. 5	ёті ецсахі			
l. 6	eyewor			
l. 6	After ebod			
1.8	άπαπολι			
l. 14	Xat			
l. 15	ยเกล กัรอยุอีมเ			
l. 17	ω πιδεμωμ			
l. 19	мененса памшт ёвох			
l. 20	πιπς ηχς ογος έπε			
l. 23	ñihc			
l. 23	піасевнс аддапедотощ			
l. 26	πτολομεος			
l. 27	δηδησι			
l. 29	EXOTWH			
р. 245 l. 1 собе фат екфизиц				
l. 1	кнп <i>ф</i> мок			
ll. 2 f.	Пте р Ямор			
l. 4	δηδηολι			
l. 5	пък			
1.0				

1.6 0702

Frag. 6 (Cod. Tisch. XXIV, 4).

Recto 1.1 ...|ωញ l. 4 ере пабе тис l. 5 ёрок птецыт ймок (added by a second hand) l. 9 ěteqcax]1 l. 11 etewor Il. 13 f. отог птецещършот свод l. 16 άπα άπολι l. 28 хат ёроч l. 30 щатецёмі Verso l. 1 [пө]ок [пп]па l. 4 Omitted ll. 6 f. йфран йненот инс пус ёне l. 11 пінс пхс l. 12 піапомос пепархос l. 15 п. пієпърхос 1.16 апа аполі l. 20 екотыш ll. 21 f. єк† มีกอง มหมู กิญญม 1. 23 маще пак ll. 24 ff. กระหมังอก ะ bod 22001 0002 anor 26 กรลมтоп ево[Л] зарок 1. 29 апа аполі l. 30 пак ап 1. 33 фы

XVIII. THE MARTYRDOM OF THOMAS OF SHENTALET

Parchment. Seven leaves from a single MS., paged $-\overline{c}$, $-\overline{ic}$, $-\overline{kh}$, $-\overline{\lambda}$, $-\overline{\lambda}$, $-\overline{\lambda}$: the last four being continuous. Of these leaves Frags. 1, 4 (lower two-thirds), and 6 belong to the recent find and are at Cairo (Nos. 16, 54. i, ii): Frags. 2, 3 (upper three-quarters), 4 (upper third), 5, and 7 are at Leipzig¹ (Cod. Tisch. XXIV, 43, 46, 47, 45, 48). Frag. 3 is completed by a fragment in the Rylands Library,² doubtless part of Tattam's find.

The Ms. was in guires or gatherings of eight leaves or sixteen pages. Thus Frag. 2 is the last leaf of Quire I, Frag. 6 the last of Quire II, and Frag. 7 the first of Quire III. Where complete, the page measures 34.2×27.5 cm., and the written column (33 ll.), $27.4 \times 17-18$ cm. The central page-headings are - (recto) and inc (verso); but on the first and last pages of the quire an eight-pointed cross is substituted. The hand (see Plate VII D) is identified by Crum³ with that of Hyvernat, Album, Pl. xxxvi. Paragraph-marks appear in degenerate form as flourishes (red) attached to the initial capitals of each paragraph. Stops (red) are \star and ~ (the latter at the end of a paragraph): occasionally an \times marked by the scribe to guide the *rubricator* has survived unaltered. There is a vertical guide-line to the left of the column: no horizontal rulings are visible.

A noteworthy feature is the arbitrary division (reproduced below) of the initial word in a paragraph, as ay epoto, or on.

Thomas is commemorated on Pavni 27 = June 20 (Crum),⁴ or on Abib 27 (July 22).⁵

The following outline of the history of Thomas is given in the Arabic Synaxarium.⁶ Thomas, a lad eleven years old, while keeping swine at Shindalôt,⁷ was bidden by the Archangel Michael to go and confess the faith at Alexandria. He went to the city and declared himself a Christian in the presence of the Governor,⁸ who vainly attempted to make him recant. He was then tortured and cast into prison. When again urged to sacrifice, the boy pretended to consent, but caused the figure of Apollo first to break the other idols in the temple and then well-nigh to strangle the Governor. He was then starved for ten days, crucified head downwards, and exposed to a lioness, who refused to harm him.9 Next he, with Paphnuti of Bandara (sic) and Moses (sic) of Belkîm,¹⁰ were scourged. Thomas alone surviving, boiling oil and pitch were poured on his head: he was placed in a boiling caldron, his body was mutilated, and then hung in a tree with a great stone attached. All these torments left him uninjured, until Arianus,¹¹Governor of Antinoë, took him to Tammah and beheaded him there.

~

Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 16).

n]ay orke mnepkoc nay ke Xep[e хе] фн евпахос пач хе Хере чо [ñον]щфир є πευράμονї ετρωον

Дујёршоты пае пірнчемшп ае [акаос

<u>.</u>

х]e anor отавнае t a-

no]k

5

Αηε]ροτω παε πιάτιος θωμας [πε-

I See Leipoldt, pp. 398 f.; Crum, P.S.B.A., XXIX, 307.

2 No. 448 [43^b]: see Crum, Cat., p. 222. 3 ib.

4 ib.: Malan, however, gives the date Baûneh 28 (Cal. of the Copt. Church, p. 33).

5 Amélineau, Actes des Martyres, pp. 105 ff. The Calendar of Abu'l Barakât (P.O. x, 276) commemorates a Thomas of Alexandria (sic) on Abib 28.

6 As summarised by Amélineau, loc. cit. But Amélineau's Arabic source differs from the Coptic fragments both in the order of events and in details.

7 Coptic mentelet. For this place (in the province of Gharbiyeh) see Amélineau, Géogr., p. 453.

8 According to Amélineau's source, Armenius: the

нс т]едпоптотрыт + пем апа о[1потсі пте педхимі + отор па[т-CMOT & NOT OT NINANTORPA- τ] $\omega p \sim$

5 III jëxwpg rap ëtemmat + ne f[ktpliary te + avaig evenc e noc waт]е пютшин щы + отор ат[ер-

Coptic, however, has Kulkianus (Frags. 2, etc.), who is a historical personage, being hegemon in 303 A.D. (see Ox. Pap., 1, 71).

9 This episode was regarded with suspicion, and in our Frag. 3 is marked with the marginal us, indicating that the passage was to be omitted.

10 i.e. Paphnuti of Telpontouro and Ginousi of Pelkhêmi (see Frags. 1 and 6). In our Frag. 6 Paphnuti is beheaded. 11 Perhaps=Satrius Arrianus, Governor in 307 (Grenfell and 'Hunt, Gk. Pap., 11, 78): see Milne, Egypt under Roman Rule, p. 180. Did 'Arianus, hegemon of Antinoë,' succeed Kulkianus as Governor of Alexandria ?

THE MARTYRDOM OF THOMAS OF SHENTALET

Recto

ха]у пач хе пе поок отаопар[† еде]е хнахид ёвод ан мпекпо[т

10 фн] етадоамо птфе пем п[ка-21] фы ере пекниц XH Бен пе[q-ZIZ]

Стачс]штем ё паі йже пірнчем[шп ачотар]сарпі соротріоті ёб[рні

- exw]y กิจอกหงรมทอง1 มีประ(กเ-15 ni as]21051 ze ëpoq nze n[atta-ZIC EJAZO NWOC UPA JE OL]k ool on te fxincox[1]on
- 20 MIAMOC 2]E OWMAC as (D)Eng [AREсоп яп]ечео ё піентемып [ъчxoc xe 910] ri e txet oh ete[.....] μημαπειρω² μπ[RATA NCA XI HTE NAOT INC NX[C
- ιστ]σκιπ σ το τσοπσ[π κοπ σσσπ 25 4 ига ибен]тенноль Рен и[ед-20 60072A]

Αдеркелети и] Σε πιγнисмон[εθρουγιού έ] πευρο πκεςο[π

ебротулту е п]щтеко щат[ечер-30 соопі птецемі] же адпаёр оз[ασερ π πιέροοτ]τηρη έτεμμ[ατ . . . па]фпотт п[грем-

> ² sic. ¹ sic: = Lat. compes?

Verso

ni]edod thda stewnar + [nueп]юнтемып щин йсшот + [щь 10 n]eqpact~

- C) to tooti de mont + aqpenc[1 п]ірнгемып 21 півнма + адорor]en nu cooral + gina nt[eqcwт]ем ёршот + пехац "Ппачюс
- 15 O WHAC > SE ARCOD DE TER**δ**]Φε ~
- Ач]ероты йхе піатіос [бымас пе]хач пач + щаре от[сахі пкат-2H]T + pay orcabe + ep[
- ..]xe ne + mape orcax[1 20 ..]\$...RI.~

II] PHTEMWN DE NEZZY [NAY ZE TTAс]о срок + же поок от[Беу-

]эвп івп поммэ + ідн[ш ёр]ок пе + ща тат х[е ..]к ёводьеп сахі [піhe]n ~

Аче]роты йже пі[марттрос соотah n]te nxc + niari[oc ownac ne-

30 22 ม พิมพายาน โยสะ 05 ...] * eopen 05[Аче]роты пае [пірнтемып пе-

ZAUMA JOIGERENIN M DEZ

("...do not receive) *him, neither say unto him 'hail'; for he who shall say unto him 'hail' is a partaker in his evil deeds."1 The Governor answered: "[Dost thou call] me an unbeliever?" The blessed Thomas answered and said unto him: "Verily thou art an unbeliever. For else wouldest thou not deny thy God -Him Who hath made the Heaven and the Earth, in Whose hands is thy life." When the Governor heard this, he ordered that they should smite him with links (?) of iron. And the guards did so, saying unto him: "O, ... this is not the mode of speech..." But the holy Thomas turned ... his face to the Governor and said: "Strike the other (cheek), thou who....., according to the saying of my Lord Jesus the Christ, my Lord and my God, when the soldiers buffeted His face."² The Governor commanded them to smite his face again and to cast him into the prison until he should take counsel and know what to do. He (Thomas) spent all that day with (?) Paphnouti, the man of *Telpontourôt,³ and Apa Ginousi of Pelkhêmi.⁴ And they were praising × p. 6 the Lord God the Almighty.

For that night—it was the Lord's Day—they spent singing hymns to the Lord until light dawned. And they passed the whole of that day without the Governor sending for them until the morrow. But when the morning was come, the Governor took his seat upon the tribunal and had the holy men brought that he might hear them. He said to the holy Thomas: "Art thou crazed in thy head?" The holy Thomas answered and said unto him: "A discreet word pleases a wise man,...; let a word..." But the Governor said: "I pardon thee, because thou art a lad; otherwise, I would...until I see [thee withdraw ?] from every word." The pure martyr of Christ, the holy Thomas, answered and said: "... that we..." The Governor answered and said to the blessed Thomas: "...

2 See Matth. v, 39; xxvi, 67.

3 Or Telpontouro (see Frag. 6). The place is apparently the modern Bandarâ (see Amélineau, Géogr., pp. 94, 453) which is near both Shindalât (Shentelet) and Balkîm (Pelkhêmi) in the province of Gharbiyeh: is the Coptic a mere transliteration of an Arabic name (Tell) Bandarâ? Dr Geo. Sobhy kindly informs me that there is a village Telban Dêrot, near Mellâwi; but this would be too far south to be suitable. The Acts of Paphnuti of Bandarâ are extant in Arabic (Paris, Fonds Ar., suppl., no. 89, fo. 162 ff.).

4 For Pelkhêmi (Balkîm) see preceding note. For the story of Ginousi (or Shinousi) see the Arabic Synax. Abib 25 (ed. Forget, 11, 244), and the Ethiopic, Sanê 4 (ed. Guidi, P.O., 1, 540 ff.): see also No. XIX, below.

×(p. 5)

¹ ii John, vv. 10-11.

Frag. 2 (Cod. Tisch. XXIV, 43).

ετσαληοντ έ πιισωλοη + σε μποη παστ + αλλα άποκ εθηαογωщτ μποκ ήςα παςποησιηση¹

אן פֿססדש חבר חובריוסב ששמעם

- 5) πεχος πηιαπολλωπ + χε τογαςcagni nak + ω πιιχωλοή ετcog Ben φραη πηαστ ίπο ηχο + πιαλμθι-
- σοι φραίι καιασε της πχει τ παιακοι Γ πος πποντ + Σε ζιπα πτεκί έπεςητ έβολβεη πεκ-
- 10 Ma~
- →птекнощ ппсепі ппіъшдоп тирот + пы оп ошотт + ет а люкдитіапос обмишот + пі отро паопот†~
- 15 Den 405 nor + δ πιτωλοη 4024 ε nech[τ] ειτεη πιοτδεςδερη πτε φτ η[1]πδητοκρότωρ + δ40[1-] πεμ πιτ2[ω]λοη τηροτ + δ402ποτ μφρητ [ποτ] εκετος πβελα ε-
- 20 щатото[хп]
- Пехе пійтюс бымас оп ліпібшдоп хе Тобарсарпі пак беп Тхом ліпаповт пагьбос + птекоохі пса паі ап(ом)ос притемши + птек-
- 25 tchw nag + yategens ze noc φt + (ετ)yon ben τφε + ñoog ne noc ñtφε + nem nika-21 ~
 - Ασοαι παε πισωλοι + πεο κοτλ-
- 30] кібпос пірнтемшп + бушхе ймоц + щате пецвай ушхі ёвойбеп пецео + бусіоті ёроу ща ёбрні ё фмот ~

1 ? for cnorraion.

ाल गरू & रू

0

- Αφωμ έδολ παε πιρηγειών εφαω μμος αε πιάτιος θωμας άριδοπθιη έροι + αφωμ έδολ ρωη παε πιμακαριος θωμας
- 5 εψω ώλος + αε їмн4 птекерδλολοτίη + ώπεμθο ώποι μημ τηρη + αε πτε πχε πιμηρι ώφ4 πε 4ποχοκ εβολ οπ ~
- 10 Ας ωщ έλολ παε κονλκιάπος πιγητεμώπ + αε τπαγτ έροκ παστ πτο πχτ πμηρι μφτ ετοπδ πιποντ πτα πιοναι μμανατς + μμοπ ποντ βεπ τφε
- 15 οτΣε 212εη πικα21 + εβηλ εροκ μ]ματατκ + ίπς πστ πιη[0]τ η κάληθιηος ~
 - Hen tornor à nia[em]un + epa-
- лахири савод [ино]ч з в пинщ
- 20 γμρς ωμ εδο[λ + xe 0] τοι πε φτ μπιασιος θω[μα]ς + της ηχς πεπος ~
 - Котдиланос адоротелоті мпі-[м]нщ є піщтеко + піатіос ош-
- 25 мас + адөротхад Беп пиштеко + павотым + патсы + щатедмот Ба пірко + ща тат пехад + хе їнс пашпармед євод Беп пахіх ~
- 30 Дл 21тд ё піщтеко + мпоэ4 шік пад + отае мшот + ща пашк пі педоот ~

Πιμακαρίος σε άπα σωμάς +

"[...] speak, not through any power] "dwelling in the idol—for there is none, my lord—but that I may worship thee according to my best will."¹ The holy Thomas answered and said to Apollo: "I command thee, O foul idol, in the Name of my Lord Jesus the Christ, the true God, to come down from thy place and break all the other idols (and) this statue also, which Diocletian the unbelieving king hath made." Straightway the idol leapt down by reason of the command of God the Almighty: he laid hold on all the idols and brake them like a vessel of clay which is broken.

The holy Thomas said also to the idol: "I command thee by the power of my good God to pursue this lawless Governor and teach him until he learns that the Lord God Who is in Heaven is the Lord of Heaven and Earth." Then the idol pursued after Kulkianus the Governor and throttled him, until his eyes started from his face: he smote him even unto death. "The Governor cried out, saying: "O holy Thomas, help me!" The blessed Thomas also cried out, saying: "Unless thou confess in the presence of this whole multitude that Jesus the Christ is the Son of God, I will not deliver thee." Kulkianus the Governor cried out: "I believe on Thee, my Lord Jesus the Christ, the Son of the living and . . . only God: there is no God in Heaven or upon the Earth but Thou alone, Jesus the Lord, the true God."

Straightway the demon departed from him. The whole multitude cried out: "One is the God of the holy Thomas, Jesus the Christ, our Lord." Kulkianus caused the multitude to be cast into prison: as for the holy Thomas, he had him left in prison without food and without drink, that he might die of hunger. "That I may see," said he, "whether Jesus will be able to deliver him out of my hands."

They cast him (Thomas) into the prison: they gave him neither bread nor water until the end of ten days. But the blessed Apa Thomas...

1 The image of Apollo is speaking.

× p. 16

× (p. 15)

THE MARTYRDOM OF THOMAS OF SHENTALET

Frag. 3 (Cod. Tisch. XXIV, 46 + Rylands, no. 448^{1}). ÷

єр	е пецро сротшпи Аб	ţрн	4
ñп	накти птефри атер	эЩф	н-
p۱	ёмащы пехиот пас	ł ze	E
тę	ірнин пак пімакар	ioc	ūzo-
pı	πιάτιος θωμας = πιβ	hωr	-n

5 τε πεποτ ίπο πχο πιαληθιπος ήпот пітафині йматota.

Αμωι εκολ πχε πιάτιος θωμας

- 10 пехач поот че тегрипи потеп пн ёботав ммарттрос nte nxc niadhoinoc nnort Тегрини потоп пивеп сопаст έ παστ της πχς πιοτρο παθμοτ
- 15 ma enes Or on niken etwani ben zin
 - mout uthen ute thake as(1) ep[orn έ πιщтеко ща πιατιος θω[μας agephabpi epwor oros $\mathbf{De}(\mathbf{n})$
- 20 การฉฉา การ pwg มีมลรองชู[กลре потал таршо[т т]×нрот Ha[p]e neucani ne von henorер[от]щт йф[рн]×4 ппепіо4 еоотα[6 πιαποςτο]×λος ήτε πχς ίπς πι-
- 25 αληθιπος] ×ππονή ετσοc1] Ст а] тооті че щипі а пірнчеми(п)

ер]кедети евротсов іпі-Ан]ма адөротіпі й[пі]макаріос

οωμ]ac έβολβεη η[1]щτεκο έ-30 ре 22]п22хнсіс явеніні тоі ё пецмедос] Отор атепц ё півниа ё யூ⊾² ηδο] με[ο]εγκισμος μιδηλεισιου $1 \times \times \times$ marks the line of junction between the two fragments. пс

RA

- Пехе пірнчемын апіатіос ош-∫ мас + же мн акошт ñ2нт + еоρεκεροτεία ππιδπολλωπ + πпатаф ппеккас ппионриоп 5 Ач ёроты йже піхшрі Амарттpoc πτε π $\overline{\chi}$ + πιατιος θωmac ~ Χε ώ πιρηψεμωπ φμοτ ήτε Παι κοςμος + οτμοτ απ πε + αλλα
 ογωήδης πε μα έπες + πιμογ
- ъе пооч пте пікодасіс патхемпотщии + фли не пімот пооч ща епер ~
- Ач ероты йже підниемып пе-15 Say Aniarioc ownac + xe ep-
- өтсіа + йпермот пкакше + Пехе фн боотав блюнтемып
- ∫ хе †паєротсіа ап ппекпот† мво† + отор йвелле етоа-

Б€́м ~× 20

10

- Αη ερκελε×τια εθροττιή ποτ-
- אסדו הכצואו ב×כאסכו + סדסצ ατχας επολ ερου ×εθρ[ες]οτши ппісару пте піф×[мні
- 25 Thori De + actor aci Bapx[at]y баньенні з пімарторос ёф[обal nte nxc + niarioc owma[c αςλωχο έ πευσαλαγχ ετς[μαpwort ~
- 30 Άς σι ποτεμή πρωμι έβο[λοι-J TEN QT ACWY EBOD ECX[W MMOC Хе ботпытк поок пімар[ттpoc cooral nie nyc nia[ייוסנ

² Informal uncials: ? second hand.

[When they saw him] *with his face shining like the rays of the sun, they marveled greatly and said unto ×(p. 21) him: "Peace be unto thee, O blessed champion, the holy Thomas, servant of our Lord Jesus the Christ the very and only true God." The holy Thomas cried out and said to them: "Peace be unto you, O holy martyrs of Christ, the true God; peace be unto every one who believeth on my Lord Jesus the Christ the King immortal forever."

Every one who was sick with any sickness in the city entered into the prison to the holy Thomas. He healed them; and at the word of his mouth alone health came upon them all. His speech also in exhortation was like (the speech of) our pure Fathers the Apostles of the Christ Jesus, the true God Who is exalted.

Now when day was come, the Governor ordered that the *tribunal* should be prepared and that they should bring the blessed Thomas from the prison with chains of iron upon his limbs. And they brought him to the tribunal, to the presence of Kulkianus the Governor. *The Governor said to the holy Thomas: "Art thou persuaded to do sacrifice to Apollo, before I give thy bones to the wild beasts?" The brave martyr of the Christ, the holy Thomas, answered: "O Governor, the death of this world is no death, but life eternal; but the death of hopeless (?) torments—that is death eternal." The Governor answered and said unto the holy Thomas: "Offer sacrifice: do not die miserably." That pure one said to the Governor: "I will not sacrifice to thy vile and blind gods who are abominable." (The Governor) ordered that they should give him to a ravenous she-lion. And they loosed her upon him that she might devour the flesh of the righteous one. But the lioness sprang and came to the feet of the righteous one, the pure martyr of the Christ, the holy Thomas: she licked his blessed feet. Through the power of God she received the voice of a man and cried out, saying: "Blessed art thou, O pure martyr of Christ, the holy [Thomas...]."

 $\omega \mathbf{m}^2$

Frag. 4 (Cod. Tisch. XXIV, 47 + Cairo, no. 54. i).¹

щып птаже отсажі пак щакже È пні + адеркедетіп сөротащд с пієрмнтаріоп³ + птотжещ ремж + пем копіа сррні ё педщаі

5 πεμ ρως + aggas ba μπιβαζαπος πχε πιτεππεος πχωρι πτε πχς πιατιος σωμας *πεχε πιρητεμωπ πας + χε σωμας χπαέρ[×]οτώ πηι απ ~

- 10 Πε τε πιμακαριος σωμας ×πας τε παστ ίπς πχς πιποτ×4 πάλησιπος + παπαεμετ έδο×λβεη πεκβαςαπος ~
 - Уд [eb]кеуели ихе шбилетти ∻
- 15 ∫ ε]θροτίπι π×οτπες μμηι + πεμ οτλαμααπτ ×εμθερθερ + πτοταοιμη εηρηι ×εαεπ τεηαφε π[ι]ατι[ο]ς αε θω×μας αηωμ ε πιμωι γα πότ εηαω ×μμος ~
- 20 Χε[×] Ϋψεηθμοτ άτοτκ ησς φf πιπαητοκρατωρ + Ϋψεηθμοτ άτοτκ πτς ηχς ηασς + πιπονή άταφμηι + χε αιερπεμηψα ρω έ μαι βα παιβαςαπος + βεη τχομ μ-
- 25 пекрап соотаћ → отог стсмариот(т) Беп гић піћеп → паотро ймні ~

Cutem époi nate inc n χ c + niàthf sinoc înort + ben tai otnor ñ-

30 διαστάθαι το πτεκερδοποτι έροι Den Jornor + 10 πιαρχματιτελος έθ[0]ταδ μιχαμλ + αςι έ πεςμτ έδολ

ре[n] тфе + адөре піпер + пем пі-

 $1 \times \times \times$ marks the line of junction between the two fragments.

² Informal uncials by a later (?) hand.

³ Above the line a later hand has added noog mixmoc.

KH

ламхапт щыпі йфрн4 поэмыот ецкня гіхеп тафе йпімакаріос өшмас пібмні

Πιάτιος δε θωμας αγωμ ελολ 5 εγχω Αμος + χε σιμιπι πακ

- 5 есгам жыс э де отщин ная w пірнгемып пем пекізюлоп етобрем пекнот плем×ш[п] ебриот поок пем пекбло×ддин етсоц блок ош пем
- 10 паот ×інс п<u>х</u>с папот падныпос ~

Стаусште^хм ё паі мпаі рн4 пже Г котдкіапос «піднгемшп ацжипт ёмащы «Беп отхшпт

15 πτε πεςιώτ πιαιαθ×ολος Ας ερκελετιά εθρο×τίαι αυτ-∫ χαλκι]οά πεω στθάα ×α[εω 0]τ-

ламхапт ~ Ат мае піхалкіоп атсает Бархоч

- 25 Πιατιος »ε αγγαι ππεφβαλ [ε] πιμωι ε τφε αγωμι εβολ εφχω ^πμος

Χε παστ ίπο πχο παποτή παιασος αριβομθιη έροι δεη ται

30 отпот па́пагкн ё фуоп пънтс Сті сухи ппаі пхе пігеппеос

חומדיוסב שטאמב פאחחו וב [או] אומדיוסב שטאמב פאחחו וב [או] איזיא חומף אמדידיצאסר הדב זצס[א ח]חו-

× (p. 27)

"... *if I speak one word to thee, thou speakest two to me." He commanded that they should hang him on the *hermetarion* and pour vinegar and quick-lime into his nostrils and mouth. The noble champion of Christ, the holy Thomas, endured the torment. The Governor said unto him: "Wilt thou not answer me, Thomas?" The blessed Thomas said unto him: "My Lord Jesus the Christ, the true God, will deliver me from thy torments."

The Governor bade them bring vitriol and boiling pitch and pour it upon his head. But the holy Thomas cried unto the Lord, saying: "I receive grace of Thee, O Lord God the Almighty, I receive grace of Thee, Jesus the Christ, my Lord, that I am found worthy to endure these torments through the power of Thy pure Name which is blessed in all things, my true King. Harken unto me, my Lord Jesus the Christ, the true God, in this time of adversity that Thou mayest help me."

× p. 28

Straightway, lo, the holy Archangel Michael came down from Heaven and caused the oil and the *pitch to become like cool water upon the head of the blessed Thomas, the faithful. And the holy Thomas cried out, saying: "Be confounded, O Governor, together with thy abominable gods, evil demons, thou and thy foul Apollo! I too have with me my Lord Jesus the Christ, my true God." When Kulkianus the Governor heard such words as these he was enraged with a rage of his father the Devil. He commanded a caldron to be brought with brimstone and pitch. They filled the caldron and kindled a fire under it so that its smoke rose up exceedingly. They bound the hands and feet of the holy Thomas and lowered him into the boiling caldron. But the holy one lifted up his eyes to Heaven and cried out, saying: "My Lord Jesus the Christ, my good God, help me in this time of adversity wherein I am."

While the noble one, the holy Thomas, was yet speaking these words, behold Michael, the Archangel of

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Frag. 5 (Cod. Tisch. XXIV, 45).

φκοτί αφί έ πεςκτ εβολ[b]επ τφε αφορι ερατή ρισεπ πιχαλ[ki]on eqhephep agmaq τεφσις [e]hodben πιχαλκιοπ agcatc έβοτη ben

5 про йпірнгемып Беп Фотпот б пецвал Халла ё песнт сіті ~

Иімнщ хе етатпат ё фн етацщипі атыщ ёвод етхи ймос хе

- 10 σται πε φ7 μπιάτιος σωμας Αριάπος σε πιρητεμώπ άτε μαρης παγχη δεπ ρακογ γως πε βατεπ κοτλκιάπος πιρητεμώπ άτε ρακογ ~
- 15 Μλητωπη αςί щα πιάττιος σωμας εημεπ πιχαλκιοπ πεχας ππιμακαριος χε αριοτπαι πεμ παι ταλεπωρος πτεκταλσος με[n] παι βαςαπος ~
- 20 Den tornor agi e nywi ebo[Aben πιχαλκιοη ñxe πιάτιος θωμ[ac agi ya κοτλκιαπος πιρητεμ[ωπ agcaxi πεμag eqxω ώμος x[e κεμπιμα απ ώ πιάπομος ë ep[c-
- 25 фратидии ймок Бен фран мпа-סד ואד חצר חומאאסוווסר ה-חסדל ~
 - Αλλα εθε παι μημι εθπας τ ε ποτ πτ πχε έρε παογρο πχε πιποττ
- 30 палнонос 7 мпютхан пак щатекі ёбрні ё пецхіх × беп Фотпот ацпат мбол пхе котакіапос пірнгемшп ацще пац ё пі-

IHC

[2]

אףוכד[0]ה הססץ [הפ]א אףואחסב [הו-צאריפ[אעאר] הדב אחדוחעסד אבח הובצססד פֿדבאאאד × אנסדאצ-כאצחו בסףסדעאו אחוארוסב סע-

 мас ё піщтеко → ецсопо Бен
 2апрадясіс йвеніпі ~

Пехе пн еботав пач + хе оро Фн ётачоро + отор хемхом

10 Фн ётадхемхом + оро ймок пот пемак + щатек† щіпі йкотдкіапос піентемып йпарапомос ~

Ау ёроты йхе піхырі ямартт-15 Горо ите има

15) ρος πτε πχς + πιαριος θωμας πεχας ππιαριος ετχη μεπ πιщτεκο + χε τωβο ερρηι έχωι ω καΐοτ ετςμαρωοντ + μεπ πε[τ]επενχη έθοναβ + ρικα π-

20 τε η]αστ ιπτ ηχτ 4 20 ημι

r wn chol ~

Ατεροτώ παε πιάτιος μπαρττpoc ae épe παστ της πας + éget αομ πακ + щатекашк йпека-

25

30

Ετι ενεεμει παε πη έθογαβ + αςί εβογη παε ογρωμι + έρε ογοη ογπηά πακαθαρτοη πεμας + ά πιππά πηοημροη + βι πμος βεη πιщτεκο + ά ηη έθογαβ πμαρτγρος πτε πας + αντεςτάλσος + ~

the powers of the \times Heavens, came down from Heaven and stood upon the boiling caldron: he took a handful (p. 29) from the caldron and cast it into the face of the Governor. Immediately his eyes fell down from him. And when the multitudes saw that which was befallen, they cried out, saying: "One is the God of the holy Thomas!"

Now Arianus the Governor of the South was also in Rakoti with Kulkianus the Governor of Rakoti. He arose and came to the holy Thomas as he stood in the caldron, and said to the blessed one: "Have pity upon this unhappy man and heal him in this torment." Forthwith the holy Thomas came up out of the caldron and went to Kulkianus the Governor and spake unto him, saying: "Though thou art not worthy, O lawless one, to be signed (with the sign of the cross) in the name of my Lord Jesus the Christ, the true God, yet because of this multitude which believeth on the Lord Jesus the Christ—my King the Christ is the true God—, I grant thee healing until thou shalt go down into His hands." Immediately Kulkianus the Governor saw again : he departed to the *banquet, he and Arianus, the Governor of Antinoë at that time. He commanded them to take the holy Thomas to the prison bound in chains of iron.

The holy ones said unto him (sc. Thomas): "Conquer, thou who hast conquered, and find strength thou who hast found strength! Be of good cheer: the Lord be with thee, until thou shalt put to shame Kulkianus, the lawless Governor." Then answered the brave martyr of Christ, the holy Thomas, and said unto the saints who were in the prison: "Pray for me, O my blessed fathers, in your holy prayers, that my Lord Jesus the Christ may give me strength." The holy martyrs answered: "My (sic) Lord Jesus the Christ will give thee strength until thou shalt finish thy contest."

While the saints were still sitting, there came in a man possessed by an unclean spirit. The evil spirit vexed

* p. 30

Frag. 6 (Cairo, no. 54. ii).

Аусоттып тедхіх евод [п]х[е] пімакаріос бымас + адерсфрагіліп ймод Беп фран мфішт пем пійгрі + пем піппа еботав

5 Φτριας εταμκ έδολ + εςδεπ οτμεθπονή ποτωτ + πεαας αε παστ τής πχς + πιαλμθιπος ππονή εςεταλσοκ εδολδεπ πεκщωπι ~

10 Беп Зотнот à піппа мпоннрон і ёводбен піршлі + адтадоо

נדמדח[מ] ד פ קמו פדמקששחו + המצ חוא פדצסדה פָּאַסדה פ חושדפאס מדלשסד אחפחסד ואל חוצר חומאו-

- 15 өзпос ппот ~
- Ета тооъї де щыні з пехе бріб-
- הסכ + חופאריבאשה חדב אסארכ + ח-אסדארומחסכ + חופאריבאשה חדב אסדל + אב אמד חדמפבאכו פו חוגא-
- 20 μα + πτα τ c bw ππαι αποσιος πχρηστιαπος + αε θωμας ~

Стачении же ег півниа ачорот-

ланше зогубияй рап илі

- 25 Пе жау потаї пнімарттрос ёпеуран пе апа пафпот† + піремтедпоптотры + же арібтсіа йпермот пкакыс × пбоу Зе п[і]омні ачыщ евод ечжы млос
- 30 ∞[ε] †παεροτεία απ + ππεκποτ ετσα] μα × αφερκελετιπ π οτποτ ∞ε εθρο] τωλι πτεφάφε πτς[κφι + οτοξ α

μιχα]ηλ πιαρχηατιτελος 4 χλομ εχ[ω]η βεπ οτώοτ πεμ οτταιό Πε χε αριάπε ππιάτιος θωμας ∫ χε άριθτειά γωκ ππερμοτ π-5 κακως ~

Πε τε πιλακαριος πας τε τηαεροτεία απ πετες πακ άριτς πηι πλιοπ¹ τη τα ερωστωωστωι απ ππεκποττ πτεκωνη οτος 10 μβοτ ~

Ау хипт Беп отибоп пхе а-

- דואס אסטידעצט אחומדיטכ
- 15 Θωμας + πεείπι έλολ ππεγαπανκεοπ πιανιος Σε ππεγεροτώ ňελι ε πτηρη πεχε άριαπος πας χε ακερεςθαπεςθε ñται² hacanoc ετβοςι ππαι
- 20 рн4 ~
- Ας έροτώ ήχε πιχωρι άλαρττρος ήτε πχς χε πεκθαςαπος γαπολι πε άπαδοο έβολ + αλλα
- τιβαςαπος ποωοτ πτε παστ 25 πτς πχς παι πε πιβαςαπος ποω-
- or etain ebol \sim
- Чпъсітк ёводбен пецатднот е-Г ботъб птецсітк ё пікодасіс
- ща ёпер йбок пем пекотр[о йзо апомос хібкдитіа-
- noc ~

Ацеркелети е[фрот . Бита адфре [. . ¹ for мопоп. ² sic.

* (p. 31) him in the prison. The pure martyrs of Christ besought the holy Thomas to heal him. *The blessed Thomas stretched forth his hand and signed him (with the sign of the cross) in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit—the Trinity Which is perfect in one Godhead—and said: "My Lord Jesus the Christ will heal thee from thy sickness." Straightway the evil spirit went forth from the man; and he was healed. When they who were cast into prison saw that, they gave glory to our Lord Jesus the Christ, the true God.

Now when morning was come Arianus the Governor of the South said to Kulkianus the Governor of Rakoti: "Let me sit upon the *tribunal*, that I may teach this unholy Christian, Thomas." And when he was seated on the *tribunal*, he ordered them to bring unto him the holy Thomas. He said to one of the martyrs whose name was Apa Paphnouti, the man of Telpontouro (*sic*): "Do sacrifice: do not perish miserably." But he, the faithful one, cried out, saying: "I will not do sacrifice to thy abominable gods." He commanded forthwith that his head should be cut off with the sword. And "Michael the Archangel set a crown upon him in glory and honor.

Arianus said to the holy Thomas: "Do thou also sacrifice: do not perish miserably." The blessed one answered him: "I will not sacrifice: that which thou wilt, do unto me. Only I will not worship thy gods, who are demons and abominable." Arianus the Governor raged with wrath and commanded a sharp sword should be brought him, that the holy Thomas should be seized and his privy parts cut out. But the holy one answered nothing at all. Arianus said unto him: "Dost thou feel this torment suffered in this manner?" The brave martyr of Christ answered: "Thy torments are naught in my sight; but the torments of my Lord Jesus the Christ, they are torments indeed. He will cast thee forth from His courts and cast thee into eternal punishments, thou and thy lawless King Diocletian."

(Arianus) commanded that they should...upon him: he caused....

× p. 32

THE MARTYRDOM OF THOMAS OF SHENTALET

Frag. 7 (Cod. Tisch. XXIV, 48).

- т гс А. Ли . o. é педжіх + пем педбалатх атсопуд є пієрмитаріоп + атсык ммод + щате педкас поту¹ ёдод ~
- 5 Den τοτποτ + εμππε αφί πχε μιχαμλ πιαρχμαντελος + αφεωλη ππιεπατε εθωμρ πωου + ππε πιματοι ετεωκ ππιμα πκαποη έμι ~
- 10 Πι άπιος σε άπα θωμας αφερ οτπιμή πδρωστ έλολ + εφ[αω] μμος + αε σιμιπι πακ ώ άρ[ιαπ]ε πιεμπεμωπ + άποκ δισρο εροκ πεμ πεκβαζαπος πεμ πεκποτή
- 15 ετεος [ιε] εμππε αςί μαροι πχε πιαντε[ελοε] άτε π[αστ ιπ]ε πχτ πιαλμ[ωιπο]ε άπο[ττ αςπ]αεμετ εβολβεη πηεκ]βας[αποε 2]ι τχομ ώπαστ ιπε πχτ ~]
- 20 σταςεωτεμ ε παι πχε αρι]αηε πιρηγεμώνη αφερκελετιή ε]φροτταρο πηιάγιος φωμας έφρο]ταψη ε πιμώι . ε]βολ ήτμοττ δεή πταρ πο]τυψηή * οτορ
- 25 сөрөтіші потпіщ]йшпі є пецфат ліпіатюс ец]ащі є пщші + щате пецкас тирот сш]дп ёвод Беп тецмотт]

Аці йхе міхан]д пібрхнанчедос

30 ที่กากาญชี ก็ชวไอม กกาญ้คงจรั > ๑५०११ १९४९ การถูก การ การถูก การ การถูก การถู การถูก การถู การถูก การ การถูก กา การถูก 11

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	0	гор пехе п[1]a	рхнаптедос міхо	-
	J	нд пац » же ц	-шхй гоэппэтіп	
		рі пте п <u>хс</u> з	MIATIOC OWMAC + 0	rpo
			-дэпй + Тиоп изг	-
5		ер20† + †щоп	пемак + щатек-	
		xwr êbod âne	RATION + NEM TER-	
		марттріа́ ~		
			mmac nay + ze	
			. ос. щата† шпп і	ā-
10			-им в + пшизтн	
			напислос ёботав	
		••	ин ∻ ачбту е и п т	ī
		е піфноті Беп	οτώοτ 🔸 έρε	
		фн ёвотав хо	ущт ñ-	
15		cŵd ~		
			wwac [ay]me uay é	
		•	и б[уі ція]ко црн	rg
		απ [εταγ]παγ ·	х[є є́род й]х[є ин	
		ёоот[ав етбеп	піщтеко пем пім	sb-
20		і]sb[oc samm	евол етхи ммос	
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		мек → еө[• •	
		ēpon εωn[• • •	
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			[п же пімакаріос	
		өшмас хн b[
			apiane xe + a-	
	J	пок стөроъгт	[чё пщы ёвод йт	દતી-
30			n[orn111]n †wn1	
		йса педфат »		
		ёбрні + Щатеч	150 [[] · ·	
	A	цотырп ё піщ	те[ко » е о рот-	
	J	eng nag \sim		

¹ $\boldsymbol{\sigma}$ is added by a later hand.

*(They put fetters upon) his hands and his feet. They bound him to the *bermetarion* and racked him until his bones parted (?). Straightway, lo, Michael the Archangel came and brake the bonds which bound him without the soldiers, who guarded the appointed (?) place, being aware. And the holy Apa Thomas uttered a loud cry, saying: "Be confounded, O Arianus the Governor! I have conquered thee and thy torments and thy foul gods. Lo, there came unto me the angel of my Lord Jesus the Christ, the true God, and delivered me from thy torment by the power of my Lord Jesus the Christ."

nou

When Arianus the Governor heard this, he commanded them to seize the holy Thomas and hang him up... by his neck on the branch of a tree, and to hang a great stone to the feet of the Saint as he hung on high, until all the bones in his neck should be broken...Michael, the Archangel of the great powers of the Heavens, came and stood upon (?) the branch of the tree and the stone which they had hanged upon him: he brake the cords which bound him. *And the Archangel Michael said unto him: "O noble champion of Christ, holy Thomas, be of good cheer and take courage: fear not, I am with thee until thou shalt accomplish thy contest and thy martyrdom." The holy Thomas said unto him: "Strengthen me, my Lord, until I put to shame this lawless Governor." Michael the holy Archangel gave him his peace and went up into the Heavens in glory, while the holy one gazed after him.

Now the holy Thomas went unto the prison: there was no hurt upon him. And when the saints saw him... (they said):...(l. 25) But when day was come, Arianus the Governor knew that the blessed Thomas was in the prison. Arianus answered: "I caused him to be hanged by his neck, and they hung a great stone at his feet... until he..." He sent to the prison that he (sc. Thomas) might be brought to him.

[Probably the work ended with an account of the beheading of Thomas (cp. the Arabic), after a final vision of the Lord assuring the saint of his future reward.]

× (p. 33)

× p. 34

XIX. THE MARTYRDOM OF ASTRATOLE¹

Parchment. Fragment (Cairo, no. 27) of a single sheet (two leaves). The greater part of the left-hand leaf and the upper part of the right-hand leaf have been torn off. Height (complete at the back-fold) 33 cm.; width (nearly complete ?) 25 cm. The hand is identical with that of Nos. xvIII and xxVIII (= Hyvernat, *Album*, Pl. xxXVI) and the same reddish-brown ink is used. Nos. xVIII and xIX were certainly uniform and probably parts of the same volume.

In the second leaf Astratole's resolve to become a martyr is set forth; but in the preceding fragment the torture of a martyr (who cannot well be the same) was described.² Possibly the former leaf dealt with the passion of the little-known saint Ginousi (or Shenousi)³ alluded to in the second leaf, while the Martyrdom of Astratole followed as a sequel. But it is possible that the sheet has been turned inside out, and that Fo. 2 should precede Fo. 1. In that case the tortures described on Fo. 1 must be assigned to Astratole himself. Astratole⁴ seems to be otherwise unknown as a martyr; but he is certainly identical with Astratole the Magician, mentioned in the *Martyrdom of Epime*,⁵ who, having rashly ventured down into Hell, was caught by the demons and escaped only by calling upon God. In this fragment we find (1) Astratole invoking "the God of the holy Ginousi;" and (2) Michael appearing to the chastened Magician and reminding him that he has promised to become a martyr in return for his deliverance from "the hands of the demons."

Verso

Fo. 1.

Recto

€ v[
(four lines wholly lost)
II [
(two lines lost)
Aq[
(slight traces of seven or more lines)
[
po[
Agep[ori
μω[
5 nag.[
Щеи[4-
แงер[อรсเง งน แนะหนดรา† ฟัง €-
nee
Даевиеу[ели соволоо2с
10 nneqoif[c
πος εκολ[
ймоч þ[є]n [па-
λια ου σ.2.ε[
эх эсичыпй пыцэчной жэ
15 єрщозщиє озщі пписот «к-
]помм пощ
же сепъщт[

(slight traces of a few preceding lines)]. птпе]Леде Беп]от]. сър. сп]. Беп от-] Ты Бакі ес-

I Or perhaps "The Martyrdom of Ginousi and Astratole."
2 It seems necessary to publish the remains of this leaf, slight though they are, in the hope that the remainder of the leaf may yet come to light.

Short Texts from Copt. Ostraca, no. 52, l. 5). I have been unable to find it in the Synaxarium or in the Calendars. 5 Balestri-Hyvernat, Acta Mart., Text, p. 138; Version,

p. 88. No allusion is there made to the Martyrdom of Astratole.

3 For Ginousi see No. xvIII, Frag. 1, and refs. there given.4 The name occurs elsewhere on an ostracon (Crum,

THE MARTYRDOM OF ASTRATOLE

Fo. 2. [. . .]...**α**ω[хеч ечпкот Беп [..]е]e [. ..]ort epoy e реп тфащи мпиехор[е ис .]. ve [.] eobey agepam[evi é **ΜΙΧΑΗΧ ΠΙΑΡΧΗΑΓΓΕ**[λ-חו]מדוסב מחמ סוחסדכו [סדסף oc adorous ebod [adca-5 nez]ay ben ney--ñ werd egew ñ-5 **9[нт]** мос Xe ainar e oinorci nihwk Хе астратоди пехац хе 9[ипπε αποκ παστ ποοκ πίμ μпте пс пос ечащи е пиерnai phy nexay nay ze aмн]таргоп ере тис пец-10 пок пе муханд плархнатромй мэдоп ртоп от Ещып йте ф7 лпытос оичелос апок пе еталі е п]оъст падмет сводбен песнт еводбен тфе агизомек своурен исихих та пщт папатки с тпишъемон BHTC ANOR 2W THANA24 15 Нат пе пн ет ечаю имоот п-15 Epoy orog that MRAхе пот хе тлавнки еспоч ехмч Беп півния т аксемпитс пемні аnte nighteрер ёрон мперфопрс μωπ чууч тоте изк ехе[и и]ірн-Oros samm epoy peu ornim4 20 ма птекеромодогия м-20 ncm[H] eyzw mmoc ze \$ παραπ 912επ πιδικαςτη-MILIAUI DC OINOTCI APILO--элнегий оөмэий пог[а Hoin eboi 0205 Juan[254 м]ωп EPOR OTOS THEMETE S[MI

 \dots (l. 3) *because of him. He¹ remembered the holy Apa Ginousi, and said in his heart: "I saw Ginousi, * the servant of Jesus the Christ, hanging on the *hermetarion*; and Jesus his God delivered him. If the God of the holy Ginousi (will) deliver from this great adversity wherein I am, I also will believe on Him and will give my blood for Him at the *tribunal* of the Governor." And he cried out with a loud voice, saying: "God of the holy Ginousi, help me, and I will believe on Thee and I will think also upon Thy holy Name."

... *sleeping in... In the middle of the night, lo, Michael the Archangel appeared unto him and spake with him, saying: "Astratole." He said: "Lo, (here am) I, my Lord. Who art thou in this form ?" He said unto him: "I am Michael the Archangel, who came down from Heaven and delivered thee from the hands of the demons.² Thus saith the Lord: 'Observe the covenant which thou didst make with Me: do not break it; but go to the judgment-seat to confess My Name at the *tribunal* in the presence of the Governor.'"

1 sc. Astratole (who is down in Hell at the mercy of the demons).

ехеп пекрап соотай

2 See Introductory Note.

× Recto

× Verso

XX. THE MARTYRDOMS OF APA KRADIÔN AND APA AMOUN

Parchment. Seven leaves and two fragments from one Ms.

Frag. I (Cairo, no. 19), 34.2×28 cm., paged — \overline{b} , contains the title (framed in the usual cable-pattern border of red and yellow) and opening of the story of Kradjôn.¹ In Frag. 2 (Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 25), 33×21 cm.,² paged $-\vec{c}$, the conversion of Kradjôn and his comrade Amoun from their life of robbery is described. Frag. 3 (Cairo, no. 19^{Add}), 17.2 \times 9.5 cm., is a fragment from the upper part of a leaf (probably from pp. -i), and narrates how Kradjôn resolved to become a martyr. Frag. 4 (Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 26),³ 33 \times 22 cm., paged -iA, describes the saint's departure (from Shiêt) and his arrival at Pshati (Ibshadi, Nikiu).⁴ Frag. 5 (Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 7), 32×21 cm., paged — ic (last leaf of Quire I), deals with Kradjôn's meeting with the 'King' (Maximian or Diocletian). The remainder of Kradjôn's martyrdom is missing.

The Martyrdom of Apa Amoun presumably followed immediately after that of Kradjôn in the ms., but may have had a distinct title. Frag. 6 (Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 33), 32×25 cm., unpaged, tells how the Governor (Arianus of Antinoë), unable to prevail upon Amoun, dispatched him to Kulkianus, the Governor at Alexandria. Frag. 7 (Cairo, no. $37^{\text{Add}} + Cod$. Tisch. xxiv, 30),⁵ unpaged, gives the text of the letter sent with Amoun by Arianus, and the martyr's meeting with certain saints in prison. In Frag. 8 (Cod. Tisch. XXIV, 3), 33×21 cm., unpaged, the Governor (Kulkianus) tries to induce Amoun to recant; but the saint causes the earth to swallow up the image of Apollo in the theater. Frag. 9 (Cairo, no. 37), the lacerated remains of a page now measuring 27.7×22.5 cm., shows Amoun emerging unscathed from some ordeal.

The script, which is the same in all the fragments, is of characteristic uncial type, thick and square (see Plate VII A, B).⁶ Guide-lines are ruled vertically to left of the column and horizontally for every other line in the text. Spaces have been left for stops but have not been filled in by the *rubricator*. The MS. (as shown by Frag. 5, verso) was in quires of eight leaves or sixteen pages. The versos (of Frags. 2-4) are headed inc: for the heading at the end of a quire see the text of Frag. 5.

Apa Kradjôn of Pineban⁷ is commemorated on Epêp (Abib) 25. He was a famous robber and went on one occasion with two⁸ companions to rob a monk. They were confronted by their victim, who converted them, and caused them to become monks themselves. After six years the Persecution began. Kradjôn resolved to confess the faith in the presence of the Emperors (see Frag. 3). He went to Pshati (Nikiu), confronted 'the King,' and after being tortured, was sent to Alexandria. Attempts to put an end to him were in vain; an angel saved him and dispatched him to Samannud, whither he went after visiting his own village. At Samannud he was tortured by the Governor, Justus, but ultimately converted the official and his soldiers. The saint was sent back to Alexandria and from there back to Samannud, where he was scourged. He was again dispatched to Alexandria; but at Tell Barmouda the Lord appeared to him, warning him that he would die there. There, presumably, he was executed.

Apa Amoun of Terenuthis⁹ is said to have gone into Upper Egypt and there, seeing the cruelties practised by Arianus the Governor, confessed himself a Christian. He was beaten, hanged, nailed to the ground, and, as a last resort, sent to Alexandria, where, after various miracles performed and sufferings endured, he was beheaded on Athur 27.10

1 Kradjôn alone is named in this title.

2 The outer edge is lost, hence the reduction in width.

3 To the outer edge a narrow strip containing the beginnings and endings of several lines has now been added. 4 See Amélineau, Géogr., pp. 277 ff.

5 Dimensions of the two fragments separately, 33×21 cm. and 33×21 cm. (the page is torn diagonally).

6 It is probably identical with the hand of Nos. xvi, Frags. 1, 2, and XVII, Frags. 5, 6.

7 See Amélineau, Actes des Martyres Coptes, pp. 94 f. For the personal and place-names see Crum, P.S.B.A.,

XXIX, p. 295 (but note his native place is given in Frag. 1 as ninehan and in the Cheretismos from a xiv cent. copy of the Theotokia from Dêr Abû Makâr as nınahan): see also Hyvernat, Actes des Martyres, p. 93; Amélineau, Géogr., p. 86.

8 The Coptic (Frag. 2) mentions only one companion, Apa Amoun.

9 The modern Tarnût or Tarraneh (Amélineau, Géogr., pp. 493 f.).

10 See Amélineau, Actes, p. 105.

THE MARTYRDOMS OF APA KRADJÔN AND APA AMOUN

Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 19).

Τμαρτορία πτε πιατίος απα κραχώη πιμοπαχός στος πιμαρτορός εθοταί πτε πχζ στος πιρεμπιπεβαή ετ αγχοκς εβολ βεη στμετνεππεός πεοτ κε μπιαβοτ επιμή βεη στριρμήμ πτε ΦΤ αμμή

acimimit pen inchor

חדב מושב[1]שניאסר חבש עובן. אשת בַּד[ש]משות בָּשבּה מותב-חסר שמושבאטר מבש ל-

- 5 паравасие етасщити еводгитеп отрими потит пе
 - С[таці] »е ёботп ё рако† йже [піп]ростачм[а] пте піотршот
- 10 [мпарап]омос п[н] стазерпый мф7 стопь огог агшии пса піхристіапос

Οτος ετ[α]τςωτεμ ñze nh eqοταλ ατφωτ è nimaget

15 πεμ πιχολ ñτ[ε] πιπετpa

> Νε οτοη οταρχηεπικόπος χη δε[η] ρακοτ δεη πικηστ ετεμματ ετμοττ ερογ

20 же бешпа пе отрецергот пе ратен мфт ёмащы

> Οτος πε οτοπ οτщηρι πεχημα πτας ε πεςpan πε σεοπεμτος

25 שמו שב [ג]עסו הכצטאמכדואטר הסד-

ß

. от еобе 420м 2е пте ф7 еопемад пем 4софіа ёт адтніс пад адрапад йпедішт йвадыс паірн4 ад-

- 5 αι] επέπιςκοπος έ οτάοτη]τ ςαβολ ή τπολις ετωστ ερ]ος τε τα τωή πατημωπ¹ οτος παρ]ε πη ε[τβεπ πι]αβητ ετεμ[μ]ατ ίρι 10 Σ μμοπαχος πε
- Беп пхиноредсютем ъе пхе піатіос пёпіскопос е пщіні мпіъіштмос адфыт нем пн тярот ебпемад е піщ[а]де 15 пте щінт
 - Πειιωτ Σε ζως πιαθεου[..].² πε τοτη 4πα[4] έ πιφω[τ..] πε οτου οτ{οποτ}³παρθεμος Σε πε βευ βακο4 εςεβζο4
- 20 βατομ μφτ πκαλ[ω]ς αςще пад отп εδοτη έ песні адер отпіщτ пснот βатотс едхн беп отма пοωβ
- 25 Σε ογκι γαρ πεανϊ εερ[κ]ι έχως πε δεπ ονέζαπιπα ππεςχεμ πιρκτ πφωτ Ται παρθεπος αςε[p] π[θ]ν
 - сія инігторон ивра иєсог-

30 шу Бен пеботопу Сове хе щаре піапомос оре Накі тирс таде отс[і]а ё

 ${}^{1} = \tau \grave{\alpha} \tau \widehat{\omega} \nu \pi \alpha \tau \widehat{\epsilon} \rho \omega \nu. \qquad {}^{2} sic in copy.$ ³ Marked for cancellation by a late hand.

*The Martyrdom of the holy Apa Kradjôn the Monk, the pure Martyr of Christ, and the man of Pineban; the which he * (p. 1) accomplished nobly on the xxv day of the month Epêp. In the Peace of God! Amen.

[It came to pass in the days] of the persecution and tempest which came upon the race of the Christians, and the transgression which befell by reason of a single man¹—and when the decree came to Rakoti from the lawless kings, who forgot the living God and persecuted the Christians; and when the saints heard, they fled to the deserts and holes of the rocks—at that time there was an Archbishop at Rakoti named Theonas:² he feared God greatly. And there was with him a son of the habit,³ named Theopemptos. This man was an excellent (?) scholar 'because of the power of God which was with him and the wisdom which He gave unto him. He pleased his Father⁴ well. So he made him bishop in a monastery, outside the city, which was called The Monastery of the Fathers⁵; and they who were in that monastery were six hundred monks.

Now when the holy Bishop heard the news of the persecution, he fled with all them who were with him to the desert of Shiêt.⁶ His Father also... had the intention of fleeing. Now there was a virgin in Rakoti who feared God well. He entered therefore into her house and spent a great while in her dwelling, living in a workshop. For lo, they had come upon him suddenly and he found no way of escape. This virgin sacrificed to the idols against her wish and in appearance only; because lawless men caused the whole city to offer sacrifice...

1 The Archbishop of Antioch: see No. xv1, Frag. 1.

2 But Theonas (282-300 A.D.) died before the outbreak of the Persecution.

5 Otherwise known as the Monastery of Mt. Tabor, situated at Pihenaton ('Nine Miles' from Alexandria).
6 Otherwise Shihêt (Scetis), now the Wady 'n Natrûn.

3 *i.e.* a monk.

4 *i.e.* Theonas.

× p. 2

Frag. 2 (Cod. Tisch. XXIV, 25).

- атиат е фрі пте пімаіцоя[4 піб пте ф7 сык ймшот е п[отхаі ппотутун
- 5 Ката фрн4 етсьнотт же отоп полі ецої ё фмот ото[п полі ецої ё пшпь
- Οτος ατχα μαμα έδοτη ήμ[ιεαωρς τηρή ετεωτεμ έ n[ca-
- 10 Z1 <u>w</u>\$7 efoyPen bmd <u>wui[Pey-</u> yo
- Πιοται άβητον ετμονή έρ[ος χε απαμονη¹ έστρεμθερ[επονή ταρ πε βεη πεςιτεπο[c 15 οτος φαι πε οντραφετο
- Отог півеотаї стмот ср[оц же апа врахши пе отремпеван Бен пецгепос
- 20 Фаі же оп йпаї рн4 падтса[Анотт є сбаї потеіні ника[Лшс пе отог не отполем[істис пе беп тедхом епесе [пе бен педхіннат ёрод
- 25 Отоп півеп сомощі Беп [†метсіпшоті патерго]† Ба тецен пе отог оп. [пібрхшп йте химі п[патрш ммшот пе ёв[од
- 30 **oni**

Отор пехе апа крахи[п мпедщфир хе пасоп а . [а[..]піснот тиру ап[

¹ By apocope for ana (a)morn.

инс

 $\overline{\mathbf{r}}$

ре[п 0]тпіщ4 йметамедес п]ем отметатотхаі йХн е]брні пеппові йпепхемонот йоді беп пепшпб

- 5 На]т ё паі беууо фаі пасон е]усахі бен пісахі йте ф7 хе ёвну є ф7 піршлі пахем р]нот пруі ап
- Tno]v ze nacon маре[n]еращі-
- 10 bi] ébou тираятен же измесt]éu ща фоол цар игиол шo]ърнф ие ката исполощ и]бни

Normon asmantabou 4uor

- 15 η]σε και αθπονή πογρωον αν]παερπεσενικ πποπ εθpe]πονωμτ ππισωλοκ ον]ος πτεπχα φή πεωκ Φ]κ εταγθαμιοη πτεπιμεμ-
- 20 gr] ñπιge κεμ κιωπι]

Οτος] παι ρη4 ατερ οτημη πη]ατ πτε πιέχωρς ετχα μα]μχ ε πιςαχή πτε φ4 έ-

- 25 вод]беп рыч лигатос отор] етачі ёвод йже пібеддо а]цжемот етепнот рі от]сормес йте фотер
 - με ñt]ε πιέχωρο οτος αι-
- 30 ...]. εδρηι εχωοτ. ειλώ 2τ ε]ηχω μ[μος
 Χε δηδ κ]ραχωη πεω δηδμ[0]τη

[Kradjôn and Amoun approach the cell of the Bishop intending to plunder it. They are confronted by the old man.]

....*they approached the cell of the God-loving Bishop, while at the same time the foreknowledge of God led them on to the healing of their souls; as it is written, 'There is a sin which leads to death, there is a sin which leads to life.'¹ And they gave ear during the whole night, harkening to the word of God at the mouth of the old man. One of them was called Apa Amoun, and was by birth a man of Therenouti: he was a painter.² And the other, named Apa Kradjôn, was by birth a man of Neban: he also had been taught to paint a picture³ skilfully; and he was a warrior in strength and handsome in aspect. All they who walked in the way of robbery trembled before him; and also... the rulers of Egypt stopped their mouths (?)...

× p. 6

× (p. 5)

And Apa Kradjôn said to his comrade: "My brother, . . . all the time we [have passed ?] [×]in great carelessness and perdition, remaining in our sins. We have not found any profit in our lives. Consider this old man who saith by the word of God, that except (through) God man will find no profit. But now, my brother, let us do our diligence to hate ourselves (?); for until this day we have lived according to our own desires. Therefore, if now these godless kings should seize us, they will chastise us, that we may worship idols and forsake God who made us, that we may worship stocks and stones."

In such wise they spent a great part of the night, harkening to the word of God at the mouth of the holy man. And when the old man came forth, he found them sleeping, forgetful (?) of the watch of the night: and he... upon them, smiting (?) them, and saying: "Apa Kradjôn and Apa Amoun..."

1 Cp. i John, v, 16.

2 Or 'a scribe.'

3 Lit. 'to write a likeness.'

THE MARTYRDOMS OF APA KRADJÔN AND APA AMOUN

Frag. 3 (Cairo, no. 19 ^{Add}).	[ī] IRC
ка]дыс отор па[терщфн- рі ммос] йже піспнот т[нрот	ρο]μπι 4πατ έ πεκ[βιος ετ- ακαι]η οτος μμοπ [ςλι πςελπις π-
Πεπεπελ] πλι Σε λ ΦΤ πιμ[λι- ρωμι σωρ]π έκολ μπεπιω[τ 5]τλ εθκε λ[π]λκ[ραχωπ βεπ οτ]20ρλμλ βεπ πιέ[χωρ2 οτος λ]gepezhricoe μ[μος μπιλr- ιος ñe]πιςκο- πος]	5ητ]ς οταε εστρι[]χε ισχε κεργελη[ις έ σι έροκ ώπ- 5 ωη5] ñεπες ιε φη ε[οσταλ πα- χω έ]λολ ñθος εθπα[ει- πω]οτί ñαψ ήρη4 Τοτε η]εχε άπα κραχω[η πας
10 Дерщ]фнрі зе ймоч ём[ащω пхе п]ібеууо иєход х[е дсмо- рю]оді цхе и <u>ос</u> ф4 [цавроом иєм 1]соок иєм іакю[в егадод- ори м]иганседос ці[хе плі]шт щднд ёхш Б[еп пек- 10 щднд] ебот- ав] Хе от]ні Апатшпт пта[тні ймоі евод ё то]тот ппаі абпот[А пот- ршот] отор птаотш[пр е-
15 Стајунат ё апа крах[шп ац- емі] хе отхом й[те ф† ес- оаднот]т ёроц [* * * *	15 hod м]фран апанот [інс п- <u>Хс</u> пем] тецхом ет[] †хом пн[і] со[* * * *

[In the leaf to which this fragment belongs Kradjôn's resolve to confess the faith (apparently in consequence of a vision) is related.]

*...(he lived) nobly and the brethren all marveled at him.

But after these things God, the Lover of Man, revealed unto our father...concerning Apa Kradjôn in a vision in the night; and he related it to the holy Bishop. And the old man marveled at him and said: "Blessed be the Lord God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Who hath sent the Angel of...And when he looked upon Apa Kradjôn, he knew that a power of God rested upon him.

*

*"....for a year I have seen the life which thou leadest, and there is no hope therein nor any star (*sic*)... * p. 10? For if thou hopest to win for thyself life eternal, then how shall the Holy One deliver him (?) who (used to practise?) robbery?" Then Apa Kradjôn said unto him: "My Father, pray for me in thy holy prayers. For lo, I will arise and [confront] these godless kings, and will show forth the Name of my God, Jesus the Christ, and His power which....strengthen me..."

× (p. 9?)

Frag. 4 (Cod. Tisch. XXIV, 26).¹

пагоф сботав Шуну сббыл сжал 10 с с цаб цболи фібои исчален Реи игсхния Абіиачелі чисбалар печні ауу[а

5 Хю пні євод йпн стліщюч×т йбнтот

Παι ρητ ας αλαγγημα ας το του αλαοπι θευ αισρουος «Ρευ 4του σοχι με θευ υισρονος «Ρευ 4το σον μτε υχς

Отог етаці ехеп пібі×піор пте пща† адхімі пгап×мнщ пстратетма пем пібтр×шот прецщемще ізшдоп е×тхн гі мнр

15 π†πολις στος α [στ×μη]យ ñπιματοι ñτε ποτρο [ετ]×όςι ερατοτ ςαπιμωι μπι[σιπι-] ορ

Тоте аусахі пем[шот] ×йхе а-

20 πο κραχωή χ[ε †]*420 έρωτεή ματαμοί ε φ[μ]*ι ππι2μνεμώη ετχορ [οτα]*ι έλολ ñβητού ετοι πμα[ιιχώ]*λοή έ πι-2000 ούος εφμ[ος]*π-

25 n<u>xc</u>

Тоте атсопс еб[отп ер]о×ц аттіпіатот ñ‡[катаст]×асіс йте тецметса[хі]×ец-Å[..] патерщфн[рі

īĥ

Нооч эе пехач пиот хе йпотщепонпот ри ё ёмі ё памшіт адда 1920 ёрштеп гіпа йте тепошт йпагнт Беп фн ёт аіщепонпот ёроч

п

5 щепоннот ёроц
Пе[×]хωот пад хе ісхе Хпатамоп а(п)
хе [×]поок фабши іс екщині йса о[×]т отхе апон оши теппатамо[×]к ап ё фн ётекщині й10 сщіх

- Τοτε ας^xερ τ ñê2000 ες2εμςι 21xen πισι^xπιορ μπεςμι έ μηρ εθδε xε ^xά πιπαραπομος ερκελετιπ ε щ^xτεμχα 2λι έ i é μηρ
- 15 пы рн∱ ×[аэ]еркωд(э)т ппила пмощи пем×[пи.]ортоп щате пюэнА кнп ×[п]н етщоэщшоэщи ппиїъш×[доп]

Зшече йт×[е †]поліс тнрс мог й-

20 Хремтс[×][..]рем пн етоэтадо ймшоэ ×[пп1]ні пем піфмі ете мпе...w×[

Οτος ε×[na]τειπιώοτ παε ζαπματο×[ι πτε] ποτρο ετατηατ

25 ερος[×] [21 φ]μα πεχωον πας 2ως[×][]εν. πιπ ερος χε κεω[×][μ]πατεκ[εω]λ щα 0ν[×][

Nex×[ay nwor]xe ce teen[ci

30 [...].nte..... [...]отшпп[[...].coc отог.[. [...].ēще еротп

× (p. 11)

× p. 12

[Apa Kradjôn said], "...*my holy Fathers, pray for me; for lo, six years have I been with you in the (monastic) habit. Remember me, do not forget me; but forgive me those things wherein I have offended." So he prayed and departed from among them: he walked in haste, and was running in the course¹ through the power of Christ. And when he came to the ferry of Pshati he found a numerous army with the idolatrous kings resting beyond² the city, and a multitude of the king's soldiers standing up above the ferry. Then Apa Kradjôn spake with them: "I beseech you, show me the house of a Governor who is in authority, one of them who love idols exceedingly and hate Christ." Then they regarded him and considered the manner of his speech...they were wondering [at him]. And they said unto him: "Whence art thou, O brother ? Dost thou not know...these Governors...?" *But he said unto them: "You were not asked to inquire my place of origin. But I beseech you to satisfy me in that which I asked you." They said unto him: "If thou wilt not tell us whence thou art, or what thou seekest, we also will not inform thee of that which thou seekest."

Then he passed three days sitting up above the ferry, and did not cross over, because the lawless (kings) ordered that none should cross over. Thus they blocked (?) the roads and the... until the priests had finished who were sacrificing to the idols. And so the whole city was filled with smoke of the fire which they set (?) to the houses and villages which did not (sacrifice?).

And as they were passing over, certain soldiers of the king saw him...They said to him..." Art thou...? Hast thou not yet departed to a...?" He said unto them: "Yea, I remain..."

1 'Race-course' (figurative).

2 i.e. on the further (eastern) bank.

THE MARTYRDOMS OF APA KRADJÔN AND APA AMOUN

5

Frag. 5 (Cod. Tisch. XXIV, 7).

- Εταγςομς έβονη εερεη απα κραχωη ήχε πουρο αγερωφ[ηρι ππος πεμ πεγκεωφηρ πουρωου τηρου εθλε τες-
- 5 хом пем течметса-1е

Наре неущийщ бост пе са пщит ппилатот тирот отог пауищ евод пе еухи млос

10 Χε καλως ακί ποτρο πηιίωωλοη φη έρε πιμομτ ήτε μιπαραωιςος Χη πτοτη οτος ήηεμ[ι έρωοτ αη

Пібныс йте пхакі фн ёре тек-15 метатрит сшк йотмищ й-

рецерпові ёдотп є ф7 Фотищ отп сорекёмі ё флі ш потро же іс отмнщ псоп 4сов7 ймоі ё ї дарок адд[а] 4-

- 20 пот а пос совя мпамшт а[уонт щарок
 - 6πι2η 4ςωονη σε δευ φ[ο]2ωщ йτε φ4 μεν 4κοκίο υτετευνετοθυος4 4μομε
- 25 πηι έ πιμωιτ έρε πιπατιμελε[τ Χη μμος Φεωοτη άποκ τε έρε πτοτλο

йте таутхн пем пасшиа пем пси† йте папові пнот

30 еводентот[ц] епиън елер отм[н]щ ппова Беп тархн егмоща Беп [0]тметамедес пем сапмнщ понихопс егооха пем $\overline{\mathfrak{ic}} \sim \overline{\mathfrak{ihc}} \sim \Box \sim \overline{\mathfrak{n}} \overline{\mathfrak{Xc}} \sim \overline{\mathfrak{a}}$

ενιςίμωσει θευ έστμομι αγγα 4πευδησι μιαοεδο υ<u>Σς</u> σε 4μος σίδιυπι μηι θευ μινωιτ ετςοετωυ

Τοτε α ποτρο χαρως ψατεςχω ππεςταχι στος ώπε ελι ψ]ωπι εθψεροτω πας ποτταχι εθέε χε πε μπαρε ποττο ρο ταχι πεμας πε

- I]та пеже потро нау же енакошп ща фоот не пеже апа кражип же егфнт пе
- 15 Πεχε ποτρο και χε ισχε καωοτη χε έρε πεκμοτ πηοτ ε-Αολοιτοτ δεη ηχιπθριερ-Αας]απιζιη [μ]μοκ ισχε κεμι χε] κηαμο[τ] ήκακως δεη ηα-
- 20 ¤[1]¤ [eöhe] οτ οτα ακφωτ
 βα¤[ω]ġ ποτοται παι pμ‡
 αε] εκερτολμαι έ ca¤i [nŋ]a(1)
 ca¤]i ē[h]oλ

П]ехе апа крахоп мпотро хе

25 πως οτοι μχομ ητοτςεκ ποτιδεαλολι μπατε πεγςμοτ μωπι

Норы пар ben пищаде йсіп ёт а пагот сіпі емир ben фіом

30 παρε ποτ ζαχι πεμωού πε έ-Δολειτεή οτρωμι ποτ[ω]τ έτε μωτείς πε φ[μ ε]τε μπογщχεμχομ πηατ [ε πες]ξο щα

× (p. 15)

× p. 16

*When the king looked upon Apa Kradjôn, he marveled at him, as did all his fellow-kings, because of his strength and beauty. His shoulders rose up above all the soldiers; and he cried out, saying: "It is well that thou art come, O king of the idols, thou in whose hands are the keys of Paradise and thou dost not know them! O lamp of darkness, whose foolishness guideth a multitude of sinners unto God! I would have thee know this, therefore, O king, that many times I have prepared myself to come unto thee, but (only) now hath the Lord prepared my path and brought me unto thee. For I know that through the will of God and the wickedness of your folly I shall go unto the place where is the Bridegroom. I know that the purity of my soul and my body and the redemption of my sins come from Him. For I committed many sins at the first, while I walked in heedlessness and in many violent deeds, running eagerly with *robbers in sins. But I have received grace at the hand of my King, the Christ, in that He hath guided me in the straight way."

Then the king was silent until he had finished these words; and there was no one who could answer him a word, because the king was not yet speaking with him. Then the king said unto him: "Where wert thou until today?" Apa Kradjôn said unto him: "I was a fugitive." The king said unto him: "If thou knowest that thy death will come at my hands while I torment thee; if thou knowest that thou wilt die miserably, wherefore then hast thou fled in this manner from safety to meet it (*sc.* death), that thou venturest to utter these words?" Apa Kradjôn said unto the king, "How is it possible for a vineyard to be reaped when its time is not yet come? For in the desert of Sin, when our fathers had crossed over the sea, the Lord used to speak with them through one man, Moses, upon whose face they could not look until..."

Αμερκελετιπ εφροτταλ[0] -

хеп отохох пвении псесая-

† Бароч Беп отметрсото ща-

Πιατιος σε πεχαι παι χε ώ πιά-

ποήτος πρητεμωπ εθέε οτ

RTDICI HAR ANOR TAP TEPEC-

Террот ап Батон ппекваса-

חסב קודפה לשמא חדב חשסה זאכ

етерьойып ерог отщин от(п)

чшаемаом сроч он рен ниво-

CANOC TOTE AUOTAPCAPHI EO-

ротсыну мфн соотав Бен

раппедас йвении йтотоду

RIGHTEMUN SINS UTENCO-

Ετατολή ε οτχοι ήχε πιματοι

атщонр пемац еботи еат-

фор е ракот Беп флар й пе-

].e.

]ñ

к]оъу

тем ероц ънмосіб

е ракот е фил пкотлилпос

nak thor new neknort et-

15 Стадемі же йже пірнуємый же

θαπεςθε απ έ πιχρωμ οτσε ñ-

те пецсару мотпя гитеп пі-

хрым

щотіт

5

то

20

25

30

9005

084.[

.]..[

R[IANOC

Tote nimation

Frag. 6 (Cod. Tisch. XXIV, 33).

еях[w] ммос хе отпіщt пе фt ппіхрнстіапос фаі етt хом йпаірнt ппн ефпарt ероч

- 10 текот йганніщ йтаїб єволгітен тпроної йнінот йрецоро

Отор птааік пёкатоптархос птекщилі ппіщ4 мпаімбо

- 15 Μοποκ ζωτεμ κζωι άτεκερ εδολ ε πιδαζαπος ε Φμετί έ εποτ εχωκ στος άτεκσι άγακκιψη άταιο εδολγιτεκ τηροκοίδ άκικοτη άρεισρο άτεκ-
- 20 жем знот йпішпь пем паі анр етөнт йкадшс Піатіос ъе адеротй пежад пад же акщап† пні йпаікосмос

тнру пем педиот табот опо оли табот табот опо соло табот табот и

25 гос слі Флен пар ап блан шпъ блюс от[сно]т Длда Ф[о]тбищ е] ї свод пънту п-

Хw [евод ммоч ехеп фрап] мпабс інс [пХс]1 . [1]к п[

.[

30

П[19нтемып Де

× Recto

[The multitude cried out,] *saying: "Great is the God of the Christians, Who give th strength after this sort to them who believe on him."

But the Governor answered and said to the holy one: "Verily 1 am wearied and discouraged before thee. Now therefore harken unto me. Do sacrifice unto the great god Apollo that thou mayest receive great honors through the providence of the victorious gods, and mayest be made a centurion and become great in my sight. Only harken unto me that thou mayest escape the torments which I have in mind to inflict upon thee, that thou mayest receive great honors through the providence of the victorious gods, and that thou mayest enjoy life and this sweetly-tempered air." But the holy man answered and said unto him: "If thou shouldest give me the whole of this world and its glory, I would count them as naught. For I love not this life which is for a season; but wish to depart out of it and leave [it for the sake of the Name] of my Lord Jesus the Christ..."

× Verso

(l. 32) But the Governor, when he heard these things, was greatly enraged: *he commanded them to lay him upon a bed of iron and to kindle a fire under it exceedingly until his flesh was consumed by the fire. But the holy man said unto him: "O foolish Governor, why dost thou weary thyself? For I feel not the fire nor do I quail before thy torments, through the power of my Lord Jesus Who helpeth me. Be confounded now therefore, thou and thy vain gods." When the Governor perceived that he could not prevail against him by torments, he ordered that holy one to be bound in fetters of iron and removed to Rakoti, to the place of Kulkianus the Governor, that he might hear him publicly. The soldiers then removed him to a vessel and sailed with him, arriving at Rakoti in eight days. Then the soldiers [delivered him, together with a letter from Arianus, unto] Kulkianus [the Governor of Rakoti; and the letter was written in this fashion:--]

THE MARTYRDOMS OF APA KRADJÔN AND APA AMOUN

Frag. 7 (Cod. Tisch. XXIV, 30 + Cairo, no. 37^{Add}).¹

- Котдкианос підн[ге]мып пте [ракот фн етопь бен т[пропоїа пніпотт арганос пі[днгемып йте беваіс Хере
 - 5 Спихи а пепос потро алт $n^{\times}m^{-1}$ пща йпецсвал еттаїнот[т]×...е ре роми півеп Беп ма $n[1^{\times}]$ веп лте соотт іте ссім[1 Апдос татма півеп $e^{\times}[\Theta]$ ротщем-
 - 10 щі пніпоят єттыйо×ят єтє пы пе пібподдши пем та×ртеміс пем пісшяп ппіпоя×т Апяімі йпы ршмі я×є бпомоти ец-
 - 15 Ψωψη πιτα[τη]×α πτε πιαττοκρατώρ [πεμ]×στ ποτρο Διοκλητιαπος αποκ Σε αιτ π×ραππιψτ πβαςαπος παη ππεηο×τωψ ε εροτεία κα-
 - 20 τα τκελ[ε]νc[1]×c μπεκιστ ποτρο αλλα εq[ερ]×ομολοιτικ πε αποκ ονχρκς[τι]×απος ψπον ονκ αιονορπ[ς ε]×ροκ εθρεκςωτεμ ερος
 - 25 Ετας[ω]×Ψ Σε μπιςΒαι αφερκελενιπ [εθρον]×ζιτή ε πιψτεκο ψα π[εφρασή]
 - -]. ze . nan[

(Slight traces of one more line.) $1 \times \times \times$ marks the junction of the two fragments.

30

- 0[v]×ог паре псахі йф7 Хн Беп 5 рю×ц пе пем пігмот йте пі-
- ии[а] «еботав пе паусахі йынту еде×боти беп піщтеко ед-7 по[м7]×потоп півеп етбеп п[1]щтек×о етсомс евод батен
- 10 мпіх дом «фн ете пог патніц 212еп то^хтафе
- Ηαγχω μπ[×]ος πωοτ χε οτπι<u>ψ</u>-† πε πιτα×ίο φαι ετ α πος αις πεμαπ ιςχε[×]π τεπμετκοτχι
- 15 Садеремот па×п поэхом ефре(n-)севтитен е т×аз отнот Иперер 207 от×... ан зсхе те(n-)
- пащеп гапнот×хі прісі адда мененсьс те×[п]пабеднд ща ё-20 пер пррні бен б×метотро й-
- μαιπον τενηδονη [be]×η πιμτεκο εθδε τομολο[πια] ×ήτε 25 φραη μηχς αγηαν ε ο×οχια[κωη εγοναδ επεμ[ραη π]×ε άπα η]ονςι¹- πεμ κεη[ρεςδητε]×ρος
 - е]q0[т]ав е пец[рап пе . . .]× . . .]wn исмоти п[ем]×и
- 30 πεμ ζα]ραπιωπ [Ο[το]ς πα[p]ε πιάτ[ιος απαμοτη

(Slight traces of one more line.)

¹ Suggested by Crum : the initial must have been π , μ or π .

*" (To) Kulkianus, the Governor of Rakoti, who lives in the providence of the Gods, (from) Arianus, the Governor of the Thebais, greeting. For as much as our Lord the King hath deemed me worthy of his honored letter, bidding that every person in every place, whether man or woman, in a word, every class, should worship the honored gods, who are these, Apollo and Artemis and the rest of the gods—we have found this man, named Apa Amoun, who scorns the decree of the Augustus, our Lord the King Diocletian. Now I have inflicted on him great tortures; yet he is not willing to do sacrifice according to the command of our Lord the King, but confesses, 'I am a Christian.' Now therefore I have sent him unto thee that thou mayest hear him."

And when he (Kulkianus) had read this letter, he commanded them to cast him into the prison until the next day. So the holy Apa Amoun was in the prison... the grace... the Lord Jesus the Christ...

*And God was strengthening him in all things which they brought upon him. And the word of God was in his mouth, and the grace of the Holy Spirit was speaking in him while he was in the prison, encouraging all those who were in the prison looking forward to the crown which the Lord should set upon their heads. He was saying unto them: "Great is the honor which the Lord hath shown unto us from our childhood in graciously giving us power to prepare ourselves for this hour. Fear not...if we shall endure slight afflictions, but afterwards shall rejoice for ever in the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus the Christ."

Now there were other God-loving brethren in the prison because of the confession of the Name of the Christ. He saw (there) a holy deacon named Apa Pousi, and a holy priest also named...ôn of Smoun, and ...n, and Sarapion. And the holy Apa Amoun was...

× Verso

× Recto

10

Frag. 8 (Cod. Tisch. XXIV, 3).

- Адероты йже пібтіо[с апамоти же ссынотт ыен п[птрафн же піпот тирот [пте піедпос дапжемын пе
- 5 Οτειπι μαώοτ άχε [ακ τκροτ εθαδετ ερώοτ [ταστ Σε ω αιδαομος άξκιτεμώα[αι ε ατδκό πεμ [α]εκα[οττ πεμ πεκκεότρο άδτεμτ μ[αδι
- 10 рн4 Элок гар Апаеротсій ап п[пекпот4 ймотпк йхіх пет[ег пак отп бріту пні йхωде[м Пігнгемша хе пехау пау х[е
- 15 ακοτωμ ε ποτ πκακως ώ άποτη παιδιςι ειταςο εροκ Χω σε άςωκ άται πλαηη ητ[εκτ πηεκοτοι άτεκεροτειά άάπιποττ
- 20 Οτος αποκ τπαερχαριζ[εςθε πακ πςαπμημ πταιό ή[τααικ ποτηθ ε παποττ τηρο[τ Φοτωμ οτη τηστ εθ[ρεκτ μ-
- 25 ñψφηρ κεμ κα[σταφωτεμ σε ε [και καε πιατιο[c] απαμογκ α[φερογώ καφ εφω]λι κεχαφ [χε ω κιθηκεμωκ] ισχε και ρητ [κε ακιογι
- 30 ππε]κπονή ε παι [μα πταερονcia] πωον πιρμ[τεμωπ »ε εταςεωτεμ ε παι μ[τοτς

адращи] емащы быс же адиаеболи инедиол Сатога аде]вкеуелии ефолгии еболи ига]иоуути е инфеатро(и)

- 5 εθρε πικ]εριζ ωщ ελολ ben 4δακι τηρς] τε θωονή τηρον ε πιθεατ]ροη πτετεπηάν ε ά= μονη η]ιχρηστιαπος εςπαερθνει]ά ηπιπονή πτε πον
 - ро] Тотје пімнщ тнру бъбшот е́ піб]ебтроп етбохі тнрот е п]бт е Тбейріб пірнгемш(п) отп пехбу мпібгіос хе бмот
- 15 пасштп амотп аріотсій 21па йтепще пап є піарістоп
 - Ф]н соотав эе апамотп стач-Бюпт е пюшотт ач4 йот-
- 20 щеп]фат пад еджи млос же Беп] Фжом йнс паотро маще пак] є песнт є фпоти ща пієдоо]т йте підап
- נית לסדחסד] ב חוגבצו סדשה הששע 25 בעשאר האוויששטדד בד ב חו-
- инщ пат е т]щфнрі етасщюпі атощ евод п]са пірнчемоп етхо ммос]
- 30 . .]κ πασερεσφ[ωπ]ι(π) μπιατιο]ς απαμοση εσ[αω μμος αε] οσαι πε φ4 ππιχρηςτιαπος ετε φ]4 πάπαμοση

**Recto* *Then answered the holy Apa Amoun: "It is written in the Scriptures, 'All the gods of the heathen are demons:¹ like unto them are all they who trust in them.'² And now, O lawless Governor, [away with thee] to destruction together with thy gods and thy so insensate king also. For I will not do sacrifice to thy gods (which are) made with hands. So what thou wilt, do unto me quickly." But the Governor said unto him: "Dost thou wish to die miserably, O Amoun? These labors I forgive thee. Now leave this error and haste to do sacrifice to the gods. And I will grant thee great honors and will make thee priest unto all my gods. I desire now therefore that thou set my heart at rest, that thou mayest become a companion with my..."

Now when the holy Apa Amoun heard this, he answered, mocking him, and said: "O Governor, if this is so, bring thy gods to this place that I may sacrifice unto them." When the Governor heard these things from him, *he rejoiced exceedingly, as though he (Amoun) would sacrifice to his gods. Straightway he commanded that they should bring Apollo into the theater and that the heralds should proclaim aloud throughout the city: "Assemble all ye, that ye may behold Amoun the Christian who is to sacrifice to the gods of the King."

Then the whole multitude came together into the theater, hastening all of them to behold the spectacle. The Governor therefore said unto the holy man: "Come, Amoun, my chosen one, offer sacrifice, that we may depart unto the banquet." But that pure one, Apa Amoun, drew near unto the idol and kicked it, saying: "By the power of Jesus, my King, (I command thee), get thee down to the abyss until the Day of Judgment." Forthwith the earth opened its mouth and swallowed up the idol.

When the multitude beheld the miracle which was come to pass, they cried out at the Governor, saying: "[Shame upon ?] thy gods who..." And they were praising the holy Apa Amoun, saying: "One is the God of the Christians, Who is the God of Apa Amoun."

1 Cp. Ps. xcv1, 5.

2 Ps. cxv, 8.

× Verso

THE MARTYRDOMS OF APA KRADJÔN AND APA AMOUN

Frag. 9 (Cairo, no. 37).			
Anon. ap.[]. ωο[* 0	·]Σε φ	[н] соотай
пор ⁴ . []паос 1[нс	anamo	on s]qōpi	ер[2]ту йпе п-
тнрт сћод		.]. ato	пе елі пта-
Платос с апамо[тп ачыщ Беп	ко]		
5 or]пищт П[смн ести ммос хе	5 Німнщ з	26 et att	га]å [e] ist йфны
4 [420 е]рок е пал п[нг			m epoly elazm
Стадфорш п[пед хіх евод е щдид	MMOC	л[омм эх	nort Peu
nagtube eg[aw mnoc		_	пікарі Евнд
Xe naoe inc [n]X[c npeqcot n-	€ \$ 1	จากาลีกาม	a]n[a]moon
10 ovon niken e[tigen hici eo-	10 Етачсит	ен е] иог	-этнуіп эхп
вна	ωωπ δ	Чхωпт €]л	натт едре
Hoor on tn. [паі тн	рот ет а	пі]мнщ ∞ω м-
αε[μωοτ]		
<u></u> 52 п[]† ñor-
15 Фн етадоа[мю пеше півеп ет-	15	<u>ת[</u>	112[1]abodoc
ben nr[221 nem ben τφε			Jioc ncem-
Фн етаус[штем е пот палот па-]. T ñne2
τιος 5[επ τορω πχρωμ εθμος]. щнот ñ-
ERECW[TEM			л эф е п
20 ймок[20]202b[;
.]n.[]щ ω[
* * *]0.[
T T	*	*	*

*...(l. 4) But the holy Apa Amoun cried with a loud voice, saying: "[I beseech] thee to have compassion on me." And when he had spread abroad his hands, he began to pray, saying: "My Lord Jesus the Christ, [the Deliverer?] of every one who suffereth for Thee, Thou also...(l. 15) Thou Who didst make all things which are on the Earth and in Heaven; Thou Who didst hear the Three Holy Children in the furnace of fire,¹ Thou wilt hear (?)..."

* * * * * *

*...that holy one Apa Amoun stood up. There was not...; [but he was] without any hurt.² Now when the multitudes saw this miracle which was come to pass, they cried out, saying: "There is no God in Heaven and upon the Earth save the God of the holy Apa Amoun." But when the Governor heard these things, he was exceeding wroth, because of all these things which the multitude said.

(ll. 14 ff. are too fragmentary for translation: but in ll. 19 f. the beheading of Amoun—which took place on Athur 27 may have been ordered by the Governor.)

XXI. THE MARTYRDOM OF PAÊSI AND THEKLA

Parchment. Three leaves and two fragments derived from two (?) MSS.³ Frags. 1 and 5 are written in a script very different from that of Frags. 2–4, which is a small, rounded uncial (Plate V B): compare Hyvernat, *Album*, Pl. XXIX.

Frag. 1 (Cod. Tisch. XXIV, 18),⁴ 11 × 22 cm., is the lower half of a leaf, written (like Frag. 5) in a thick, angular script which is probably late: specially noteworthy are the sharply pointed down-strokes of \mathbf{t} , $\mathbf{\phi}$, \mathbf{q} , etc. Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 17^A), 17.5 × 25 cm., paged $-\overline{\mathbf{kx}}$, is an upper half-leaf; the lower half is at Leipzig (Cod. Tisch. XXIV, 38): the two are combined below. Frag. 3 (Cairo, no. 17^B), 32 × 25 cm., is an almost complete leaf: no page-number can be distinguished. Frag. 4 (Cod. Tisch. XXIV, 37), 32 × 22 cm., paged $-\overline{\mathbf{s}}$,

I Cp. the Prayer of Apa Apoli (No. xv, Frag. 3, recto).

2 See *id.*, verso. (The situation is evidently the same.)

3 Frags. 1 and 5 may be restorations to supply the place

of lost or damaged pages in the original volume.

4 For the Leipzig fragments see Leipoldt, *l.c.*, pp. 392, 397.

× Verso

is a complete leaf, but the *recto* is practically illegible.¹ Frag. 5 (*Cod. Tisch.* XXIV, 39), 32×21 cm., another complete leaf, paged \overline{ns} , \overline{nk} , is by the same hand as Frag. 1.

Frag. 1 can be attributed to the story of Paêsi and Thekla only conjecturally. The grounds for so doing are : (1) the identity of the peculiar script with that of Frag. 5; (2) the promises detailed on the *verso* are addressed to more than one saint; so that Paêsi and Thekla are at least possible claimants. Certain Sahidic fragments of the Martyrdom of Paêsi and Thekla are extant,² but are not available for comparison. Paêsi and his sister Thekla,⁸ commemorated on Kihak 8, were wealthy people of Abusir, to the west of Ashmunên. Paul, a friend of the family and a merchant, having gone to Alexandria, fell seriously ill and sent for Paêsi, who obeyed the summons but found his friend recovered. The persecution was then raging, and the two friends used their wealth in relieving the wants of the Christians in prison, one of whom predicted that the two would become martyrs. Ultimately Paêsi declared himself a Christian before the Governor and suffered various tortures. Paul and his servants weep over Paêsi, but the Angel Raphael appears and heals the martyr. Thekla, bidden to rejoin her brother, is miraculously conveyed to Alexandria under the escort of the Virgin and Saint Elizabeth. She and Paêsi confront the Governor and are tortured in various ways. They remain obdurate and are handed over to the Governor of El Khosus to be conveyed to Upper Egypt. On the way the wind fails and the saints are beheaded. Their bodies, thrown into the scrub, were preserved by a certain Macarius, Priest of Shentûf.

Frag. 1 (Cod. Tisch. XXIV, 18).

אוחסאוכ = צוחג הכבשש הצא(ח-) כאגו = דסדב גידוו האוכאגו ה-דב הוסידים בסדים-שסי

- 5 Οτος αφί εωφ άχε εττ[ι]χιαπος πικομης άτε σεβαίς - ατί τηροτ ατωщ άπιςβαι άτε ποτρο ετχω μμος χε μαρε τχωρα τηρς οτωψτ ά-
- 10 παποτ = μαλιστα πιαπολλωπ πιπιψή πποτή = 0502 μεπε(π)ςα τε περοου είχμ βε(π) ρακοή = ά πισκοτμιτωρ χαυ εμολ ριπα πτε πιοται

15 пюты ще пад ё теубані

βεπ πετεπρωπ ε. [
πος = ψπωθροτεβωι ώπεqρωπ ε πχωμ ώπωπβ = Οτος ñсещи ймод ё пн еботав тирот
ката къргаян βеп чеякдисіа ñτε пищорп ймісі - отог 4паф йтотщевий пад й7 йкшв йсоп гихеп пікагі - ψπωχω йпасмот беп пітімі ётеммат
Фпаχω йсотрінд піанчедос едерхіаконіп беп петептопос отог беп піёдоот ё ψπωστωпр

ώπετεπραπ έλολ = †παθροτ-15 ї ισχεπ τιμι = έ τιμι = πεμ ισχε(π) θοщ έ θοщ πσείπι πραπωφρο(π)

×Recto

× Verso

... *the cities,⁴ in order to read certain letters. Then they brought the letters of the King that they might read them. And there came also Eutychianus the *comes* of the Thebaid. They all came and read the letters of the King, saying: "Let the whole country worship my gods, especially Apollo the great God." And after fifteen days the *excubitor* being in Rakoti dismissed them that each one might return to his city.

"... ×in your name⁵... I will cause his name to be written in the Book of Life and to be read unto all the pure ones every Sunday in the Church of the First-Born, and I will reward them sevenfold upon the earth. I will make My blessing to rest upon that village. I will set Suriêl the Ministering Angel over your Sanctuary. And in the day when I shall show forth your name I will cause men to come from village after village and from region after region, and to bring gifts..."

I Only a photograph is available. Possibly some part might be copied from the original.

2 See Zoëga, *Cat.*, Codd. Sah. CXLIII-IV (pp. 238 f.), and Giorgi, *Frag. Evang. S. Job.*, pp. XCVII ff.

3 For the story see Synax., ed. Basset, pp. 333 ff.

4 Probably we are to understand that Governors and officials of provincial cities were summoned to hear

Diocletian's edict read. It is probable that this preliminary account of the beginning of the Persecution preceded the text on the other side of the page.

5 Christ, presumably, is speaking. We must assume that the Lord has appeared in a vision forewarning Paêsi and Thekla of their coming martyrdom.

THE MARTYRDOM OF PAÊSI AND THEKLA

- Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 17^{A} + Cod. Tisch. xx1v, 38). Θ ERAA] тексшиі - Отод пехе пансі] над хе екмост ймоі патле] хе алі еботи є пікдирос пе]м ин евотай фаі гар пе па-
 - 5 plami é tpami ймоц-хе à &t cwt ймоі ébodben nanobi Отог aqcedcwdq-пем пн евотab aqme nag é педні ben отогрнпн-адпкот йпедотом
 - 10 οταε ώπεις δια πεί διέροοτ Οταςί αε δαε πατλε αε διτειμικι δια [πα]βει = δ κιδλωοτί διτε πατλε αω ώπαβει = αε ειμωπ διτε πατλε ί μαροκ ώφοοτ - δριδπαι-
 - 15 касти ймоч йтечотым пемак же іс т йёгоот-йпечотым отъе йпечсы
 - +....].c.[].a...[+ ...]nathe outer üzonc gina ü
 - 20 τεποτω[μ] ποτωικ- πεμ πΗ εφοταθ
 - δωу ε μι]πιεκ[0] σdο2[ωω σdyε[ν] odcop4 μόλυσικου σdydbom[1 uze] μ[σ2]yε σdme ugd uXm-
 - 25 CW] NEM NH E[O]OFAL TH[POF

Αсщωη]ι Σε ετοτωμ[

(The eight lines following are illegible.)

†...† marks the junction of the Cairo and Leipzig fragments.

82

рещап пот отарсарні фі[пасемсі щапте пот епс пап ещап ле оп дотащ е фа[рх евод ппепёрнот педота[щ

- 5 маредщылі Беп піехырг хе ётеммат-адотопгд ёрод йхе габріяд піархиаптедос пехад пад хе хере пірымі йщотмепрітд гітеп
- 10 φ7 πεκ πιρώκι Αςщωπι Σε έτασμαν ňχε παήςι ε πιαστελος ήτε πος - ασχεί 21χεη πεσχο ασερχοτ εκαщω χε ά πιщτεκο τηρο ερογωίηι
- 15 πφρη ππιε2007 α πη εθογαλ πατ έ πιοτωιπι ατιμθε[pt]ερ ατρει ριχεη ποτρο
- +Аусш[v]хи байз хих[v]эт тэт[vo]шус+ телос адамон имшор адтог-
- 20 ποςοτ-πεχος πωοτ χε σρο μμωτεπ έρε τχομ πτε πιο. τολος щωπι πεμωτεπ π[τετεπτολος щωπι πεμωτεπ π[τε[σσι ψοτ πχε φτ πεμ πεςουτείλος
- 25 εθοταδ Πεχε παйτι μπιαττελος χε πα[σς 4οτωщ έ πατ έ θεκλα τα[ς]ωπι μ[πα4μοτ

Πεχε πιαννελος ήτε πος πας χε [πα-

30 πει-κε ζ πέζουν πε ματε[τεκπαν έ σεκλα τεκεωπι σνος εκε[μωπι πεμας βεπ †χομ πτε πστ σν[αε τεκψνχη ππεςφωρχ πσως σν[αε πεκεωμα ππεςφωρχ εβο[λ πφως

35 Icze Xorwy ... [

*Thekla thy sister." And Paêsi (?) said unto him: "Thou dost hate me, Paul, because I went in unto the clergy and the holy ones. For this is my delight wherein I delight. For God hath saved me from my sins." And he consoled himself with the holy ones and departed to his house in peace. He lay down and did not eat or drink for three days. Now when Paul came to seek for Paêsi, the servants of Paul said to Paêsi: "If Paul cometh unto thee today, compel him to eat with thee. For lo, for three days he hath not eaten nor drunk." . . . (I. 19) "Paul, be constrained, that we may eat bread with the holy ones." Paul was glad, and went in haste and prepared a meal, and went unto the prison: he ate and drank with all the saints. . . while they were eating. . .

[Paêsi and Paul are arrested and kept in prison: Paêsi hopes to see his sister before his death.]

"...*If the Lord bid, I will remain until the Lord bring her unto us. But if again He wills to separate us from one another, His will be done." In that night there appeared unto him the Archangel Gabriel and said unto him: "Hail, O man that art worthy to be loved by God and men." Now it came to pass that when Paêsi saw the Angel of the Lord, he fell upon his face and was greatly afraid. For the whole prison was as light as day. The holy ones beheld the light, and were confounded and fell upon their faces. And the Angel stretched forth his hand and laid hold on them, and raised them up, and said unto them: "Be of good cheer, for the power of the Apostles is with you that ye may put to shame this lawless (Governor) that God and His holy Angels may be glorified."

Paêsi said unto the Angel: "I desire to see Thekla my sister before I die." The Angel of the Lord said unto him: "Paêsi, seven days hence thou shalt behold Thekla thy sister, and thou shalt (always) be with her through the power of the Lord, and thy soul shall not be parted from her soul, nor thy body from hers. If thou desirest..."

× (p. 23)

× p. 24

Frag. 3 (Cairo, no. 17^B).

-].. πλεπκ εισεπ πιβημα πτε] απαθροτ τάλοκ εισεπ οτσλο]ς άβεπιπι πτεαταετ βαροκ αε]α παερωορπ έροκ έ πισλος
- 5 4]пашцен йпіхрим барок отог Апаербніві ёхик птещтем піхрим отим поткап пциі пте текафе
 - Хемхом = отог щыпа потрыма п-
- 10 хωрі хе отні текмарттрій пащωпі ес† щіпі йпаі йпомос п п
 йавот

Тоте пече пайсь пад-че паот мачом пи отор Апа4 йпасыма

- 15 E תולטבמחסב דאומסי הדב חושדאמב-דאומסת
 - Π[ιατ]τελος Δε πτε ποτ αφεραςπαζεςθε μμου-αυρώλ ερρηι ε πιφηοτι μεπ οτώοτ - ετ α τοοτι
- 20 26 щыпі адземсі зі піднма йже арменіос підояз йте ракоф Бе(п) пібеатроп
 - Адотарсарні соротіні пад лінатіос пайсі пем пн соотав
- 25 מ]דפחסד בדכסתף התסדצוב חבא הסדסגלמדב הפמחגלדכוב האפחו-הו - כיסר סדאראלמסוסא דסו כי הפקאסדד - בידסבו הכשין ה]בא הוו בססדג דווססד הבב הו-
- 30 ห]естиопариос етворвер йм]шот ёвод щантотёнот сихе(п) пив]има

Ετ α π]ιδούζ καν έρωον [π]εχας μκαι] χε πιφαρματός ακχεμ-

35 ⁴ทเ ม]ทเลล canoc ที่ те ทเวเหลс -

חסכ ואכ [חדכ] חשו חאו

иноп оке[и]і хе себол[...4]иол ує ор[10]ясія пигиол4 миє[ри]ол икок[шс

Πιατι[0]ς σε [πεσα]η σε ακε.[....

- 5 η]εμ η[ε]καπολλωη [ηε]μ
 αρτεμις] εως οτος ηεκοτ ρο Σιοκλη]τ[ιαη]ος ετσαβεμ
 Ά[ϥϫω]η[τ] ηχε πιδοτζ αζερκε-
- λενι]n ë ταλοι ë ονσλοχ übeni-
- 10 n1] ncecao[f e]pog ñze n1[k]ec-Tionapioc]
 - отор пфелос ... се[.....] под одербеп фе п[ze ковр]инд піархи-[m]едос ... се[.....] под одер-
- 15 Βμικι έχως δεη πεςτευδ αςταχι πεμας δεη πιμτοτηριο(η) ητ]ε τφε στος ατοας βαρος [η]χε πικεστιοπαριος ισχε(η) αχη έτ μπιέςσου μα αχη έ
- 20 Οτος αιτωπη άχε πιχοτζ αιερκελετιά είχω άμος - χε δπιοτι πτεικερμι ςατς έ φιομ χε χος .. ρ χε ήχς πα[n]αςμετ [μ]αρείι ποτ πτειπαρμεί ε[β]ολ-
- 25 Беп плі васапос ісхе отоп [Щ]х[0]м ймоц Спіхн ймоп по[т]† ёотоп щх[ом
 - ием дарленіс миод мфрид нигеиоўуми
- 30 Den τονηον έτι εαχω πμο[ς αφι εκολδεη πιχρωμ ήτε π[σλοχ πχε παμςι βεη τχομ πηιηπά ε[θονακ-ερε πιαυνελος ήτε πσ[ς αμοηι ητεαχιχ-...επιλ]

"...* will bring thee before the judgment-seat of [the King?], he will cause thee to be placed upon a bed of iron and shall put fire under thee. Verily I will be before thee upon the bed. I will quench the fire and will overshadow thee that the fire devour not a single hair of thy head. Be strong and be a man of might; for lo, thy martyrdom shall bring shame upon this lawless (Governor) for six months." Then Paêsi said unto him: "My Lord, strengthen me, and I will give my body unto all the tortures of the *tribunal*." And the Angel greeted him and went up into the Heavens in glory.

Now when day was come Armenius the dux of Rakoti sat upon the judgment-seat in the theater. He commanded that the holy Paêsi should be brought unto him with the holy ones. They were brought bound hand and foot with chains of iron, having collars (of iron) about their² necks; and the torturers followed hard after him and the holy ones, driving them along until they brought them before the judgment-seat. When the dux saw them, he said unto Paêsi: "O sorcerer, hast thou felt the torments of the \times tribunal? Dost thou know that they...? But now, sacrifice to the gods and do not perish miserably."

But the holy man said unto him: "Thou...and thy Apollo and Artemis also, and thy abominable king Diocletian." The dux was angered, and commanded him to be placed upon a bed of iron and that the torturers should light a fire under him. [Straightway?] the Archangel Gabriel [came] down from Heaven [and]

I Heading: "My Lord Jesus, the Christ, pity me." The page-number is lost and the position of the leaf consequently uncertain: possibly it should precede Frag. 2.

2 The original has "his:" the Coptic here oscillates between the singular and the plural.

× Verso

× Recto¹

THE MARTYRDOM OF PAÊSI AND THEKLA

... him and covered him with his wings: he spake with him of the mysteries of Heaven. And the tormentors put fire under him from the fifth hour of the day unto the sixth hour.

And the *dux* arose and commanded, saying: "Come, let his ashes be cast into the sea. For he said: 'Christ will deliver me:' let Him come now and deliver him from this torment, if there is any strength in Him. For there is no god who hath power like Apollo and Artemis." Straightway, while he was yet speaking, Paêsi came out of the fire of the bed through the power of the Holy Spirit, while the Angel of the Lord held his hand...

Frag. 4 (Cod. Tisch. XXIV, 37).

(The remainder of the *recto*, which is very dim, has not been deciphered.)

ס חמסד ואכ חער חמו חאו

- еценд ботып пехшот пац хе а пеквазапос отщин - енппе ис пепдас пем пепвад то... отор пепсыма отох
- 5 Ст а пімнщ же пат ё пн сботав ёре потсима отож атыщ свод стщи ммос же отпіщт пе фт мпаснос пансі пем бекда тецсиці
- 10 Адще пад йже пібтюс пайсі пем бекда тецсипі є пщтеко отог адще пад є педні пже пізоту – йпедотим отъе йпецси еджопт єбе
- וא הושותו כד ג תא כססדגה דאודסד הגע
 - Οτος Σωρωσεα τεαςειμι αςι έδοτη έ πιΣρικλίπος πεχας παα χε εσβε οτ κο[τωμ] μφοοτ απ
- 20 סישב אכש מה[= דמ]אמ פֿדמ חואסאר-דומֿחסר ד חפמה[א]סישו חשוחו חמא סח
 - Ачхипт ñхе підоях пехач пас хе какн-кефадн ояк оя(п) аре-
- 25 Ψεμψι μπαι ραπ τε ιπς εσδε φαι δρεςατι έτει παι φαρμανος ψεπογται μπιδπολλωπ πιπιψ ππογτ τε τπατ μπεμογ τηρη εσβητογ πετας παι τε δμοι
- 30 ρω πταμψα άπαι ταιό -Πεχας παι οπ χε αιδιςι ειτζο έροκ χε ζεπκ ςαδολ ππιχρηςτιάπος άμοη ητ εζρηι έχωον πχε πονποντ οτοη ψχομ άμοι έζο-

35 τε πεκαπολλωη πώηι πκογρ

*...they said unto him: "Thy torments are derided. Lo, our tongues and our eyes...and our bodies * r are whole." When the multitude beheld the holy ones with their bodies whole, they cried out, saying: "Great is the God of the holy Paêsi and Thekla his sister."

The holy Paêsi and Thekla his sister departed to the prison. And the *dux* departed to his house. He did not eat nor drink in his wrath because of the shame which the holy ones had brought upon him. And Dorothea his wife went into the *triclinium* and said to him: "Wherefore dost thou not eat nor drink? Perchance it is because the Christians have put some slight shames upon thee."

And the *dux* was angry, and said unto her: "Wretch, dost not thou then worship this Name Jesus, and therefore speakest on behalf of these sorcerers? Give thanks unto Apollo the great God that I do not put thee utterly to death on account of them." She said to him, "Would only that I were worthy of this honor!" She said also to him: "I am weary of begging thee to leave the Christians alone. Does not their God protect them? He is more powerful than thy dumb Apollo of stone."

× p. 70

- Frag. 5 (Cod. Tisch. XXIV, 39). те[ко ща педраст-отор ы]еп тфащи ппистору ац(1) חשב חומריינאסב חדב חסב 5 Даша блатос пансі єпщы] IT $\tilde{\mathbf{s}}$ pomatra = $\mathbf{s}\boldsymbol{\Phi}$ [T \mathbf{s} n[..]the thaki nte τ.. Отор а[т]і пи соотав свой ва-10 , αωη εγεραςπαζεςθε [μnod = artanod & fuoy[10 пте пн еоотав = естотс החסדב פו שחו האאו = ecеротыни сроте фри потoha ñkwh ñ-15 c[on] Οτο[ο α] μολη παε πιαυτελος -рэ инп фщико э ро[мв]тря
 - דמוא[0] דָּד אָאמשַש = פּקדסדכ 20 חשחו חמסדו חמשמח = פּכ-כפד מאדוח חסדשותו פֿ-אַסא
 - Сре піні ётеммат ої йстоа стоа = етсет актіп
 - 25 ποτωικι έλολ « ερε κιcτ[τ]λλος ετ ςς ρκς μπκι ετοι ñζε = οτοκ κεζε ςς μπτ μπικι = οτος κεζε πςττλοςς ςς πειελτ μ-
 - 30 האו כבטראו שב החאו בד-דבשראסד = השב ה הכדדאלסכ בדבואסד = השקאאד הב העראל הסדבאלאכוב =

πĥ

лихотщт са пегећт пе агнат е отпщ† пороп[ос едтосг ммащи ер[е отоп п птитер ммод=ща-

- 5 текще е пщы е піфро = пос
- Отпщ тар пе птабо л[піфропос етеммат пе[м п]едт]итер = 0000 пе [0]топ от-
- 10 пі]щ4 йшот кш4 єроц єре отоп заппіщ4 йщіни ої йхдом єроц ликш4 єтопт йкарпос єтпаиєт =
- 15 Οτος έρε πεθοιποτηι ππιμμητη ποτεμ Αμαιμω στος αιπατ ε οτσρηπι η[ποτ]β χη ειχεη πιθροπο[c -] στος αιπατ έ χλο(μ) δ μμαρ[σα]ριτης
- 20 χΗ ειχεη πιθροπο[c =] διχοτώτ οη διηδτ ε ηιςττλλος πτε πιςτοδ = ερε οτοη πθροπος ςδ πειεβτ πηιςττλος = πιςττλος οτδι
- 25 ката сфір ліпістоддос
 - Натфорщ пе беп оттаї[0] отог ёре отхдом ймаргарітнс беп пібропос - пібропос
- 30 отог паре отпіщ⁴ йщщни рит пе ката оропос - ере фотаї фотаї йнітар форщ евод гіжен піоропос Алок пансі аінат ё отдотнр

× p. 82

× p. 81

the night the Angel of the Lord came and carried the holy Paŝsi aloft into Heaven and showed him...[of] Heaven, the city of...And the pure ones came forth to meet him and greeted him. They showed him the city of the pure ones, which was of gold and precious stones, shining more than the sun a thousand times. And the Angel...him and showed him a great house, exceeding glorious, made of stones of many colours, and flashing forth rays of light. That house had porticoes which flashed forth light. The pillars on the south side of the house were sixty; another sixty were on the north side of the house, and another sixty pillars on the east side of the house. Beneath¹ the house were seventy strong and glorious pillars; and it was built like a Church. ×1² looked towards the east and saw a great throne, very high: it had twelve steps, until one came up to the throne. And great was the splendor of that throne with its steps; and a great glory surrounded it. There were great trees shading it³ round about, bearing good fruit: and the smell of the trees was exceeding sweet. And I saw a scepter of gold upon the throne, and I saw two crowns of pearl upon the throne. I looked also and saw the pillars of the portico, and there was a throne to the east of the colonnade, one colonnade beside the other.⁴ They (the thrones ?) rose up in splendor; and there was a crown of pearl on each of the thrones. And there was a great tree planted near the throne, each one of its branches spread out over the throne... And I, Paŝsi, saw a layer...

[The dux commanded] them to remove the holy ones to the prison until the next day. And in the middle of

i.e. supporting the house.

se. 2 From here onwards the description is attributed to Paêsi himself (see l. 34). 3 Lit. 'crowning it.' 4 The meaning is obscure.

THE MARTYRDOM OF PETER OF ALEXANDRIA

XXII. THE MARTYRDOM OF PETER OF ALEXANDRIA

Parchment. Fragment (Cairo, no. 50), 17×15.7 cm., from the upper and outer part of a leaf paged $\overline{\text{ms}}$, $\overline{\text{mb}}$. For the hand, which is somewhat small, cp. Hyvernat, *Album*, Plate XLI, ii.

The text is part of the peroration and conclusion of an Encomium on an Archbishop and Martyr (\overline{M} ll. 13 f., \overline{M} ll. 10 f.) who is almost certainly Peter I of Alexandria (300-311 A.D.). It does not however belong either to the *Panegyric* or to the *Martyrdom* of Peter already published.¹

5	$\overline{\mu a}$ []. \overline{x} aπ a]φίος μμαρττ-].ς ετεπίστ].ς ετεπίστ] μαρεπονωπε]ταπωμη πτας είπα πτεστωάε] έχωπ πάχρεπ πχς φαί ετασμοης] βάτοτς]. ΧΗ πεμαπ βεπ πιςωμα]ται βε τηρς έ щωπι ποτπρος]τάτης πέρου μάχλοη].π βάτεπ πχς =]ος χε πημ εθουτά φω(π)] φαι πιψή παρχη- επιςκοπος στ]ος μμαρτρος ήτ[ε	 <u>κμ</u> <u>κμ</u> <u>κκ</u> <u>κκ</u> <u>κκ</u> <u>κκ</u> <u>κ</u> <u>κ</u>
	* * * .	15 помоотсюс пема[у Эпот пем [пснот півеп пем ща епес пте] [піепес тнрот амнп.]
	41	

*...the holy Martyr...faithful... Let us show forth...his will, that he may pray for us in the presence * *Recto* of the Christ Who hath taken him to Himself...while he was with us in the body...in all this manner to become an advocate, nay rather an...in the presence of the Christ...the holy ones poured (?)...this great Archbishop and Martyr of...

*...But the lover of God [was ever?] looking to the Glory [which is not] for a time, [but was] looking up at all times to the glory of the Kingdom of Heaven. May this Kingdom become (the possession) of us all [who seek for?] it, through the prayers of the holy Archbishop and Martyr of Christ, Abba Peter, and of all the Saints; glorifying the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, the Giver of Life, Who is consubstantial with Him, now and at all times and forever and ever, Amen.

1 Hyvernat, Les Actes des Martyres, pp. 247 ff., 263 ff.

XXIII. TEXTS RELATING TO SAINT MACARIUS

A. Four Odes on Saint Macarius.

Odes I–II. Paper. Two leaves, numbered $-\pi$, -ps and measuring 26×17.5 cm., from a fourteenth century MS. (Cairo, no. 93, Group 2 c) containing a collection of Hymns or Doxologies on Saints and Martyrs.¹ For the general style and script compare Plate XXIII A.

The first Ode is based on a passage in the Coptic *Life of Macarius*² which is worked up with more literary skill than is usual in compositions of this kind. The conclusion is missing, but there remain fifteen stanzas, written as paragraphs, each containing four short verses or lines carefully distinguished by circular red stops.

The second Ode, entitled "Abba Makari and his Children," is complete save for the last two lines of the final stanza, which are supplied below from the Vatican *Theotokia* (*Cod. Vat. Copt.* XXXVIII, fos. \overline{cmc} verso— $\overline{cm\zeta}$ recto). The more important variants of the Vatican text are noted below.³ The first six stanzas deal with the four-headed Cherubim⁴ who guarded Macarius and who is interpreted as symbolizing the Founders of the Four Monasteries of Shiêt.⁵ The last four stanzas (which in the Curzon *Theotokia*⁶ alone appear under the above title) briefly notice the worthies of Shiêt, Moses the Black, the Forty-nine Martyrs. Each of the ten stanzas is divided by stops into four lines of somewhat greater length than those in the foregoing Ode.

Odes III-IV. Paper. Two leaves, 24.5×16.5 cm., numbered \overline{ps} , \overline{ph} , from the *Difnâr* described below (No. xxxvIII F). For the style and script compare Plate XVIII B.

Two complete and successive Odes to Saint Macarius, composed for the melodies 'Batos' and 'Adam' respectively, and appointed for use on Phamenôth 27 (the Commemoration of Saint Macarius). The first four stanzas of the first Ode are also extant in a parchment leaf from a smaller book of hymns (below, No. XXXVIII G). They are there preceded by the following rubric: cor is inecopy - nxini eporn nie narm yeanon inenior affa makapi (red) eporn e mint + erxu mapordacq + S miakapun (black) yean inc(oc) faroc- (red); *i.e.* the hymn was also used on Mesôrê 19, the Feast of the Translation of Saint Macarius. The variant readings of this second copy are added at the foot of the complete text and are distinguished by the symbol P. Ode III originally ended with the fifth stanza; but the appended stanzas are in no way distinguished in the Ms.

I These and other leaves of the same character are identical in script, material, size, and style with a group of leaves from the *Theotokia* found in 1921. Probably there were two volumes supplementary to the *Theotokia* containing these Doxologies.

2 A.M.G. xxv, p. 93.

3 I am indebted to Dr De Lacy O'Leary for a copy of the Vatican text.

4 As usual, 'Cherubim' is treated as a singular. In A.M.G. xxv, 72 the 'Cherubim' is described as having six wings and many-eyed. For the archaeological value of the first part of this Ode see A.A.C.M. I, iv, § 5, and below, p. 122, note 2.

5 On the Four Monasteries see H.N.S. 1, § vii.

6 Curzon MSS., no. 131, fo. 112^a (I owe this reference to W. E. Crum).

TEXTS RELATING TO SAINT MACARIUS

Ode I.

авва макарі піпіщ†		
🔿 4 йте пшот • адщылі пем		Anas
підмні в піпіщ† авва макарі в		n)n
піппатофорос »——		TE T
• Датоз кохтоп • род • потхом есотав	25	Апат
5 ете піхерочым пе • ісхеп †архн •		ารท์
Ε 42εμςι ήστε2007 • Hen πιςπε-		è 21
уеми • едермеуетаи • Реи иг-		Anas
чрафн соотав »——		пX
Αцотопе ероц • ήχε πιχεροτ-	30	2wr
10 Агм • аусахт пемау • бпат рн-		Anaz
t eyzw mac >		22
Хе апат ерок макарі • мпербісі		тар
ήεнт • ήτεκτακο μπεκδιοι •		Етаца
едве пшот ппіршмі >	35	MØR
15 Акщапхык евод • ипгаретн тн-		μπα
рот • бхос Беп пекент • хе б-		X]€ ð
пок отречернові > • •		nıp
Άπατ έ πεκιαραλολι макарι • xe ay-1		TAR
дыпт è хык èboy • уперх ю	40	Аш і
20 ппіващор єтешот є тако й-		ped
печоттае >		nor
1 Page-heading: no to nort		Етац
ruge neuring		003

Απατ ε πεκщщнп макарι • Σε допт ή(πι)καρπος • μπερχα πιζαλα4 πτε τφε • è сωκ μπεдоττας

25 Άπαν έ πεκάρο μακαρι • Σε αμες ήάναθοη • μπερχω ήπιςιπωονι • έ ειщατς έρος +----

Апат è пекхої макарі • хе допт пхрима потро • мперхш ипі-

30 εωιμι ήτε φιολ • ε΄ ωλας ε΄ πεαρτ • Απατ ε΄ πεκεμβι λακαρι • ετ ακοτας τοτκ ε΄ αως • λπεραστητ ε¹... • ταρεςμωπι εςκωλα:----Εταιςωτελ ε΄ παι • ήας αββα

35 макарі • адшу свод едрімі • ідпаі рнт едхи імос +----

- Σ]ε αщ πε πασιςι ήρητ αποκ βα πιρεφερποδι • έτ α πιππα ετρωοτ τακο ήταψτχι +----
- 40 Ащ пе пабісі йент апок ба пірецерпові • йпіщеп бісі апок • пем отсоп ѐпее • 11 ----Стацситем ѐ паі • йхе піхеротвім • ацщотщот ѐхиц

¹ ϵ is added by the 1st hand to the right arm of τ : above are traces of an illegible addition.

Abba Makari the Great.

The God of Glory was with the just one, the Great Abba Makari, the Spirit-bearer,

For He assigned unto him a holy Power, even the Cherubim, from the beginning.

Whilst he was sitting one day in the cave, meditating upon the Holy Scriptures,

There appeared unto him the Cherubim and spake with him on this wise, saying:

"Look to thyself, Makari, be not proud of heart: lose not thy labor because of the glory of men.

"When thou hast fulfilled all the virtues, say in thine heart: 'I am a sinner.'...

"*Look to thy vineyard, Makari, for it is near the vintage:¹ let not mischievous foxes destroy its fruit. * f

"Look to thy tree, Makari, for it beareth fruit: let not the fowls of the air spoil its fruit.

"Look to thy treasury, Makari, for it is full of good things: let not thieves break into it.

"Look to thy ship, Makari, for it is full of royal treasures: let not the waves of the sea overwhelm it.

"Look to thy plough, Makari, to which thou hast set thy hand; look not aside to that which maketh it (?) become crooked."

When Abba Makari heard these words, he cried out, weeping, and spake on this manner:

"What is my pride of heart, sinner that I am, when evil spirits corrupt my soul?

"What is my pride of heart, sinner that I am? I have not labored with a brother² at any time."

When the Cherubim heard this, he commended him...

I Or (less probably) 'it is nigh to ending (perishing).'

2 i.e. 'I have never spent pains over a brother.'

* fo. 80

Ode II.

авва макарі пем печшнрі ват(ос)¹

- ιχερογδια εφαнη έροκ πασς ήιωτ αββα μακαρι • ωατεςεικ έ παι ωαςεγ • εςοι πΣ μπροςωποη •
- 5 Οτεο λμοτι πεμ στεο λμαςι στεο ήρωμι πεμ στεο ήπαμτος • Φαι πε πττηος λπιχεροτδιμ • κατα πςαχι ήτεραφη • Ginaini λπιεο λμοτι • εχεπ
- 10 πεπιωτ αθέα μακαρι xε αqщωπι ποτμοτι ήχωρι² • οτβε πιππα μποπηροη • +
 - נוחגוחו אחוצס אמגנו בצבח חב(ח-) ושד גאאג ושבחחור • צב חסטן
- 15 αφσο ληιψε ε ηψοτωοτ ψα(n-)³ τεφρωτ⁴ αφ⁴ καρπος • > ____ Ειπαίπι ληιξο ήρωμι • εχεη

лепиы авва пщог • хе йоод Ассахі пем п<u>хс</u> • достан

20 мытсис піпомофетис • >----

¹ red. пем пн е Θ (отаh), Vat. ² едемеем, Vat. ³ p. ра begins. ⁴ етщотшот адфгрг ёhод, Vat.

- Ειπαίπι μπιζο μπαπτος εχε(π) πεπιοτ ήρωμεος • χε ήθωοτ ατσι ήζαπτεπς ήχρωμ • ατερ ςαβοτη έ παι ψαφετ •
- 25 Ις μωτς πιχαμη εως αςι έβοτ(π) ε παι μαςετ • αςερφοριη μπιχλομ ήαθλωμ ήτε 4μετά Πιπθ μά • πιβελλοι ήτε πιμαςετ • ατφωή μποτ-
- 30 cnoy èhoλ¹ 21zen Anetpa nτε πιδμοτη • +----
 - Φαιτιά ελλαριά Φαιτιά άπαςταςιά • Φάιτιά άριψι μα • πιμελετ ήτε πχζ • +----
- 35 Ηιτοπος ετ ακςεμπητον παστ ήιωτ αββα μακαρι • ςεπακη(π) απ [εντ οντας • щα τςνητελια πτε παι έπες •

Тиве инос есрни ехин • поос

о пимт авва макарі • пем пекщнрі пстатрофорос • теух(w)]

¹ а піварварос Бютєв йлюот, Vat.

Abba Makari and his Children.

(Melody) 'Batos.'

The Cherubim who abode with thee, my Lord Father, Abba Makari, until he brought thee unto these deserts,¹ had four faces:

A face of a lion and a face of a bull, a face of a man and a face of an eagle. Such is the fashion of the Cherubim according to the word of the Scripture.²

I will liken the face of a lion unto our Father Abba Makari; for he became a mighty lion against the evil spirits. I will liken the face of a bull unto our Father Abba John; for he *planted the tree in the dry ground, till

it bare fruit.³ I will liken the face of a man unto our Father Abba Pishoi; for he spake with Christ,⁴ like Moses the Law-

giver. I will liken the face of an eagle unto our Roman Fathers; for they received wings of fire and sped into these

deserts.⁵ Lo, Moses the Black also came into these deserts: he wore the unfading crown of martyrdom.⁶

The Forty-nine Martyrs, the old men of the deserts—they poured forth their blood upon the Rock of Piamoun.⁷

The holy Ellaria (Hilaria), the holy Anastasia, the holy Aripsima, the brides of Christ.⁸

The Sanctuaries which thou hast established, my Lord Father, Abba Makari, shall not cease to bear fruit until the end of this age.

Pray the Lord for us, my Lord Father, Abba Makari, with thy cross-bearing sons, that He may forgive (us our sins).

I See Life of Macarius (A.M.G. XXV, 72 ff.).

2 Eqekiel I, 10 (cp. Macarius, Hom. I, 1, commenting thereon). In the Haikal of Benjamin at the Mon. of S. Macarius the NE. soffit of the dome is decorated with the painting of a four-headed 'Cherubim.' This doubtless represents the Cherubim of Macarius reputed also (cp. No. XXIII c) to have appeared at the Consecration of this Sanctuary. (See A.A.C.M. I, iv, § 5.)

3 Cp. No. XXIV, 2, and see H.N.S. 1, vii, § 5.

4 See H.N.S. 1, vii, § 6.

5 The Coptic Life of these Saints (Maximus and Domitius)

gives a different version of their arrival (A.M.G. xxv, 293); but note that the Karet el Mulûk, the hill with which these saints are associated, was formerly known as the Hill of the *Eagle*-Stones. 6 See H.N.S. 1, x, § 4.

7 id., 1, x, § 7, and references there given.

8 *id.*, 11, i, § 3; iv, 2. The connexion of Arepsima with Scetis, however, is obscure. She is commemorated in the Synax., Tût 29 (ed. Basset, pp. 92 ff.), as having been martyred in Armenia. May we conjecture that her body was brought at some date to the Armenian Monastery in Shiêt (on which see H.N.S. IV, V, § 4)?

TEXTS RELATING TO SAINT MACARIUS

Odes III-IV.

рð TC (Orn.) θC 19 Отор пацсахі пемак » йфрнф потсоп пем пец-Cor RT MILABOT со]п + хе хилем ймок σοιτλιπ ωωπόμωφ 35 tn]or ehod + xe nai thpor авва макарі ватос ين برم ая]хотщт паррак » Царототпоч птотоедил » Отор ётанмор ёвод + беп * тниц этй тэрьщип эхй отп]іщ4 поєуну + пеncement coomora epoy + xa]R xe naor inc + 17 m-40 мфрн† поткрипоп » па ппа ё пекхіх з × \overline{pa} 5 × $\overline{N}ce2\omega c$ oto2 $ncecmot^2$ + Tw]hg пем пщдод тнрч ппімопахос3 + егрні ёхеп *~ .. ~ .. ~ .. ~ * πεκαιή щарон4 + ώ пι-Hojoy on asam піщ75 авба макарі » Ho of Anarapioc + 10 Χε οτ[Η]16 εβολριτοτκ & ph и[іще]des + щоиг чфы-×пепішт авва макарі ф пипатофорос + фи-† пранвакі⁷ + піма ёте ωт ппиопахос → ймоп рымі йынтц⁸ → акмаротя патос пте ф† + Акбохі пкадыс + беп 5 пісталіоп + щаптек-15 Наг ет акрокот10 прапмабі мпідшем + пте піτοι + πρεημιμί πκωλως + **⊅ішиои** ∻ оте підракши папос-Акщыні пап птэпос » татис > пем пецпотмероп етешот + 10 реп изподные + ием ппросетун + Беп отот-20 Oven tento epor + 9wc помопн > шны ите иекеххи » чо-Акщыпі потпістос + пtoo Ande esphi exwn + ωκ άςδδε + εκτρι άφ[οτптечха пеппові пап ēboλ ∻ ωщ + ππεκστ πκαλω[ς 15 Фамению пе піавот » Аксытем ё †смн + х[е ка-25 λως ακί + πιβωκ εθ[πα-*ет акемтоп ймоч пънтч » ben niegoor ncor R7 + ney + otop et engot Отор енппе аці щаров » Епіхн акщюпі з екепñ≈е піхеротвім єттн ÷ 20 гот Беп ганкотх[1 пем запхирос патте-30 маще пак ёботп » ё λ iron \Rightarrow nem ni \oplus wottc фращі йте пекос 4 nnizireoc + *~.. giten ni ~ ² ñøicnor, P. ¹ отоје птотщещ, Р. ³ nte [nim]ona xoc, P. 4 gapwor, P. 6 P adds wap. 5 [na] or niwr, P. ⁷ [y]ωπι άθλαι, P. ⁸ ñ_bhtot (sic), P. 9 atmos, P. 10 отор акьокот, Р.

The xxvii Day of the Month Phamenôth.¹ The holy Abba Makari.

(Melody) 'Batos.'

Let the deserts of Shift rejoice and be glad: let them give forth fragrance like a lily.

Let them sing and give praise with the whole race of the monks for thy coming unto us, O great Abba Makari.

For lo, through thee the desert is become like a city; the place wherein there was no man, thou hast filled with holy men of God.

1 The death-day of S. Macarius. The first hymn was also used on Mesôrê 19, the date of his Translation (see

Introductory Note).

Thou didst gird them as soldiers, champions of might against the apostate dragon and his wicked legions. Wherefore we pray thee, as sons of thy prayers, entreat the Lord for us to forgive us our sins.¹

Phamenôth was the month wherein thou didst fall asleep, on the seven and twentieth day...²

And lo, there came unto thee that Cherubim with choirs of angels and the companies of the Just.

And he spake unto thee as a brother with his brother: "Haste thee and come forth; for all these wait for thee."

And when thou wast filled with a great joy, thou didst say: "My Lord Jesus, into Thy hands I commend my spirit."

Pray, etc.

The same again. (Melody) 'Adam.'

A blessed one art thou, Our Father Abba Makari, Bearer of the Spirit, The Father of the Monks. Nobly didst thou run in the course, until thou didst receive the summons to the banquet. Thou didst become an example to us in thy discipline, and thy prayers, (and) in thine endurance. Thou wert a faithful and wise servant, in that thou didst well the will of thy Lord.

Thou didst hear the voice: "Well done, good and faithful servant,

Since thou hast been faithful in small things, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord." Through the (prayers), etc.

B. Macarius and the Hieracite.

Parchment. Two leaves from a single MS. Frag. 1 (Cod. Tisch. XXVI, 3), 28×20.5 cm., is paged $\overline{q\overline{q}}$ (first page of quire \overline{q}) and $\overline{q\overline{m}}$.³ Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 58), 29.6×21.7 cm., is paged (on the verso) \overline{pi} . The written column measures $20.3 \times \text{about } 13$ cm.: the stops used are = and (occasionally) -. The hand, characterized by its heavy downstrokes (see Plate IX B), is similar to that of No. XXI, Frags. 1 and 5, and may be identical with the hand of Hyvernat, Album, Pl. XLIII (late twelfth to early thirteenth century).

The fragments belong to an excerpt from the Coptic version of the Lausiac History⁴ relating to Macarius (whereof the complete text is extant in Cod. Vat. Copt. LIX, 8),⁵ and correspond to fos. 156 verso and 160 recto-verso of that Ms. They are here published for comparison with the Greek text published by Preuschen.⁶

Butler rejects the anecdote of the encounter with the Hieracite who denied the Resurrection, but admits the healing of the demoniac boy.⁷ Apart from the extracts given by Zoëga, the Vatican text has not been published.

I What follows is either a distinct hymn or an addition.

2 A line appears to have dropped out of this stanza.

3 See Leipoldt, *l.c.*, p. 409.

4 See Zoëga, Cat., no. LXX (p. 127).

5 I am indebted to W. E. Crum for the loan of photographs of this MS.

6 Palladius u. Ruffinus, pp. 124 ff. Our fragments correspond to pp. 126, ll. 6 ff., and 129, l. 23 to p. 130 respectively.

7 Hist. Laus. (ed. Butler), ch. XVII.

TEXTS RELATING TO SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 1 (Cod. Tisch. XXVI, 3).

5. 1 (00	<i>A</i> . <i>1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1</i>		
	$\overline{\zeta}$ $\overline{i}\overline{HC}$ $\overline{N}\overline{\chi}\overline{C}$ $\overline{q}\overline{\zeta}$		यम उठ 🟹
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	а потощ птиво свод-		XE TETENXW MMOC = XE
	Беп пщок ппепент		таі сарз пем паікас па-
	моя саха пащаемаом	-	τῶοτηστ
5	The pogs not frompats	5 Ф	ча мматату ап пе ёрете(п-)
	Щаршот =		$\infty \omega$ made = 20mm $\omega \infty$
	Α πιδελλο cwr exwy ben		хо инос = хе е пщны и-
	отсак пте отметрем-		ф7 от сару пем кас п-
	разщ адераспадесое	10 0	рым леприф
10	, ponu	10 0	тог а пъреддо сботав ероты пач Беп отсем-
	Here hidroc hag = $x \in [e^{-1}]$		ni edzm wwoc = ze icze
	ве от ща фоот лпе[к-		αποη ετχω πηαι έβολ-
	пат ероп отог пп[ек-		2ιτοτεπ = ιε απαστοτ
	21 ο ν κοτ έ ροη	15	еводбен пенка 7 = 1е
15	Пехац блиатос [хе мпі-	5	πε καλως πεκσεμαρικι
	21 ко ⁴ ерште[п хе петеп-		epon
	naet cmont an	I	Схе Апрафн соотав пе
	Πεσε πιρωμι π[τε φ7 πας		етастнітот стотен
	же пекпар ⁴ [соттып п-	20	ie кадис тепiрi бмос =
20	θοκ = πεχας [πας σε сот-		істе отп а тмефмні пте
	тып еметы [ене-		ф7 отыц ё щыпі лплі
	$\underline{\mathbf{u}}\omega =$		рн†=
	Пехе пениыт авва мака-		поок пім поок єкф ёбот(п)
	bi us $d = x \in 0$ is used in the second sec	25	е́греп півшш пте ф7
25	εωοτ ie πirwdx ετβε(n)	8	нпа птащтемешх свох
	nenñaet anon		
	Пехе піршлі стешот пач		

¹ The endings of ll. 11–21 are illegible owing to heavy damp-stain.

*[The Bishop said: "What, then, are we] to do, my Father? We have need of full many prayers from the depth of our hearts: (our) speech (alone) will not prevail."

So when he had called him (sc. the heretic), he came unto them. The old man (Macarius) went to meet him with a gentle greeting (?) and kissed him. The holy man said unto him: "Why for so long hast thou not seen us and hast not visited us ?" He said unto the holy man: "I have not visited you because your faith agreeth not (with mine)." The man of God said unto him: "Is thy faith right?" He said unto him: "It is right in very deed." Our Father Abba Makari said unto him: "What evil or what error is there in our faith?" The wicked man said unto him: *'Your faith is not right because ye say that this flesh and these bones shall rise again. And it is not this only that ye say, but ye affirm that the Son of God took the flesh and bones of a man like us." And the holy old man (Macarius) answered him sternly, saying: "If we say this of ourselves, or affirm it of our own reason, then thy complaint against us is sound. (But) if it is the Holy Scripture which gave it us, then we do well in holding it. Since, then, the truth of God is in this wise,¹ who art thou to with-stand the ordinance of God? But that I may not proceed [to much discussion with thee, I will tell thee of our belief]."

I Lit. 'wishes to become of this sort.'

×p. 98

Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 58).

*	
oc Rotpioc	
евоубя игрн = еддяг ₁	
ммоц білей иедакці	n)
отог птечсомс гіжеп	Ĺ
пімшот пн ет ецеш-	

- 5 μι έχωοτ Ηη ηπαχωλη απ = χε αγωλι πτεγχιη(π)ατ εβολεα πιρη ετγαι μμος εβολειτεη (π)εγακτιη = οτ
- 10 пе етпъщипі ммоч же ачер атситем пса пірн =

Φη εταω ππος πας αε ππερχω ηςωκ ητααιη-

15 πατ πτεκςομς φιχε(π) πιμωστ χε στηι πθοκ απ ετίζαι μμοκ αλλα παακτιπ πε

20 Ornai pht Ewy ne nipwмі ёре теухіппат² томі ё фt еукwt пса пшот лфt пснот півеп щаукwt пса

25 месте пьот ппірымі Ещып птецрікі беп пыот

¹ εται, MS. ² πεα-, MS.

गार्म मार मि मरूट

ппіршмі щацгеі ёвод га пшот йф7 пем тец-1 хіппат-щацошбем гітеп отмнщ мпабос

- 5 е пъліе щаухидк мпецлочіп е птиру А піёпіскопос тимт едоі пщфирі птеухіп-
- сахі- пем педкаф ет-10 щом отог адше пад е тедподіс едф йот йфф = пем педбык авба макарі
- 20 пъемып еддові ёмащы

Ере тедмат мощі йсюд есрімі = пе даі тар те теперча мпіземоп ё-

25 теммах Фаз ете мененса өредобом ñr ммент позк

отог птечси потмат

Ϋωιπι πεα ποτχαι άπαμεπριτ πεοπ παιωτ χαμλ π<u>σς</u> χας τες ταμο επ²

¹ neq-, MS.

² sic exit.

× (p. 111) = Preuschen, p. 129 f.

× p. 112

ch. xvII

= Hist. Laus.,

["...As if someone were walking upon the sea and gazing steadfastly] *towards the sun which beareth him up by means of its beams, and were to look upon the waters upon which he walketh: will he not be submerged, because he hath removed his gaze from the sun which supported him with its beams ? What will happen unto him because he hath disobeyed the sun which said unto him: 'Take heed to thy gaze that thou look not upon the waters; for, lo, it is not thou who bearest up thyself, but my beams'? Even so also the man whose gaze is fixed upon God, seeking after the glory of God at all times, is wont to seek to hate the glory of men. If he turn aside to the glory *of men, he falleth away from the glory of God, and his gaze is defiled by a multitude of passions, and in the end he submerges his cargo altogether."

The Bishop marveled, being astounded at his speech and his excellent wisdom: and he departed to his city, praising God and His servant Abba Makari.

Once an old woman came unto him (sc. Macarius) and brought unto him her son, bound in (chains of) iron and held by two men, being possessed by a demon which raved exceedingly. His mother walked after him weeping. For this was the working of that demon: after he had eaten three measures and drunk water...¹

I The note at the foot of p. 112 reads: "I seek after the health of my beloved brother, my father Chael. The Lord deliver him that he may declare..." Adjoining is a crudely

drawn figure of an orans. The same note is repeated in the right margin.

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TEXTS RELATING TO SAINT MACARIUS

C. AGATHOS THE PRIEST

The Vision of Benjamin or The Consecration of the Church of Saint Macarius.

The hand (see Plate III B), a large, bold, but rather coarse uncial, is identical with the hand of No. xxix and apparently of Hyvernat, *Album*, Plate xxiii: it may be assigned to the mid-tenth century. The written column (in Frag. 3) measures $27.5 \times 17-18.5$ cm. Guide-lines are ruled for alternate lines of the text. The holes made by the pins which held the ruler in place³ are visible in the right margin of the *recto*. Spaces for stops were left by the scribe but have not been filled in by the *rubricator*. On Frag. 1, *verso* (ll. 8-10), however, cross-hatching is used to distinguish a Biblical quotation.

The fragments belong to a narrative describing the Consecration of the Church in the Monastery of Saint Macarius by Benjamin I on Tôbi 8, *circa* 655 A.D., and the visions seen by the Archbishop on that occasion.⁴ After a eulogy on Benjamin (partly preserved in our Frag. 1), the author, Agathos,⁵ the *syncellus* of the Patriarch, relates that the monks of Saint Macarius came to Alexandria and begged the Archbishop to come to Shiêt to consecrate the Church which they had newly built. Benjamin's journey into the desert and the actual Consecration is then described. During the ceremony the Archbishop notices an old man of remarkable appearance in the Church and is informed by a 'Cherubim' who appears in the Sanctuary that this is none other than Saint Macarius. Frag. 2 relates the amazement of Benjamin at this vision, and certain warnings uttered by the Cherubim to which Macarius warmly replies. In the night following the Consecration the Cherubim reappeared to Benjamin and delivered to him seven Canons or rules governing the service of the new Sanctuary. Frag. 3 commences with Benjamin's warning to all who shall transgress these Canons, and goes on to relate how Benjamin was informed by the 'Cherubim' of the date of his death, and how the Archbishop requested his *syncellus*, Agathos, continually to remind him of the warning.

No Coptic fragments of the conclusion are preserved. But the whole narrative is extant in a very slightly abbreviated Arabic version incorporated by Severus of Ashmunên in his *History of the Patriarchs*.⁶ Since Severus himself states that the Monastery of Saint Macarius was one of the sources whence he derived his material, it is very probable that our fragments belong to the very MS. consulted by the historian or by his literary assistants:⁷ the same copy may have been consulted by the compilers who wrote the summary of the above narrative which appears in the *Synaxarium*.⁸

I Concerning this Sanctuary see H.N.S. III, ii, §4; A.A.C.M. II, iv, § 5.

2 From the Tischendorf collection.

3 See Introduction, § 7.

4 See H.N.S., *l.c.*; *Hist. of the Patr.* (ed. Evetts), pp. 239 ff.; *Synax.*, Tôbi 8 (ed. Basset, pp. 522 ff.).

5 For the form of this name see p. 131, note 2.

6 ed. Evetts, pp. 239 ff.

7 Cp. Introduction, § 2. (References to the parallel passages in the Arabic as edited and translated by Evetts are added in the margin of my translation of the Coptic fragments.)

8 Probably the compilers of the *Synax*. made considerable use of the Library in the Monastery of Saint Macarius.

Frag. 1 (Cod. Tisch. XXIV, 23).

οτ.η[.... οτω]ης πο[το]ητάςια λο[η]ικ[.. ετ αςε]ροεωριη μμος ο[τος αςταμο μμος] ήχε πεπιωτ [εθοταβ αββα β]επι-

5 аміп піа[рхнепіскоп]ос пте †піщ† [пвакі] p[ако-†

еөве пібічасмос пте 4піщ4 пкаводіян отод папос-

10 דסלוגא הפגאלאכוג הדב חו-יוושל הסבסקסססכ סדסצ געהה-דסקסססכ הבחושד גללג אג-אגטו הדב חודשסד בססדגל הדב שואד

15 Сутамо ймон стайошс пем етареныс же пестмат пем пестаго ератс пем песатасмос.[...].й пптмат йф[т фиыт не]м пед-

20 щнрі пепот їнс п]<u>х</u> с пем піппа еботав пре]утапдо] εцересба]песбе отог ецбе-

wpin . . .] ซะ ทะทางน มีมอง-

25 метщн]рі аййа макарі ешс прост]атис [ецер]бейріп ймоц п]ем [піхом ппі]отрапотс етсапщю[і] пем пұ йа[..]п.[.....]етерачі-30 адіп м]моц [беп отр]ирипи

[пн]ил †ф [этп

ΗΗ ΓΩΡ Ε[ΤΕ] ΠΟΥπονς βε[η πι]φμονι μ]ονερλο[μπρν]πιπ πε βε(π) πιώον [εθ]ονα[k] πτε φιωτ

5 пте піо[т]шіні отор ймон петродж паррат йфрн4 п4йпатікн пасапн ката

- фопос фрн4 етсьнотт 💥 хе хем4пі бпбт хе отредхе пе
 - 10 πος × Οτπαι ρητ πε βεπιαμιά πιπαπαρετος πιωτ στος πεαβ παρχηεπιςκοπος Πιτραμματικός αληθώς
 - 15 οτος πιεωιτ πτε τορθο20-Ζιά φη ετεωοτή Μπιποήμα άτε ηι[τρ]άφη πιρεμηщαςε ε[τεπουτ
 - 20 Фн етацх..[. пра]пмнщ ймэстнргоп пте пгрем[пка] отог адераподатг[п йм]фот еөве же адіщі птедсару пем песпадос йтнс

25 חער חומרשחספראר א[אאו קא פד כמחששו חסזסה חו-אפה סזסצ פעכפא[חו] חפע[חמו] פעפ(ח) הא פדפאמעל[אפר]ספ קפה הפטאל(א)

30 мфрн4 мп. [1] wт

* Recto *A...appearance of a Vision...beheld and related (?) by our holy Father, Abba Benjamin,¹ the Archbishop of the great city Rakoti, touching the Consecration of the great Catholic and Apostolic Church² of the great God-bearer and Spirit-bearer, our Father Abba Makari of the holy Mount of Shiêt; when he declared unto us in customary and seemly wise that the ordinance and the institution and the consecration (of the Church) [were in accordance with?] the good pleasure of God the Father and of His Son, Our Lord Jesus the Christ, and of the Holy Spirit the Giver of Life; when he perceived and beheld how our Father, the lover of sonship, Abba Makari, as a champion³ was beholding it (the Consecration) along with the Powers of the Heavens above; also the...when it (the Consecration) was being performed. In the Peace of God! Amen.

× Verso = Hist. Patr., p. 239 *They whose minds are in the Heavens are wont to shine with the pure glory of the Father of Lights, and there is nothing so sweet in their sight as spiritual love; as it is written: "Taste and see that the Lord is sweet."⁴ Such an one was Benjamin, the all-virtuous Father and learned Archbishop, the scholar indeed and the glory of Orthodoxy; who understood the meaning of the Scriptures, the faithful dweller in the desert; he who comprehended (?) many mysteries of the wise and enjoyed them, because he crucified his flesh and its passions⁵ unto (?) Jesus the Christ, the true Ordainer of the contest, He Who is above every one and establishes His mercy upon them who rejoice in His Name; like my father...

1 Benjamin I, 622-661 A.D. For his history see Hist. of the Patr., pp. 223 ff.

and Monastery with the See of the 'Apostle' S. Mark. 3 Macarius pleaded the cause of his 'sons' in reply to

2 This Church was in the Monastery of S. Macarius. The epithet 'Catholic' is here equivalent to 'Cathedral,' 'Archiepiscopal' (see Crum, in *P.S.B.A.*, 1905, p. 171): 'Apostolic' is used in virtue of the intimate connexion of the Church the strictures of the 'Cherubim' (*Hist. of the Patr.*, p. 244). 4 *Psalm* XXXIII, 9 (XXXIV, 8). On the marginal direction "Translate it" (*i.e.* the citation) see Crum in *P.S.B.A.* XXIX, p. 303. 5 Cp. *Galatians* V, 24.

TEXTS RELATING TO SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 2 (C.U.L. Add. 1885, 8^A).

оеуну ечайт] иеч асчи учад еяшал ебо]д едХн учад еяшал ебо]д едХн

5 прот пте фн ефо]тав ессепсеп беп пама]шх ес-Чреді ммог] Начхо ммос же пні]пе пхе

піхеротым]

- 10 Χε εщωπ αρεщап пе]чширі мощі Беп фма ймощі]етсоттωп . . κα]та тапотбесіа би єт ачмо]щі й Битс пже айба мака]рі отор
- 15т]от атпасид ебот]п пемац еботп е фла йп]отро отог птототпоц й]лшот пемац беп пілшіт п]те фотші-

20 ms]

- Адда пн етатщ]темсштем е пецешпееп] птотщтеммощі ката тецеп]тодн ймоптот кднрос пема]ц адда се[па-25 сітот еводь]еп Фагедн [ото]г
- . .]от паще [.]о . . кдиро]пома]

Тоте пехац пац йх]е [п]омні ав-

- 30 ва макарі . .]етщап . . .]метмаі
 - . . . па]ос ймо(п)

••••]

īē

мпє[рсфратути ппащнрі лпа[ісахі и папня Άλλα εщωπ ε οτοπ οτπαφ-DI PE[U OLCWAS Edoloz MREP TAROU SE OTON OF-5 смот пте фт щоп пънта Anon rap thast e nxc nimenріт пт[афтхн же ещоп птотъ[іатиріп потептоли п-10 отыт м[..... йже пащнpr ſ ETE THE[THAICON ET . . . е потерн[от Беп отщапөпарт е 15 толн Εποου πείευαι πποπάαλ ε πщы е тфе потсоп ммнпі е ηχς της ή[τογщληλ ερου Tennaet e[pog 20 Lowny mgajude at a second ль αλλα απαπ[αρμον εβολβεπ HIRODACIC N[TE AMEN] - t son muy inwars win to sale 25 м]етапога п[пгрецерпойг отъе -рэчи этп том ф шит[0]р ерпові мф[н адда є тасошот ethetanolia 30 Тоте Бе[п пхиптасштем е паг птоту [мфн соотав авва MARAPI AIRAT NTEGMETMAIшнрі т[

*[Thereupon] I marveled at him as I beheld him remaining in the midst of his sons and rejoicing greatly, and (I marveled at) the dread voice of that holy one^1 which resounded in my ears and dismayed me.

Then said the Cherubim unto me, "If his sons walk in the straight way according to (?) my counsel wherein Abba Makari walked and . . ., they shall enter in with him into the palace of the King and delight themselves with him in the realms of light. But they who harken not unto his precepts and walk not according to his commandment, shall have no portion with him, but shall be cast forth from the flock and [shall have no portion in ?] his inheritance." Then the righteous Abba Makari said unto him: ". . . *Put not thy seal² upon my sons with this word, O my lord. But if there be a grape sound in a cluster, destroy it not, for there is a blessing of God upon it.³ For I trust in Christ the beloved of my soul that if my sons keep one single commandment. . . ., which is the love of brethren [shown ?] to one another in pity; or (if they keep) another one [of my] commandments, but shall raise up their eyes to Heaven once in a day unto the Christ Jesus and [pray unto Him ?], we trust in Him that He will not forget them, but will deliver them from the punishments of Amenti. For God, the Lover of mankind, seeketh after the repentance of sinners and desireth not the death of sinners, but (rather) to bring them to repentance."

Then when I heard these things at the mouth of the holy Abba Makari, I understood his love for his sons.

1 sc. the 'Cherubim.'

2 Cp. Rev. XXII, 10.

3 Isaiah LXV, 8. The saying is again put in the mouth of Macarius in the 'Translation of the Forty-nine Martyrs'

(Notices et Extraits, XXXIX, p. 334). It is again used in a fragmentary text published by Crum (Theological Texts, no. IX, p. 41).

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* (p. 15) = Hist. Patr., p. 244 f.

×р. 16

Frag. 3 (Cairo, no. 2).

καμις¹ ετσαληστ ερος κεμ πεςστειαςτηριοκ ςεοητ απ εχεπ ελι εβηλ έ ςελειλ πρεμρατιμ

5 пепіянс етхня ебодбе(п) гмот пібен сопапет

Ифрн ет ере пісаь папостолос патлос оі ймеөре

10 пап апісахі пте паі бысем фаі

Απατ μπερμετί ώ παςημοτ τε εταιτατρο ππαι αφοριςμος εθλε ται τεπεα θαι μ-

- 20 62005
- Εθβε φαι αιςδαι ώπαι καπω(n) δεη ονταχρο αιχας εθβε η[μ] εθπαϊ κατα ςμον είπα ñτονεεπον εβολ εα πωον ππι-
- 25 ρωμι οτος πсемепре пωοт πφτ ετσοci

Адхw [м]пы кесахі пні оп йхе фа Фморфн потшіпі е-

30 щып Алпща ры ймоц хе 204 пе пте пьедоот п-

¹ sc. 28]namic. ² Text uncertain.

те пекхіпі єводдеп сома еркатапта́п є пієдоот ñте паі а̀тіасмос фаі ñте таі еккднсіа єфотав ñter-

5 ψε πακ ζα πχς φη ετ εκμει ώμος οτος χπαώτοπ ώμοκ πεμ πιδικεος¹ τηροτ δεπ ίλημ τπολις πηη ετοτηση τη-

10 por

- Пехні пац хе папня гара ф7 пааіт пмпща рю ебрецщопт ероц Беп паі ёгоот сботав фаі птец-
- 15 αε παщιηι ήβ[η]τη αποκ βα πεηθωκ ήρεηερποδι
 - Чсмаршотт йхе паннв пхс фменріт йтафтхн пем
- 25 λοιποπ αιμονή έ αναθος πιπρεςβντερος πεχμι πας χε παιμηρι άναθος ςβαι ώπαι εχοον ήτε παι ανιαςμος ε τοτκ ονος μαφμετί
- 30 пні єрод ймнпі гіпа птащюпі єпрі йфметі ппапові

¹ ϵ added above the line by a later hand.

 \times Recto = Hist. Patr., pp. 250 f. [Know, my brethren, that not one of these¹ shall receive the lot of Jacob; and the] *power which rests upon it (*sc.* the Sanctuary) and its altar: they are concerned with naught save the ornament of meekness and gentleness, which is perfect in every good grace; even as the Epistle of the Apostle Paul beareth us witness in the discourse on this same vocation.² Lo,³ think not, my brethren, that I have decreed this excommunication because of this generation, but...because of that (generation) which will come,⁴ even as was showed unto me by him (*sc.* the 'Cherubim' or Seraph⁵) who declared unto me, "I fear that they shall become (such) in the last days." For this cause I have written this Canon⁶ strongly. I establish it because of those who will come after a time, that they may turn away from the glory of men and love the glory of God most High.

1 *i.e.* violators of the Canons of Benjamin which immediately preceded this fragment (see *Hist. of the Patr.*, p. 250). 2 See *Galatians* v, 22 ff.

3 In the Arabic this and the following paragraphs are inverted.

4 The Arabic has "Nay rather I have written them because there will come another generation in the last times which will deserve what I have written," etc. This may be no more than a natural expansion of a compressed clause, but it is equally possible that after 1. 15 one or two lines have dropped out of the Coptic. 5 A 'Cherubim' or Seraph appeared to Benjamin during the Consecration of the Church (see *Hist. of the Patr.*, pp. 244 ff.). It was perhaps to commemorate this appearance that a Seraph was painted on the NE. soffit of the dome in the (ninth cent.) Haikal of Benjamin in the Church of S. Macarius (see above, p. 122, note 2).

6 Clearly the Coptic contained the Canons of Benjamin. If these are interpolated, the interpolation is earlier than the tenth century, the date of these fragments.

TEXTS RELATING TO SAINT MACARIUS

Again, this word also spake he of the glorious form unto me, if indeed I am worthy of it: "The time of the day of *thy passing out of the body (will) coincide with the day of the Consecration of this Church;¹ that thou mayest depart unto Christ Whom thou lovest. And thou shalt rest with all the righteous in Jerusalem, the city of all them who rejoice." I said unto him: "My lord, shall God then make me worthy that He may take me unto Him upon this same holy day, that He should speak of my visitation upon it—me, His sinful servant? Praised be my Lord the Christ, the beloved of my soul and spirit, that He hath wrought His great mercy upon me." And straightway the Cherubim vanished from before me.

Then I called unto Agathos² the Priest and said unto him: "My son, Agathos, write down this day of this Consecration and remind me of it daily, that I may be mindful of my sins."

D. The Translation of Saint Macarius.

Parchment. Three leaves³ from a single MS., namely Cod. Tisch. XXIV, 22 $(23 \times 25 \text{ cm.})$,⁴ XXIV, 32 $(34 \times 25 \text{ cm.})$, and XXIV, 24 $(32 \times 23 \text{ cm.})$:⁵ the second and third leaves are clearly consecutive. The title is enclosed in a narrow frame of double-strand cable-work. In the upper margin is a 'rubric' in informal uncials stating the occasions on which the work was to be publicly read. As usual, the first line of the text is in large ornate capitals; the hand of the remainder is identical with that of Nos. VIII B, XXIII C, and XXIX, and must therefore be assigned to the tenth century.⁶

After the title and exordium (Frag. 1) the text records the death of Macarius and his burial in a cave near the Church which he had built. Attracted by the miracles wrought by means of his body, the men of P-djidjbêr resolve to steal the relics and convey them to their own town (Frag. 2). This they succeed in doing. The remains of the saint installed in a new Church at P-djidjbêr work fresh marvels. Subsequently, when the town had been devastated by the Arabs and the shrine was neglected, a certain Joseph, *archon* of Elmi, removed the body to his own town in the Year of the Martyrs 500, and built for it a new Church (Frag. 3). For the sequel reference must be made to the summary in the *Synaxarium*,⁷ where it is related that in the days of the Patriarch John,⁸ the monks of the Monastery of Saint Macarius went to Elmi and after some difficulty were allowed to take possession of the body. On their return journey across the desert the spot where a 'Cherubim' had once taken the hand of Saint Macarius was supernaturally revealed. The remains were enshrined in the monastic Church, where they still rest along with the bodies of Macarius of Alexandria, Macarius of Tkôou, and John the Little.

Possibly the narrative was composed and first pronounced in 830 A.D., at the Consecration of the restored 'Sanctuary of Benjamin,' wherein presumably the relics of the saint were reinstalled after the Fifth Sack of the Monasteries.⁹

I Benjamin I is commemorated in the Coptic Calendar on Tubah 8, the day of the Consecration of the Church (see P.O. x, 196).

2 Syncellus of Benjamin and his successor (661-677). Note that his name is twice given as محمد (The Coptic Diptychs have the corresponding genitive araoor.) In the *Hist. of the Patr.* the Arabic form is اغاثوا (Aghâthûâ), for which Evetts gives Agathon.

3 See Leipoldt, l.c., pp. 393, 394, 396.

4 The first leaf in the Ms.: the lower third is torn off.

5 A large fragment has been torn off the lower part diagonally from the outer to the inner edge.

6 The date (=830 A.D.) in Frag. 1, verso, is surely the date of composition and possibly that of the MS. itself.

7 Mesôrê 19. Since the Arabic has not yet been published see the Ethiopic version *s.d.* Nahase 20 (*P.O.*, 1x, 355 ff.). For the period (440 years) stated to have elapsed between the death of Macarius and his translation, see below, p. 132, note 6. This detail shows clearly that the summary in the Synax. is derived from our Coptic text.

8 John IV, 775-799 A.D.

9 See p. 132, note 6.

Frag. 1 (Cod. Tisch. XXIV, 22).

- + ettaihott nte neniwt nai-
- » неос отор мппатофорос
- * пинща авва [м]акари стац-
- » щыпі йсот то мпільшт месш-
- » ри Беп отогрнин ите ФТ
- ннмь 🗧

алношс отині

пе псахі [мпі]профнтнс еботав отог піўгуў. ω]20с 2011г ф[н] етхю й-

 5 μος] xε πικλ[c] τηροτ πτε πι]ωμη [π]στ π[εωπλ]ρωις
 φοηρς2

 τε πι]ωμη [π]στ π[εωπλ]ρωις
 ερω]οτ οτος [οτλ]ι εκολ πμητο]τ ππεςλο[ς]λες ?

 [.....]. π[.....π]ροφη-Ιο [της

¹ Above in small informal uncials is the rubric: ενωμ μμος πεοτ 10 μμετωρη πεμ ενομ μμος on μεπεπεα τοξαλοτια μεπ πεχωρ2 μπεοτ μπεπιωτ αθβα μακαρι πιπιμτ "Let them read it on the nineteenth day of Mesôrê. Let them read it also after the Doxology in the night of the Day (Phamenôth 27) of our Father Abba Makari the Great."

² Small informal uncials by a later (?) hand.

πχε φη ετρωις έ πιςλ Οτος όμοιως χε πός πααρες ε οτοη πιβεη εθμει μμος

- 5 Πστ σε οη ηχω μμος βεη πιεταντελιοη εθοταβ ετβε πι.....ω χε οτηωι ñτε τετεπαφε πηεητακο απ Κε ταρ ις τη προμπι ατιμω-
- 10 пі ісхен ётацитон ймоц пхе пепішт соотад йппатофорос піпіщі авда [макарі ща пісгоот йте т[па-

15 ротска мпеддтмсанон [евотав щарон

Οτος κατα [n] caxi ūπιπρο[φητης χε φαπότ ετο]

παρε πσ[ς αρ]ες ε πεηκα[ς..

- 20 ev[0]1 nat[t]aro
 - Orog nag [...]ic epog π.[ox eg.[...] κεη[.]...[eqt τ[]ω[

* [p. 1] *The Coming¹ to Shift of the glorious Relics of our righteous and Spirit-bearing Father, the great Abba Makari, which took place on the nineteenth day of the month Mesôrê. In the Peace of God! Amen.

Verily it is a true saying of the holy Prophet and Psalmodist David who saith that: "All the bones of the righteous the Lord keepeth them and not one of them shall perish"²... Prophet...

* Verso * "He that keepeth Israel [shall neither slumber nor sleep."³ And likewise: "The Lord will deliver all them that love Him."⁴ The Lord also saith in the holy Gospels concerning the...: "A hair of your heads shall not perish."⁵ For lo, four hundred and forty years⁶ are passed from the time when our holy Spirit-bearing Father, the great Abba Makari, fell asleep, unto the day of the coming unto us of his holy relics. And according to the word of the Prophet: "He who is the Lord's...the Lord will deliver his bones...without perishing..."⁷

1 *i.e.* Translation. 2 *Ps.* XXXIV, 20? 3 *id.*, CXXI, 4. 4 *id.*, CXLV, 20. 5 *Matth.* X, 30; *Lk.* XII, 7.

6 Macarius died in 390 A.D. If this was the date accepted by the author of our text, the date of the Translation would be 830 A.D.; but Macarius was translated *temp*. John IV (*i.e.* before 799 A.D.: cp. H.N.S. III, § 1). Possibly the date belongs not to the Translation under John IV, but to the installing of the relics in the 'Sanctuary of Benjamin' at the Mon. of Macarius: this Church, which had been ruined in the Sack of the Monasteries in 817 A.D., was actually restored by Abba James between 825 and 830 A.D. (see *Hist. of the Patr.*, ed. Evetts, p. 574). The text may therefore have been composed and pronounced when that Church was consecrated and the body of the Saint reinstalled therein. But did the writer know the correct date of Macarius' death ?

7 Psalm XXXV, 10?

TEXTS RELATING TO SAINT MACARIUS

] tnerpa eqteporor nag	Сове фаг патпнот сводбеп
)хе хык евол пфотагс	ла півеп пте хны ймат-
2]пі мпінаптокра-	ату ап адда пте піве-
т]шр	Хтра соотн-
5 Eo]he gas mnegdozy ey. [.	5 0]V
ерод шатедолтд ератд	пже рапошотте Апістос
м пос ната пн етадісто-	еъщуну Реи педсинуеои
ріп ммшот пап пхе фн ее	отор стотищт ехеп пец-
отав авва сарапион фиа	мпнма отог пещатерапо-
10 онтис липищ авва апто	υ- 10 λατικ πε πρακταλσο ελολ-
піос	ειτοτη μπε ин ετιμωπι
hen nxinope[]orn n-	потмнщ псмот
οος πευσεοφ[ορος] πιωτ	Отог прото маліста пірем-
ох дотоф)э б[ит]эни хэ	-กั รพรกจักพ.ศ.ศ.ศ.ศ.ศ.ศ.ศ.ศ.ศ.ศ.ศ.ศ.ศ.ศ.ศ.ศ.ศ.ศ.ศ
15 евод Божиц П[снот пі-	15 DIREOC
hen	Ησωμηία 5]ώου με εποάσε-
ете пеухи[].	η πε μ- ως [πατοτ]ωμη έχως
перощ [.]ч та.[
צם חסר שו דו	
20 MMOY	20 теп пеусима соотан ме-
Атхи ппецсима соотав с	менса ин ет атот піра ймо
Роли Реи [ол]синуеои Ро	еводентоту исхен ечхн
οσω[с η τεκ]κλη ειά σαι	ben teaps
етациотс [м]фрн4 етсын-	Атсемпнтс пе пем поте-
25 OFT DEN H[egh1]oc eoor-	25 рнот же [21]па йсеоду йо1-
ah	оъј сроуден итачељ и-
Спіхн отп мос пкосі	се σιτη ε пъιъвнр пов ты
тнру пе п[отс]адпич пте	oroz dar adma-
и]шфирі єтеммо»	п
30 [ne]m ni[.]	30 Οτος λοιποπ μεπεπελ οτ-
ο ερε η <u>σ</u> ερεπεριчη	
[ηποι εβολδι]τοτά	

× Recto

× Verso

*...the Rock¹ rejoicing. He was...to fulfil the command of the Almighty. For this cause he² ceased not to...him until he brought him unto the feet of the Lord; according to that which the holy man Abba Sarapion, the disciple of the great Abba Antonius, hath related unto us.⁸ So when our God-bearing Father upon whom the Holy Spirit looked at all times,...And when his departing...unto the Lord...Whom he loved, they laid his holy body in (a cave) near by the Church which he had built; even as it is written in his holy life.⁴

So when the whole earth...[was] filled with... the trumpet of those marvels and the [wonders which were performed], the Lord working them by his means, *for this cause there came from every place, not only in Egypt but in distant lands, companies of faithful people who prayed in his cave and worshiped at his tomb; and they who were sick in divers ways enjoyed healing. More especially the people of P-djidjbêr,⁵ the village of our righteous Father, used also to come eagerly and to do reverence to him; and they beheld the astonishing wonders which were wrought by means of his holy body after those (wonders) which they had experienced through him while he was in the flesh. They made an agreement together to take him away by stealth from the deserts and bring him to P-djidjbêr, their village; and this came to pass. And then after a

i *i.e.* the Rock on which Macarius dwelt: see A.M.G. xxv, 88 f. (probably a rocky ridge NNE. of the present Dêr Abû Makâr).

reputed author of the *Life of Macarius*; but see *H.N.S.*, Appendix 111).

4 op. cit., p. 111.

2 *i.e.* the 'Cherubim' who watched over Macarius.

3 See A.M.G. xxv, 109 (Sarapion of Thmuis is the

5 The modern Shabshîr in the Province of Menûf: see Amélineau, Géogr., pp. 187 f., s.v. Gigouir.

5

Frag. 3 (Cod. Tisch. XXIV, 24).

- снот атошот є [потернот аті є щінт беп отхшп .[гыс етерщорп псшот[п йпіма ет едхн йбнту йхе пс[шма
- 5 мпенпанатос ñимт алще пьют атоду ñолоті еводбеп піма ет еухп пънт[у

οτος ατταλού ε δαυ[1]εμμώοι

- 10 ατολή ε πχηχήρη οτος παι ρητ ατκωτ ποτεκκληςιά εςςελςωλ εβολ κατα πεηταίο ατχαή πρητς εθβε χε παρε τχωρα πχημι
- 15 пе щоп Бен отпіщ⁴ йетоепіб Бен піероот етеммат

пе пснот тър пе етог потро пхе піршмеос

- 20 Отог гітеп тхом йп[іпаракднтоп етщоп пе[мад а отмнщ оп ммніп[і пем щфнрі щшпі еводгіт[отд Беп пітопос ёте[ммат
- 25 Πεπεπεα [Δε τζ προμπι αταμαξι η[xe πιςαρακηπος ατερξητ[c . . .
 - [... [...
 - Ο[...

30

× Verso

* *Recto* *time they assembled together and went secretly to Shiêt...since they already knew the place wherein lay the body of our all-holy Father.¹ They went and took it away by stealth from the place wherein it lay and placed it upon their beasts (camels) and carried it to P-djidjbêr. And so they built a Church richly adorned according to his renown and laid him therein; because the land of Egypt was in great prosperity in those days, for it was the time when the Romans were ruling.²

And through the power of the Paraclete which was with him, many signs and wonders were wrought by his means in that Sanctuary. But after [three hundred and sixty years³ the Saracens gained] dominion, [they] began...*...down, and they.... And P-djidjbêr itself also was desolated save for a small (portion) in just this manner.⁴ And when Joseph, the Christ-loving *archon* of Elmi,⁵ saw that they could not take care of the Sanctuary wherein was the body of our Father the Prophet, the great Abba Makari, he went reverently with multitudes of clergy to remove it to Elmi. And multitudes also of devout persons were marching with them in great tranquillity, in the five hundredth year of the holy Martyrs.⁶ And so straightway he built a Church in his name: he laid him therein, because there was a multitude of believers...to the man of God, our Father Abba Makari...

I According to the *Synax.*, Baremhat 27 (ed. Basset, p. 905), John, the covetous disciple of Macarius, was bribed to reveal the secret.

2 Cp. Abû Salih, fo. 23 a (ed. Evetts, pp. 80 f.), where the Roman revenue from Egypt is reckoned at 20,000,000 dinârs, whereas under Muslim rule it fell to 3,000,000 dinârs.

3 The Synax. (l.c.) states that the body remained at P-djidjbêr "about one hundred and sixty years, until the time of the domination of the Arabs." If the body was stolen when a disciple of Macarius was still living and

remained at P-djidjbêr until 784 A.D., the figure given in the Synax. must be emended from 160 to 360 years.

4 *i.e.* the "domination of the Arabs" resulted in a devastation of the town. This may have taken place in the Coptic rebellion of 767 A.D. (Cf. Lane Poole, *Hist. of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, p. 32.)

5 = Elmay in the Province of Menûfieh (Amélineau, Géogr., pp. 162 f.). Monks from Elmi at the Mon. of S. Macarius are mentioned in the colophon of a Coptic MS. (Zoëga, Cat., no. LV, p. 107). 6 = 784 A.D.

.....]ебрні отог ат-...] отог пкепфоц гшц пхі]хвир пе адщиц пе ща]те поткотхі птаі бе апд]ис

- Ον]ος εςπαν άχε ιωςηφ πιφιλοχρς άαρχων άτε ελαι χε [ς]εμιν άφρωουμ απ άπιτ]οπος ε παςάβητη ά-
- 10 же псыма мпениыт мпрофнтис пинищ† акка макари

пен баитній икуныкос еием баитній икуныкос е-

- 15 од ё едмі отог паре гапкемнщ пфідопопос мощі пемшот пе Беп отпіщ йхамн Беп 4[ма]г ф промпі пт]е пібтіос ймартт-
- 20 **poc**]
- Пат рн4 са]тоту адкат позеккунсть Р]е́и педрап адхад пЪнтс] еөве же пеотоп потмн]щ ппас4 м-

ODES TO SAINTS OF SCETIS

E. Fragments of Published Texts on Saint Macarius.

i Life of Saint Macarius (Cairo, no. 57). Parchment. Upper part $(7.2 \times 17.4 \text{ cm.})$ of two leaves, numbered $-\overline{\lambda c}$, $-\overline{\omega c}$, and forming a single sheet. In upper margin of rectos $-\overline{c}$; of versos, (a) $\overline{\lambda c}$ soc $+ n\overline{\chi c}$ has new; (b) $\overline{\omega c} \phi^{\dagger} \chi \omega$ new $+ \epsilon \hbar \delta \lambda$ and soc.

The text corresponds to A.M.G. xxv, pp. 66^{8-10} , 67^{4-6} , 73^{1-2} , 73^{10-12} . The following variants occur: A66⁹ mdpht > mnipht; noog > āmog. A66⁹⁻¹⁰ normhy ncon > omitted (as in Cod. Vat. LXIV). A66¹⁰ comuc 2e > omoiwc. A67⁴ etanyopn nxoc. > etaixoc. A67⁵ narepanantan > arep-; enorephor > ne added; orog ben > nem. A73¹ xe areperno- > arepeino-. A73² ntercahor > ere[tcahor], as Cod. Vat. LXIV. A73¹¹ eiei > thai; enei ehod ben niexwpe > ēneenr ēhod.

ii Apophthegms of Saint Macarius (Cairo, no. 55). Parchment. Fragment, 13×5 cm., from middle of a leaf. Stops, \Rightarrow and \sim (red) at end of paragraph. The text answers to A.M.G. xxv, 210^{11-17} , 211^{5-9} . The following variants occur:

A211⁵ отщае йхрым отог падпа-) отпог... една-. А211⁶ апон се паіхы) апон се сы аіхы; апосентнс) ают п[.....] пем піма попаг + аіт[....?]. тот, added. А211⁷ отог егинот евод) єгин]от се єводгіто[т; єхыі) [а]ріпаметі added.

iii Virtues of Saint Macarius (Cairo, no. 56). Parchment. Leaf (much torn), 35×20 cm., red-brown ink. The text answers to A.M.G. xxv, pp. 192^2-193^{11} . The following variants occur:

A192³ Moni > Mom[1]. A192⁴ -qwx1 > qoxten. A192⁵ nag > mnishpio[n. A192⁶ nat nter- > nat t[er-. A192¹⁰ Direcc > ne added. A193³ naiwt > neniwt (and so in 193⁵); exen dai > exe]n 2wB. A193⁹ xe 2hnne orde > xe orde.

XXIV. ODES TO SAINTS OF SCETIS

A series of Doxologies or acclamations in honor of Saints of Shiêt (Scetis) from various liturgical books. (1) Paper. Two leaves $(\overline{qs}, \overline{qk})$, 26×17 cm., from Cairo, no. 92. 2, Group D, containing an acclamation

to the great monastic Saints of Egypt: after [Paul] and Antony (ll. 1-7) the Saints of Scetis are acclaimed. (2) Paper. Two leaves (pnh and —) from the Difnâr (No. XXXVIII F), with two imperfect Odes on John the Little (the Hegumen).

(3) Parchment. One leaf, C.U.L., Add. 1885, 9, $(\overline{\kappa_{7}})$, 19.5 × 16.3 cm., from a book of Hymns (No. xxxvIII G), containing the latter part of a Hymn on Abba John the Little.

(4) Parchment. One leaf (from the same Ms.), containing the beginning of an Ode on Moses the Robber.

(5) Paper. One leaf, C.U.L., Add. 1886, 9, (\overline{pq}) , with the conclusion of a first and beginning of a second Ode on the Forty-nine Martyrs.

(6) Paper. Two leaves $(\overline{qk}, \overline{qv})$ from the same MS. as and immediately following the text of (1), containing a complete Hymn to Abba Samuel of Calamon, who was expelled from Shift in the Heraclian persecution.

(7) Paper. Two leaves (unnumbered) from the same MS. as (2), with two fragmentary Odes on Abba John Khamé.

1 The published reading is given first, indicated by A with page and line numbers: the variant, separated by \rangle , follows.

Ode I (Macarius and Saints of Shiet).

× (Jaa)

×qa

×(qha)

5

×Хере авва макарі • піпіщ4 псакніпі • етадсек отоп пібеп • ё пімшіт пте ф4 +----Οτορ αστ έχωστ • ππισχημα εθοταί • εστσαίο πλωστ è ωρα βε(π) πιχολ πτε πκαρι +----Чтаіноят емащи • den отметатсахі ймос • йхе авва тиа пірягояменос +----

Зитеп теаметреаситем · addipi ebod · dae отще етщотоот отор adt карпос +----Терапорія Бен памокмек • «утомт йхе папотс • Тхем с[а]хі ап è хω • едипща ипектаю + Ш піршлі потшіні • пенішт авва піщої • пірецбохі йкадис • беп пістахіоп +-Хере мазимос • нем хометнос [п]еннот примеос • натхира евотнот • Ετατγαι πποτέ • ατοτάροτ πεα πχε • щα πιτωοτ έθοταθ • ήτε αθθα μακαρι +----

10 Цфрн7 пиманинс • пипароспос боотав • нем закивос пепщири идевезеос • Статхи бпотит • нем потщинот сі піхоі • атотасот иса пхс • Бен отент ецсотти(п) •

Πεπιωτ μαζιμος • πεμ Σομετιος • ατχω ήποτάπαλωμα • ×[πεμ] ποτπαλλατιοπ +----Атеркатафрония • ппототпархонта • атересяние ё щащи • бнопь пенее +----

20 Шотпіатк поок • w abba макарі • xe фt йте тфе • t йотпіщt йтаю пак +----

15 Доерклиропоми • й тмая 5 йлаора • ет адсотис ихе фт изры за ищаде +---Ациюп12 пархноос • плъмн(п) ппоъзаг • прапмни мфъхн • щаптотпорем ямоот Хере авва мотси • піматої йхюрі • піщорп імарттрос • стацщипі • гіхеп паі тиот +----Χερε πιπο • ήδελλο ετςμαρωοντ • ετανφωπ ππονςπου έβολ • έχεπ ταφε ήτπετρα +----Χερε ελλαριά • πεμ απαστασιά • πεμ άριψιμα • πιψελετ ήτε πχς +----

× (qh)

Хпапат è пекщнрі • пем піщнрі ×пте пекщнрі • етої пхлом [е]рок • Беп өметотро ппіфноті

¹ equinertato with minus in suprascript by later (?) hand. ² sic. A stanza has fallen out of the text.

Hail to Abba Makari, the great net who drew every one into the Way of God, and put upon them the holy habit, teaching them to dwell solitary in holes of the ground.

Glorious exceedingly beyond what words can tell was Abba John the Hegumen. By reason of his purity the beasts became as rams (sic) before him; by reason of his obedience a dried stick blossomed and bare fruit.

I am at a loss in my thoughts, my mind is bewildered, I can find naught to say worthy of thy glory, O Man of Light, Our Father Abba Pishoi, who nobly didst run the race.

Hail to Maximus and Domitius, our Roman Fathers! When they had taken up their cross they followed after Christ to the holy mount of Abba Makari. Even as John, the holy virgin, and James, the sons of Zebedee, when they left their father and their nets in the ship and followed after Christ with a true heart, in exchange for their nets and the fishes of the sea He made them to be catchers of men-(so) our Father Maximus and Domitius left their wealth and their palace, they despised their substance, they trusted to attain life eternal. They inherited (sic) the fourth laura which God chose in the desert.

[Hail to Abba John Khamé...!]¹ He became founder of a haven of salvation for many souls so that they were delivered.

Hail to Abba Moses, mighty warrior, first of the martyrs that were upon this mountain !

Hail to the Forty-nine, blessed Seniors, who poured forth their blood upon the top of the Rock !

Hail to Hilaria, and Anastasia, and Aripsima the brides of Christ!

Blessed art thou, O Abba Makari, for the God of Heaven giveth great glory unto thee. Thou shalt see thy Sons and thy Sons' Sons as a crown unto thee in the Kingdom of Heaven.

1 See note on text. Khamé was certainly commemorated.

ODES TO SAINTS OF SCETIS

Ode 2 (John the Little).	Ачсі пнікарпос » йхе ав-
العشرين Сот к лпіавот	10 ha nammos + ayōdot ē
بَابه القديس -۳۱۵ naoni مهله ۲۵۰	Зекнунсія » та игреу-
ANNHE MIROROEOC	loi edotal +
العشرين Со» к лпіавот بَابه القديس -паопі авва іш- يوحنسَ القصير аппнс пікодовос محد واطس لامکن لامک	Xe смот ёрог нагот + 10 пот-
_	-ра тэ + пнщщипй зат
Den ofstadecic etcma-	15 men bici epoq + nxe iw-
ршотт + марепер Фметі дпізікеос +	аппне пащнрі +
пениот соотав авва	Смот ѐрог пагот + 10 пот-
5 Ιωαπικς παρχκιώς	тар лпищини + пот-
ñte tenconwaiă +	тар Апісытем + нем
Ησος οπτω[c] ΦΗ ετας-	20 πιθεĥιō +
	στασπασ έρος + ñxe πι-
пепФххн + Беп и-	Ρεγγοι + σωπουπου
10 Дромос йте Абрети 4	tom tra + puzzie
пем Флетерсевнс ер-	Iczen niezood etemmat +
con +	25 атхад пьот піыт + ед- содсед йльот + Беп
Agreeros han mnimwit	отпарамнога +
ετσι + ща піптλн ήτε	Worniatr ñoor + ù abba
15 τφε + επια ¹ ε πωωι έ-	iwannhe + ze à \$\ \$\ \$\ \$\ \$\ \$\ \$\ \$\ \$\ \$\ \$\ \$\ \$\
βολριτοτς + nten-	30 те тфе + † потпщ†
οτωμτ πφιωτ ετ-	ntaio nar +
* * *	Отог акпат ё пекщнрі з
Ode 2 ^A (the same; one leaf missing).	пем пепшнрі ¹ йте пек-
* * *	щнрі ∻ ε νοι πογχλομ ε-
CMOT EPOI NAIWT + IC 2HN-2	35 рок ² + Бен өметотро п-
пе пищини + сводо1-	піфноті +
теп пекщдид » адфи-	Витеп пистун пте авва
pi èkok +	ишаппис пібтобмепос +
5 Смот ѐрог пагшт + 10 рнп-	not ap(1) emot 3
пе піщщни » ёт акот-	* ~ ~ ~ *
ageagni eobhty + ag-	¹ πεκ <u>ω</u> μρι, MS. ² ε̄ρωον, MS.
+ optag ébod +	3 a corrected from ϵ .
$1 = \epsilon$ mime? ² No folio number.	

The Twentieth day of the month *Paopi: Abba John the Little.

Psali: Melody, 'Batos.'

With an hallowed disposition let us make mention of the righteous one, our holy Father Abba John, the founder of our community.¹ Verily 'tis he who became a guide unto our souls in the course of virtue and piety alike; he opened up for us the way which leadeth unto the gates of Heaven, unto the realms on high thereby, that we may worship the Father Who...

*"Bless me, my Father! Behold the tree³ hath blossomed through thy prayers. Bless me, my Father! Behold the tree, touching which thou didst command me, hath borne fruit." Abba Pammoi⁴ took the fruits and brought them to the Church, unto the holy elders, (saying): "Bless me, my Fathers! Behold the fruit of the tree for which John my son hath labored. Bless me, my Fathers! Behold the fruit of the tree, the fruit of obedience and humility." When they beheld him, the elders praised him and glorified God. From that day forth they granted him the honor of a Father, while he comforted them with consolation.

Blessed art thou, O Abba John; for the God of Heaven hath granted thee great honor; and thou beholdest thy children and thy children's children who are a crown unto thee in the Kingdom of Heaven.

Through the prayers of Abba John the Hegumen, Lord grant (us) grace, etc.

I If the expression is not loose, it implies that the MS. once belonged to the Monastery of John the Little, on the decay of which it must have been carried to Dêr Abû Makâr. and opening of the present Hymn) is lost.

3 The Tree of Obedience. John is speaking. For the incident see A.M.G. xxv, 347; *Apophth. Patr.*, John Col. 1 (*P.G.* LXV, 204); and *H.N.S.* VII, I, § 5.

2 Probably one leaf (containing the end of the preceding

4 sc. Abba Amoi.

× fo. 152

× [fo. 153]²

Ode 3 (the same).

[Анщыпі тар потфистир	10 щшпі йхтктялінос -
пецеротыні ріжен пі-]1	Беп пероот йте Акрісіс
καρι-ω πεημακαριος πιωτ	Зшсъе оп птекерпемпул -
παστ πιωτ αβ[β]α ιωαπημο	пъе пепит боогод ал-
Βωςτε 21τεη η[ε]κθεβιο- нем	Аа ішаппнс-ё земсі пем
πεκδιος παυτ[ε]λικοη ακ-	15 піапостодос щаптек- ²
5 ащ щинт тир[q] пса пек-	\$ 221 ē tervenea ³ -tωh2 ⁴
тив - мфри† [n]ортелти-	> + + +
ді йнюот Отор ак-	алдндота масматоі
шуі йнексима Бен рап-	>,, ;
מכאדכוב באם[0]כו - בספבא-	⁴ A smaller fragment of the same ode gives the in full: τωβς μπστ ές phi έχωπ + παστ π
or the two initial lines see the Cairo <i>Psalmodia</i> , p. 354.	INAUTHC & HIOTROTHENOC FA & Tell NO HER

¹ For the two initial lines see the Cairo *Psalmodia*, p. 354. ³ теч-, MS. ² щаптеч, MS.

e conclusion πιωτ αλλα ишанинс + пістготменос еб + тец(Хш пеппові пап ehod)

[Thou didst become a luminary shedding light upon the] *earth, O our blessed Father, my Lord Father Abba John; so that through thy humility and thine angelic life thou didst hang all Shift upon thy little finger like a drop of water;¹ and thou didst chastise thy body with toilsome discipline, that thou mightest be free from peril in the Day of Judgment;² so that also thou didst become worthy, O our holy Father Abba John, to sit with the Apostles to judge thy generation.³

Pray (&c.).

Alleluiah. Novice (sic).⁴

Ode 4 (Moses the Robber).

cn тотоду ёвод > Бен пі-Cot RA MRAWRY ABBA спилеоп + - пта +90 MOTCH - WARI H azam1 -й здштрэтй « родэ Τογωщ πταξρ ογσρομ-10 not exwi + nem eqphi ехеп піпові + йте таπι + πταραλαι πταρωλ + ща Апетра етбосі з п-УТХН- + ПТЕУХАТ те авва мотен » nhi ébol > ñxe nxc 5 Птаотощт сърни - $\hat{\mathbf{e}} \mathbf{x} \mathbf{e}(\mathbf{n})$ пеппоъ+ + ппатоъпечдулифапон > йнаolt ébol > ben na-15 ¹ red.

The Twenty-fourth day of Paôni: Abba Moses.⁵

Psali: Melody, 'Adam.'

Would that I might become a dove, that I might fly and come unto the high Rock of Abba Moses; that I might do reverence over his body ere they bear it forth from the cave;⁶ that I might entreat him to pray unto the Lord for me and for the sins of my soul; that Christ our God may forgive me ere I am borne forth from my...

1 See Apophth. Patr., Joh. Col. XXXVI (P.G. LXV, 216).

2 See A.M.G. xxv, 354.

3 id., pp. 380 f. 4 Probably an 'incipit.'

5 On Abba Moses the Black or the Robber, see H.N.S. 1, x, § 4.

6 The reference is not clear, unless it be to a Translation of the Saint's body from the cave in which it originally rested to the Monastery of Baramûs, where it is still preserved.

ODES TO SAINTS OF SCETIS

Ode 5 (The Forty-nine Martyrs). $\frac{S}{pq}$ $\frac{S}{17}$ $\frac{S}{r}$ $\frac{S}{27}$ $\frac{S}{10}$ піло ймарттрос EGOTAL + NEM NE(N-) חסד בסוקאסד חבח юф йстатрофо**μηχω εδολ ήτε** рос + піло ялартурос пеппові III90TIT BER HIARI-- •• --ос авва ишаппис пошот оп нхос ватос пе перран + ачорі е-واطس Απωιμι μφοοτ рату Беп тотмнпіда[ос] тирот 4 sam [m] epoy ea- $\epsilon \Theta p \epsilon [n] \epsilon p [\epsilon] r \kappa \omega$ -2xω ππο[c] →-----MIAZIN [ทิท]єп10-10 Xe ic n[iha]phapoc ar-+ netar polopoc 5 ї + фн [ет]отющ ё етеперщы поп йφωτ μαρεφωτ » ф00т пн сөпабрі пемап Споотнт пем пімпепоротщлье пент аннеуос » иеч 15 Отмерос Беп пібелпхиро[с п]те пн 10 los arows ... n

[Through the intercessions of] *the Forty-nine Martyrs, O Lord, vouchsafe unto us forgiveness of our sins. * (p. 189) The same again. Melody, 'Batos.'

O come today, all ye people, that we may laud our cross-bearing Fathers, whose feast we celebrate today, Assembled with the Angels and the company of [×]the Saints and our cross-bearing Fathers, the Nine and × p. 190 Forty Martyrs!

The chief among the Saints, named Abba John, stood in their midst and cried, saying:

"Lo, the Barbarians are coming. He who would flee, let him flee: those who will remain with us, let us (sic) not be faint of heart."

Some of the old men fled...

Ode 6 (Apa Samuel).

хиепиы апа самотну Отщотоние сусыти • откалπος πεθοιποτηι • οτοτεια ecoral · ecpanay int + + +----Πε πεκщληλ έθοτας • πεм πεκ-5 πολητιά • ω πεπιωτ παικεός • abba camotha + + +-**Υπαχαρωι** απ • έ πεκπολητιά • NEM NERACRECIC . ET ARAITOT Беп щінт + > >----10 Παλιστα πιδιει • ετ ακιαι δαρωοτ • гітеп піттраппос • пханіапос1 »----**ART** ΠΤΕRΨΤΧΗ · EOLE TOMOλοτιά • πτε πιπαρ το ετοστω(n) пте Торгас боотав + + +--15 Актахро йпеконт • Мфрн потмарттрос • щаптеког

- ипіх дом ите фотомонн +----
 - ¹ For Rolxianoc.

× qh

. .

× qr

× qr (recio)

[×] fo. 92^b

*Our Father Apa Samuel.

A choice savor and a smoke of incense, a holy sacrifice well pleasing unto God were thy holy prayers and thy austerities, O our righteous Father Abba Samuel. I will not leave untold thy austerities and thy penances which thou didst perform in Shiêt; most of all, the sufferings which thou didst endure at the hands of the Colchian tyrant.¹

Thou didst offer up thy life for the confession of the right faith in the holy Trinity. Thou didst make strong thine heart, like a martyr, and so didst receive the crown of patience. They drove thee forth from Shift, so that thou didst come and dwell in the Mount of Neklone.

* fo. 93^a

*Again, when God called thee from this mountain of thy vows (?) for a great service, of thy patience in a strange land of barbarians I will make mention. The Lord Jesus the Christ caused thee to work signs and great wonders in that place: thou didst cause (the dumb) to speak, thou didst cause the lame to walk, women who were barren thou didst cause to bear children. Thy name was renowned in the land of Nemax,² and they glorified thee as the Apostles. They suffered thee, after the desire of thy heart, (to depart) so that thou didst go and dwell in the Mount of Kalamon, the place wherein the Lord God promised that thou shouldest dwell, thou and thy sons for ever. *Thou didst bring in a numerous people into the Kingdom of Heaven

[×] fo. 93^b

through thy holy prayers. Through, etc.

i mougii, etc.

1 *i.e.*, Cyrus of Phasis (in Colchis), the 'Chalcedonian' Archbishop.

2 A frag. from a Boh. Life of Samuel (Crum, B.M.

Cat., no. 917) has **HIMGRZ**, 'Makx' being probably the true Coptic name for the Berber people called in Greek Mazices.

ODES TO SAINTS OF SCETIS

7 (John Kamé).	واه انصًا ادام اسمحه الموام
Дущилі гиц йладіар-	Ш пім пе ебпащсахі з ё пі- емот етощ з ет адаі- тот пемап з йхе ф4 підогос Дупат ё пепбеніб з пем пепбыд ёвод з адхотщт ѐводбен потісі з адер- войбіп ёроп з Дутаото пап йщорп з м-
مدة به المحمد العمد العمد العمد العمد المحمد المحمد العمد العمد العمد المحمد العمد المحمد المحم المحمد المحمد ا	πεμ α]Αβά μακαρι + εθ- ροτσι]μωιτ β[α Οτος πτοττεαβο[π] + ε πχιημε μα Φτ βε(π) γαππολιτιά πεμ γαπαςκησις + Άςμοιμι βεπ (π)οτμωιτ + πχε αββα ιωαππης + φη ετ α πείζο σιοτω-
> , >	¹ red.

Abba John Khamé.¹

He himself became a director and teacher of multitudes of souls: he brought them to worship the Lord. The holy woman also who was wedded with him² became a faithful mother of multitudes of virgins, and wrought signs and wonders.

They passed their holy lives most nobly and were with Christ Whom they loved with their whole heart. Pray, &c., my righteous Lord Father, holy John Khamé, that, &c.

The same again. Melody, 'Adam.'

O who shall be able to express the great mercies which God the Word hath showed unto us ?

He hath seen our lowliness and our feebleness, He hath looked down from on high and hath helped us. He sent us first the great Abba Antoni and Abba Makari to guide (us) unto...,

And to teach us the progress unto God through discipline and austerity.

In their path walked Abba John, whose face was illumined...

*

Ode '

XXV. ABBA APOLLO

Parchment. Two fragments (Cairo, no. 109), 17×13 and 14×23 cm. respectively, being the upper right and lower left portions of a single leaf headed (*verso*): [...-iv] (Ornament) $\overline{\chi v} - \overline{x}$. The script is a goodsized uncial, somewhat crude and of a relatively early type (? ninth century). The ink is a deep black, but stops (*) are red and capitals are relieved by aimless dotting in the same colour.

The text, which was identified by W. E. Crum, corresponds generally³ with part of the text published by F. de Rossi in *Mem. della Accad. delle Sc. di Torino*, Ser. 11, tom. xL111 (1893), pp. 301 ff. (=reprint *Frammente di un Sermone sulla Penitenza*, pp. 88 ff.). The portion actually preserved records the frightful crime of Abba Apollo before he became a monk.⁴

The Turin MS. itself probably came from the Monastery of Saint Macarius, since it is one of five given by Drovetti to Peyon,⁵ and the group contains a great part of the Psalter to which our group, No. XXXVII B (b) 5, belongs.

1 For the story of Khamé or Kamé, who flourished in the early ninth cent., see the Coptic life (ed. Davis), *P.O.* xIV, fasc. 2 and *A.A.C.M.* IV, Ch. III, § 5.

de Rossi's publication, but the *recto* shows numerous variants, and in ll. 5-16 of the *verso* the divergence is more strongly marked, making restoration impossible. 4 See *Apophtb. Patr.*, Apollo II (*P.G.* LXV, 133).

2 sc. the wife to whom John was nominally married.

3 The fragments are generally parallel to pp. 308 f. of

5 See de Rossi, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

5	фаг ъс .[отманесшот Беп тец[т]е[Хпн пем пецгот Піршмі ъс ёт[еммат сті ецХн Беп тецм[стадот ацтніц ёбрні ё (р)аппіщт [ппові пе емащю[мат + от[ор ацтніц ё тотц й- піъгаво[дос щатецъшк євод пм п-	—]ь Рец иколуга [воуРец]аd[⁻]ие иг-]а Беи иколуга Рец иколуга	
10	ромпі + [Сухик е[вод ппіотищ тнрот п]те п[сахапас пем пеусиц пихо[г сеф]	10]. Ρωμι]]οοse] ο]suiπ4	
15	zew[μο] * * * *	I5 *	* *]«d-]«d-	
2 0 25	ος ΜΜΑΤ]ΑΤΥ ΕΥ- Σω ΜΜΟΥ ΣΕ ΙΣΣΕΠ ΤΑ]ΜΕΤΗΟΤ- ΣΙ ΤΕΡΠΟΒΙ ΟΤΟ2] ΑΙΣωΚ Ε- ΔΟΧ Π2ωβ ΠΙΒΕΠ] ΕΤ Α (ΤΑ)ΨΤΧΗ ΕΡ- ΕΠΙΘΤΜΙΠ ΜΜΟΟ]Τ + ΟΤΟ2 ΜΠΙΧΑ 2ΛΙ ΕΙ]ЩΑΤ ΜΜΟΥ ΒΕ(Π) ΠΙΠΟΒΙ ΤΗΡΟΤ Π]ΤΕ ΠΙΔΙΑΒΟΛΟC ΠΛΗΠ ΚΕΟΤΑΙ Π]Ε ΤЩΑΤ ΜΜΟΥ ΕΙ]ΟΤωЩ Ε ΦωΒ ΠΘΠΕΣΙ ΠΟΤ-	ыеп о[л мі пуце] 20 ма + ёй 20тпт п Наг ъе ес подди отъе мі	тар іс[жен пієдоот ётан евод- бен ф[нехі йте тамат мпе рф- мі пще[ммо быбем мпасф- ма + ёв.[дотит пем[Наі зе едсыт[ем йхе пманесфот а- подды йпед[ер дот е птнру отзе мпедда[і ё педвад ё пщы ё тфе + адда а [пі]зіаводо[с	

× Recto

× Verso

*Now this man (Apollo) was a shepherd by profession, as were his fathers. But while he was still in his youth, that man gave himself up unto great sins...(l. 6). And he gave himself into the hand of the Devil until he had completed forty years. And he fulfilled all the desires of Satan and his abominations, envies...(l. 15). In a word...

*

*

 \dots (l. 18) [He thought within] himself, saying: "From my youth I have sinned and committed everything which my soul desired. And I have not left unfulfilled any one of all the sins of the Devil. One only have I failed (to commit); for I desire to rip up the womb of a *woman who is with child, to see how the child lieth in her womb." [Ll. 4–16 Apollo meets his victim who implores him not to harm her.] " \dots (l. 17) for since the day that I came forth from my mother's womb, no strange man hath defiled my body..." (l. 22) But when the shepherd Apollo heard this, he relented not at all, nor did he lift up his eyes to Heaven. But the Devil...

XXVI. LIFE OF THEODORE, DISCIPLE OF PACHÔM

Parchment. Upper right quarter of a leaf (*Inv.*, no. 59), 19.5 × 18.8 cm. The *recto* (first p. in a quire) is headed \overline{inc}] (Ornament) $\overline{n_{\Sigma c}} \ \overline{\sigma n_{\zeta}}$: the verso is paged $\overline{\sigma n_{H}}$. The hand is a smallish, even, but somewhat slovenly uncial, probably identical with the hands of *Inv.*, nos. 71, 102, 107–8. The leaf (paged $-\overline{\sigma n_{\zeta}}$) preceding the new fragment is extant at Leipzig (*Cod. Tisch.* xxv, 3).¹

The text² (from the *Life of Theodore*, disciple of Abba Pachôm) will be utilized by Dr Lefort of Louvain in his forthcoming *Vita S. Pachomii.*³

1 See Leipoldt, l.c., p. 401.

3 In the Corpus Script. Christ. Orient.

f

2 = A.M.G. XVII, 332 (Amélineau's edition).

XXVII. THE TRANSLATION OF EPHRAEM SYRUS TO SCETIS

Cotton-paper. Leaf, 25×17 cm., numbered $-\overline{Rv}$ (folio number) from the Difnâr (No. XXXVIII F). The text, containing the last seven stanzas of an Ode, celebrates the translation of a Saint's body to the Monastery of Abba Pishoi (Bishoi). That the Saint can be no other than Ephraem appears certain; for the Calendar of Abu'l Barakât¹ commemorates Ephraem the Syrian on Tôbi 7, and the Monastery of Anba Bishoi still claims to possess Ephraem's body.² It is quite possible that the relics of the Saint were actually carried for safety into Egypt during the period of the Mongol invasion (thirteenth century), if not earlier.

			RT
	евотав > ща пімопас-		рнт сэхи блос >
	тныоп етсмаршотт э		Хе півас тирот пте пі-
	пте пепиыт авва пі-		өмні + пос ф4 пеона-
	moi > Peu umøde ure		ρωις έρωση + οπος ση-
5	щинт ÷	5	лі євод притот » п-
	Беп запешс пем зап-	5	cena yodyed 5poy
	етмпос > пем гап-		д п >
	піщ4 птімн + пем		Отор атхи йхе півас
	рапмнщ птаго етво-		етсмаршотт + Беп
10	сі → Ката Петтомі ё-	10	откташтос пще еч-
	pod		CUTH > atxay nem
	Зоте етатфор ё пі-		nicuma eootab + ñte
	ма + ет б ф7 севтшту		пепішт авва піщоі »
	nay + arcoxi arī ēbod		Адщыні йхе плі щепер-
15	дахал х ухе игчнт	15	Queti edotal > Den
	тнру стщоп ймат »	.	сот 7 мпільот тыві >
	Натерфаліп Ба теч-		-μιπαδύ τά φφ эάэ
	бн ? Реи боитны у-		† ммнии > Беи пед-
	ethomia1 + nem 202		етктириоп соотав >
20	пібатиорос + тирі	20	Twhe S

¹ = $\epsilon \dot{v} \phi \eta \mu i a$ (cp. Crum, Cat. Copt. MSS. in the John Rylands Lib., p. 210 note 1).

[They brought his] *pure [body] to the blessed Monastery of our Father Abba Pishoi in the desert of Shiêt * (fol. 23^a) with praises and hymns and great honors and many high distinctions as befitted him. When they drew nigh to the place which God had prepared for him, the whole multitude which was there hasted and came forth to meet him. They chanted before him in many praises with David the Psalmist, *saying on this wise: * fol. 23 "All the bones of the righteous the Lord God keepeth them, and not one of them shall perish."³ And his blessed bones were laid in an ark of choice wood⁴ with the pure body of our Father Abba Pishoi.

This holy memorial took place upon the seventh day of the month Tôbi, while God wrought great miracles in his holy Oratory.

Pray, &c.

1 P.O. x, p. 262. Note, however, that the Coptic Calendar also commemorates Ephraem on Abib 15 and a Translation (? at Edessa) on Amshir 3 (op. cit., x, 264, 275).

2 Professor F. C. Burkitt informs me that Edessa still claims to possess the relics of Ephraem. According to Thévenot, Voyage au Levant, 11, Ch. LXXI, all the bodies of the Saints at Dêr Anba Bishoi were accidentally burnt

in 1656, but the monks made good the loss by drawing upon the monastic cemetery.

3 Psalm XXXIV, 20.

4 i.e. a long chest or coffer, probably similar to the inlaid chest preserved at Dêr es Suriân (see A.A.C.M. IV, Ch. 111, § 5) or that at the White Monastery (Hist. Patr., pp. 350 f.).

XXVIII. GREGORY OF NYSSA

Life of Gregory Thaumaturgus.

Parchment. Nine leaves more or less complete and five fragments.

The hand, where most characteristic, is broad and heavy, with thick down-strokes (see Plate X B supra): particularly noteworthy is the collapsing ∞ .¹ But possibly owing to the varying surface-quality of the parchment, the script on one side of a leaf is often finer and more compact than the script on the other. Our fragments do not represent more than one copy; though indeed there is considerable overlapping in the texts of Frags. 5–7.² Attention was drawn in ancient times to this duplication by a marginal note in informal uncials in the margin of Frag. 7, verso, make \overline{h} ficon make, *i.e.* 'twice over,' 'repeated,' and by the sign c (? = cen 'pass by')³ which is placed in the margin against the line in which Frag. 7 begins to repeat Frag. 6, recto.⁴ On the verso of the same fragment a marginal symbol λ ' is twice used: this seems to indicate that longer or shorter passages in the exemplar (Greek or Coptic) had been omitted.

The MS. (see Frag. 2, verso) was in quires of eight leaves (sixteen pages). Punctuation is irregular. The original scribe either left a blank for the stop to be filled in by the *rubricator*, or roughly marked the stop by \mathcal{N} (at the end of a paragraph, \varkappa). Some passages, notably the 'Creed' (Frag. 4 verso), have been hurriedly punctuated by a later hand with the normal \ast in red ink. Attention should here be called to the marginal directions \mathfrak{y}_{∞} 'so far' and $\omega \mathfrak{y}$ 'read' (see Frag. 11), indicating that the intervening passage was to be omitted in public reading.

Six leaves from a Sahidic version of the *Life of Gregory* are extant, Clarendon Press Ms. (Woide), Frag. 54; but to include these is beyond the scope of this publication.

Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 24), 29 × 20 cm., is a complete leaf, paged \overline{ic} (the second numeral is very doubtful). The text, which has suffered much from damp, answers to the Greek in Migne's P.G. XLVI, 897 c obtos o $\pi \acute{o} \nu \tau \sigma s = 50$ Eugenvos—900 A $\tau \acute{a} \phi \sigma \iota \kappa a \iota \sigma \tau \eta \lambda a \iota$.

The next three fragments are continuous, answering to the text of op. cit., 909 B $\tau o \dot{v} \tau o v \chi \dot{a} \rho v \dot{v} \phi \rho \mu \eta \tau i v i$ $\theta \epsilon \iota o \tau \dot{\epsilon} \rho q - 915 \text{ A} \dot{\epsilon} v \dot{\psi} \phi a v \epsilon \rho o \hat{v} \tau a i$. Of these, Frag. 2 combines Cod. Tisch. xxv, 24⁵ (the upper half of the last leaf in Quire II, headed on the verso $\overline{\lambda h}$ $\overline{inc} \bigotimes n \overline{\chi c} \overline{h}$) with Cairo, no. 24^{Add} v, 21 × 21 cm., the decayed lower half of the same leaf; Frag. 3 (Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 6),⁶ the first leaf of Quire III, is headed \overline{v} $\overline{inc} \xrightarrow{R}$ $n \overline{\chi c}$ nai nhi $[\lambda v]$ (recto), and $\overline{\lambda a}$ \overline{inc} (verso); Frag. 4 (Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 28)⁷ is a complete leaf paged ($\overline{\lambda e}$), $\overline{\lambda c}$: the verso is headed \overline{inc} .

The six fragments following form a single group corresponding to the Greek of P.G. 917 A $\epsilon i \pi \delta \nu \tau \sigma \delta \epsilon \delta i$ $\delta \lambda i \gamma \omega \nu - 921$ C $\tau \eta \nu \chi a \rho \nu \pi \rho \kappa a \tau a \rho \xi a \nu \tau i$ (or slightly further). Frag. 5 (Cod. Tisch. XXIV, 29),⁸ a complete leaf, is paged ($\overline{\mathbf{Me}}$), $\overline{\mathbf{Me}}$: the verso is headed $\overline{\mathbf{Imc}}$; Frag. 6 (Cod. Tisch. XXV, 17)⁹ is the inner half of the last leaf in Quire III (sc. pp. ($\overline{\mathbf{Mq}}$), $\overline{\mathbf{Mn}}$): the verso is headed [$\overline{\mathbf{Mn}}$ $\overline{\mathbf{Imc}}$ $\int \overline{\mathbf{mg}}$] c not not $\overline{\mathbf{ms}}$; Frag. 7 (Cod. Tisch. XXIV, 41)¹⁰ is a complete leaf, the first in Quire IV. The recto is headed $\overline{\mathbf{mc}}$ $\overline{\mathbf{mc}}$ l. $5-\overline{\mathbf{mq}}$ l. 33. This fragment is not therefore reproduced in our text.¹¹ Frag. 8 (Cairo, no. 24^{Add} i), 17.5 × 27 cm., is the lower portion of a leaf which must have been foliated $\overline{\mathbf{ms}}$, since it intervenes directly between pp. ($\overline{\mathbf{mo}}$), $\overline{\mathbf{n}}$, and folio $\overline{\mathbf{mb}}$.

I On the hand see Crum, *Rylands Cat.*, p. 221. It is probably identical with the hand of our No. XVIII.

2 Frag. 7 duplicates the text of Frag. 5, verso, l. 6— Frag. 6, recto, l. 33. Frag. 7 is not therefore printed in our text, though it has been used to supplement the defective recto of Frag. 6.

3 The same sign occurs in Cod. Vat. Copt. LIX, fo. 159^b.

4 The abnormal numeration of Frags. 8 and 9 as folios

 \overline{ns} , \overline{nk} was perhaps somehow due to a desire to eliminate the superfluous leaf, Frag. 7.

5	See Leipoldt, op. cit., p. 405	. 6 <i>id.</i> , p. 389.
7	<i>id.</i> , p. 395.	8 <i>id.</i> , p. 395.
9	<i>id.</i> , p. 404.	10 <i>id</i> ., p. 398.
ĨI	For the critical signs which	are used on this leaf, see

11 For the critical signs which are used on this leaf, see above.

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Frag. 9 (Cod. Tisch. XXIV, 34),¹ a damaged leaf, foliated \overline{nE} and headed on the verso \overline{inc} , follows Frag. 8 directly.

Frag. 10 (Rylands Library, *Copt.* 49 = *Cat.* 446)², a complete leaf, the last in Quire IV, is paged $(\overline{z}\pi), \overline{z}$ and headed on the verso \overline{z} \overline{z} \overline{inc} \mathcal{O} $\pi \overline{\chi c} \overline{z}$. The text corresponds to 925 B tois $\mu\eta\tau\rho\phi\sigma$ $\sigma\pi\lambda\phi\gamma\chi\nu\sigma\sigma$ 925 c kal $\delta\sigma a$ $\tilde{\eta}\nu \epsilon \tilde{\iota}\kappa\delta s$ of the Greek original.

Fragment II (Cairo, no. 24^{Add} ii), 18×16 cm., is the lower and outer part of a decayed leaf. The text of the *recio* answers to 928 c tovs ekatépois $\sigma \nu\mu\pi a\rho a\tau a\sigma\sigma\sigma\mu e \nu \nu \nu c$ eis elphvikas eupposívas; of the verso to 929 A tà $\mu e \nu \delta \eta$ katà $\tau \eta \nu \lambda (\mu\nu\eta\nu(?) - \Lambda \nu \kappa \sigma \gamma \rho \rho \dots e \sigma \nu \rho \mu \alpha \beta c$.

Frag. 12 comprises Cairo, no. 24^{Add} iii, 16.5×19.2 cm., the inner and upper portion of a leaf, headed (*recto*) \rightarrow and (*verso*) $\overline{\rightarrow}$ $\frac{\overline{IHC}}{IHC}$ (*sic*), which fits *Cod*. *Tisch*. xxv, 14, the outer half of the same leaf. The text of both combined answers to 933 B kai $\dot{\eta} \sigma \pi o \nu \delta \dot{\eta} \pi \rho \delta s \tau \delta d \gamma a \theta \delta \nu - D \delta s \delta \delta o i \mu \delta \nu \pi a \rho \hat{\eta} \gamma o \nu$.

Frag. 13³ (Cairo, no. 24^{Add} iv), 13.7 × 24 cm., is the lower portion of a leaf: the text of the *recto* corresponds to 937 A και διηγεν εν τοις τοιούτοις λόγοις—B έχοντες 'Aλέξανδρον; and of the *verso* to 937 B τ $\hat{\varphi}$ τ $\hat{\eta}$ ς εὐσεβείας ἐχθρ $\hat{\varphi}$ —C τ $\hat{\eta}$ ς ἐκείνου δυναστείας καθαιρέτην ἐσόμενον.

Frag. 14 (Cairo, no. 24^{Add} vi) is a narrow slip from the center of the upper part of a leaf, probably the first in a Quire. Both the hand and the style of the heading indicate that the fragment belonged to the same MS., and the few words recognizable distinctly suggest that the *verso* is parallel with *P.G.* 928 B, in which case the fragment should belong to the upper half of the same leaf as Frag. 11. But it is hard to identify the *recto* with the Greek of 926 C-D.

The text of this doubtful fragment will more conveniently be placed here rather than lower down.

]ерреп ерш[b]eph	ερ πε ο[
]егрні ёхеп[mikioc hen t		
]ετωφσωρπ[]22.1 11	щны Р[
]mou4051 uu[]. 18	тункія[
5] [5 R]07	ച പാസ്പ	
]йфиы b[пн етщ[
]mmwov[]	[
]103ep[]	ĺ	
]đēb[*]mwoy[
10]4ул[тин ;		IO	€]рно[ъ	
]ဏီစာ[]ё́грн[1	
]tn[a.]070[2	
]tno[]vn[
	r]ap n[]. īe[
15] † x[15]0321[
]2wn[]οωγέ[μ	
]&oX[
]eu . [

1 op. cit., p. 396.

2 See Crum, Rylands Catalogue, p. 221.

3 For convenience in printing, I have placed Frag. 13 after Frag. 11 and before Frag. 12.

Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 24).

пос¹ пе піпоптос стеммат ецерхорнит + аопе фоопос ппіхріа тнрот етої сботп є пшпб отоп пібеп от мо-

- 5 поп ппіршмі пте піма пем п]н е[т]щоп Беп пікаді адда пікех шотпі оп евпа флототої єроч єводбеп маі пійен
- 10 Отпы рн4 гар Беп отмефині те тфтсіс й4Хюра етеммат + от мопоп хе сотесфып Беп Хріа півеп йапагкеоп етої еботп є пішп
- 15 αλλα 4..... μα.[..]οη πηικεχω]οτηι τηροτ ο[...].[....]οη ...αχω...ε.η εςεηα
 - ..]фіом тащ.[ер]Хорнчіп
 - .ac ne ebo[λ]ben ma ni-
- 20 hen

Отплі рн4 пе пісопос тнру ет]еммат + еюсте пімерос мм]ос ёт єре отаі па4 еон ё]роч Барі Бароч ммат-

25 ατ] μα μαφμετι χε αςοτη ñc[.]χε παρα πικεχωστn]ι

Сове фаі єводрітен отмотщт пте пісопос тиру єтеммат

30 21 отсоп + атомщ йтнодіс йпініщ† грнгоріос є оресщыпі мметроподіс йп[ієоно]с тнру етеммат

¹ sc. [erzei]noc.

īc

Өл ет а отниц потро елдер сшіт беп пн ет атошц б[ен ометотро ппіршлеос епедрап пе кесар отарсар-

- 5 пі соротмот срос є педрап сводбен педмеі пем педотощ сботи срос
- Άλλα παι сеσι απ εβονη ε пеп-
- 15 Ащ гар [птаю пе... ха[...] реп гаплищ поос беп[...] реп гаплищ поос беп[...] пець же се-
- 20 WAI ЕБОТП ЕРОЧ МПЕФР[.. ПАС ТНРЧ + ЕВОАБЕП МА П[I-ВЕП 21ТЕП ФІОМ ЕС[БЕПТ ЕРОС

Άλλα ογδε πεцπροκα[... ñ-

- 25 щορη ημ έτ δημώηι [παρχμιτος μπεφαφό κα[τα τςαρχ τηδερ ποημετι [απ βεη πεαχι ε πτ[μρα τοτμετράμαο οτος μποη-
- 30 ταιό οτος ποτ[α]ζ[ι]ωμα κατα πικοςμος Τπαςαχι ερωοτ απ Βαπτ[α]φος ταρ πεμ ςαπ-

[×](p. 15?) [For alone of all lands and seas][×] that Pontus (is called) 'Euxine,' since it supplies unstitutingly all necessaries conducive to life, not only of the men of that part and the inhabitants of the country, but also of such others as may hasten thither from every part. For verily this is the nature of that country. Not only does it abound in all necessaries conducive to life, but (it lacks) not for all other things (from abroad, since) the sea supplies them from every part. Such is that whole nation, that if a man gives heed to a part of it alone, he thinks it more choice than all the rest. For this cause by a decision of that whole race together the city of the great
[×]p. 16? Gregory was founded to become the metropolis of that whole race. [×]This city a great king, famous among them who held the realm of the Romans and who was named Caesar, ordered to be called after his name, because of his love and his goodwill towards it.

But all these matters tend not at all to our mark, that we should think of them as glories of that great man who is now amid the Saints. For what (glory is it to him that there are abundant) crops in (the country, that the city is adorned) with marvelous works, (or that goods) are imported from all parts by way of the sea which is nigh thereto ? Nay, I will not make mention at all in my discourse of his ancestry nor of them who were the authors of his birth according to the flesh: of their wealth, and their renown, and their worldly distinction, I will not speak. For (what could) tombs and (monuments contribute to his praise ?)

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Frag. 2 (Cod. Tisch. xxv, 24 + Cairo, no. 24^{Add} v).

Пененсис & флизимос он пач потрорми есототев пте ф† евотп е †спотэн етхн пад ебрні япед-

- 4 сона е бул иле шоточите 5 етоттыц пемац пацотнот тар пе йфн соотав трнторюс йфмшт йё пероот ймощг
- 10 Адды педбал ерри 22 ф7 to a se sonn were בסישד בשטח לחסד פו סיсоп апок пем трнторюс ппра старэтй анф э сотО
- лпідочос єхен чрнгоріос 15 еъчтотво йфн ет[..... bat org

Oroje aggopx nay chod nor-1 πολ]ις σαι εταςμετι εβολ

- ...]. н е піснот є[те]ммат 20 ••]bi [ec]bh4 реи 4иуяин ητε] ημωωλοη εωςτε ητε μμοη] προτό τη πρωμι έтатщоп єршот] мпісажі йпі-25 ичбф своудеи] итаг цигтий
- етеммат w. ba onag
 - bey. . . |Rata oranar-RH . . .]wn отор
- 30 етацион поткоты пснот евол птоту м]фн етач-. [-6] אדרסד[ארד עם ואד

¹ First 1. of Cairo fragment.

NE-IHC-> X - HOCC речот свы ё птахро тирч етьен пімтстиріоп свотab

Ē

Логпоп ката фрн4 стечхо ммос йже піапостохос еф-

- 5 οταθ ππεцοτας τοτη έ олой ися сяба бі сиод Аууя адебели цфф сөбедσωρη πας έβολ πτακριβια
- 10 ппн етонп Отор апецоют е птиру ё ришу йпісь жі евнд пщорп ет в омни отшпр έρου ειτεπ οτσωρπ έ-POY
- 15 Асщини тар потснот едмокмек . [....] йплехшре сове חכמש[ו חדב חוחמצל סד]סצ בע-1 • • RIM ..[. Беп пецент пе пе отоп за[пот-
- оп тар ... п Беп піснот [етем-20 Mat [etatta] coo ébod n[tchw пфлететсе-
- Анс Щà Высте соре пікес[авет ер онт <u>Б</u>.... п[отмнщ п-
- 25 CON PITEN [TOTXINCAжі екор[щ. . . cohe ты ётій а[цер патпкот 0709 60 . . . EMA-
- щω 30 Aquar ben o[rpacori e orini ωயு

πρωμι ες[. . το εφοή εσι [ήθεμηο θευ пецсмот. Г.

*After that, Phaedimus received an overwhelming impulse from God towards that purpose which abode with him. He paid no regard to the distance which parted them—for he was parted from that holy man Gregory by the space of three days' journey-, but lifted up his eyes to God, saying: "Lo, God now looketh down upon us both, upon me and upon Gregory." And in place of his hands he laid the word upon Gregory, consecrating him who was not present with him. And he set apart for him a city which...at that time...was established in the error of idolatry; so that there were not more than eighteen men who had accepted the word of faith out of that great multitude.

Having thus perforce taken the yoke upon his neck..., and having sought a little time of him who had bestowed the priesthood upon him, that *he might learn the whole surety which was in the holy mystery. he no longer-as the Apostle says1-set his hand to seek after flesh or blood, but asked of God that He would reveal unto him the truth of things secret. And he ventured not at all to preach the word unless the truth should first have been revealed unto him. Now it happened on a time, as he was pondering by night on the word of faith, and was revolving (various arguments...) in his heart-for there were certain (even) at that time who perverted the teaching of righteousness, so that even the wise were often divided in heart, owing to their specious talk, and for this cause he was waking and very (thoughtful); he saw in a vision the semblance of a man... aged in form, (appearing)

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×(p. 31)

×p. 32

Frag. 3 (Cod. Tisch. XXIV, 6).

- π—ιнс +— № +— п∑с +— пы пні-[λη] ben пошу йте тецуейсώ iczek eyoi ûnibeped norотна eyotwng edod ñotniyt паретн ben пумот û-
- 5 пецеб пем тнатастасіс йпецсхнма Ет ацерщфирі ъе йпаі бюрп
- евол одгрудны де жна очрк евол одтьот евольен педмоненкот едотощ ё
- 10 Emi se nim ne Otoq se $\langle \varepsilon \rangle$ taqi eqhe ot ñquh
 - Фн етеммат ъе п7отнот адwli ймат йпіщбортер пте пецент пехад пад Беп от-
- 15 смн йметремратщ Ха ата та на ран как и
 - Χε εταιί щарок беп фотассаспі йф7 собе пісбноті ет екої пент Б ёршот
- 20 еөрюшрп ёрок помні тнр[с лпіпает петсебнс
 - Тоте адтахро пент ехен пісахі Бен отпіщ† пращ[і пем отвелня ед-

25 ощ

- Ιτα μεπεη[ς]α παι ετ α φη ετεματ εωοττεη πτεγχιχ εβολ σα οτοα ισχεη εταγαμοήι μμος ειτεη πεωοττε(π)
- 30 εδολ ππεςτηδ ε κεοτοι ēagotung ēboλ ca ņcģip ūmog

Йфот[п]от а пригориос тасоо

 $\overline{\lambda_{\Sigma}}$

ппецвал ефреухотут е псшоттеп птеухіх Отог іс гнппе паупат е гапкеошрп ёвол Беп отсхнма

THC

- 5 กิсราмา сусотп ก็รอรอ є оร-1]กา ก็рюми
- 0]тог өлі пасбгі ератс мпемво евох мфн етацотшпг евох пщорп пахіп оп ё-
- 10 ταφερεσή αφαράς εβρηι αφεωάς ππεφεό αφεράπορια έατα πισωρη έλολ εφμφαι¹ απ ππεφάαλ ε πιμωι βα πιοσωιαι άτε πισωρη έ-15 Αολ
 - К]е пар паре отщфнрі йгото щоп беп пібшрп свод гітеп фаі хе йгрні беп піпіщ† йхакі йте піехшро
- 20 αςιμαι ñæe φοτωιπι ñnfi ετατοτωπε έβολ πας πενιοτ ñοτλαμπαε εςμοε

бте мпецухемхом пуль

- 25 Ва пютыні етеммат Бе(п) пецвал ацсштем е темн ппн ётатотшпу пац евол етмотщт йпісахі пем потёрнот едве пн етеп-30 кшт йсшот
 - от попон зе сталон чо пэтід Фулип этп інмлі ім пя сточжа шаша та матотя

¹ q added by a later hand.

*in the style of his dress as though he had received the rank (?) of a priest, and displaying great virtue in ×(p. 33) the grace of his countenance and the manner of his garb. Marveling at this vision, he rose from his couch desiring to learn who he was and wherefore he was come. But that one straightway took away his perturbation of heart and said unto him in a gentle voice: "I am come unto thee at the command of God, because of the things which make thee to doubt, to reveal to thee the whole truth of the faith of righteousness." Then he (Gregory) took courage at the saying in great joy and exceeding gladness. Then after these things, when that one had stretched forth his hand, as though pointing out to him by the direction of his fingers another one who had appeared to one side of him, straightway Gregory turned *his eyes to look in the direction of his ×p. 34 hand. And, lo, he saw other visions in the form of a woman exceeding splendid, in human likeness; and she stood before him who had first appeared. Once again he (Gregory) was afraid and bowed himself down and covered his face and was dismayed at the vision, being unable to lift up his eyes to the light of the vision. For indeed the great marvel in the vision was this, that in the deep darkness of the night the light of them who had appeared to him shone like a burning lamp. Since he could not with his eyes bear that light, he heard the voice of them who had appeared to him rehearsing together the account of those matters which were in question. For not only did they declare unto him the knowledge of the truth of the faith through those things which they said, but

GREGORY THAUMATURGUS

Frag. 4 (Cod. Tisch. XXIV, 28).

еводрітен пікеран о́н ayc[отеп нн етатотна ёроу ёре піотаі піотаі мот† ё пе[ущфир Бен педран

5 Cexw γαρ μπος xe agcwte[μ έ θη εταςοτωης εβολ ben οτςχημα ñcgimi εςτεό έ ιωαπημς πιεταγγελιςτη[ς εθρεισωρη έβολ μπιαλογ

10 мпімъстнріоп пте Аме[өмні

> Фн етеммат ъе гшд падъф ймос пас йпаг рн† ъе †севтшт ё ерхарггесое

- πφαι ώ ομαν ππάστ έ πι.
 φαι πε πεονωщ
 Ονος παι ρητ μεπεπεία ορεί
 - αε πιςααι βεπ οτρωщι 21τεπ γαπκοται ατκηπ ετ[οτοπο εβολ
 - Φαι Σε εως ñ†οτποτ αςεβά[ι πιcazı έθοταβ έτοτς čτ αςcoθμοτ Οτος μεπεήεως αςειωιψ κατα ρωοτ

20

30

25 Μπιςαχι βεη Τεκκληςια οτος αγαρες έ Τςβω ετεματ θαι ετ αγσιτς ειτε[η ΦΤ μφρητ ποτκληροπομια πηη έθηηστ μεπεη-

сюц Отог ща ёбрні ё 4пот се4свю пънтс лпідаос пте 4хюра етем(м)ат Отор

ile THE Етјемни свод стотох е ткакіа преретікос півен наі n e nh nicazi étemmat οσοκιπά τωιφ τφ эπ ιδ[τΟ 5 є]топь →-+софіа ёттахрнотт + Отор таом бледіні + φιωτ πτελιος + Οτορ пщнрі птелюс + фішт я-10 пщнрі ямопочепнс Отор ονσε ποτωτ п€⇒ Ф]отаг йматату з еводбен ні-+ топто + ртатами исто еводьен отпот + піпі 15 οτος τρικωη πημεθηοτή + πιλουος έτερεπερυια ñ4софіа стамарі птетстасіс -tп бильфрэдй сотО + рантий. ктнсіс тирс » 20 Оущны шині свояден отішт ймні ∻ О таопат сроч сводьеп отаоnar epoy + 25 О таттако + сводьен отаттако + Отабмот сводьеп отавмот + Отща епер + сводьеп отща епер + пем отппа потыт ечотав + ботевод πε ben φιωτ πτελιος + Οτο9 30 от[.]еп1 пщнрі птедіoc + Πωηδ ήτελιοη + πετιοη ήηή етопь + пефотав етерь[ш]рнэдьщё нф е обтотипи пи 35 ¹ 911////en, MS.

^xfrom the (use of their) names also he knew those who had appeared to him, since each one addressed his ^y fellow by his name. For it is said that he heard her who had appeared in the form of a woman begging John the Evangelist to reveal to the youth the mystery of the truth. And that one also was speaking to her in this manner: "I am ready to vouchsafe this, O Mother of my Lord, since this is thy wish." And so, after he had declared the matter sufficiently in some few words, they disappeared.

But he (Gregory) straightway wrote down the holy words which he had heard, and afterwards he preached according to the sense of that utterance in the church. And he preserved that doctrine which he had received from God as an inheritance for those who should come after him. And even until now the people of that country are instructed therein, [×]remaining untainted by the mischief of any heresy. These are the words: "There is one God, the Father of the living Word (Who is) the established Wisdom and the Power of His likeness; the Father perfect, and the Son perfect; Father of the only-begotten Son, and one Lord; One-Only of One-Only; God of God; the Image and the Likeness of the Godhead; the Word Who hath wrought the Wisdom¹ which embraceth the system of all things, and the Maker of all creation; very Son of very Father, Invisible of Invisible, Incorruptible of Incorruptible, Immortal of Immortal, Eternal of Eternal; with One Holy Spirit Who proceedeth from the perfect Father and (is manifested) through the perfect Son, perfect Life, the Cause of them who live, the Pure One, the Supplier of purity, He (in whom God the Father) is (revealed)...

I In the Greek 'Wisdom' is in apposition to 'Word.'

× (p. 35)

× [p. 36]

Frag. 5 (Cod. Tisch. XXIV, 29).

- Οτ α πρηποριος χος χε πιπορή εβονη ε Φή έμμασταχρο απ ειτεη εαπςαχι αλλα ειτεη [2]απμφηρι έθονοης εβολ βεη πι-5 εβηονί
- j zinosi
- Адероты йхе пготне хе дотющ ей ё пат ё отщфнрг еспащошт лпаент едргербмодогчп лпгпаед
- 10 Άτχος σε εθέε πιτιщτ ετεμματ χε αφιρι ποτωφηρι ben πιμα έτεμματ εςοι ñπιщτ
 - Ст а пютив же хос сове от-
- 15 піщ4 йшпі едхн ебрні гітгн ймод ймоп рн4 ё отоовед ёводгітеп хіх йршмі хе йгрні беп тхом йпіпаг4 ймататс маріпат ё паі шпі
- 20 Eagorwteh E Rema ben nekorageagni
 - тоте пипин таммата рили пот риос бобагорай с птнру адотарований посогорования
- 25 ποτ μφρη μφη έτε οτο(π) 2ητ μμος σε οτώτεδ εδ[ολ] πτεκщε πακ έ κεμα ετε φη πε ετ α πιοτηδ Υμηιπι [έρος
- 30 Ст а фаг же щыпт [й]tornor a[qпарt йже птры[м]т ё птсажт 0[гор адха епхат птвеп йсыц педстичение пем педи[т пем тедсримт пем педщирт пе[м
- 35 педщфнр

Mr

пем тедметотнв піерфеі пем педгтарХштта 2[1] отсоп

THE

- Ацсотпс пад еөрецшып пем прноорос е фма ппн
- 5 πεм τρητοριος ε φμα ππή ετщоп πας τηρον Ονοε¹ πτεςαφο πας πτκοιπωπια πτε πεςβιςι πεκ τφνλοςοφια ώλητι ετεμμαν πεμ 10 τεςεβω
 - Паре мокмек хе пібеп йметсапкотс йдогогафос щбам ё ршот паі ещатоісі йгото й†метпіщ† йте пі-
- 15 щфнрі Беп отхіпсьхі пте пірнтюр
 - Нотпал рн7 гар ап пе Ащфирл Беп пн ет апхотот ушсте еөресоиси је пооц птес-
- 20 жюжей йгото пара пірн єтасщипі ймоч гітеп тхом йпетсахі
 - Ил тар пе ёбнащхе 20то ё пн ет апхотот птечт пот-
- 30 φΗ εταψωπι Ο]σωπι αφορε πΗ ετασερέωκ ππιωπι ζεποσ ςαδολ ππιωπι Οσος αφμωπι πσασπωιτ ππιαπιςτος
 - ¹ Duplicate text of Frag. 7 begins here.

*(p. 45) *When Gregory had declared the faith towards God, confirming it not by words, but by wonders shown forth in deeds, the priest answered: "I also wish to see a miracle such as can convince my heart, that I may confess the faith." It is said of that great man that he wrought a miracle in that place, which was great. When the priest said concerning a great stone which lay before him and which could not be moved by the hand of man: "Through the power of the faith alone let me see this stone remove to another place at thy command;" then that great man Gregory did not rebuke (him) at all, but straightway commanded the stone as one that had understanding: "Depart and go to another place"—namely that which the priest indicated. And when this came to pass, straightway the man believed on the word and left all, his kindred, his house, his mife his shidten, his friends, this mife his stone to have to he mife.

×р**. 4**б

his wife, his children, his friends, *his priesthood $\langle in ? \rangle$ the temple, and his goods. He chose to be with Gregory in place of all that he possessed, and to gain the fellowship of his toils and that true philosophy and his teaching.

Let all the subtle arts, then, of speech-writers keep silence—those arts which extol highly the greatness of marvels with the eloquence of rhetoricians! For the marvel is not such among those of which we have spoken as to be made greater or less than it actually was through the power of speech. For who could exaggerate that which we have related, enhancing the greatness of the marvel? Nay, more, who could detract from the marvel in the telling so that the hearers failed to be amazed at that which happened? A stone caused them who were servants of stones to withdraw themselves from stones, and became a guide unto the infidels.

GREGORY THAUMATURGUS

Frag. 6 (Cod. Tisch. XXV, 17).

Ащ тар пе пі маща йте пі-1 லா கயு அசோசாесөнсіс е[өречер йεζονεία ή[τε φη ετογα2-

- cagni nay [ie am te from 5 предмощи е т еп-БИТС
 - Ащ эе оп пе п[сов4 ппецмедос їє пецсхима².

опи є фма п[паι тнрот 10

- -ндл Ршини в т]э гоф пэд нндя νοριος εργη[τς έ Φμεταωρι ονθε πισεμ[ωπ Οτος παιкют пем пю[тнв лпсмот
- ποτεττλη [ε αυταγος ερατς 15 отве пн ета тошти ва тот-9Ĥ

Высте соре п[леопос тиру шөөртер еө[ве пецсын

- 20 Orog nas pht [ben ornigt nowt пент пем [отпаррнска асмощі єболи є [Іполіс порні сп Беп гангар[ма пем гангофр nem gant engam orde ey-
- щотщот [ймоц an ёхеп пі-25 мищ пт[е пи етотер пcwq αλλα εψσ[ι ωον Беп пιαρετн еткы [ероч
- 30 HIMHI DE THOOT ATT CARON NAπολις γε[ποτ εβολ ερθεωριη3 потщф[нри пвери Отор паре] отоп [півеп ерепіөт-

¹ The supplements are derived from Frag. 7.

 2 Frag. 7 reads αλλα ετ α $\frac{1}{2}$ χομ πτε πισταρςαρηι щопі япіюні.

³]ολ ερθεωριπ (sic), Frag. 7.

інс MH

П п хс] пы пни т

міп пе ё пат ё т]рнгоріос ё-1 теммат фн ет ер]ё отрым пеαμμοπ έρου ποτ]εζοτειά πфрн пототро]ёхеп пн ё-

- tormort epw]or xe gannort 5 MMW05]
- торь сото п[шизсипй инрь эХ орпот уг фота усауні ката negtmat .. ē @]ma et egor-
- 10 ωщ . . εц]еп лишот έβοτη στος οη εβγιστί πωωот ёвол лфрн]† прапсыык патаю й]мос пе ае іс піотна потр]ецшемщі ёте(м-)
- -n pisps 3 pwg e agaig n-15 Ашк Бен отезотта систе тошрэп э пэм щ[Ашпаэрэтп фн ете фиц й щорп йтец--n முலாாஜ் [n நகா ாரல
- 20 те фаг ё фи]а ппечетпар-XONTA]
 - Стхотщт ъс тнрот] бахшу саτρη πτηολις μεη] οτυπωμη ПТАЛ ЛАІН]
- 25 Стацще пац же ерр]ні ёршот реп ихиноре се отоп] инен сомс Бажшу ау]сепот тирот *мфрн*† потще ете] ммон Цтхн йьнтч
- 30 Нацфопец тар ймоц] ё елі ппн е паре кит ёроју алла ёqmows ben or]cworte(n)

¹ The text of the *verso* is restored from the Greek.

*For what ears hath a stone? Or what perception hath it, that it should become subject to the authority of him who commanded it ? Or what faculty of walking hath it ? Or, again, with what limbs is it furnished, or what its bodily parts? But when the power of the command served the stone in place of all these...¹

When with this beginning the great Gregory had commenced his warfare against the demons and was going about with the priest, as it were with a monument which he had set up for his triumph over them, so that the whole tribe of them trembled because of his renown; so with a great assurance and boldness he entered into the city, not with chariots, nor with horses, nor with mules, nor yet making a vain show with multitudes of followers, but glorified through the virtues which surrounded him.² And the whole multitude went forth from the city to behold a new marvel, everyone de'siring to see that Gregory who, though a man, had

[The recto, p. 47, duplicates the text of pp. 49, l. 29-50, l. 32. For the translation see preceding page. The text of p. 48 continues the text of p. 50 without break.]

1 A considerable passage has here dropped out (cp. the Greek 917 D-920 A). It is perhaps to this omission that the marginal sign × in the margin of Frag. 7 refers.

2 The Greek has ταις αρεταίς έν κύκλω δορυφορούμενος: the omission of anything corresponding to 'body-guard' is indicated in Frag. 7 by the marginal ×.

×(p. 47)

×p. 48

received authority, as though of a king, over them whom they called their gods, in that he summoned the demons and dispatched them at his command as he pleased to the place he desired..., bringing them in and casting them forth like slaves. They (the people) were saying: "Lo, even the priest, that minister of theirs, he hath taken and made him his servant through his power, so that he hath forgotten the glory which was formerly his and hath chosen this man's life of travel in preference to his own property."

With such feelings they were all expecting him before the city. But when he came to them, and when every one was gazing at him, he passed them all by like a lifeless piece of wood. For he turned himself towards no one of those who were surrounding him, but walked straight on (to the city).

Frag. 8 (Cairo, no. 24^{Add} i).

(Eighteen lines lost)

[na]

(Sixteen lines lost)

. . Щфн]рг пте пі-20 шпі . отоп] півеп еө-.....]. атгохгеж ймоч й]. са са півеп єводоіте(п) пімнщ едмощі пемач є гнд євотп

- 25 Hen πχιπορε Φπολις Σε ί εβολ βαχως εττ ωστ πτεςμετοτηθ κετοι ρώ ζαπκοτχι εμαщω πε πη ετατιμωπ έρώοτ ήβητς ώπςαχι ώπιπαζτ
- 30 Батен йпатецще ёботк ёрос ката фрн4 стагерщорп йхос

эдмэдй ромй пімй рібрь нагіпд

Ετ α[οτος η[ε μποη μα ήщωπι απ εθρεςμ[τοη μπος ηβητς]
οταε πε μποη εκκ[ληςια πε οταε ήτας μπιη μμ[ος]
Οτος ατιθορτερ ήας ηη εθπομι πεμας στος ατεράποριη αε ατηαιμωπι ήθωη
25 γε ατηαιμωπι βα τεκεπη ήπιμ

Οτος πιρεστείω τε πετας πωστ τε εθε στ τετεπεραποριη μεπ παι παερεπ 30 πετεπέρηστ εθε στηα πεμτοή πτε πετεποωμά οως έτετεπ ςαβολ πτμι-

fān id

* (p. 51^a) *[This conduct on the part of Gregory seemed to transcend even] the miracle of the stone. [And so he entered in], thronged on every side by all those who... by reason of the crowds who marched with him as he entered; since the (whole) city had come forth to meet him, doing honor to his priesthood; although, as I have said before, there were only very few therein who had received the word of the faith before he came into it. When he had rid himself...

*p. 51 *When [he was within the city] and there was not any house wherein he could rest, either (belonging to) the Church or to himself, and when those who accompanied him were troubled and at a loss to know where they should dwell or with whom they should find shelter, the teacher said unto them: "Wherefore are ye at a loss together for a place wherein to repose your bodies, as though ye were without the shelter of God?

CREGORY THAUMATURGUS

Frag. 9 (Cod. Tisch. XXIV, 34).	пн тнс
Ий откоты Аманщыні наг- репоннот пе ф7 + ісхе беп отмеблині йщоп йбиту отог ёпопб йбиту Отог 5 йкім йбиту ката петсби- отт щап Амоп ёретенгехгых ба тбиіві йтфе Отог еб- ве фаі тетенкы? йса от-	οσρωμι έοσπιψή πε δεπ πεηγεπος πεμ ήμ[ε]τραμαδ πεμ πκεςωχή πε ότοπ= εςμπ δεπ πιπιψή ετταιμ- 5 οντ = πε φραπ Σε μπιρωμι μοσςωπιος Φαι ονπ έταςπαν έ ζαπμηψ εσρωοντ έδονπ έ [τ]αι ςπον-
ие фая чеченишт неа объ 10 ма пщыпі пытеп Деп отспотън йоты пытеп фа піотаі піотаі пе фаі ётотныт ймод отор етрид	ΣΗ ποτωτ Σε πτοτοι Μπι- 10 ρωμι εδοτη έ ποτη[ι] agep- μορη έ πικεχωοτηι τηροτ]λεμ πag Μη[aι 2ω]h
15 е поисі хімод сосу ступні 15 е поисі гітеп Таре- тй Шаре фаі хе оп [7] йнагпент т- йматату [ісхе] ймоп пт[еп й- мат потні йпаї рн7 ес[ев-	Ονίος σ]ά4[δ]ο ε μιμιπι μάμωδου- 12 ος] έθρεαχωιζι μέννα όλοδ εθοίο ματροίο του τεά]πε εροίωματο του τεά]πε εροίωματο του τεά]πε εροίωματο του τεά]πε εροίωματο του τεά τεά]μα εροίωματο του τεά τεά τεά τεά τεά τεά τεά τεά τεά τεά
20 τωτ κακ πιωρη κ- 50γκ πεακχοι πτε πικά[ει ελι π- 20γο πε πκκ έτοκ5 δε[κ ταρε- τη μαλλοή σε κετ[сще εθρε κά ετθολεδ δεκ [τκακια]ано 20щ]шпі мепеп- ca] Отог о]п птедтасоб йпер- фме]ті птаі маін йпаі рн4 ща ег]рні ё п[1]гепеа тнрот
25 រល្ พีมพอร 6 กระกาง ก็[กร-	25 EORHOJT OT & LAREXWOT- 11] no.[.] or owort
Сове хе подданіс щар[е пні щωпі йкадэмма пп[н етенп йте пщіні [п]аї хе ет е[щаэер-] сэ42[0] ёрод сөвс а]42ап же отліксоп пе сөр]ец4 [па]і дмот Л[-
30 κοςμιή ώπο[σ]βιος β[εη πιαρε- τη ςεπαχ[ε]μ ελι α[η ήβητον χε πιχοι εν[πα]εοβς[ον Ναι χε είζχω [ώμ]ωον[ήπη εθπε[μ]αζ [π]άρ[ε ονοή	30] к]ехф[оънл] нмо[]чер.][]. ог][]
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·

*Think you that God is too small a dwelling-place, if in truth in Him we have our being and live and move, as it is written ?¹ Or doth the shelter of heaven irk you that ye seek after a dwelling-place ? Nay, let your one care be for a house which belongeth to each one of you—that which is builded and raised on high by virtue. And let this alone grieve you, if we have not there a house of this sort prepared for us. To be encircled with earthly walls is no advantage to them who live in virtue. More fitting is it that they who are defiled with wickedness should betake themselves to the use of walls; for oftentimes the house is a veil for the secret things of shame. But as for them who adorn their life with virtues, naught will be found in them for walls to hide."

Now while he was thus speaking to them who were with him, there was (there) \times a man who was distinguished in his birth and his wealth and other respects, and who was numbered among the magnates. The name of the man was Musonius. This man, then, seeing that many were eagerly bent upon this same purpose, to receive the man (*sc.* Gregory) into their houses, anticipated the rest in securing (?) for himself this favor. He besought the great Gregory to lodge with him and to honor...his house by entering into it, [in order that he might be revered and famous in after time], and that he might thus hand down a recollection of this kind to all future generations. But when the rest...assembled...and begged him for [the same], he decided that it was just that he should grant this favor to [him who had first sought it]...

1 Acts XVII, 28.

*(p. 52^a)

×p. 52

Frag. 10 (Rylands Library Copt. [49], 446).

Беп пессаботп + еыс еөмат те йпетопБ + отое птесеромодогчп + йтесσо[т]пс беп пхипөрес4ео 5 [е] 4асо ё пікотхі пщн-

- рі + Насщеп умот гар Беп фаі пе еөре пікотхі йщнрі шпБ + е птнрі +
- 10 Ά ποτρο Σε θρε πωι ζωχι щωπι ετων πήζωπ ήήμεθωμι ο[τ]ος αφερχωριζεςθε ήήφτς]ις1 [n]τε πισρο ήθη ετως-....]τη εγ-
- 15]
 6[...]мокмек ймоц + хе өн
 е]те мпестасо + ё кшт йса бытей йпесщирі + сееркатичоріп ёрос гітеп
- 20 Фотсіс хе поос {an} те тмат мпетесхидем ё бообец + еащ хе фпот пе пізап + ет еппатаотоц йте піпіщф грнгорі-
- 25 C
 - Άсщωπι 2ε εθρε соп h έζεπκονχι ne ben †ζνλικιδ φωщ έχωον ñ‡κληροπομιδ ñτε πονιωτ + Ονος πεν-
- 30 Дітип пе ёхеп охудинн йимот + ере пюты пюты ймшот ішс ймоц
 - ¹ For ұнфос.

ZA THE So nXC A

ε ολς που πνατατ[d..... Οτος εσοτωμ σ[u] ε σ[ι μσ]d κεοτοι + μκο[ιμ]φμος [μ]ενοd ε frihcic + στοι .[...]σ...

- 5 пригорнос + пре[4]] 2 2011 е [та]и 201100есис +
- Отор ётадфор ё піма ётеммат + пщорп меп адерхрасөе + ппедпомос мміп [мм]од
- 10 eqt εan ēp[ω]οτ eoporεωτη ē ποτερη οτ +
 - Oros nagtso ne eope [niorai nior(a)i + ep orshi norw[t ben
- 15 отметщфір потыт [пем потёрнот + Отог псех] йпенот пфеі[рн]пн хе цсотп пеото + ё [Х]рнм[а п]івен
- 20 Садхос пшот л[паг рн]† хе фаг мен упамоти ёвод [п]емштен + іте ётетенопь іте мененса [е]ретет[епмот
- 25 ταπολατείε αε εωε πται κτηείε + Οτπροε οτ[εηο]τ τε + Εστοή πτας μματ [ο]τщωщ + щα επές + φη εθ[σιπαο[πε...]ε....ε
 30 Οτος παμ[. .]μμω-

[Gregory's power of settling disputes was comparable to that of Solomon, whose decision of the dispute between the two mothers is described at length.]

ω<u></u>Щ²

² Rough, late hand.

×(p. 63)

(When the other of the two, being moved) ×inwardly, since she was the mother of the living child, admitted that she was vanquished and begged that the little child might be spared—for she was grateful that the child should live at all—, the king treated this utterance as a decision of the truth and gave the verdict for her who had...For he reflected that she who did not shrink from seeking after the death of her son, was accused by nature; for had she been the mother, she would not have been eager to slay him.

What, then, is the judgment of the great Gregory which we are going to relate? It chanced that two brothers, who were young, divided the inheritance of their father and were disputing over a lake of water,
*p. 64 each of them striving *to get it for himself and refusing to take the other as a partner with him in the possession. They took (?) Gregory to decide this case. And when he was come to that place, first of all he used his own laws, giving decision that they should be reconciled with one another. He besought them that they would both be of one heart in fellowship with one another and gain the advantages of peace, since they were more precious than any wealth. He spake unto them thus: "This (gain) will abide with you whether ye live or afterwards die. Moreover, the enjoyment of this possession is for a season, and it hath there an eternal reproach for him who wrongs..." And he was saying... to them...

GREGORY THAUMATURGUS

Frag. 11 (Cairo, no. 24 Add ii).

* лимии . етоотит пем потаі по]таі й-.]. noleмшот. . мос Беп отепшан по тыт .]. пөощ 5 .] ūnovov-۰. ог ё потернот 1] πјетсще eq]hwh ehoh nf-10 αποφαςις ñte] μου ριτεπ иечетхи от]об адобе 4фгсіс поті пем п]есернот пкесоп отор ација фото поз-

15 спотън έδολ й]γлибштев е улетфростин йуг]рникои • n 10

ца Отог [пн тнрот ет атхи ими[от отог етатотопг евод[еөве †дтмпн паг 5 пе

- 5 пе wy Отоп кещ[фнри мепепсы
 - σαι έ ας[αις οπος έ αςοποπς έδ[ολ μετί μ]α φοοπ ετε
 - 10 θαι τε Ηε οτοη οτιαρο[πιτοπος έτ[εμματ ηι έ πεηщοτ[αιηςωκ ριτ]
 - 15 MOTT Epoy ze [ATROC

Frag. 13 (Cairo, no. 24^{Add} iv).

* * * * *] סדספ [n]מַמְאָאָ[n פּקסזמסזש [ñ]חא פּ[דס]ס[זאד המזכיד אַפּר חמו כמצו אַן שמדפ חא פֿדפּקאַזמאַסחות

5 ชมห ยีbol มีทยงงองอองอุโกเ อารอก ทห อา องอุออกอุมกงร รารอา ที่เราจะเองมา แลpoy

Начмощі зе пемшот пе йже

* * * * *].[.] мп[ізахі й†м]ететсе́рнс / от[о]о]п / е[ө]ре піскетос йс]штп боі едкорд / отоо 5 едігшп ехша гітеп †мета]темі // О]тоо ёдотыщ ап еөре отрымі йпаі рн† ї е өмн† / фаі еөпащыпі потредшорщер 10 йтедметттраппос //

[He prevented the brothers from slaying one another, not to speak of] *the multitudes assembled with each of them [for the purpose of ?] war with one resolve. [For there was a single] end to their attack on one another—death. Much more right it is [to marvel at him who] did away with the sentence of death through his prayers, and made nature one with itself again, and changed their eagerness for murder into peaceful gladness...

(1, 2) These were the things said and done concerning the lake.

destroyer of his tyranny, should come into the midst.

Another marvel after this which he [wrought ?] and showed forth, [and which is] remembered to this day, is this. There was a river [flowing through] that place, [which owing to] its roughness [and] turbulence... is called Lycus.

*And Gregory continued rebuking those who were assembled with him with these words...until the servants had fulfilled his bidding with that which he had commanded them, and had returned unto him. With them came (Alexander).

*(Moreover, this was dear) to the enemy of righteousness, and [he desired ?] that the chosen vessel should remain useless and obscured by ignorance; for he was unwilling that a man of this sort, who would be a

Frag. 11

× Recto

× Verso

Frag. 13 × *Recto*

× Verso

Frag. 12 (Cairo, no. 24^{Add} iii + Cod. Tisch. xxv, 14).

g. 12	$(Cairo, no. 24^{100} iii + Cod. Iisch. xxv, 14).$	
	-	
	Тспоъън ъе ебози е ихадоо(и)	
	паспнот епащаг пе ×щ(а)те Амет-	
	отнв шюпі Батеп охтоп піве(п)	
	e acasas 2000 aca-	
5	றிலா க	
	Атотыри хе он потихресыла ищ1	
	терод сроуден охмиоуи	
	есьепт еволи евход евред-	
	ще щаршот же 21×па птеч-	
10	таро сратс птисохотна Бе(n)	
	τογεκκληςια	
	Фран 2е п7поліс ет×еммат те	
	пкомонап өді е×т а пънмос	
	тнрч 21 отсоп ер×азіоіп лпі-	
15	піщ4] бтеммат є 2	
Ū	λι ματ ε]τερετικ ×ποτεμοτ	
	ग्रेग्रे २	
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]ётнма / отог	
	еөречөющ по]тархнеретс	
	птотеккднс]ів и тоте пі-	
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	сі]пем пітепос	
	กем ทุкесюх]ท มีกรอฐรอมอ ² ก-	
	· · ·]	
]хе епіхн пе от-	

02

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	мазіп ймоч	-			
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 $1 \times \times \times$ indicates the junction of the two fragments.

* (p. 73)

35

on .

(When...) [×]The zeal towards good was growing intense until the priesthood was established everywhere, increasing and growing;¹ an embassy was sent to him from a city near to him (begging him) to come to them, that he might establish the priesthood in their Church. Comana was the name of that city, in which all the people together begged that great man to lodge, asking a favor of him...

[Ll. 18-35 untranslated.]

* (p. 74) *and therefore (they thought) it was not right that he who should be deemed worthy to receive this grace should be lacking in these respects. And they were divided over a multitude of souls,² each one choosing the one who pleased him. But the great Gregory was waiting for a counsel to come to him from God concerning the matter before them. And just as it was told Samuel, when he was about to choose a king, not to look upon the beauty of the cheeks of any, but (upon) their souls...

[Ll. 18-33 untranslated.]

1 The Greek has: 'that everywhere *the faith* might increase and extend.'

. пјщ† трнториос

² sic.

¹ Late informal uncials.

2 sc. persons.

LIFE OF ABBA PIDJIMI

XXIX. LIFE OF ABBA PIDJIMI

Parchment. Five leaves from a single MS. Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 1^{Add}), 28.3×19.5 cm., is a leaf which has been robbed of its right, left, and lower margins and has suffered much casual damage. Frag. 2 (Cod. Tisch. XXIV, 9)¹, 30×19 cm., also despoiled of its margins, follows Frag. 1 immediately. Frag. 3 (Cod. Tisch. XXV, 1), 30.5×19 cm., probably follows Frag. 2 directly. Frag. 4 (Cairo, no. 1), 31.5×24 cm., numbered on the verso $\overline{\lambda}$, is a complete leaf and was separated from Frag. 3 by a single folio (now lost). Frag. 5 (Rylands Library, Copt. no. 445),² 32.5×21.6 cm., was probably the next leaf but one to Frag. 4.³

In all the script is the same, a large and bold but uneven uncial (Plate III A), identified by Crum with the hand of Hyvernat, *Album*, Pl. xxxIII (early tenth cent.): other fragments by the same hand are Nos. VIII B, XXIII c and Rylands, no. 440 (Death of Joseph the Carpenter).

Pidjimi⁴ (*Arab.* Bidjimi) was a native of Fishah in the region of Masil.⁵ At the age of twelve, while keeping his father's flocks, he was led by an angel to the desert,⁶ where he became the disciple of three old monks. After dwelling with them for twenty-four years,⁷ Pidjimi went three days' journey into the inner desert. Demons in the form of various creatures vainly sought to affright him and were dispersed. The Saint then entered a valley where he remained for three years, taking only a handful of dates and a little water at the end of each week, and offering up 2400 prayers by night and the same number by day. His stay was prolonged for twenty-four years, his fasts extending to forty or even eighty days. He was supplied by an angel with bread and water which lasted (or was continued) for years.

The Lord appeared to the saint bidding him return to his country. Pidjimi did so, settling in a little cell outside his native place where he converted the people. Thence an angel carried him to Faran ((i)),⁸ to bring to repentance the people who had gone astray (Frag. 4). Pidjimi then returned to Shîhât. Once, while carrying baskets to sell in the *rif*, he became exhausted and was carried to his destination by an angel.

Anba Shenûdah (Shenouti the Great), having seen in a vision a column of precious stones which, he was informed, symbolized Pidjimi, visited the saint and satisfied himself of the other's greatness. Shenouti, finding in the desert the skull of a dead pagan, caused it to describe the lot of sinners in Amenti.

Soon after Shenouti's departure, Pidjimi fell sick and died on Kihak 11, his soul being carried up to Heaven by angels. He had lived 70 years, of which only twelve were spent in the world.

From his association with Shenouti the Great (died 451-2), whom he seems to have predeceased, Pidjimi may be presumed to have lived in the latter part of the fourth and first half of the fifth century (about 380-450 A.D.). This is borne out by the fact that Pidjimi relates the anecdote of Macarius and the Little Strangers⁹ as one which he had heard from a disciple of Macarius and not from the Saint himself, *i.e.* Macarius was dead (390 A.D.) before Pidjimi became a monk. In agreement with this is the fact that Pidjimi was contemporary with Poemen.¹⁰

Pidjimi is one of the nine hermits depicted in the Chapel of Es Sûâh at Dêr Abû Makâr.¹¹

1 For the Leipzig folios see Leipoldt, *l.c.*, pp. 390, 400: the identification of the second is due to Crum (*P.S.B.A.* XXIX, p. 306).

2 See Crum, *Cat.*, p. 221. This leaf was published (very imperfectly) by Amélineau, *Mém. de la Miss.*, 1V, 247, and more recently by Leipoldt, *Sinuthii Vita*, 1, pp. 77 f.

3 Only one leaf is numbered; yet the sequence can be determined by help of the excellent summary in the *Synax*.

4 The following account is derived from the Synax., Kihak 11 (ed. Basset, pp. 347 ff.)

5 See Amélineau, Géogr., pp. 243 ff.

6 The Synax. says to Shîhât; but it is to Shîhât (the 'inner desert') that P. presently retires. Can he have become a monk at the Mount of Nitria (*i.e.* Pernoudj)?

7 The Synax. omits Pidjimi's reflexions found in the Coptic (Frags. 1-2).

8 So also the Coptic (Frag. 4, verso, l. 25): other MSS. of the Synax. read El Forât (Euphrates). On Faran see R. Weil, La Presqu'ile du Sinai, pp. 208 ff. and passim. It is the modern Fairan, some fifty kilometers due N. of Et Tôr.

9 Coptic in A.M.G. xxv, 207: in the corresponding Gk. (P.G. Lxv, col. 373) the name Pidjimi is classicized into Birtímos.

10 Apophth. Patr., Poemen, CLVI (P.G. LXV, col. 360): he is mentioned in two fuller apophthegms (op. cit., cols. 124 c, 125 A).

11 See A.A.C.M. 11, iii, 2.

Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 1 Add).

.. MI]XAHA 2[E 2WY EPE TIZIAhol]oc o[1] gan new[ay cobe п]сю[м]а ммютсн[с мпечертолмап е іпі по[эхеоза

exwy .5 A pi terson eopernai da пісшит тиру же а ze gub niben ben ov that an<u>xc</u> [n]e orog xe gŵh [nihen

то ромй Кодэпад [**n**]e II]ezay on hen keca[z1..]ca [.]m[йынта олоб . [.] я бого шан ; отп анёмі же п[.....]ф[м]иєрщеща бул и[

ποτ

15

- Акщаппат е от[рецерпові ππερμεςτως α[λλα μος τ πφποβι ποου ετ ε[ηλιη
- 20 ріпа йтекщтемаю 9 WR
 - Ссьнотт [$x \epsilon$] ещип \tilde{n} [..] c^1 пів ϵ [п eketalwor eqphi nover [.]n[? ещып отішпе екещенінто[т
- B& OFECWOF 25 IIAI [p]HT 2WK 2WE RIBER ETERпат [ер]шот пем пн е[т]ек
 - пасытем ершот шы[7 й-
 - мшот е заппеона-
- nlev 30

× Recto

× Verso

Сщып акщаппат с отрікып

 $\bar{\textbf{m}}$ and c appear certain: after the former is a single vertical stroke which may be part of \mathbf{I} , \mathbf{M} , \mathbf{n} or \mathbf{n} .

(Slight traces of one line.) A]wginn ī[....

-т]нрот етщотт[ъю п]н етеротшпі м-
- фрнт мф]рн Беп тметот-5
- їгонф[ип этй од Пехац ъе] оп е заптрофи ес-.....] ie gancornory àрі фіметі ппілтавоп етсев-
- τ]ωτ ben ιλημ ήτε τφε ne[μ IO nicov[nov]qi ethen ninapa[2]icoc
 - Акща[п...]п ё запысі пем ... [.....]api Quevi nniko-
- 15 [lacic . . .] ben mai niken [.....]u noc \$7 [.... CCBH]OTT XE ICXE & TE-[те]пт[еп]онпот пем пус ма-[เω]с ทพтей อพтен е кыф йca nanxc 20
- Отог оп же ещин лпатекор[о е пеконт рыс е пеквал пе[м пекмащи п[а]і гар пе піршо[т пте пеконт
- 25 Сјш[ш]п отп акщапрш[1]с мпек-9HT OTOP ATEREMI XE ARσρο εροι ιέ δριθαρι[η] πακ α[ε хпаерсаве прото Api terzon on espernar é

of ben gub niben e-30

*"... but Michael also, when the Devil disputed with him concerning the body of Moses, did not dare to bring a railing accusation against him.¹

Do thy diligence to have pity (?) [upon] every creature. For all things are by the will of Christ, and all things are from Him."

He said also in other words (?)...in himself (?) and... [when] therefore thou knowest that...do not scorn any...[of] the Lord. If thou beholdest a sinner, do not hate him, but hate the sin which he doeth, that thou may est not do it thyself.² It is written³ that if...thou shalt load them upon a...; if an ass, thou shalt change them to a sheep (sic). Even so do thou also change everything which thou shalt see and hear into things good. If thou beholdest a likeness (or image) $\times \dots (l, 3)$ all the precious things (?) [belonging to ?] those who shine like the sun in the Kingdom of the Heavens."4

He said also concerning [delicate] meats and perfumes: "Think upon the good things prepared in the heavenly Jerusalem and the perfumes which are in Paradise. If thou [sufferest] afflictions and ..., think upon the punishments... in every place [by the will] of the Lord God... It is written: 'If ye be risen with the Christ, haste ye also to seek the things of the Christ."5

And again: "If thou hast not yet conquered thy heart, guard thine eyes and thine ears; for these are the doors of thy heart. If therefore thou shalt guard thy heart and knowest that thou hast conquered it, then be of good cheer, for thou shalt be the more wise. Do thy diligence also to see God in all things which

I See Iude 9.

2 Cp. Apophth. Patr., Paphnutius I (P.G. LXV, col. 377).

3 Where? 5 Colossians III, I. 4 Cp. Matth. XIII, 43.

LIFE OF ABBA PID IMI

Frag. 2 (Cod. Tisch. XXIV, 9).

т екпапат ершот Арі текхом сөрект мтоп йpwmi niken ite ben nekowh axix ite ben nercaxs

- іте Беп пексмот 5 Акщапі оп є омн† ппіспнот eyun erepsuh api suh ne-MOOT RATA TERSON PINA Nте помот похт помот ши-
- пі Беп текметасосτo пнс

Нат пе пи ет а пімакаріос авба nizimi fchw nay epwor ñ-DTATAM

- 15 Тоте адтинд йже пімакаpioc abba nizim aque na[q еботи е питиот ет събот[и пшит мэп тоодэн ү дэрь дого
- 20 ите еднощі є опи Объе йнечеу ти иемая объ-DE MOOD ODDE BYI BOYMC εβηλ ε οτκοται πβαι εψοτ-
- eg gizwy 25 Tote at(or)ongor epoy fixe ganошотт племып етще-Агноэт Беп тоэфэсіс езor noot Ename
- зо Вапиась пем рапмот πεμ γαπλαβοι πεμ γαπεω[1]4

- пем 92novwnu 92 HOJO WP TIE M γαπριρ πτωογ пем
- nem Sausaya4 essmos
- 5 Άπλως παρε πισται πισται πιμ κατα τευφγείς εγγι 207 е пімакаріос адда патшфор ап пе
- Пімакаріос же апа піхімі е-10 Taytoony agoos epary ag-
- пат є тотпопиріа пем потщөортер же сещним ерод а[п ацешы птотметатnoz
- 15 Пехач пшот Беп отсемпі хе пім стапатки єрштеп Апот ω πιταλεπωρος σε άριοτί πпы фаптасіа пем паі щоорхеопй цэт
- 20 Gne à naor inc nor thit note n паре отаз потыт Беп оннот парющі єрої пе Спіхн мпецф езотсіа пштеп.

еболи ебог потеи е πετεπτοπος

- Catory admyhy adebcdbar[1л]годэ грипратэ ромй пгу еграт атхид свод Бен ніанр отор атмотик лфрнф
- no]rxpen[t]c 30

25

*thou shalt see.

Do thy diligence to give rest unto every man, either by the work of thy hands, or by thy speech, or by thine aspect.

If thou goest also into the midst of the brethren, if they are working, work with them according to thy power, that the grace of the power of God may be in thy weakness."

These are the things wherewith the blessed Abba Pidjimi instructed himself alone.¹

Then the blessed Abba Pidjimi arose and departed into the inner desert of Shiêt. And he passed three days and three nights journeying, not knowing whither he was going. Nor had he taken with him any bread or water or anything at all save a little palm-stick whereon he leaned.

Then there appeared unto him companies of demons disguised in their nature and exceeding fearsome: bulls, and lions, and bears, and hyænas, xand wolves, and dogs, and wild boars, and foul birds. In short there was every one (creature) after its kind seeking to affright the blessed man, but they were not able to succeed.

But the blessed Pidjimi when he perceived the matter, stood up: he saw their malice and their confusion because they could not move him, and he mocked at their powerlessness. He said unto them sternly: "What ails you, wretched ones, that ye make these appearances and this false confusion? If my Lord Jesus the Christ had delivered me unto you, a single one of you would have been sufficient against me. But since He hath not given you authority against me, get you gone unto your place."

Straightway he prayed and crossed himself, and when he had breathed upon them, they vanished in the air and consumed away like smoke.²

I These reflexions may have been borrowed by the biographer from a collection of 'Sayings of the Fathers.'

2 Probably Frag. 3 follows immediately.

× Recto

× Verso

Frag. 3 (Cod. Tisch. XXV, 1).

Отор начопь пе евод бен поттар йте нівені пн етрит беп піреддос ётеммат Отор ката ё пербот нач-

ז אוסד הב צוצבה הוצבאלוסב בע-כשא המע שהסדדתה ההוצב-הו

оъъе пе мпадотим пе щатедмаг Бнтд пе алла пад-

10 μος ήτες βορπς φΗ ετε τοτς πλολς φλι πε πεςονωμ

> Педмот 26 оп епадсо ймод фаз пе отори ймоо[т

15 κατα τ΄ πέροον εβολμεπ πιρελλος

> Ονσε οη ππεςщωπι πας έπε[ς ενςνηθοιά εφρε ουδρε щωπι πεμας ben πιμα έ πα[ς-

20 Хн ймоч отъе миот Д]Ада ката ё пероот аущапотищ е отим паупнот ехеп піреддос птеумор птеуборпс пвені птеу-

25 отомс отог йтецсш йнецгін ймшот гіжен піреддос йтецтасооц е пецма оп ща пжия йнё пероот ацер

зо кет промпі Бен таі поднтіа

Неущдид пем пеустпазіс = пауїрі ймшот ймипі ти йметапіа Беп піегоот пем ñ¹ йуадмос пем гапкемищ па-

- 5 по[с]онтис сводбеп мштсис пем пипрофитис тирот
- Πιεχωρε σε εως κα ήμε . ταποιά πεν φ πραλπος
- 10 пем Хюріс пімнщ папосонтнс сводбеп Ітрафн папас

Εταφερ τ προμπι βεπ ται πολητιά θαι ά πιεθως ετ-

- 15 гилта Бід алерфейхі Надмовмев ммод пе хе [от пе ет едпалід/// еббе хе а[дотщі ап пе е д гді гішта еводбеп тхріа йпал вос-
- 20 MOC
 - иўни обромі пе едериндод ўфрн4 цикобхі и[е-Умобі ием пітевитобі Удда біно цітедитобі
- 25 фін євод беп пітрафн пехац пбрні пбнтц хе пос Ападемсі сібнщ пос Апащтово афд [еівнщ ///

30 חמאוח הבשמע שב המושד מש[מאו הבא בדע הבחשטטח הוסל

¹ The vertical back-stroke of the numeral (not p) alone remains: perhaps \overline{n} .

14

ŝĮ.

× Recto

[×]And he used to live on the fruit of the palms which grew in the Marsh¹ there. And (once) every six days he used to go unto the Marsh to gather for himself the fruit of the palms. But he did not eat to fill his belly, but used to fill his hand, and whatever his hand would hold, that would he eat. The water also which he used to drink was this: a bin^2 of water (once) every six days from the Marsh. Nor again was it ever his custom to have food or water with him in the place in which he was; but every six days, when he wished to eat, he would go unto the Marsh to fill his hand with dates and eat, and to drink his *bin* of water at the Marsh, and then return again to his place until the six days were ended. He passed another three years in this discipline.

× Verso

*His prayers and his offices he used to make daily—four hundred and forty prostrations by day with [fifty?] Psalms and a number of recitations also from Moses and all the Prophets. By night also he used to make twenty-four thousand (*sic*) prostrations with a hundred Psalms besides a great number of recitations from the Old Testament.

When he had spent three years in this discipline, the clothes which he wore were worn out and fell to pieces. He was at a stand what to do; for he did not wish to clothe himself at all with the necessaries of this world, but to be rid of them, like little children and the animals, and (but) a man who is sober (?) in the Scriptures. He said within himself: "How shall I be able to sit if I am naked? How shall I be able to pray to God if I am naked?" Again, he said: "My Father Adam and Eve, our first parents..."

I The well-known "Marsh of Shiêt."

2 An Egyptian measure (commonly used in Palestine:

cp. Exodus XXIX, 40; XXX, 24; where the LXX has $\epsilon i\nu$). Here it denotes a vessel of definite capacity.

160

LIFE OF ABBA PID I IMI

Frag. 4 (Cairo, no. 1). $\overline{\lambda}$ ия[1] but ou игитор иуни ипотмотик апіхшк й7 промns Πεμεμία μαι απόλομα εδοά HIE NOT THE NYC NEM MIXAHA 5 5 пем пий папостолос отор а питьот тиру єр отшіm 0]voe nexe nicwthp nay +1 xe Xeре пасшти піхімі фн етац-10 IO ωπ ε τήπι ήπααποςτολος εθотав сытем ё пн е Апаер-Χαριζεςθε ππωογ nak 15 Тпафроткыт пак поттопос 15 ьеп пекрап йтотх w мпексима пънту псеотощт ппексима йсе фиот пни πεμ παιωτ πεμ πιππα εθογαβ 20 **БЕП ПЕКТО-**20 πος Фн] сө[п]ащшпі Беп рапщшпі .]en[.]ащиот асщані є пектопос Апаерхаричесое пач 25 йпіоталі 25 Ф]н сопаїрі поуметпант Беп пе]ярап ппецщыт препоч me.TT .. Ф]н еө[na]c[bai] лпекhioc пем 30 bonor frachle 30 педрап выд [реп піхши йnwn5/ Изаг ета пісштир хотот пац

адераспадесое ймод пем міханд пем піапостодос Тоте пехе пісштир япіатіос SE HISIMI HACOTH = TONR MAще пак е пекти брі ймат хе Апаїрі пранхом євохрі-TOTE е пхиптасоо зарог потдаос пеопос пем отмнш пте пеккарт соротсотынк йсе-+ wor пни сводентотк хе отні атьшпт єботи йхе пекромпі Ке і промпі не щатаї апок пем плагиедос-йтлодк ё таполіс ймні Πεχε πιςωτηρ παιχαήλ χε цая япасшти ріжен нектеп[9 חסשטותו סאק ב חואמצו בדמדроий рофя Илі стацхотот пад адще п[ад е пщы е піфноті отор à м[1ханд іпі лпіасчос є пн етепоъд сатотд адше пад е птоот яфаррап адщоп[1 ммат ñē пром-Πĩ Свод че білен ие[абно]лі я о[л-אאש [ג]כדסד לא חבב סבטל אבעונו **мп**ишис соотав Отинщ пведдет нем запоа-1 1 sc. ganoa [[lev.

¹ The small cross (inserted by a later hand) distinguishes the divine utterance.

 \dots so also the water. But they¹ did not fail until seven years were ended. After these things there appeared unto him the Lord Jesus the Christ with Michael and the Twelve Apostles; and all the mount (desert) was filled with light. And the Savior said unto him: "Hail, Pidjimi, My chosen, thou who art reckoned in the number of My holy Apostles, hear those things which I will bestow upon thee. I will cause them to build a sanctuary (topos) in thy name² and to lay thy body therein, and to reverence thy body, and to glorify Me with My Father and the Holy Spirit in thy sanctuary. He who shall be sick with divers (?) sicknesses, if he go unto thy sanctuary, I will grant him healing. He who shall do alms in thy name shall not want of plenty... He who shall write thy life and ..., I will write his name also in the Book of Life."

When the Savior had said these things unto him, *He kissed him, as did Michael and the Apostles. Then said the Savior unto the holy man: "Pidjimi, My chosen, arise and go unto thy village and abide there; for I will work wonders by thy means, for the bringing back unto Me of a heathen people and a multitude of (the people of) thy country; that they may know thee and glorify Me by thy means. For verily thy years draw nigh (their end): yet ten years and I will come, I and My angels, to take thee away to My true city."

The Savior said unto Michael: "Take up My chosen one upon thy wings of light and carry him to the land wherein he was born." When He had said these things unto him, He went up into the Heavens.

And Michael brought the holy man unto his own people. Straightway he departed unto the Mount of Pharran and dwelt there five years. And by reason of his works a multitude turned themselves unto the Lord and received holy baptism. A multitude of blind and lame...

1 sc. the bread and water brought by the Angel (see Introductory Note).

2 No sanctuary bearing the name of Pidjimi seems to be recorded elsewhere.

× Recto

× Verso

Frag. 5 (Rylands, no. 445).

Псжеп ётачсе птечмопн

м[пе]цочым пепец[сы пе едмощі пехе [пхе піхімі пац

5 же от пак йпаг мокт мару [ймшот сводбен пиор ет са петевт

Ноод »е адог йнглавон адмард ймшот

- 10 Εταφί ε πιμωι αφχεμ πιβελλο εφόζι ερατη εφτωδς μ-Φ⁴
- Стацще еботи е фрі ацяїмі йтщій есхи ебрні ес-15 вербер йте піфісі
- Тоте авва щепот адка беп педент хе фаі пе авва піхімі фн ет атамоі є педоропос пем пед-
- 20 XIOM

Статщдид пем потернот атотым мпікотхі мфісі атеп[к]от

Бен тфащі ъе йніехире аттиотнот атер стназіс

25 τωονπον ατερ επαζις πεм ποτερμοτ ατερ πιεαωρε τηρη ενεως έ φτ οτος ετεριβαλιή μεή εαπωαμ μπηατικοή

30 Henenca nas a abha menort

Ста паг 2]е щшп[1] аті свод 5м]ощі Беп Іког пем

- ...]a[...,]т[ем]мат à ф7 отw]щ йпаг рн7 соре Аметсштп пте авва щепот7 отшпе свод с авва пихим
- 10 сщωπι ετιοψι μπΕ ατί εχει στρεμωστ εφοοις μπιμα έτεμματ χε στη[ι στοι στημι πεωμα θομ[c] μματ πτε πιεθπος παρχε-15 ος
 - Да]ва щепоъ4 хе падлощи ере пі[ко]ъхі йваі беп тецхіх.[..] ёхеп оъхраніо[п пте оэредмшоэт
- 20 Элвя успоът хе адкодо ми[од] пё псоп е пікрапіоп Беп 4]оъ[п]оъ адо[т]щі [.]ц йхе піредмооът адсахі пем авва цепоът [пем авв]а
- 25 πισιμι ε [παι] pht Σε χερε χερε πιρες[ον]ωμ[τ πταφ[μ]μι πτε πχτ ο[ν]ου πιεβι[αικ η]τε Φt ετσοςι

6[..]..[.] пісмот адтагов йф[и-

30 of xe & neten h[.....] M..

8]hnne vap iczen Inor [..]na

* Recto *From the time that he (Shenouti)¹ left his cell, he did not eat nor drink while he was journeying. Pidjimi said unto him: "Take thee this vessel and fill it with water from the spring which is to the east." And he took the vessel and filled it with water. When he came up, he found the old man (Pidjimi) standing and praying to God. And when he entered into the cell, he found the cooking pot upon the ground and boiling with heat (?). Then Abba Shenouti understood in his heart that this was Abba Pidjimi whose throne and whose crown had been shown to him.

When they had prayed together, they ate their little cooked morsel and slept. But in the middle of the night they arose and said an Office together: they spent the whole night praising God and chanting in spiritual songs.

× Verso

After these things Abba Shenouti ×[informed Abba Pidjimi of the] marvel [concerning] his throne and his crown. Thereafter, they went forth...walking in the country with...God purposed thus that the election of Abba Shenouti should be revealed to Abba Pidjimi. It chanced that as they two were walking, they came upon a dead man, buried in that place. For verily there was a multitude of bodies of the pagans of old buried there. Now (while) Abba Shenouti was walking with his little palm-staff in his hand, [he came] upon a dead man's skull.² And Abba Shenouti struck it upon the skull three times; (and) forthwith the dead man answered (?) and spake with Abba Shenouti and Abba Pidjimi after this manner: "Hail, hail, ye true worshippers of Christ and servants of God most high [Who hath shown me] grace and delivered me from death. For your...For lo, from henceforth [I] shall..."

1 See Introductory Note.

2 The anecdote of Shenouti and the skull is a doublet of *Apophth. Patr.*, Macarius XXXVIII (P.G. LXV, 280) where Macarius similarly finds a skull which he causes to speak and describe the lot of those in Hell.

LIFE OF SHENOUTI

XXX. BESA

Life of Shenouti.

Parchment. Five fragments from three different Mss.

Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 13^{Add}ii) 12.5 × 19.5 cm., is the lower portion of a sheet (two conjoined leaves). The script is a thick, heavy, but not large uncial: the stops \neg and = (both black) alone are used. Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 13B), 18.5 × 13 cm., is a fragment from the lower right-hand portion of a leaf. The script is the same as that of Frag. 4. Frag. 3 (Cairo, no. 110), 11 × 23.5 cm., is a strip torn from the foot of a page and giving its full width. It does not therefore belong to the same MS. as did Frag. 2: the hand, moreover, is larger and thicker. The stops \neg and = alone are used. Frag. 4 (Cairo, no. 13A), 34.5 × 23 cm., is a complete leaf from the same MS. as Frag. 2, having thirty-seven lines to the page. The *recto* (eleventh page in the MS. and first in the second quire) is headed \overline{ra} $\overline{\gamma c}$ (Ornament) [$\overline{a \gamma s}$ \overline{A}]. The script (as in Frag. 2) is a good-sized, rounded uncial: the ink is reddish-brown: the only stops used are = and (at the end of a paragraph) \varkappa . Frag. 5 (Cairo, no. 13^{Add}i), 18 × 16 cm., is a much-discolored fragment of a decayed leaf: it may possibly belong to the same MS. as FragS. 2 and 4.

All these belong to the *Life of Shenouti* by Besa. Other fragments of the same work are *Cod. Tisch.* xxiv, 10, 11; xxvi, 26,¹ of which the two former at least may belong to the same MS. as our Frags. 2 and 3. The complete work is extant in the Vatican MS. (*Cod. Vat. Copt.* Lxvi, 2) which was also brought (by Assemani) from the Monastery of Saint Macarius, and has been most recently edited by Leipoldt.²

Frag. 1, Fo. 1: recto illegible: verso = L(eipoldt), Sinuthii Vita p. 20^{17} nexag nan xe to p. 20^{22} erod gixwn. The following variants occur: orog gnadpe> L^{18} gnadpe; atcutem newg = ange> L^{20} atcutem adda ange; orog etanorwn> L^{20-21} orog et a ninat giwni angwd xe nnaorwn; ñxa wire> L^{21} nxa wire ne (Amélineau deletes ne); ñte not...éxwn> L^{22} nte ϕ^{\ddagger} ...gixwn. Fo. 2 recto = L., p. 21^3 e ϕ h ben to 21^6 nrpwn. The following variants occur: e ϕ h et ben> L^3 omits et; orog nagt (as Amélineau conjectured)> L^3 \exists ngt; xe gnai> L^4 xe gnamog an; rata negcaxi> L^5 adds nomhi; narpwn sic> L^6 nopwn. Folio 2 verso = L., p. 21^{14} nexe nicwthp to p. 21^{18} ntermeti xe. The following variants occur: ma nigwni [ϕ h] etgi> L^{15} ma nigwni etgen; nima etemmaty L^{16} nimwit mmogi; orog \ddagger xo> L^{17} orog maxro.

Frag. 2 = L., p. 27^2 мпрофитис to p. 27^{10} ben піхої, and p. 27^{20} адералантан to p. 28^6 птекщонс наїют. The only noteworthy variant is the following passage inserted (recto) between the words $m\phi\bar{q}$ and пірюмі of ed. cit. p. 27^8 :—Tore] пехе пірюмі хе $\bar{q}\bar{q}[20|...]$ н ω паїют ёвогай от[...]. щдија ехої евре пот сот[тин | памиї]т Бен от[21]рнин ото[2 | ...]. що адої смот єводаї [тота | адщ]є пад = (Then said the man: "I beseech thee(?), O my holy Father, ... pray for me that the Lord may direct my path in peace." And after (?) he had received a blessing, he departed).

Frag. 3 recto = L., p. 27¹³ orog et a ninpagmatettic to p. 27¹⁸ agopotthitot nhi. The only variant is: ntaoi $2\lambda_i > L^{16}f$. ntaoà $2\lambda_i$. Verso = L., p. 28⁴ agenc to p. 28⁸ ñdotkozi. Variants are: Dapoc > L⁷ gapoc, and ñödokozi > L⁸ ñdotkozi.

Frag. 4 recto = L., p. 31^{15} depetapioe to p. 32^{12} new nichtor. The following variants occur: 2a not L^{19} 2a $\overline{\Phi T}$; ben ni[R01]twn> L^{25} ben [ni]t[..]i; xe neel> L., p. 32^5 neel sic only; \overline{e} anon> ib. anon; $\overline{e} \in m[n_3]i> L^6 \in mnar$; not $> L^8$ nxc. Verso = L., p. 32^{13} ben nimonaethpion to p. 33^6 nige nhi. The following are the variants: xe e[t]anxa> L^{14} xe natur edotal etanxa; etennot> L^{17} etankot; thursi [ot]te> L^{21} f. otte thwire; not natural induces L^{24} new tholic; metendopoloc ... neteniot> L^{24} newdoor L^{24} newdoor L^3 e nintodh.

Frag. 5 recto³ = (fragments of) L., p. 56⁸ nayyand ne to p. 56¹⁷ orog ay($2\omega\lambda$). Verso⁴ = (fragments of) L., p. 57² is nimeproper to p. 57¹⁰ monaxee (but indeterminate traces of four more lines follow).

1 See Leipoldt, *l. c.*, pp. 390, 413.

3 Indeterminate endings of three lines precede.

2 Sinuthii Vita Bohairice (C.S.C.O., Script. Copt., Series II, tom. II i). 4 Indeterminate beginnings of four lines precede.

XXXI. LIFE OF TIMOTHY AELURUS

Parchment. Two leaves (Cairo, no. 12), 34×24 cm., paged¹ — \overline{c} and — \overline{t} , and forming a single sheet evidently from a quire of eight leaves or sixteen pages. For the hand see Plate VIII. The only stop used is = (black), occasionally inserted by the original scribe.

The text opens with an account of the effect on the ecclesiastical situation at Alexandria of Marcian's death, and the consequent election of Timothy (Aelurus) as Patriarch (457 A.D.).² After a lacuna of two leaves (four pages), the return of Timothy from exile (475 A.D.) and his subsequent alleged³ banishment owing to the intrigues of the Bishops of Rome and Constantinople, are described. The appointment of Timothy Salophacialos as his successor is then noticed. The fragment closes with part of an anecdote relating to a priest of Caesarea who visited Timothy in his exile.

The greater part of the text is identical with two passages in the Syriac Life of Peter the Iberian;⁴ but our fragment is certainly not from a Coptic version of that work. For (1) the two leaves or four pages preceding our first leaf could have covered only a small fraction of the life of Peter up to the death of Marcian; (2) the whole of our text is relevant to the history of Timothy, Peter being mentioned only in connection with the election of that Patriarch; (3) the concluding incident in our fragment, which is found also in the Syriac *Plerophoriae* of John Rufus,⁵ concerns Timothy alone and not Peter (in whose *Life* it is not found), while the Coptic ignores a short paragraph occurring in the Syriac *Life*⁶ and dealing with Peter alone.

It is certain, then, that the two Coptic leaves belong to a Life of Timothy Aelurus and not of Peter. That the Coptic writer has pillaged the *Life of Peter* and the *Plerophoriae* for his material is most probable.⁷ He may very possibly be no other than that Abba George who wrote histories of the Patriarchs from Cyril I to Alexander II "in the desert of the holy Abû Makâr in Wadi Habîb." For not only was Abba George syncellus of the Syrian Simon I, and so in a position to learn what Syriac writers had recorded concerning his period;⁸ but we are expressly told that he "informed us of what happened in the time of Marcian, the unbelieving prince, and the troubles that overtook our fathers..."⁹

(Cairo, no. 12).

отхидем адмот пъе маркіапос атопе щипі=

Тоте пімакаріос петрос півнрос етацьен пемже пе мпісноя етеммая

- 5 αςτ[ω]ης πχωλεμ αςι εβολβεπ πεμχε οτος αςκοτς ε ρακοτ πεπστ ίπτ πχτ πε εταςτωκ ώμος άςεης έ ματ κατα οτοικοπομια έφρεςμωπι ñπομτ ώπιλαος πεμ ταχρο ππιπαςτ
- 10 nop002030c =
 - שנוז אפר דר לס[ו]אסחסאום שרח חשוחסף חו-שוחו דמצר לחסאור אמאסאאוסחסר שא רדמקשטחו חדווסר מאסאאוסחסר שא רדמקשטחו חדווסר סדסצ חסאצאריסר חדר חסו ח[ר]דצעיסד
- 15 тирот мф[м]нш ппгорводогос

I That numeration is by pages is certain. The usual number of parchment sheets in the quire is four (=eight leaves or sixteen pages).

2 Timothy was elected in 457 and died in 477 A.D.: see Nau in P.O. VIII, p. 20, note 1.

3 See below, p. 167, note 3.

4 Raabe, Petrus der Iberer, pp. 64 f., 69 f. (see references in the margin of my translation). Peter, son of the king of the Iberians, was born in 409 A.D., was delivered as a hostage to Theodosius II in 422, ordained priest in 447 and bishop in 454. In 455-7 at any rate he was in Egypt: he died 488 A.D. (see Nau, P.O. VIII, p. 203, col. 3). Concerning Peter see also Synax., Kihak I (ed. Basset, p. 290) and O. von Lemm, Iberica (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des Sciences de S. Pétersbourg, Series VIII, t. vii, p. 6).

$\overline{\mathfrak{c}}$

йте 4вакі ракоч ё отоп птшот ммат мпіпіщч паскітне отор йпрофитис авва хопчіпос фішт ппімопахос есіщоп пшот ñ-

- 5 σατμωιτ οτος παρχηνο[ς μ]παι εωε έθηδηες εστοτήος μμωοτ ειτεή φοταροδητι μφτ ε μτεμεραμελές αλλα εθροτιώς ε χώκ εβολ μφή ετατθαμίς=
- 10 Тоте Бен пхинфротерхокимади(n) 21 отсоп атотырп пранотоп ёотоп щхом ймшот ё ер фаг Беп отметрецеруеми -
- -ισττό σητισοκοιπά μοίδωσε
- 15 нотт маллоп же пімарттрос

5 § XXXVIII (ed. Nau, *P.O.* VIII, p. 63). Note that the Syriac is briefer than the Coptic.

6 Raabe, op. cit., p. 70 ("Das war für den seligen Petrus ... erfreuen konnte").

7 If so, he probably used Greek versions of these works. A fragment of a Coptic version of the *Plerophoriae* has been published by Crum (*Theological Texts*, no. 13, pp. 62 ff.), who adduces evidence to show that this work was substantially the work of Peter, the extant Syriac being a redaction edited only by John Rufus.

8 George may himself have been a Syrian.

9 Concerning George, see *Hist. Patr.*, ed. Evetts, pp. 344 f.

LIFE OF TIMOTHY AELURUS

ётатоты атха хом сводентен папте омні єводбеп пщаче авва μαι ππιθλιψ[ι]ς ετ ατεποτ έχωοτ= TIMODEOC EQUI NATEMI E 2008 пем підіштмос ет атщопот еатйпы смот = ерщлая понт е[в]ольеп пимавая п[я]нт Х]е адоты пар е[й]пща йпазимла п+-20 Orog arwny nk[ec]on yen [n]xino[p]orметп[р]есвътерос пооч пем а-20 XIMI ПОТСНОТ MNIMTON $a[\ldots]x[\ldots]$. ON η]α[τω]λιος πεηςου υκικοίος eoph[1] Mnencwthp.[..].[. orog n]p[e]qx og nemag e tackicic м соречщен1 [9]мот п[тотч птан ман εκολριτεη πητημή κυριλλος πι-×ε ûneqxwnt έρω[οτ ben nxinoархнеписк]опос пте ракот = 25 речтнитот Беп от . 25 Πεπιωτ παρ α] ββα τ[1]μοσεος πε πε οτε ne[n21]x ūn[1]λοιμος [pwmi eg]eproc[m]in ben cmot по]тыпщ потамспо[ч חואבח הן חואסאסד חדב חעכ ה[4-Nom etatnat é nichot рну ппіа постохос прото [26 от-,]TAI ETOTTULO EOPOTXIMI MMOY речхор п]акривно пте пипар[7 30 Д[т]ошот пхе финш[ппилопахос 30 nop002030]c = nh etben thaki mi [..] ha [... Etaveny 2e [e] Inolic ovog avo[1]ty пікехшотпі оп стемм[ат пімнщ пеБоли е] фенкунста он етотмоте піма пе етотмот [ероч же підеof eploc ze nikecapion ne a tnaton nem hiortwre[Deraton nolic T] Hpc cx e20[n] 0007 21 07пем пкесепі п[пі]мопаст[нріоп є-35

o]orab [n]en n[12]200 they e[ona24

¹ For eopormen.

соп пі]ршмі пем піріомі пем пот-35

щны ијем игмопахос соотав

 \dots *Marcian¹ died suddenly without sickness. Then the blessed Peter the Iberian, who was at Pemdje² at that time, arose in haste and went forth from Pemdje and returned to Rakoti. It was our Lord Jesus the Christ Who led him and brought him thither according to a dispensation, that he might become a support unto the people and a strength of the orthodox faith. Now this was the dispensation. When the news reached the city Rakoti concerning the death of Marcian-he who had been the author and originator of all these woes of the multitude of the orthodox, who no longer had strength by reason of the increase of the afflictions which were laid upon them and the persecutions which overtook them since they despaired through grief of heartthey lived again because they had found a season of repose: [they gave thanks] unto our Savior that they had received a favor of this sort at His hands, in that He was not wroth with them in delivering them in [anger?] into the hands of the pestilential (?)³ and bloodthirsty wolf. Thereon, since they saw that the season was such as they prayed that they might find (?), the multitude of the monks assembled, both they who were in the city...and the others also who were there, the multitudes of the place which is called Pi-Ennaton and Oktokaidekaton⁴ and the rest of the holy monasteries, together with all the believing people [×]of the city of Rakoti. And there was amongst them there the great ascete and prophet, Abba Longinus,⁵ the Father of the monks, who was unto them a guide and a leader in this good work, urging them at the bidding of God not to be neglectful but to hasten to finish that which they purposed.

Then as they were deliberating together, they sent certain who had the power to do this thing with authority, and they dragged the honored confessor—nay rather the very martyr—Timothy⁶ from the desert while he was unaware of anything of this kind. For he had previously been held worthy of the dignity of the priesthood-he and Anatolius, his true brother and his rival in the ascetic life-at the hands of the great Cyril, the Archbishop of Rakoti. For our Father Abba Timotheos was a man adorned with every form of the grace of Christ like the Apostles, and moreover with a keen zeal for the orthodox faith.

Now when they brought him into the city, and took him into the Church which is called the Caesareum,⁷ almost all the city was assembled together, men and women and their children together with the holy monks.

Two leaves (four pages) missing.

I Emperor, 450-457 A.D.

2 =Oxyrhynchus, the modern Behnesa.

3 The Syriac has 'destructive.'

4 The Syriac adds Eikoston and explains in a note (see Raabe's edition, p. 64) that these monastic centres were nine, eighteen, and twenty miles distant respectively from Alexandria. Cp. Cauwenbergh, Étude sur les Moines *d'Égypte*, pp. 66 ff.

5 Of Cilicia, Superior of El Zajag (Pi-Ennaton). For his history see Synax., Amshir 2 (ed. Basset, pp. 730 ff.). A Sahidic Life of Longinus (and Lucius) is extant (Morgan MSS., xxxvii, 87^{b} ff.). Five of his sayings are found in the Apophth. Patr. (P.G. LXV, 266 ff.).

6 i.e. Timothy Aelurus, Patriarch 457-477 A.D.: he is otherwise credited with having contrived his own elevation by working on the credulity of the monks.

7 A pagan temple or heroön dedicated to Caesar, subsequently transformed into a Christian Church (in which Hypatia was murdered: Socrates, H.E. vII, 15). For its site see E. Breccia, Alexandrea ad Aegyptum, p. 45.

× (p. 5) =Raabe, p. 64

× p.6 =Raabe, p. 65

(Cairo, no. 12).

йпімакаріос тімобеос фн ет абер-Хіродонін ймоц ейодгітен ф† йсетремсоц ехен пецбронос хе гіпа гітен плі смот ёре обном†

- 5 пащыпі пітакі єводьєп пійкате етатсіпі отор пте підаос йтоп ймшот беп отерірнин =
- Отог статкоту съоти с Аваки а мшит пивен мог пращи го отноу го ве-
- 10 Анд отог паре отмищ едощ еводбеп пілопара сна стойша отог ісже сще птепхос беп отщит евод паре тподіс прем[р]акоф ог ифе ппісгоот тнрот стеммат
- 15 Εσμοπ οτη ήχε πιμακαριος τιμοθεος δεη τιεπιςκο[π]η ήτη ήρομπι Παλιή οη μπεσμησι ερος ήχε πιφθοπήρος ηχεμώνη εςήαν ε πογχαι
- 20 Адөротліві птаї бе тирс беп отпіщі йметмасте римі йхе піёпіскопос етбеп ма півеп йгото хе фа кипстапті[п]отполіс пем фа рими еове хе фвіос йпімака-

 $\bar{n}nip\omega MI =$

25 ргос т[гмоө]еос пем течнатастас[гс п]ем печшот пем течнаррнсга патщоп пщфгт пем жфго ппн етеммат

Ечерапабематігіп ймнпі пънмосій

- 30 пооц пем пієпіскопос єт Баратц пем пікднрікос пем пімопахос нем пікднікос пфетпохос пасевне єтасщипі Беп Хадкнашп Сатірі потпіщф йспотан гітеп
- 35 п] прапхрных пем отпростасиа п]роми¹ пап[0]мос пе атхими гар

¹ sic apparently, for nnipwms.

sh

пплархип етогі йпіснот етеммат ет сомт єршот гітеп Аметмаі гат йпотння ежеп паі соопі ётешот отог йпопнро(п)

- 5 ματογερεζωριζικ πκεcon ππιμακαριος τιμοθεος εαγφωπ εβολ πρακτιου ενομ βεκ πιλαος ονορ και ρκτ ανολυ ε τεζωριςτιά πκεcon = ε ονκολις
- 10 Σε υδυτρά πιμά έτ α πεςμφηρ πομολου[ι]της οτος πρεστ [ε]Σε(n) πιπάς τη πορθοδοζος διοςκορος Σωκ [ε]βολ πβητη ε ασσι μπ[ι]Χήμας το τος πρεστ ματη το πιπάς το πορθοδοζος το ποιστορημού το πορθοδοσια =
- 15 Ετατειοτι τ[α]ρ εβολ ππιμακαριος τιμοθέος ε[ι]χεπ πεφθροπος ειτεπ οτπροστατμά ποτρο πεμ οτατθεπτία οτος ετατερεζωριζιπ πμος =
- 20 Οτος [n] ceen κεσται έβοτη έ πεςμα ειτεη τ{κ}ε[κ] σεςις ήποτρο έστ εκολ η[ε] βεη πιπρες κττερος στος βεη ο[τη] ρος ήποριά μεη χε τιμοσεος εστοη τεςκερα(η)
- 25 Σ[ε] Σε ταταλοφακια[λος]¹ οτος οπ είμαμοπι μφπας τττακ[μοτ]τ ππιχαλκμωμιτμς=
 - He op[o]n ornpechatepoc se Pe(u)Records e nedden ze odogioc
- 30 есреснот реп 4[е]ккднсіл пте піороохогос є отримі есотав пе отог псемпос емащи естаінотт пагреп отоп півеп гис ситп ессаль отмищ йрісі
- 32 Peu ozwezzmbi eope uius64

¹ sic.

LIFE OF TIMOTHY AELURUS

[The Emperor¹ commanded that they should restore] *the blessed Timothy, who was elected by God, and seat him upon his throne, that in this way the city might regain strength after the troubles which were past and that the people might rest in peace. And when he returned into the city, every street was filled with joy and delight and gladness; and a great multitude of the unbelievers was coming to receive baptism. And if we may speak briefly, the city of the people of Rakoti was Heaven in all those days.

Now when the blessed Timothy had occupied the Bishopric for three² years, once more the envious demon could not endure to behold the salvation of men. He caused the Bishops who were in every place, especially they of Constantinople and Rome,⁸ to rage in this manner with a great hatred, because the life of the blessed Timothy, his disposition, his renown, and his outspokenness were a shame and rebuke unto them, since he daily anathematized publicly—he, and the Bishops who were under him, and the clergy, and the monks, and the laity—the unholy Council which was held at Chalcedon. They made a great to-do by means of bribe-giving and the advocacy of lawless men—for they found ×the rulers who were in power at that time amenable to them through covetousness—and did not cease from their wicked and evil design until they had caused the blessed Timothy to be exiled again, and had shed much blood among the people. And so he was removed into exile again, to a city, Gangra, the place wherein his fellow-confessor and champion of the orthodox faith, *Dioscoros, ended his days when he had won the crown of Confessorship.⁴

For when they had cast out the blessed Timothy from his throne by means of the King's decree and of violence, and had caused him to be exiled, they set another in his place by the King's edict, namely, one of the priests who was styled, indeed, Timothy, though his other name was Salophacialos⁵, and who also had adopted the corrupt faith of the Chalcedonians.

Now there was a priest in Caesarea named Apholios⁶ who celebrated in the Church of the orthodox: he =*Plerophoriae* was a holy man and very reverend, honored in the sight of all as a chosen one, who had endured a multitude \$xxvm of afflictions steadfastly for the orthodox faith by reason of his great...

i.e. Basiliscus, who had driven Zeno from the throne: see Evagrius, *H.E.* 111, 4. This restoration of Timothy was in 475 A.D.

2 The Syriac (Raabe, p. 69) reads "seven." Timothy occupied the throne after restoration from 475-477; but there is evidently some confusion here between the first and second exile of Timothy. According to Evagrius, *H.E.* 111, 11, Zeno purposed to banish Timothy, but spared him because of his advanced age; and the exile to Gangra and substitution of Salophacialos (narrated below) followed Timothy's banishment in 460 A.D., when he had actually held the Archbishopric for three years.

3 sc. Anatolius and Leo I.

4 The absence of the short paragraph which follows in the Syriac (Raabe, p. 70) relating to Peter the Iberian is significant and goes to show that our fragment is from a Life of Timothy rather than of Peter (see Introductory Note).

5 In Evagrius, H.E. 11, 11, the second name is given as Salophacialos: the duplication of the first syllable in the Coptic may be a mere error.

6 In the Syriac MSS. of the *Plerophoriae* (see Nau's note, P.O. VIII, 63) the name is variously given Apolonos and Apios; but in § xXIX, where the same priest is mentioned, the MSS. give Altôs and Apolâos, of which the last most nearly approximates to the Coptic.

× (p. 11) =Raabe, p. 69

× p. 12

=Raabe, p. 70

XXXII. LIFE OF APA HÔR

Parchment. Two fragments from a single MS. Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 60), 33.5×24 cm., is a complete initial leaf containing the title of the work, framed in the usual border of red and yellow plaited pattern, and the opening of the text. In the upper left corner of the *recto* appears what is possibly, but by no means certainly, an imperfect page or folio number ($\overline{\lambda c}$), indicating the position of the leaf in a volume of tracts. For the hand (somewhat resembling the script of Hyvernat, *Album*, Plate xxxvII) see Plate XIII A. The stops used are = and occasionally -: the ink is reddish-brown. On the *verso* (l. 19) occurs the marginal direction \mathfrak{y}_{Δ} in an informal but perhaps contemporary hand: for the meaning of this and the corresponding direction $\omega \mathfrak{y}$ see Introduction, § 6. Frag. 2 (*Cod. Tisch.* xxIV, 5) is the upper half of a leaf measuring 16×22 cm. (the left margin has been cut off). It is paged (?) $\overline{\mathfrak{p}_{\Delta}}$, doubtless in reference to the volume in which the tract was included, and, as the heading shows, was the first leaf in a quire.

According to the *Synaxarium*¹ for Kihak 2, Hôr was a native of Atripe in Upper Egypt. He became a solitary and lived in the desert until Satan challenged him to go to Alexandria. He went to the city and there busied himself with bringing water to the prisoners. While he was thus laboring, a child was run over in the street and killed. The blame for this accident was laid on Apa Hôr, who restored the child to life and then fled from the city. At his death he beheld the usual vision of Saints waiting to receive his soul.

Hôr is associated with Anba Harmina of Pemdje,² with whom he took a journey to the Monastery of Apa Jeremias (at Sakkara).³ Frag. 1 opens (most unusually) with a letter from Hôr to a certain Jeremias. Now since the name Hôr is constantly associated with the names both of Jeremias and of Ambrosius (named in Frag. 2) in invocations brought to light by Quibell in his excavations at the Monastery of Jeremias at Sakkara,⁴ there is no doubt that the Hôr of our Ms. was contemporary with the Jeremias of Sakkara, who himself lived in the days of the Emperor Anastasius.⁵

1 ed. Basset, pp. 249 ff.

2 id., pp. 295 ff.

3 Life of Harmina (Paris, B.N., Fonds Arabe, no. 148 f., 322). I am indebted to W. E. Crum for this valuable reference. For a Coptic fragment relating to a certain Apa Hôr (the name is common) see Crum, Theological Texts, no. 27 (pp. 164 f.).

4 See Inscriptions nos. 26, 36, 76, 295 (ed. Thomson, ap. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara*, 111, 35, 40, 50; 1V, 92).

5 See John of Nikiu, Chronicle, LXXXIX, §§ 4 ff.

LIFE OF APA HÔR

Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 60).

- ÷фы[ос] мпепмепріт пішт еботав
- ετ ται μούτ κατα смот πιβεπ πι-
- мотпахос птелюс фн соотав
- апа гор етацхон евод л-
- negatur ncor a mniabot yolar
- Беп отугрнин ите ф7 ере пец-
- смот соотав щыпі пеман тирот
- ща] епе[9] амнп

ШР ШЕЛАХІСТОС

петсьаї ерату мпаменpit filwt eootab nem pwлі пте ф7 бпа ієреміас

херете Baten ze newl niken 7720 OTOS TTURS ITER[&] MOCTпн еөрекер памез[1] Беп пекщуну егот [и]ен иек-

тыво сомни свол 10 Сп[12]н отп лютшу с пат срок й]отмнщ псоп про отве 90 os[0] β ceeph[ω] λ (s)in mmoi ms 4[n]05

15 Ana tragt & \$t xe cena-THIT NOT NOM OT RECON этеп [п]екщлил соотав πταπαγ έ τεκμετιωτ π-90 orhe 20=

Отог птаераспат[есо]е ммок npwq - new pwq =Xexac eienar e nicxh[ma] ñte πιαττελος εττοι 91ωτκ 5 Ите пенаспасмос точьо йπαμελ[0]ς έτςαβοτη-πεμ пн етсавод = Ш фрымі лф+ = ю піпаракерос1 пімопахос Бен п[екснот піапахшріт[нс па-10 ταρικι πιαςχιτής [πτε - จังกงากงา Ке тар акщыні наоршотщ ben 9λι ngwh ñte nai hioc = cont atn 15 Акциит ере пекмет Беп потсі єкротећ Беп кепц птнс ёре пекриотщ тнра ores époq ЩФ 20 ARCWTEM TAP EPOY EYZOIO прап отоп ецхи ймос же пім єводьєп онпот-етеч-MOZU noro sts was ммоц е тале отмарт пщій ежеп течмын -25 Hook γωκ ακεροτω παц b[e]n отращи скаш ймос пад αε ππιβιει [πσ]ε ε[1]οτες πθοκ лпієрепіотмін є улі потероον ποτώτ 30 C TAYNAT DE EPOR EROTES newy2 адпіді ёботп єгран єджы ммос Хе от пак потппа едотав ¹ For maparaipoc? ² ncws, transcript.

*The Life of our beloved and holy Father, glorious in every grace, the perfect Monk, the holy Apa Hôr; who finished his contest on the second day of the month Khoiak. In the Peace of God! May his holy blessing be with us all for ever. Amen.

Hôr, the least (of men), who writes (this), unto my beloved and holy Father, the man of God, Apa Jeremias,¹ greeting! Before all things I pray and beseech thy Holiness that thou make mention of me in thy many prayers and thy continual supplications. For many times have I desired to see thee face to face, but I have been hindered until now. But I trust in God that through thy holy prayers this favor may be granted me once more, that I may behold thy Fatherhood face to face, *and that I may greet thee mouth to mouth; in order that I may behold the habit of the Angels wherein thou art clad, and that thy greeting may purify my members both inward and outward.

O man of God! O matchless one (?)!² The monk of thine age! The perfect anchoret! The ascete of thy generation! For verily thou art become free from care in all things of this present life; thy thoughts are on high whilst thou reclinest in the bosom of Jesus and all thy care resteth upon Him. For thou didst hear Him reproving certain and saying: "Which of you by taking thought can add a cubit's length to his stature ?"" Thou also didst answer Him joyfully, saying unto Him: "I vex not myself, my Lord, while I rest upon Thee: I desire not anything for a single day." And when He saw thee following after Him, He breathed upon thee, saying: "Receive a holy Spirit . . .'

I See Introductory Note.

2 Reading mapakaspoc in the sense of 'transcending

the men of thy own time.' 3 Matth. VI, 27.

× Recto

× Verso

Frag. 2 (Cod. Tisch. XXIV, 5).

- тис А пхс пы пні Амзаросіос єботи єгреп апа гыр хе арі Тагапй йтекер паметі беп пекщдид єботав
- 5 Пјеже апа сир папа амбросгос же арг паметі си жехас егеер пекметі пеже апа амбросгос папа сир же теппаіјрг мпекметі пагит ёбот-
- 10 ав пече апа сыр своти егреп апа амвросгос ймо(п) гді беп Аметсоп тирс їрі паметі абпе йсетамог че .]. ме. ірі йпек-
- 15 M]e[VI

*

Πεχε]σε απα πχω[

<u>741</u>

хом ёт адаіс йхе пенішт соотав апа гыр Дітшотп аіще пні ё пщаде

- ыер отевхомас тирс япот-
- 5 Хат е ерфметі папа гыр еөбе піпіщ† йысі етхн гіхыі

Алмощі єводбен пітшот апок Зе паіхн бен птшот йсверт

- 10 Ала гор эе паухн беп птобот йписовен цочнот ймон потмонн ймощи антаго отнщ⁴ поторщу еуснр [евод йони
- 15 Фл 2]е етсиотп прик пік[еп]...[

* (p. 103)
 * Ambrosius¹ (answered) unto Apa Hôr: "Do a charity and make mention of me in thy holy prayers." Apa Hôr said unto Apa Ambrosius: "Make mention of me also, that I may make mention of thee." Apa Ambrosius said unto Apa Hôr: "We will make mention of thee, my holy Father." Apa Hôr said unto Apa Ambrosius: "There is none in all the brotherhood who shall make mention of me unless they show me that [they have first?] made mention of thee." But Apa Pdjo...² said...

*

* p. 104 ... [the] miracle³ which our holy Father Apa Hör had wrought, l⁴ arose and went into the desert. I spent a whole week without being permitted to make mention of Apa Hör, because of the great sufferings which I endured. I journeyed out from the desert (*lit*. mountain) and I was dwelling in the desert (mountain) of Sbehti;⁵ but Apa Hôr was in the desert of Pi-soben,⁶ distant from us a journey of a stage. I took up my abode in a great watch-tower built of stone. But [He ?] Who knoweth all things...

I On Ambrosius see Crum, *P.S.B.A.* XXIX, 290. For his association in inscriptions with Jeremias and Hôr, see p. 168, note 4.

2 Perhaps a fresh anecdote told by an Apa Pdjo... begins here.

3 Probably the restoration to life of the child killed by accident at Alexandria (see *Synax.*, Kihak 2, ed. Basset, pp. 294 f.). 4 Perhaps Apa Pdjo...

5 Sbehti is Apollinopolis Parva (Crum, l. c.).

6 Probably identical with \mathbf{n} cωονπ (sic legendum) in the Achmimic nome, named in Vita Sinuthii (ed. Leipoldt), p. 11, l. 27, and the Arabic image of the Synax., Mecheir 5 (ed. Basset, p. 758). I am indebted to W. E. Crum for this information.

THE CONTROVERSY OF JOHN IV

XXXIII. THE CONTROVERSY OF JOHN IV

Parchment. Four leaves from a single MS. Frag. 1 (Rylands Library, MSS. Copt. no. 449 [48])¹ is a single leaf 28×19 cm.: the page-number is lost. Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 62) measures 29.1×20.8 , the margins being complete save that the upper left corner, bearing the page-number, has been torn off. Frags. 3 and 4 (Cod. Tisch. XXVI, 11, 13)² are two consecutive leaves, paged respectively $-\overline{ps}$,³ and $-\overline{r}$ (sic), and measuring 25×19 and 28×18 cm.⁴

The written column (in Frag. 2) measures $22.7 \times 13-14$ cm. Guide-lines are ruled along the top and down the left side of the column: the only stop used is = (black), which is freely employed. The hand is compared by Crum with that of Hyvernat, *Album*, XLII, I, XLI, I: in addition to the peculiarities noticed by Crum the irregularity of g is remarkable. (See Plate X1 A.)

An Arabic version of the Coptic original to which these fragments belong exists in two MSS. at Paris (B.N., *Fonds Arabe*, nos. 215, fols. 186 ff. and 4881):⁵ from these the order of the Coptic fragments can be determined. The circumstances in which the controversy took place are thus stated in the opening pages: "In the Name of God, the Creator, the Reasonable, the most holy Trinity! We begin with the help of God (Glory be to Him!) to relate the controversy of our Father, the Father Patriarch Anba John (IV), Patriarch of Alexandria (677–686 A.D.), with the Jew and the Melkite in the days of 'Abd el 'Aziz, the King in Misr (Egypt), the same who built the (Nilo)meter at Hulwân."⁶ The writer then relates that one day when the Patriarch was in audience with 'Abd el 'Aziz news was brought that a certain Jew had died without heirs. The governor ordered the property of the deceased to be brought into the treasury. A casket of silver and gold attracted special attention and was brought to 'Abd el 'Aziz, who on opening it was surprised to find only a fragment of wood. The Patriarch, however, divined that it was a fragment of the True Cross, and, after the wood had been placed by way of test on a fire without being burned, purchased the relic from 'Abd el 'Aziz for three thousand dinârs.

This done, the Governor expressed a desire to know which was the true religion and arranged that the Patriarch should dispute before him with a Jew named Aaron, and a Melkite or Chalcedonian. After protracted debate both were converted by the Patriarch, who was then requested by the Governor to show how the doctrine of Transubstantiation could be consistent with the fact that God is in Heaven. The Patriarch's reply contains a noteworthy incident derived, perhaps, from some apocryphal document. Judas, he says, was made to go out before the institution of the Eucharist as unworthy to partake of the Body and Blood of Christ. Thereupon the Savior made His solemn declaration to His disciples: "And while our Lord Jesus Christ informed them of that, they doubted in their hearts. Thereupon He disappeared from their sight," and they beheld that Bread which had been changed into Flesh, and that Wine which had been changed into Blood after the Consecration. And they were afraid and fell upon their faces like dead men. Thereupon, He appeared (again) to them, lifted them up, and drove away their fear. And He said to them: 'Verily I say unto you, whosoever believeth and eateth thereof with complete faith, he shall live for ever; and whosoever shall confess Me before men, I will confess him before My Fàther Who is in Heaven.'''8

Dom Villecourt informs me that in Paris Fonds Arabe 215, f. 199, verso l. 2, a citation from the Questions of SS. Basil and Gregory occurs and that Gregory is elsewhere mentioned.

Of the four fragments published below, the first and second belong to the debates with the Jew and the Melkite respectively: the third and fourth (the two last leaves but one in the tract) come from the concluding argument with 'Abd el 'Aziz.

The Arabic version corresponds fairly closely with the Coptic,⁹ but sometimes omits and sometimes adds non-essential words and phrases. Since these points of difference are immaterial, no collation of the two versions seems necessary; but references to the corresponding passages in the Paris MS. no. 215 are added in the margin of the translations of the Coptic fragments.

My special thanks are due to Dom Louis Villecourt, O.S.B., who has furnished not only a general analysis of the whole Arabic version, but also translations of all the passages corresponding to the Coptic leaves.

I See Crum, Cat. of Copt. MSS. in the Rylands Library, pp. 222 f., where the text of this fragment is edited.

2 See Leipoldt, ap. Vollers Kat., p. 410.

3 The p is at a lower level than the Δ and surmounted by a separate bar. Presumably the original scribe forgot his hundreds, and these were added sporadically by a later hand.

4 The lower edge and lower right corner of Frag. 3 are missing: in Frag. 4 the left edge has been slightly cropped.

5 The former of these alone has been consulted: the passages in it parallel to the Coptic fragments are indicated in the margin of my translation.

6 'Abd el 'Aziz was governor of Egypt, 685-705 A.D. (See Lane Poole, *Hist. of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, pp. 26, 46.)

7 The meaning seems to be that Christ was literally transformed into the Elements.

8 Ms. cit., fo. 210^b. The Coptic (see Frag. 3, *recto*, l. 1) evidently added "and the holy Angels." For the conflated Scriptural elements see *John* VI, 53 ff.; *Luke* IX, 26.

9 Whatever the provenance of the Paris MS. 215, it was clearly not translated from the Coptic MS. whose remains are here published; for the latter (see Frag. 3, *recto*, l. 11) omits two paragraphs which are present in the former.

Frag. 1 (Rylands, no. 449 [48]).

χε ις πεκπονή πιςλ η[η ετονε[η]κ έβολβεη η[κοςι ñχημ[ι-ετος]ωμ π[πετεπīot ππονδρες ē πεςη[0-

- 5 мос ฉ пос พщ ทึกเхрн[стเล็กос ยพоร - ฉญฐ ทพоร ทึกедсима пем педсио[д пимаппа етени егозий. กิозщо промиї -
- 10 Κε ναρ κεπίστ έκαποςτολος αττςαβοκ έ παι μακκα εθοταβ φαι =

Енппе апоп апушпі парез ё потпомос уз єботп ё

15 фоот Отор [ппе піптдің пәм[еп4].. щ[а ёпер -

-«]» аппаміпй мшто foina a. -«) тот стан кота - «

20 ωμ ήπιμαππα ατωπ<u>5</u> ψα επε9 =

Πεχε πιογδαι χε πως κχ[ω] πφαι ημί - μη πιχρηςτ[ι]άπος μωογτ πθωογ απ

25 Πεχε πιδρχμεπιζκοπος χε φμοτ μμη ήτε ποι κο[ςμο]ς οτώτελ έλολ πε - φμ πθου εθπορει ήπεπχιχ ήδμεη φοι πε πμοτ ήέπερ Πεα]ε πιδρχηεπισκοπος [α]ε 5 ñ]το[v]πον έταν[επ] τωθηπ

- 5 ñ]†o[σ]ποσ έτοσ[επ] †щοнπ ñ]τε ιως[μ]φ πιδκωλ πεςιωτ] = δς[pι]μ[ι] ε πεςητ ξισως = 0502 δ πεςμπρι †[π]0μ[†] πδς = ε505ωщ ε
- 10 celcwlg = ñoog se ñnegovwy ê colcel = alla nagsw mmoc se fraye rhi ê recht ê amert..]2[. eohe iwch]φ²
- 15 παιμηρι -Παλικ οκ έτ[αφονο]ρκ άκεςιμηρι έ χικαι ε ιμεκ ςονό έταφκατ έρωον άχε ίωεμφ αφοονωκον - ονος
- 20 ๖५]⁺เอะง[1]³ ёршот ецжш ймос = же ñөштеп ठапж[н]р ётъретепі ё мотщт мпікаді = ñөшот ъе атотищт й-
- 25 ποι εταω άπος αε ώ πε(n)σε πεκεδιαϊκ γαπρωμι απ η[ε] ππαι ρη4 -

¹ The Arabic has "I should like you to tell me if in my law it is written that one of our fathers has been transported to Hades."

² The Arabic has "I will go down to Hades sad because of Joseph, my son."

³ ? αφσιρελ, Crum.

× Recto (= Arab. fo. 188^{a} , 7) "...*saying: 'Behold thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee forth from the land of Egypt.'¹ When He had called your fathers, they did not keep His law; (and) the Lord called the Christians also and gave them His body and His blood, the hidden manna,² that they might eat thereof a thousand years. For indeed our Father-Apostles taught us concerning this holy manna—Lo, it is we who have kept their law unto this day; and the gates of Amenti [shall not prevail ?] for ever. Your fathers did eat manna and are dead;³ our fathers also ate manna and live for ever."

The Jew said: "How sayest thou this to me? Do not the Christians also die?"

The Archbishop said: "Verily, the death of this world is a passing away; but he who shall fall into the hands of Amenti—that is death eternal."⁴

*The Jew said: "Where is it written that our fathers went down unto Amenti?"

The Archbishop said: "At the time when they brought the coat of Joseph to Jacob his father, he wept over it. And his sons consoled him desiring to comfort him; but he desired not to be comforted, but said: 'I will go down unto Amenti sad⁵ because of Joseph my son.'⁶ Again, when he had sent his sons to Egypt to get corn; when Joseph saw them, he knew them and terrified them, saying: 'Ye are spies who are come to examine the land.' But they worshipped him, saying: 'O our Lord, thy servants are not men of this sort^{*}...'"⁷

1 Exodus XXXII, 4.	3 Cp. John v1, 58.	5 So the Arabic.	7 Cp. Gen. XLII, 8.
2 Cp. Rev. 11, 17.	4 Cp. Luke XII, 4.	6 Cp. Gen. xxxv11, 33 ff.	

× Verso

[×] (= Arab. fo. 188^b, 11)

THE CONTROVERSY OF JOHN IV

Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 62).

Пехе піхадкихоп хе йөштеп ба пібебъоcianoc se teten-SONT TO THE SE A WAR TO MAR SO

- апоп тепхы ймос 5 же фф отатщеп ысь пе ογατμογ πε or = atoswm ne =
 - or = atcw $\pi \epsilon$ =
- ov = atennot ne = 10 ov = atomin ne = Άλλα αφί έ πεсητ άφερφορια потсару прыми савол п+леопот
- 15 Отсару пречшеп ыси отор пречот якар = отсару $\bar{\varepsilon}$ cotom = otoz ε ccw $\bar{\mathbf{e}}\mathbf{c}\mathbf{e}\mathbf{n}\mathbf{R}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{T} = \mathbf{o}\mathbf{T}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{p} \ \mathbf{e}\mathbf{c}\mathbf{p}\mathbf{I}$ $\Pi IM = a \pi e p c \pi a \pi p w \Pi I \Pi$
- 20 ntcapz = 0702 ar-Tocigr2 & tcapz = orog ат потщеплотун пас паї тирот Асарз атцаї¹ Bapwor -

theonort gwc actadoo 25 ппн стщюпі =

- סדסף לכוףו החוששטד ETHER ac(c) MOT \bar{e} \bar{e} nwir = acmowi 91xen dion = acoiori nni**хемын евоу сиуте ита-**
- 5 φηρι έτ αιαίτον τηρον = an tronoantan Отоз пійназ пафлеорылі εως πε =
- 10 Пехе піархнепіскопос παι κε ώ πιερρεδικος ετσαђем = Ογκ ογή κατά πέκζα τι έθ-

мер бмефрецхеота = ек-TO ANOC E NAOT THE NIC TE

чщоп Беп фэсис спот Оті инп естадоо оті есот лкар Πεχε πιχαλκηδωη σε φαι

апок пе папает 20 Пехе підруненіскопос тна ими ими эта αλλα сωτεм έροι μεπ ογ-Терону блок пе сопа та-

мок ё Флефині = 25

15

1 sic: ? for acyas.

² sic: from τωc (to fasten: see Zoëga, Cat. p. 290, note 21) + 19T, nail.

*The Chalcedonian said: "Ye, the Theodosians;¹ for ye say that God suffered. We say that God is not subject to suffering, that He dieth not, that He eateth not, and drinketh not, and sleepeth not, and slumbereth not. But He came down and was clothed in human flesh, separate from His Divinity-flesh subject to suffering and subject to pain, flesh which ate, and drank, and slept, and slumbered. The flesh was crucified, and the flesh was nailed and wounded with the spear. All these things the flesh endured. The Godhead also healed those who were sick, ^xturned the waters into wine, blessed the five loaves, walked upon the sea, cast out devils. In a word, all the wonders which He performed pertained to the Godhead, and the sufferings pertained to the Manhood alone."

The Archbishop said: "O abominable heretic! According to thy words, then, which are full of blasphemy, thou affirmest of our Lord Jesus the Christ that He was in two Natures, one indeed which healed and one which suffered ?"

The Chalcedonian said: "Such is my faith."

The Archbishop said: "It was not so. But harken unto me attentively and I will declare unto you the truth. ×...."

1 i.e. the Monophysites who were so called after the Patriarch Theodosius I (535-565): see Hist. Patr., ed.

Evetts, p. 204.

× Recto (=Arab. fo. 190^a, 5)

× Verso

 \times (=Arab. fo. 190^a, 16)

Frag. 3 (Cod. Tisch. XXVI, 11).

redoc éo orab

- Ις πη ετ δις[ωτε]η ερωού птотов ппанот автамок ερωοτ =
- 5 Пеже пистиводос пац же ссънотт Беп папомос xe une $\Phi_{4}^{+} = \epsilon \gamma c \delta m_{1} =$ - іднш эамрэпй эачо αλλα ογηιή = πεμ ογεα-
- хі птоот атщопі лфрн-IO + nnipwni1 = Пехе піврхнёніскопос
- XE ICXE OTDWMI HE = IE пыс адер пільот п--> CINN i COISPS = NGH 15 μωπ ελολ - [αυταλσο ппн етшы[пі = очтотпос пн ет льот
- Here mico[nhordoc nay 20 τφū] ipinφ эx
- Пехе птар Хнепіскоn]oc nay [xe icxe oron 0]πιιαι με[= 1ε

000[.

.].[

25

$\overline{p2}^{1}$

- Here nic[Inho]doc re cьнотт беп папомос же пtortagod pw = alla a Φ^{\dagger} ολη ε πωωї ε τφε 5 Пехе підрунёпіскопос
- же отор пім пе ёт атащу ē nife = neze niconho-LOC DE OTPUMI DE ETAYερ τειψελιώ οτος
- 10 паре піотдаі меті пе же тис пе ёт атащу Пехе піврхнёніскопос
 - xe או על סידע סידע סידע סידע אות את ие щатея? [п]отрыми
- плопові] соротрытев я-15 моц пщ]евій пінс Here merna oloc re
 - .]. e npeg[e]p .
 - חפדפשטי פד] ה חסכ דאו[ט
- ефрециот ката пецища 20 Пеже птарх]нептскопос ьеп отта]хро = пперxwnt . . .] Пехе пистиводос же 7-

¹ To the left of \overline{a} and at a very slightly lower level is the added numeral \overline{p}_{\circ}

¹ The Arabic shows that after l. 11 two paragraphs have been dropped out owing to homoeoteleuton.

× (p. 103) (= Arab.fo. 201^b, 12)

× p. 104

"....*holy Angels.'1 Lo, those things which I have heard from my fathers I declare unto you." The Governor² said unto him: "It is written in my Law that God taketh not a woman, nor doth He beget;³ but a Spirit and a Word⁴ became like man." (The Patriarch said to him: "If He was a Word, how did He eat and drink and do all things like us, sin excepted?" The Governor answered him: "Well then, He was a man.")⁵ The Archbishop said unto him: "If He was a man, then how did He make the water wine and cast out devils, and heal the sick, and raise the dead ?" The Governor said to him: "The Spirit of God (did these things)." The Archbishop said unto him: "If He was a spirit [, then who was he whom the Jews seized ?"] *The Governor said: "It is written in my Law that they did not seize Him, but God took Him up into Heaven."6 The Archbishop said: "And who was he whom they hanged upon the Cross ?" The Governor said: "It was a man who was exchanged for Him; and the Jews supposed that it was Jesus whom they crucified."7 The Archbishop said: "Surely God is not an unjust dealer that He gave an innocent man to be put to death in place of Jesus?" The Governor said: "[No, but it was an] evil-doer whom the Lord delivered to die according to his deserts." The Archbishop said earnestly: "Do not [be angry, O Governor, if I ask you a question."] The Governor said: "I

I The end of the saying of Christ to His Apostles as quoted by the Archbishop. See Introductory Note.

2 For the meaning of $\sigma i \mu \beta ov \lambda os$ see Crum in P.S.B.A. xx1x, 292; Leipoldt ap. Vollers, Kat. p. 410 (note).

3 See Koran, Sura CXII: "He begetteth not, neither is He begotten."

4 id. Sura IV, 169: "Jesus, Son of Mary, is only an Apostle of God and His Word, which He conveyed into Mary, and a Spirit."

5 Question and answer (which ended like l. 11 of the

text with the word pum) were omitted in the Coptic by homoeoteleuton: they are here reproduced from the Arabic.

6 See Koran, Sura IV, 156 (cp. 111, 48): "And for their saying, 'Verily we have slain the Messiah, Jesus the Son of Mary;' yet they slew Him not and they crucified Him not, but one was made to appear to them like (Jesus)." This belief was held by certain Christian heretical sects. See Rodwell, The Koran, p. 551, note 2.

7 See preceding note.

THE CONTROVERSY OF JOHN IV

Frag. 4 (Cod. Tisch. XXVI, 13).

NAXONT AN пехе підрунепіскопос же їс отнр пршлі прецототі акрофот реп таг πολις ίς σεπ τακέρ οτρο =

5 Пехе пистиводос же іс отмнщ азъютев амо-07 -

Пехе підрхненіскопос

- το xe and othe acoveny Ба лище пте писопи ет атδщот έρωοτ = Пеже пистивохос же ним примя ёте отоп потс
- 15 піще ётеммат = паі сомно ймшот йіаві йте потсыма ймон ппаре ніще ётеммат = ерщат е
- 20 περλι τε έληλ πτερκωρ ймшот беп отхрим-Πεχε πιαρ – χ μεπιςκοπος¹ we icke ovcous $\pi e = \bar{e}\tau$ a niozzai Podfed - je edfe
- ον ακщατ ήπαι τ ήщο έπο-25 λογκοχι = δα ταϊ κογχι π xeni ñige ét arxeme $\mathfrak{be}(n)$
 - ¹ So divided.

$\langle \overline{\mathbf{p}} \rangle \mathbf{c}$

ה כושעת ומבדסו ומחה ואח тесер отерты пщій ке тар акхос пні - хе піme nte niconi - epuar

- ē negail an ze = ēbha ē 5 pwr(9) Anwor cohe norcooi hun
- ΙΕ εθδε οτ ώ ποτρο ππε ONT PURP NOOC = ICXE OFто cons ne et avagg époc
- Тоте пистиводос ач--й фшитой кодъ шиш 9≈ na im∋dž= tan ώτοαθραμό το το συ
- 15 **μπο**ψ ππιαρχ μέπιςκοnoc -
 - Ет а пецент ъе і ероц пехад хе аунотс анттпі пфрит потево пар-
- 20 par = re vap alcazi nem отмнщ псофос = пем отмнщ ёпосорологос naí etxotyt é niciot Наре воп йлшот шру ммог
 - ¹ ε πορλι, MS.

*will not be angry." The Archbishop said: "Lo, how many thieves hast thou put to death in this city since thou × (p. 105) hast been ruler ?" The Governor said: "Lo, I have put to death a multitude of them." The Archbishop said: "How much hast thou received by the sale of the crosses whereon the thieves were hanged ?" The Governor said: "What man of sense would buy those timbers which are full of putrid moisture of their bodies? Those timbers are no use save to be burned in the fire." The Archbishop said: "If it was a thief whom the Jews killed, then why dost thou demand these three thousand gold pieces for this little piece (?) of wood, which thou hast found in \times the house of this Jew scarce a palm long ?¹ For thou didst tell me that the crosses of the thieves were good for nothing but to be burned because of their evil odor. Then why, O King, was not this (cross) burnt, if it was a thief who was hanged thereon ?"

Then the Governor was silent for a long time, not knowing what to reply. But when he recovered himself, he said: "Verily I am like a dumb man before thee. For lo, I have spoken with many wise men and many astrologers who look at the stars. [Not] one of them used to be wilder (?) $me^{\times \dots^2}$

1 For the allusion see the Introductory Note.

2 A few lines only of the conclusion are missing, the Arabic continuing (down to fo. 202^b, l. 11) with the words "and I have never seen among them one like thee. In

truth there is not in all the world another faith but the Christian faith. It is the true one.' And the King ordered the Patriarch to be honored...and sent him away in peace."

Addendum. W. E. Crum points out to me that fragments of a somewhat similar controversial work in Sahidic are extant and have been published by von Lemm (Koptische Miscellen, no. CXLI). To these (Crum notes) should be added a British Museum fragment (no. 250), paged $\overline{\lambda_{\infty}}$, $\overline{\lambda_{n}}$, and therefore immediately preceding the Paris fragment 129¹⁴ 132 paged $\overline{\lambda_{\infty}}$, $\overline{\lambda 2}$. In this work also an archbishop named John disputes with a χωλκη $2\omega n$, but in defiance of chronology he appears as John Chrysostom! The phraseology of some of these fragments suggests that the Sahidic work belonged to the same cycle as the Bohairic fragments here published.

(= Arab.fo. 201^b, 17)

× p. 106

× (= Arab. fo. 202^b, 8)

XXXIV. A EUCHARISTIC MIRACLE

Parchment. Two fragments from one Ms. Frag. 1 (Cod. Tisch. XXIV, 36) is a complete leaf, 32×23 cm., numbered $-\overline{\kappa c}$. The text of the *recto* is often faint; that of the *verso* is in places dimmed by water-stains. Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 104), 13×17 cm., is the upper portion of a leaf of which the inner edge is lost. On the *verso* is page or folio number κ [.]—either $\overline{\kappa \zeta}$ or $\overline{\kappa n}$, if Frag. 2 follows Frag. 1 immediately.

The hand, which is slightly below medium size, is square and thick. The form of v (a stemless double curve) is characteristic.

The text is part of a narrative describing a miracle whereby the truth of Transubstantiation was demonstrated to a youthful Pagan. Probably the work to which these fragments belonged was, like No. XXXIII, apologetic in character. The leaf to which Frag. 2 belonged probably followed Frag. 1 immediately and gives, by way of reply to the Archbishop, the experience of the 'little Pagan' when he had received the Eucharistic Elements.

Frag. 1 (Cod. Tisch. XXIV, 36).

Пехні пад хе фн ётадоаміо йтфе пем пікагі - пем піді півеп

- Асщыні де ётачкни стхык
- 5 $n[n_1]$ et χ h ékol = à nilaoc \overline{i} e n- $\underline{u}[\ldots]^1$ et nation mnicuma nem n[ic]nou rite nencuthp =
 - А пікотхі се преддниос ушру еботи бен өмн йпідаос
- 10 σάωι εφούρευ υτώνα ψμοτ βει μειστα ψμισρχικέρετο σι μπισκοτ ποτιμορχικέρετο σι μπισκοτ ποτιμορχικέρετο σι μπισκοτ ποτιμορχικό δει [πει]στα
- 15 Ονος αιμωλεμ έ πειτος τοποτεμ αιτολί αιμμε παι έ πειτμι = ππειτός μαπτί έλολ αλλα αιμμε παι μματατι Αιτωλι μποωμα μποτ είτοι μ-
- 20 фрн7 потсыма прыми ад-Хад Беп откаща ппота адтый прыз² мпедшоотр = отоз ад7 мпедшоотр ё педтий = Педиыт же пем тедмат пем
- 25 пецсинот бъщшлем ё пісооі Бен піні фн ете мпотщшлем ё сооі мпецрн⁴ ёпер =

Атмотщт йма півеп етбеп

 потні йпотхем пімшіт
 ере пісооі йынта
 Атер[соо]пі пем потернот етхю ммос хе арнот ёт а паі христіапос ер магіа сйод
 адоюм йпепент = гіп[а] йтеп-

¹ ?ε πщ[ωι].

 2 sic apparently.

щилем ё плі свої беп пепні Асщипі че мененса вре піч [псавватон ї а пікотхі пщ[нрі поеддинос [....]пса.

- 5 งุญหา ทอระหะรอง กง[... พง p ñ . รุ . กีห . . หุกิ . . . เพร =
 - Ητεςπο ... biω ... ror be(n)πιεχωρε eqxω μμος ημι
- 10 Σε μαροη [ε te]κκλητία πτεησι ηηι[...] μ.μα[...]¹ ετε φαι ης πεωμα πεμ πιεπος μπεηστ ιπε η<u>Σ</u> = αητωστηστ Σε απρωλ =
- 15 Βως Σε εππορωλ αιθαщτ εβολ πταщθηπ εττοι ριωτ αιτηις ριωτα - απρωλ έ 4εκκληςιά
 - аль аншэпй голпий эе этв
- 20 πειος μπχε της πεισε καςμοιμι τωρ ήεωπ πε= πιωρχηθηιεκοποε εωοντεη πως μπεωμω πεμ πειος μπεισε της =
- 25 Πιρελληπος δε ρως έταςσι μπιςωμα έθοσαβ ας[20]σιμτ εχως αςτεμς εςοι ñςω[μ]α ben negziz =

Νθου Σε εως πιεελληπος αςο εωοντεη πεαπηογή έ πι-

30 בשסידנה הצמחחסיה פֿ חו-מאר מאר מאר מאר מאר מיד מאר שני מאושד מיד[א]ונסי-פה הוא פד אושד מידסיד הדסדה = חומאר אופחונגטחטכ אב הבשאר

35 nay we ganor ne nai nampi ¹ mycripion cannot be read.

A EUCHARISTIC MIRACLE

*I said unto him: "He Who hath made the Heaven and the Earth and all living things."1

Now it came to pass that when they had brought the prayers to an end, the people came up to receive the Body and Blood of Our Savior. And the little Pagan thrust himself into the midst of the people and received of the Body of the Lord at the hands of the Archpriest. When he looked at it, he found it had taken the form of a son of man² in his hands. And when he smelled its fragrant perfume, he took it and departed to his home, without waiting for me to come forth, but departing alone.

So he carried away the Body of the Lord which was like the body of a man and placed it in a casket of gold, sealing its mouth with his ring: and he placed the ring upon his finger. Now his father and mother and brothers smelled the fragrance in the house, such as they had never smelled (before): they looked about in all parts of their house, but did not find the place wherein was the fragrance.³ They spake with one another: "Perchance this Christian⁴ hath wrought magic and cast a spell upon us that we should *smell this fragrance in our house."

Now it came to pass that after the fourth (?) Sabbath was come, the little Pagan boy [sought me] out and brought a vessel of . . . up to a hundred . . . (l. 9) in the evening, saying: "Let us go to the Church and receive the . . . ," that is, the Body and Blood of Our Lord Jesus the Christ. So we rose up and went. And as we were about to go, I stripped off the tunic which I wore and put it upon him; (and) we came to the Church. And as we were about to receive the Body and Blood of the Christ Jesus, Our Lord—for he (*sc.* the Pagan) was following me—the Archbishop extended unto him the Body and Blood of Our Lord Jesus. And the Pagan, when he had received the holy Body, looked at it and found it was become a body⁵ in his hands. And the Pagan also held out some gold⁶ to the Archbishop and said unto him: "My Father, I do not know (?) these which I received from thy hand." But the Archbishop said unto him: "What are these, my son ?"

Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 104).				к[.]	L			
	Πεχας Σ]ε έταισι ¹ μπιςωμα έ- οστ]αά ετι στη είστ- ωμ] μμος - ατίπι πηιπο- ² τηρ]ιοη έ σμητ εσροτ- 5 Φ]ώρχ μμος ³ = αποκ χε αιταχο πιποτηριοη πα- τ]ιος = λισι] πηιςπος ητε ⁴ παστ ιης] =		ς πιρ[ω],μι εποτωιπι σοτ[τεπ τειταία εκολ πεμ πς[ιωτ ας- α]μοπι ππιποτηριοπ [ειταω μμος - 5 Χε τα αυία της αυίας ² = ετ[ε φαι πε αε φη έθοτακ π- πη έθοτακ - οτος [πιλα- ος τηρη έροτω - α[ε εις πα- τ]ηρ άυιος εῖς το[ς άυιος 10 επ ππα α]υιοπ αμηπ [па[ішт ац- оп [ецжы ас ² = ет[е отан ñ- [піда- [е еіс па- с атчос			
10 Οτοε «c]μω[πι] είοει έρ»[τ * * * *			*	*	*			
	тацоя, MS. имшот, MS.		ппіпо-, MS. пта, MS.	¹ Page ² sic.	or folio nu	mber: the seco	nd numeral is po	ssibly ϵ .

He⁷ said: "When I had received the holy Body, and was still eating it, they brought the Cup into the midst that they (the people) might partake⁸ of it; and I received the Blood of my Lord Jesus. And it came to pass that while I was standing..."

"The man of light⁹ stretched forth his hand with my Father¹⁰ and took the Cup, saying: ' τa äyıa $\tau o i s$ åyíoıs,'¹¹ that is to say, 'That which is holy for them who are holy.' And all the people answered: 'One Holy Father, One Holy Son, One Holy Spirit: Amen.''¹²

I Doubtless in answer to the Pagan's question as to who was the Christians' God.

2 *i.e.* human flesh. Similarly in Apophth. Patr., Daniel VII, the monk who could not believe in Transubstantiation received $\kappa\rho\epsilon$ as $j\mu\alpha\tau\omega\mu\epsilon\nu\sigma\nu$.

3 *i.e.* whence the fragrance proceeded.

4 Probably the narrator, the associate of the 'little Pagan.' 5 *i.e.* flesh.

6 Probably the Elements carried away on the previous occasion had been turned to gold.

7 sc. the Pagan. 8 Literally 'divide.'

9 Apparently an angelic celebrant who accompanies all the priest's actions (cp. Apophth. Patr., Daniel VII (P.G. LXV, 157)). IO sc. the celebrant. II See Liturgy of S. Mark (Renaudot, Lit. Or. Coll., ed. 2,

1, 145). 12 ibidem.

× Recto

× Verso

XXXV. HOMILETIC FRAGMENTS

A. SEVERIAN OF GABALA

Homily on Penitence.

Parchment. Two fragments (Cairo, 3^A , 3) from a single Ms. The former $(17.7 \times 16 \text{ cm.})$, the upper part of the first leaf of a fourth quire, is headed \overline{a} non \mathfrak{G} non $[\ldots]$;¹ the second $(27 \times 15.5 \text{ cm.})$ is the larger portion of a leaf from which the outer and lower edges have been torn.² Both in script and general style the fragments are closely similar to Nos. XXIIIC and XXIX. The arbitrary shortening of the lines is a noteworthy feature.

The contents indicate that the two leaves are consecutive, for Frag. 1 verso introduces the Angels who separate soul and body—a subject which is continued on Frag. 2 recto. Further, the text of Frag. 1 recto and verso, ll. 3–6 reproduces the Greek text of the Homily on Penitence spuriously attributed to S. John Chrysostom³ but ascribed by the Copts to Severian of Gabala. Consequently there can be little doubt that our two fragments once belonged to Cod. Vat. Copt. LXVIII, 9 (brought from the monastery of Saint Macarius by Assemani), where the Coptic text of the main part, but not the conclusion, of that Homily is preserved.⁴ Presumably when the final attempt to rehabilitate the Library was made,⁵ the concluding quire of this tract was discarded as too deeply stained or too damaged to be worthy of preservation, and the remainder was bound up with other matter in the volume of which it now forms part.

1 The heading is written in yellow-brown ink (as is the note or rubric $\underline{\text{mopn}}(sic)$, inscribed on the extreme upper edge). The faded quire-number \overline{a} has been retraced in black ink by a later hand. The half-petition $\underline{\text{man}}$ non corresponded to $\overline{\text{man}}$ on the opposite (left-hand) page.

2 The upper and left margins have been cropped, doubtless to supply material for bookbinders, as also the left margin of Frag. 1. 3 See P.G. LX, 767-8. It is not found in the Armenian collection of sermons by Severian: see Aucher, *Severiani* . . . *Homiliae* (Venice, 1827).

4 See the edition by H. De Vis, *Homélies Coptes de la Vaticane*, pp. 198 ff. Unfortunately De Vis says nothing about the Coptic pagination of the Vatican fragment.

5 See Introduction, § 4.

6 ed. cit., p. 198.

HOMILETIC FRAGMENTS

Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 3^{A}). 2 <u>nai</u> Ŷ [MO] nh etrut epok ernar 2e .]... πιτελος1 ετωτί πεως е пекщфир пем пексопт[ептоъ]одс срату мпіречтпис сторі сратот срояк ст-PQN [1109 рімі єрок ..]о гша отутун паопы 5 отор ймон рлі паонола щ[шпі 5 ...] єботи є песщфир йпак Беп потрімі стя[отщт чепо]с ете пірнкі е пищи соннот е пщы[и сводne] ьеп пекщал еъщ[ө]ортер .]ape[..] etavi newe teot nac Беп отякьр прит .. שון . זור כדו כשותו האסכ 10 евод]бен пессома перінн 10 сове пъри пте пищи пте стntospite] e nixari etcabox горщ етхн гізшк -й ипащопр [илеф этэ бып хі пщфнрі еткw† моц пем пісоєр]тєр пте м [1926n1n 0rog ..[.]... 15 noc[¹ sic (not macree λoc): ϵ is added above the line by a second hand.

*...which surround thee, when thou beholdest¹ thy friends and thy kindred standing by thee lamenting \times *Recto* for thee; and no help cometh to thee through their weeping, as they watch the breath² which goeth up from thy nostril, convulsed with grief because of the anguish of the heavy sickness which lieth upon thee;...

*

×...at the last when they³ come for it (*sc.* thy soul) to take it away to God the Judge...a soul pitiless × *Verso* towards its race-fellows, that is, the poor,⁴...when they come for it, I fear..., while they are still bringing it forth from its wretched body to cast it into the outer darkness where there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth,⁵...

I = P.G. LX, 767δρα τοὺς κύκλψ σου περιεστῶτας φίλους, γείτονας, συγγενεῖς &c.

*

2 Or 'the spirit which goeth up from,' &c.

3 sc. the Angels who separate soul and body (cp. Frag. 2).

4 Cp. the Greek έαν δε ανίλεως πρός τους δμοφύλους
 πένητας &c. (quoted in the Introductory Note).
 5 Matth. VIII, 12.

Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 3). мперфорхт е пасшиа аГдда Беп о уметмы паспнот еп-Хат поткоты пснот псыт е паг лпаг рн+ таерметапон Hen onwe mapeneparturi-R9629WX RRE2RI RO .[zecloe cobe tornor etemполионноті соротны па в 5 Mar] 5 Зіпа] птепхемтеп епсев-Τοτε λοιποη αγμαπεω[τεμ обэтлып эхй ілп э τω]τ καπ εщωπ τεπενηнтоте щатхос пап oia te cepnoli Xe w trobs myrgh w t[...? Отор] марептасной отор то пщотпы пас τo маре]пот ехип еперметапероот тирот пте пешпь [ulou ареантот ереерамей нс мпе]рсфрем паспнот ещоп חשב חואם חלפטה סדספ חואסoros thor epeorouy [e epmetапот Ласис] рапца епер 15 W toxh iczen nai nav . . . 15 ne] отхрым] отатоено пе пхе фотшин япе. [. . . . thor aroun edod [use m ... общент] обътенкот пе OTXARI] GTENOWM пі аубюнт пабе піпат пи етбеп] пітартарос HICI 20 піма єт йынта пірімі 20 Ageprederin üze [. пем пісосртер пте $\Phi \omega px$ ebol O[. 11926711 w twoxh or Сытем тар е пн ејт а пот хос еч-† зап еро е пі[... ñеtchw exen nai thoo den пер ката перын-25 πιεταρικίοη] Οτος οτατ-031 25 [эп роби хеопоэм Пиоп птак й[Hexay vap se nrajet nacini oroje потреднис [Бен писнот етемπιφηονί γωον πας]ιπι мат пот € [.]†тн . ۵λ]λα..[. . *

* Recto [The soul will say to the Angels of death] *"Do not separate me from my body, but leave me a little while that I may repent."¹ Thou art distressed, thou grievest, thou [recallest?] thy deeds, that they may have mercy upon thee.

Then when the Angels hear these things, they say unto us:² "O wretched soul! O miserable (soul)! All the days of thy life thou didst spend in heedlessness; and now thou desirest to repent. O soul, from hence-forth the light of thy...[is gone ?], ended now are [pleasures ?], afflictions draw nigh. [God ?] hath commanded (us) to separate (thee from thy body)...O soul, a...will pass judgment on thee for ever (?) according to thy works." Thou hast not...of hope at that time to repent, but...

Verso [Since we shall be dismayed] *of a truth, my brethren, when we hear such things as these, let us make haste to strive because of that time that we may find ourselves prepared, even if our habit be to sin, and let us return and take upon us to repent. Be not deceived, my brethren: there is the Place of Judgment, and the punishments are everlasting—fire that is not quenched, the worm that dieth not, thick darkness.³ These are the things that are in Tartarus, the place wherein shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.⁴ For harken to those things which the Lord saith in His teaching on all these matters in the Gospel—and He is infallible, for He said: "The earth shall pass away and the Heavens also shall pass away..."⁵

I Cp. Apophth. Patr., Sisoes XIV (P.G. LXV, 396), where Sisoes says: ἰδού, ἄγγελοι ηλθον λαβεῖν με, καὶ παρακαλῶ ἶνα ἀφεθῶ μετανοῆσαι μικρόν. (Sisoes XLIX is a variant of the same anecdote.) For what follows cp. the reproaches of the Guardian Angels in the Apocalypse of Paul (Budge, Misc. Copt. Texts, p. 556). 3 = P.G. LX, 768: $\delta \rho a \mu o \iota \tau \delta \nu \sigma \kappa \omega \lambda \eta \kappa a \tau \delta \nu \delta \kappa o (\mu \eta \tau o \nu \kappa. \tau. \lambda.$

*

2 For the beings who attend on death-beds cp. the Boh. Life of Pisenti (extract ap. Budge, Copt. Apocrypha, p. 329).

5 id. xx1v, 35.

4 Matth. VIII, 12.

HOMILETIC FRAGMENTS

B. GREGORY THEOLOGUS

Homily on Christian Charity.

Parchment. A single leaf (Cairo, no. 63), 33×27.5 cm., paged ($\overline{\kappa_{\zeta}}$), $\overline{\kappa_{H}}$,¹ 34 lines to the page. The script (see Plate XIV A) is regular, square, and of good size: it is perhaps identical with the hand of No. xvI, Frags. 1, 2. Owing to decay the leaf is riddled with innumerable holes.

The text corresponds to the Greek of Migne's P.G. XXXV, 860 B κaì μάρτυς τῆς πίστως 'Aβρaáµ to 860 A κaì μαρτυροῦσι Μωϋσῆς κaì Δαβίδ. Further leaves from the same Ms. are:—($\overline{\Lambda o}$), $\overline{\Lambda E}$ (Cod. Tisch. XXIV, 8:= 861 c to 864 B of the Greek text); $\overline{\Lambda v}$, $\overline{\Lambda a}$ (id. XXV, 4);² and (\overline{zv}), \overline{za} (Rylands Library, Copt. no. [42] 437).³ The text of the Cairo leaf is here printed in full, since the frail original is liable to break up; but considerations of space forbid the publication of the other leaves.

(Cairo, no. 63).

О[тоје піпает мен цер мефре Бароц йже піпатріархис авраам є атомаю ёводентоту Федпіс же цер мефре Барос й-

- 5 αε έπως φαι ταρ πε πιμ[ορη εταφεργελπις εφ[.]..ε μφ[ρα(n) μπσ[ς] οτος ημ [εθ]οταλ τ[μροτ ετατιμεμ β[ιςι] ειτεμ 4εελ[π]ις
- 10 Фагапн эе гыс дер меөре еө-Антс йхе піапостодос е[өотав едхи мнос хе ф[4 пе фагапн

Напе Аметмаг шеммо отог

- 15 φερ μεθρε δαρος παε πιθ[μη]ι
 λωτ φαι παφμοπ δεπ сο Δομα [α]λλα πε οτςοδομιτης
 απ πε δε[π π]εφςμοτ
 Ομοιω[ς δε] οπ ρααβ 4πορπη
- 20 ер меб[ре е] Фметмал шеммо бал ётасподем совнтс отод

еофитс еофитс вофитс

- 25 Ναπε Φαετααι con σαι εταςε[p] μεσρε εσβητς ñzε πεπστ ι]πς π<u>γ</u>ς οτ μοποη γαρ 2]ε αγαιτεη ñcon πας αλλα αςεραπεχεςσε on ε μοτ βα-
- 30 ροη τηρογ Ναπε Φμετ[μαι] ρωμι ñθος ο(n) πεπότ ιη[ς ηχ]ς πε πιμεθρε πτε ται α[p]ετη δεη πχιηθρεσμαι πε πιρωμι μμαγατη α(n)

I Some short work must have preceded this homily, for the lost beginning (cp. the Greek) together with the title can have occupied only a single leaf (two pages).

кн

5

.] Σε ε ε απεβ[μο] τι παπ. [.... πτεφερ εμότ πας π.ε. ερ. ώπ κετ οπ ε. εο. ο...ε Ά[λλ]α ben πΣικορεφιμώπι...

И[а]пе Аметрециот прит

- 10 п]фод 10 гар оп пепот пе етер м]еөре ва таг.... моноп же а]цер ёвод [..] йпетрос Бен п]жінөредгіоті Беп тенці адда адтні фмащж оп йфн
- 15 ет].. этербе.... пецма ñк]есоп
 - Ομοιως ο[n] ςτεφαπος πιμαομτής πτε.[...].[..]. ασταγο έρατς οη ήτμε[τρ]equov
- 20 ñęңт ben nxin[op]eytwkę ba nh εταγει wni epoy Nane Αμεορεμρατι nencwτηρ agtago έρατς ne[.] eyxw μ[μ]ος
- 25 же арі[е]мі ёвой ймоі же а[п]ок отремратщ отог тө[е]в[інотт беп пагнт Ссбнотт же оп сөвнту ж[е

диотолни su оъъе дио-

- 30 ωщ εδολ απ ογχε [μ]μοπ ελ[ι παςωτεμ έ τε[gc]μη βεπ πιπλ[α]τια Πω[τ]chc αε οπ πεμ αατια π
 - сеермеөр[е] Бармол же ал-

2 For the Tischendorf fragments see Leipoldt, *loc. cit.*, pp. 390, 401, where, however, they are not identified. 3 See Crum, *Rylands Cat.*, p. 217. This leaf is clearly

181

part of Tattam's find.

× (p. 27)

× p. 28

*And unto Faith beareth witness the Patriarch Abraham who was justified because of it.¹ And unto Hope beareth witness Enôs—for he was the first who hoped, calling on the name of the Lord,²—and all the holy ones who suffered affliction in hope. And unto Charity also beareth witness the holy Apostle, saying, "God is Love."³

Excellent is the love of strangers; and unto it beareth witness righteous Lot. This man was (dwelling) in Sodom, but he was not a man of Sodom in his conduct. Likewise also Rahab the harlot beareth witness unto love of strangers—she who was delivered because of it and was justified in the Scriptures⁴ because of it. Excellent is the love of brethren unto which Our Lord Jesus the Christ beareth witness. For not only hath He made us His brethren, but also He endured death for the sake of us all. Excellent is the love of mankind. He again, Our Lord Jesus the Christ, is witness unto this virtue in that He not only loved Man[×]...works of

..... that He might give grace unto him...; but in that He, the Lord, became...a way...

Excellent is long-suffering. For it is He again, Our Lord, who beareth witness unto this (virtue). For [not] only did He...Peter when he smote with the sword, but also He restored his ear unto him (Malchus)... into its place again. Likewise also Stephen the disciple of ... also exalted long-suffering in that he prayed for them who stoned him. Excellent is meekness. Our Savior exalted it, saying: "Learn of Me, for I am meek and lowly in My heart."⁵ And again it is written concerning Him: "He shall not strive nor cry; neither shall any man hear His voice in the streets."⁶ And Moses also and David...

See Romans IV, 22.
 Cp. Gen. IV, 26.
 I John IV, 8.

4 See Hebr. x1, 31. 5 Matth. x1, 29. 6 Isaiah x111, 2; Matth. x11, 19.

HOMILETIC FRAGMENTS

C. On the Long-suffering of Christ.

Parchment. A half-leaf and an almost complete leaf, 29.2×21.4 cm. (Cairo, no. 69), from a single Ms. The written column measures 22.5×13.5 . A vertical guide-line is drawn to the left of the column and horizontal guide-lines for every other line of the text. The holes made by the pins for setting the ruler are clearly visible in the margins. The hand (see Plate XVI A) is small and very regular and may be assigned to the eleventh century.

The Homily to which these fragments belonged is probably of Greek origin, but I have failed to identify it. Possibly further fragments of the same text may be extant in the Tischendorf collection at Leipzig, in the Vatican, or elsewhere.

The sequence of our two fragments is uncertain. It is possible that Frag. 1 verso is actually part of the peroration.

Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 69).

	Ηαι τηροτ άγχα μα πωοτ έθ- ροτκοτοτ εαρος = οτοε	nh ετ ατπατ έρωοτ ne ετε ncenar έρωοτ αn	ни м
	πτειχω πωον εβολ = έμον-	ד ר הושסחסכ = דר הוארד	ज्ट
	ωщ πιτα το πτε πιρωμι	Ιτε πιδρχη - ιτε πιεζον	
5	евве фат бушот прит ща-	5 פאתבנסאפודסדק דאססי ה	
5	теусоттеп еводьеп 4-	οτος ñooy ετραχωy ño	970(N)
	метщамще ізwуоп пефун-	niken	
	07 =	Zwe ze nihen navozi ēj	олтот
	пем пібютєв = пем. піпорпіх	рови этэ ртнай инди	ne
10	хоопоэміп мэп = їгогоіп мэп	10 Тархн піщамісі ёвод	Беп
	ием піреаф форрі цбік =	пн едмоот гіпа йтеч	щ ω-
	πεм πιςως τηροτ έτ & πι-	πι έσοι προτιτ μεη ρω	h nike(n)
	элаволос сорот ево[л пын-	н.]. Тмат ёщшп пр[н	[]τϥ
	ten = eobe dat age	п]днрома тнру йт	e 4-
15	matedcott[eu	15 мевнот] отог евс	onerto-
0	та. этн.[т]птеп ё	Horn
	$\Delta[a]$ via $\Delta[c]$	* *	*
	* * *		

*Unto all these He gave opportunity that they might turn unto Him and that He might forgive them, since He desires the return of mankind. For this reason He showed long-suffering that He might deliver us from the vain worship of idols, and from murders, and fornications, and thefts, and falsehoods, and sorceries, and all the abominations which the Devil spreadeth abroad among us. For this cause He...that He might deliver us... But David...

 \dots *those things which are seen and those which are unseen, whether Thrones, or Dominions, or Principalities, * Verso or Powers, are all through Him and He is above them all, every one.

Now all things were established in Him since He is the Beginning, the First-Born from the dead, that He might be the first in all things...good pleasure, since in Him...all the fullness of the Godhead¹ and through Him...

I For the verso generally cp. Colossians I, 16 ff.; II, 9.

Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 69).

метархнёретс [мпототыщ е сытем йса мытсис

A \$\$ xoc a nease orwn npwg ασομκον = πεμ πη ετε πτωον тнрот =

5 Henor 26 noon nennort nпант отор преущеприт εταντωογπον έχως ήχε пиботаль пред фузий исстой

εθδε φη ετ αταιη = αλλα αηερ-10 апехесое ямо-08

> Ачтни ёррні ехш[п] щатечсоттен екодьен пеппокі

twatm 3 มายา วงกราก [10] เร 15 **μεμι**ω πελι -

Π[κε]ηλιας έτ ατολη έ πωωι е тфе ёводритен ранрарма πχρω]η έτ ο πουρο ουωρη

20 ทсพป еболет е она и--ps 3x po[mm] 1900ps 3x [ptot сык и]ся бени[од]4 итеч-MO]

Agaw agi nae ora jown ebod-

ben т фе адрыку пин етат-25 I NC WY BEN SANNETSWOT робй эс голэп Галл пмаг] рымі ётацотырп ё Адакі п]те пісамарітне [еө]ротсов4 пъч

сте мпотщопу сршот Here tarwhoe nay - nem iwanпис же хотыш птепхос πτεφί παε ουχρωμ έλολ-

- **Беп тфе птечрокоот =** 5 Αφερεπιτιμα ήωον ήχε ποτ סדסף החופע אד = אב כדאקו ал йже пщирі йфршиі зіхен пкарі птако ппіречернові
- αλλα ε παρμον= 10 -тэмй Ешин гатй йгамө э тапа рецшот понт пте пы пот па-- 20067

Πκεελιζεος οη ετ & πικογχι падшоті і сводьен Назані

- 15 атсыва ймоц бухипт ериот ачеготырот Бен фран Апос negnost - a trabor cnost і сводбен піторщини [атшик
- {n1} мh евод притот -20 Пепот 2[е п]еоц пица[пома-DT = ET & n[198]nepet[hc + Rosp πας μεπ τ[ες]αφε ε[νεωβι ммоч ёт.[..]атышп.[....
- трэпм] тотнеп тошра сото 25 ψελιω ήωοτ - κατα [πεαχι. ет адхос же мепре п петеп--й рэп]лнөэн 19 хото - 12 хахипн {n} едлос† ммште[п

¹ Erased.

× Recto [When Korah, Dathan, and Abiram sought after the] *high-priesthood and would not obey Moses, God spake and the earth opened its mouth and devoured them with all those who pertained unto them.¹ But Our Lord, even Our God Who is merciful and compassionate, when the Jews rose up against Him, did not take vengeance on them because of that which they did unto Him, but refrained from them. He gave Himself for us that He might deliver us from our sins, being an example unto us not to take vengeance upon any man.

Elias also-who was carried up into Heaven by means of chariots of fire-when the King sent after him

desiring to seize him because he had rebuked him for following after strange gods, spake, and there came down fire from Heaven and consumed those who came after him with evil words²...But Our Lord Who × Verso loveth mankind-when He had sent to the city of the Samaritans that they might prepare for Him, *and they did not receive Him among them, and James said unto Him together with John: "Wilt Thou that we bid that fire come forth from Heaven and consume them ?"-the Lord rebuked them and did not suffer them, saying: "The Son of Man came not upon the earth to destroy sinners, but to deliver them."³ Consider

the nature of this great long-suffering of this good God.

Eliseus also, when the little children came from the city and mocked him, was wroth with them and cursed them in the name of the Lord his God. And two she-bears came forth from the wood [and tare] fortytwo of them.⁴ But Our Lord Who is full of mercy, when the servants smote Him on the head,⁵ mocking Him... And He was long-suffering with them and did not take vengeance upon them; according to the word which He spake: "Love your enemies, and do good to them who hate you."⁶

1 See Numbers XVI, 1-31.

2 See ii Kings 1, 2 ff.

3 See Luke 1X, 51 ff.

4 See ii Kings 11, 23 ff. 5 See Jobn XVIII, 22 (?). 6 Matth. v, 44.

HOMILETIC FRAGMENTS

D. On Fornication.

Parchment. A single leaf (Cairo, no. 68), 28.6×21 cm. (column 24.2×15 cm.). The script (see Plate XV B) is large and clear but by no means regular: it is probably not the work of a trained scribe. In the upper margin of the *verso* are traces of a quire-heading with the quire-number \overline{a} .

The work to which this fragment belonged is probably of Greek origin. It has so far not been identified. Owing partly to the fading of the ink and partly to the impressions left by adjacent pages, transcription is often very difficult.

5

τо

(Cairo, no. 68).

Анноя¹ Бе ои Реи седать пиб ероу Реи итол миедит ием иедальсуос одоб итеда бул е фонголмеин обод уче одободо итеда бул е фонголмеин реи одогности одободо итеда бул е фонголмеин одободо итеда бул в со реи тедиободо итеда бул в со реи теда бул в со реи и теда бул в со реи теда бул в со реи и теда бул в со реи теда бул в со реи и теда бул в со реи теда бул в со реи и теда бул в со реи теда бул в со реи и теда бул в со реи теда бул в со реи и теда бул в со реи теда бул в со реи и теда бул в со реи теда бул в со реи и теда бул в со реи теда бул в со реи и теда бул в со реи теда бул в со реи и теда бул в со реи теда бул в со реи и теда бул в со реи теда бул в со реи и теда бул в со реи теда бул в со реи и теда бул в со реи теда бул в со реи и теда бул в со реи теда бул в со реи и теда бул в со реи и теда бул в со реи теда бул в со реи и теда бул в со реи теда бул в со реи и теда бул в со реи теда бул в со реи и теда бул в со реи теда бул в со реи и теда бул в со реи теда бул в со реи и теда бул в со реи теда бул в со реи и теда бул в со реи и теда бул в со реи теда бул в со реи

птец4 мпюты ката пецгрноті ет ацаітот іте агабоп іте петгш-

IO 03

5

וב סדשאטטן אח חב חסדכפוא[ו באכבף חבראפו דאףטן בכבף-חסףחבדוח בכשש אאטכ שב אוטה סדארדוגמא סדטפ

20 ηγαηκεχωοτηί ε πτακο

> Καλως ιερεμιας 20ς 2ε προ πονπορημ αιμωπι πε αρεσι щипι παρρεπ ονοπ πιβε(π)

25 סייסף חבו חושל חשטש באדי-סייזן הנ

> Ин тар сове пірісі пте запаўк]н пте зрре пем здевсш ареерпорпетіп щап ммо(п)

¹ For gnanhov?

α φ4 щанщ пликетевиюоті пем підада4 пем піоті пем підада4 пем піот пе паі піщ4 йнові є аресотич пе = апок 26 аіщансіні птапат є паі мпаі ри4 щаре тафтун щоортер птарімі ехен пт]ако пнімедос етатьюнт є ам]ен41 0]т хе щюні ёре Бен паі порща ю форми вата фри4

5

- порпіа й †сеімі ката фрн† ет а піпрофнтнс хос хе аретапьо ппепорпіа ехе(п) 5 мшт² півеп :----
- 15 Μωιτ² πιβεκ: Άιμωκι ταρ εκπομι δεκ κιπλατιά καυτεμ έ φρακ μπχς εβολδεκ ρως κρακρωμι ετσαδεμ ετωρκ μμος δε(n)
- 20 сахі півеп ет атпахоч отгод пе е шрк е птнру Беп отмеблині мадіста е шрк пынту ёхеп отсахі мпорпіа іе отуше еущот-
- 25 ιτ Ссбнотт же ппекже фра(п) йпос пекнот ёжен отметефднот-піпароіміа гар жω ммос же мпаре запсфо-
- 30 тот етепрот ерщат пот-2нт
 - Нащ прн4 гар ере пірап еботав пте ф4 щыпі беп рыч потатент пем пн етоа-
- 35 Бем

¹]ent, MS. ² cωπ, MS.

[×]He shall come also at His Second Advent appearing in the glory of His Father with His Angels, and He will [×]*Recto* judge the world in righteousness and will reward every man according to his works which he hath done, whether they be good or whether they be evil.¹

Then is it not a scandal that a woman who has spent her whole life in committing fornication should say, "I am a Christian," and, as the flesh of her body wastes away and she grows old and men cease to esteem

1 Cp. ii Cor. v, 10.

her, should take her daughter and set her in her place to seduce others to destruction? Well did Jeremias say:1 "Thou hadst a whore's forehead: thou hast (not) been ashamed before all men." And this great reproach hast thou taken to thyself. For is it because of urgent need of food and raiment that thou dost commit fornication, and not rather for pleasure? Sufficient is the saying of the Apostle Paul: "Let every woman have her own husband."² But if (it be) for the sake of food and raiment, since "God provideth for cattle and birds and wild beasts and all creation,³ what is this great sin which thou hast chosen for thyself? As for me, whenever I seek to contemplate such things, my soul is troubled and I weep for the perdition of the members that draw nigh to Amenti. What hath happened that thou livest in these fornications, O woman? Even as the Prophet saith,⁴ thou dost cause thy fornications to flourish in every place.

For I walked in the streets hearing the Name of the Lord (uttered) by the mouth of abominable men who used it as an oath in every utterance which they spake. A fearful thing it is to swear at all; but verily most of all to swear by (the Name of God) in some utterance touching fornication or some vain matter. For it is written: "Thou shalt not take the Name of the Lord thy God in vain."⁵ For the *Proverbs* say: "Faithful lips become a heart."⁶ For how, when the holy Name of God is in the mouth of a senseless man and of them that are vile...?

E. Treatise or Homily.

Parchment. Two fragmentary leaves (Cairo, nos. 42, 64), measuring 34×18 and 36×28 cm. respectively. Since the hand—a small, very regular uncial—is the same in both, and the numeration of the versos, \overline{pnz} , \overline{pnz} , probably indicates pages, the fragments represent two consecutive leaves of a single MS. Possibly further fragments of the same MS. could be identified among the Tischendorf fragments at Leipzig.

The text suggests a Greek original, but this has not been identified. Owing to their imperfect condition, no translation of the fragments is attempted.

Frag. 1 (C	airo, no. 40).	puz
]c	pe[u
]Ха тнр-	ann[
	St edXh	пат с.[
]etooci	03DE.[
5]peqщω-	5 OVCXHMA
]. y 0305 éd-	nimt ord
]тн фн етеща.	orse reorai
	. Jekodestorg	ппа пте пн ет[
]пієвноті патлі	Άλλα 2006 πιβεπ.[
IO	RATAC]TACIC ECOTAB OTOS	10 мпескиф едщ[
]от ситеп 12рн пже	coo mapoe m
	er ebod oc üze	піма тар етеммал
]9207x 0702	пънту папты[с
	R]ατα πι ο πον έταμα	паравон товале
15]παπτωπ φαι έτ ερ-	15 Cobe torcic se ne [
	Іп п. єбпапорем є тке	хом Хн Беп тесп. е[
]. g munumt nervoc =	εν του πονωτ αλλα α ον
	ши пеонолец пте пирохн	еботи е фотаг фотаг ит[
	Jourad e Ameyer ebmos	пеп. оттрнот сове .[
20]сып есщин Батотс дат-	20 етщоп пънтеп пем піпе
]. е едрні адтотпос пшот Зе	. 18[.]. Govar Govar mmwov o[
]. Sw mmoc	nte oh ettort. ben nxin
	тащфері он етпая е снтта	nxe th etemmas + that
	је сахи отшпе пап свод прап-	і сроти поос стещас що[
1 Jer. 111,	3.	4 Ezekiel XVI, 29?
2 i Cor. vi		5 Exodus xx, 7.
3 Cp. Mat	<i>tb</i> . vi, 25 f.	6 ? Proverbs x, 32 or xv, 7.

× Verso

186

25]пте пранкоъхі бен наі рн4 о(п)
]. ар теппафетиап же аркот
] 0702 ECOI NO070
	Jiam[]ymc ebefcpm
]мепр. отес. [
30] п помм [
] еотпка[
] Taixoxaxi[
]. 113
]п † не †фэсис
35	пснот півен отор
	n]1hen ecame[]n1-
	·

Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 64).

5 10 15 °	фир патон с[Бо]ай с піпеонансц щасергого оксі й[…] аст. Рец фиет- того посі бројай с піпеонансц] асев [[…]йboc win wwoc исног		 εθρεςμετί τε τηστ δζερρητς ε δωπτ [ε- δοτη ε πιμδ πλοψι ε πιμωι + εθλε τ[]. τω μμος οη ñθη ετ δατωπς ρητη[? οτηι = + οτος θη ετδαστώδαςι τε δμητη 5 Οττε γδρ φη έτοςι ερδητη άπδιρητ άπδημοτηκ πτοτη έπες πτε πδ[]ώστη σττε φη ετ- σοτι ζδ ηστ []δι πδρραη βεη εδι ή αιμο οτ πτε πιμδ[]τε []δι ετοι έδοτη έ πιτρομός εθοτδή []ζωμε γδρ π .[ποπτε πικηδί]τε [ταρ π η π.[το τωπτεη παιοτ πιδεη στος πτεη[κημ έπες επδωπτ άμοη εδοτη ε[το τωπτεη παιοτ πίδεη στος πτεη[κημ έπες επδωπτ άμοη εδοτη ε[το τωρομός 8ωςτε μαρεμερ[] πίδεη ετερ[το τωρόμος 15 κατό ς η πτε πτιπλοψι ε πιμωι ε[η]σι έ- δοτη ε πιεθηδητεί ποι ρητ όη αριποιη έ- ηη εθημοτ μειθαιζαξηι εθρεμιμωπι επάπετ εĥολδεη στοιδι εψ[] εδρηι π.[][
20]ет м[фрн]† Бен отма ймощі еп-]р + цеготі тар ебрні]п пже пісажі рітен пі- про]фнтнс пе = пем пії ев-]піотарсарпі пте піпбт ¹ пе =	20	Беп отшпе евод мптр[дос отое ецерпар[а ммос пбрнт беп тат] евод беп отшот етшот е[тесот ммоц ге есх[
25]ос еөресьшпт евотн е пют-]. есщыні епанес еасті щ]шпі ката псмот п†ором-	25	щын потыот надрас пса[ещын мадіста отніцт] сі=		
	[3 [1		Ιζαε σε οτκοται πε εσρεμ		
	сопоись тибн4		$pa = 2 mc \propto \epsilon \Phi[$		
30]и шигрнф Реп	30	••		
	ε]δολθευ μιμεθ-		. щеп ин ет[
]ѝєтщфнр		.]४ए.[
	¹ sic.				

HOMILETIC FRAGMENTS

25

30

35

pne

патавоп отор пірвноті.[фухн паг сторі сратот отб[с? вата отжин сботи сера ..[**Бен потернот отог с.[Т**п[..].[...]поос пап а отп[

[..]ов[.о]тсмот пот .[[0]тор патфынр пснот[e.acoi มีmoy 0502[ммос оп реп бул исноъ[ом щеп тиру Беп .[mon epoc te . fme[.].[

πι ε τεωού πεπασ[

F. Four Homiletic Fragments.

(1) Parchment. Upper portion of a leaf (Cairo, no. 67), measuring 21×20 cm. As the heading of the verso shows, it was the last leaf in a second quire (each quire containing eight leaves). The outer edge has been cut off (probably for book-binding purposes) and the foot has been torn away. The hand, medium-sized and regular, should probably be assigned to the later tenth or eleventh century. The *recto* is much discolored and the surface in parts abraded, while the *verso* has been bleached by exposure to weather.

The homilist contrasts the ultimate lots of the Rich Man and Lazarus (here called Nineves and Job respectively), and calls upon his hearers to make their choice.

(2) Parchment. Lower portion of a leaf (Cairo, no. 70), 17×23 cm. The column, 17 cm. wide, has horizontal and vertical guide-lines: the only stop used is = (black). The hand is of a peculiar, angular type (? twelfth century) seemingly identical with that of No. 1x, Frag. 3 (see Plate V D, b).

The text contains an indignant reproof of some individual for misbehavior in church in contrast to the reverent conduct of the Angels in the presence of God.

(3) Parchment. Lower portion of a leaf (Cairo, no. 65), measuring 22.5×25.5 cm. (the latter is the full width of the page): the written column is 16.5 cm. wide. The angular hand seems to be identical with the hand of (2).

The text contains a fragment of the story of Jonah. It does not belong to the homily of Saint John Chrysostom On Jonah, but may possibly be a fragment of Zacharias of Sekhoou On Nineveh. More probably, however, it belongs to the anonymous Sermon On Penitence extant in a MS. at Turin, and may even be the leaf (\overline{ov}) , \overline{os} which is missing from that MS.¹ Another fragment of that work is Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 42, though the script differs from that of our fragment.

(4) Parchment. A nearly complete leaf of which the upper half is at Leipzig (Cod. Tisch. XXIV, 21),² and the lower at Cairo (No. 52 A). The leaf has been roughly cut in two and the inner margin hacked off. Whether this fragment belongs to the same MS. as does Frag. 1 I am unable to state.

The recto is paged $\overline{\omega nc}$: the verso is headed $\overline{\omega n \zeta} - n \omega = (\text{Ornament}^3) - n \mu 1 - [..]$. The script is identical with the script of No. xvi, Frags. 3-4: besides the rounded form of the stop *, the form mennical is another feature in common.⁴

The text deals with the vanity of human wealth, power and strength.

I See de Rossi, *Alcuni Manoscritti Copti* (offprint), pp. 86 f. For the Nitrian origin of the Bohairic Mss. at Turin edited by de Rossi see *Introduction* § 6.

- 2 Leipoldt, loc. cit., p. 393.
- 3 A rather elaborate eight-foil in red and yellow.
- 4 See above, p. 79.

HOMILETIC FRAGMENTS

Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 67).

```
Беп пеусима пем .. отз1 па-
    меп‡
  0[ vo]2 mennea nai a $$7 $ nay n[.].[
    h .. ene ... h xwpic fuer[or-
 5 po πτε πιφноνι ετ αφεραπολ[αν-
    и тощо с ща є п ере ечщоп
    ben tanodascic natehn e.[
    исту пем піанцерос[
    nar... 2004 e ninerhe nia[onai
10 Agox[ .
    nnhi [. R]alwc . . . K. [
    ппіен[я] пот[.]оот ц[..].[..].
    нпачатон рап фрэт
   Har 2wy se et agep kataptap[oc
15 ERECHT ME[n]nca nxwr ebod [m-
    π]εφηρος τσχε εάπο .. η[
    tuor
  Пехац хе есщоп ben ament [ ben
    ganhazanoc espw[k]g mu[oy
20 Беп піхрым
  IWE D[e]n niemton nte omet[ospo
    ппіф]ноті пем тапо[Латсіс
    ]3 noos[vsinn
        *
```

1 ? Teycapz.

 $\overline{\underline{A}}^1$ — nasc — — $\overline{\underline{HC}}$ $\overline{\underline{IZ}}^2$

АЛЛА етаксытем ё кехе³ фрф хе аріфметі хе акої ппекага[ө]оп беп пекыпб Хпат хе мпе піотюм пем пісы пем Фхіперфо-

5 pin ñkalwe ep eli ñnogpi uniaonai etemmar

Ι]ς πιμερος κ μπεκβιος εβολ πηων πιβεπ ω πωμεπριτ ις ιωβ βεπ ομετοτρο ππιφμοτι πεμ 4α-

15 Χ]οτωщ ομετοτρο πιιφηστι πεμ πεςαναφοή + τεπφωήκ ε φμετοτρο πηιφηστι φαι ετ αςщащиι ερος παε πιαικε[ο]ς ιωθ φη ετε πεςρο στηπ ποτοή πι-20 δεή μπευτάςφο ε οδι πρωμι

hen] мпедтасоо е 2лі пршмі ••••] епер + Беп пн етат[••••]е ••• мм]од + Беп е 2лі пХ[

¹ Cursive numeral.

× p. 16?

² Probably an error for \overline{ic} .

3 Read etag-, ege-?

 \dots^{\times} in his body and his flesh (?) in Amenti. And after these things God gave him¹..., besides the Kingdom \times (p. 15 ?) of Heaven which he enjoyed for ever being in a state of joy unending...with the Angels. Consider...also Nineves² the pitiless. He...(ll. 12–13) the poor...[and did not] give him charity. Perceive also that, when he was.....after the ending of his life..., he said, being in Amenti in torments which scorched him with fire: "Job (is) in the repose of the Kingdom of Heaven in enjoyment of the good things..."

*But when he³ has heard, he will say: "Remember that in thy life thou didst receive thy good things."⁴ Thou seest that food and drink and wearing of goodly raiment did not profit that pitiless man.

Behold the two parts of thy life at all times, O my beloved. Behold Job in the Kingdom of Heaven and in eternal bliss. Behold Nineves also in torments unquenchable, in endless pain for ever. Choose, then, for thyself that which thou shalt desire. If thou desirest the Kingdom of Heaven, make thyself like to the Kingdom of Heaven after which the righteous Job followed, even he whose door was open unto every man and did not turn away (?) any man [at] any time among those who...him...

1 sc. Job, who here seems equivalent to Lazarus. 2 Apparently equivalent to Dives of the Parable (Luke XVI, 19 ff.). 3 Apparently Abraham. 4 Cp. Luke XVI, 25.

[

Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 70).

*	*	*	
מוגר]פ	ελος[
Е[рфи]еч	σι ω φρωμ[ι.]тв	
ē orpu	mi äner.[.	•••••]	
Reworn	an se eros	идалго й]пен	<u>-</u>

- 5 στ ο[το] ο ποτ ñτ[ε τφε πεм n]καοι
 - Κεωοτη απ σε εεο[ει ερατ]οτ πσε πιαυτελος [άπεμθο] ηποτσε βεη τεκ[κληςια]
- 10 Ceo21 ερατον ñ¤[ε πιαρχμα]ησελος - ενερνπερε[τιπ..]φοναξςαξαι ώπονσς [φ] πον]ρο ñτε πωον βεπ Jεκκ[λμς]ιά -Εθλε ον ňθοκ ώ φρωμι ňτα-
- 15 λεπωρος εκεμλ έλολ μεπ 4εκκληςιά παρα φο[τα]εςαεπι μπεκοτ

Frag. 3 (Cairo, no. 65).

1

	*	*	*
	ετςοπ1	• [
	Andwe 21	ren . [
	смот – пе	м[
	ētagywt	ε[μογθε]u	
5	про Апб	ā = x[]]e ñ-
	се меон	от[Лф]	эн†
	ёт адерц	jop[n]	
	Ag zini n	07201 - 070	tpors g
	птедены	а адбуні ёр	oy = oroq
0	ēτa7%ω0	ъп євод па [.]	терушт

пе Бен фюм А ф7 2е сатоту тотнос от-

піщ+ ймопмеп Беп фіом

¹ The fragmentary endings of seven preceding lines are omitted.

]ні ек[

[0[.....]or ñxe gananye nyo [....]aneh¹ ano[..] ñāζω-

- 5 μ[ατοπ α] τεργτμιος ε ποτστ [μεμ οτ]γ07 μεμ οτςθερτ[ερ]
- Ιc¤[ε †πιщ†] ñ»νπαμις ñäzωματ[οπ πεμ] πιέζονςια τηρον
- 10 [πτε πιφη]ονι ήψας ήχρωμ ho[...].ον = ονος άπανψ[κεμκ]ο[μ] ήγεμαι = οναε άπ[ον]ψε. έδολ έ φοναςαεριι ήτε πονος = αλλα αεόςι έρα-
- 15 τον τη[p]ον μεα οτεθερτερ ενοι ήδ[.]τιδλατικα = ετερθεω-

¹ Ог к.

	*	*	*
	07021 []. ιωπ	a ñze m-
	кнъ[ос.] gite	робй гаф п
	мен . []	етт йм[оч
	t]y əzñ] мптрі	н етачер-
5	παρετ[ις	:•e?] ĕ ep≈1	акопіп а-
	neycazı	– пем педоч	ra2-
	cobui		
	Отоп Зе и	пібеп ёт еуп	ACOT-
	пот = от	ог птедотор	пот
10	мененса	. rwna ëbo'dg	ITEN
	печ	ерто	\[m]an ²

The fragmentary beginnings of ten lines are omitted.
 All except the last two letters are very doubtful.

* Frag. 2 Recto *The Angels...Remember O man...unto (?) a man. Do not...Knowest thou not that thou art a creature of thy Lord and the Lord of Heaven and Earth? Knowest thou not that the Angels stand in the presence of their Lord in the Church? That the Archangels stand ministering unto the commandment of their Lord God, the King of Glory, in the Church? Wherefore dost thou, O wretched man, hasten forth from the Church contrary to the command of thy Lord?

× Verso

* Frag. 3 Recto

- *...hundreds of thousands...incorporeal [beings]...chant hymns unto their Lord with fear and trembling. If the great host of the Incorporeal Ones and all the Powers of Heaven with hair of flame...and they are not able to sit nor do they transgress (?) the commandment of their Lord; but they all stand trembling, being...and beholding...
- *...together. In a word, by means of ... grace and ... when he (Jonah) had fled from the face of the Lord ... even as he had already ... He found a ship, and when he had paid his fare, he went on board. And when they had unmoored, they voyaged on the sea. But God straightway raised up a mighty tempest on the sea.
- * Verso *And the whale [swallowed up] Jonah...God [punished ?] him by this means...even as he (Jonah) had excused himself from ministering unto His word and His command. Now every one whom He shall choose and whom He shall send after Jonah by means of His...[must not] dare...

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HOMILETIC FRAGMENTS

Frag. 4 (Cod. Tisch. XXIV, 21 + Cairo, no. 52^A).

ωπε

ταρωστ ριτεη πιοτρωστ + ίε ριτεη πιεζοτειά ετσοει ñ[τ]ε πικοεμος + άςεερατμετιπ¹ μμωοτ ίε ben παιπθρε πιςοπι αωτρ

5 ппині псекшли мяшот + псешлі мпетентшот + Отог псецитев ппотутхи + пооц беп пхіпоре потёхнот шас + Отог псещенесіе +

 Τποτ τε ππεπορε πιραμαο ψοτψοτ πμος βεη τεςμεσραμαδ
 Οτος ππεπορε πιτωρι ψοτψοτ πμος + ειτεη τεςμεττωρι
 Οτος ππεπορε πιταίε ψοτψοτ
 μοδι οιτεη πται + ππειτω-

15 μμο]ų ειτει ποωι + μπειου-* Cairo ×μ̃ο

> Ке] тар сотмищ стог йжырг ..]атми + йтотметкоты п-...]менйса откоты эе йсно]т à ф7 отыын йтотым ротсот гітен отщынг

> хе пот]фот еводеттеп ф[4]и]отпк евод + ..[..]өw

.....]ης ε πτηpq] Ονος εθρ]οτερχριά πςαπκεχω-

20

25

отпі » ед]роттшотпот Б[еп от]од щаре пн ет[сбн]от-

T...e]xen hoor hen [.] er-

30 Σω μμο]c + Σε Σογщτ [.]ε]nn[...]μ cat[oty

 $\mathbf{1} = \delta \eta \mu \epsilon \dot{\nu} \epsilon \iota \nu.$

<u>wn7</u> nai –

— — пні

αφερπλαζιη μπος ποτρωμι + Gob[e φαι [ά π]ιππα εθοταδ ερετμμεπιπ αεη[α]φο ήτε πκαξι + Οτος πιωμρι ήτε πιρωμι + γως αε οτοπ

5 πιβεή έτ αταφωοτ έβολ βεή η[κα-21 + γαήκαρι γωοτ ης + Οτος ο[η ας ετεκότοτ έ πκαγι + κατά 4αποφαείς ετ αγθαιμς έαεη άαα[μ Χε πθοκ στκαγι + Εκπαταςθοκ

10 оп ё пкарі + Пехац хе пірамаоі + пем пірнкі етсоп + сюс хе мпецферх отаі

έδολβεη στοι + τε πηε πιρηκι τος τε ετογτε φοι έ πιρομοοι 15 μματάτοτ + μπεγεατι εθέμι

апон ња піенкі » Сове фаі адотепе піешя е[вод ?

× Cairo × xe ецхю ймос е отоп пів[еп етсоп + пехац хе пн тиро[т ет-

20 щоп Бен Тогкотменн [пте пкъщ + Отод піщн[рі пте пірюмі + пірамао + От[од піднкі етсоп +

Υκέ[m1] σε υμεάφερσ[οτ εβου αυ-

 25 λ[a a]дөшүем потоп [пійеп етсоп + еботп ё тоі[котмепн
 Шфрнт оп етедхш[ймос

- .]ддь1 + же амшин [пищнри сштем
- ep]01 + AT& tchw n[wten t20t nte] not +

30 nte] not + O[vo]o hen hende2.[

..]. om Oron 14 .[

. .]тон[

Acme.]

¹ ? Read 282. ² Doubtful.

4 id., 1, 2.

5 Psalm XXXIV, 11.

× p. 856

[God?] *takes them (sc. the goods of the rich) away either through kings or the exalted powers of the world, and they confiscate them; or when thieves break into houses, and rob them, and carry off their property, and slay them; nay, when their ships sink and run ashore (?). Now therefore, let us not cause the rich to boast himself in his riches. And let us not cause the strong to boast himself in his strength. And let us not cause the beautiful to boast himself in the beauty of his body. For verily many who are strong (overlook?) their feebleness of ... But after a little time God overthrows their strength, them through sickness that at God's bidding their glory passes away...altogether, and that they may have need of others, and may rise up in...And those things that are written are wont¹ to [teach us?] concerning..., saying: "[God] looked...Straightway *He made of it (sc. earth) man." For this cause doth the Holy Spirit...creatures of the earth and the sons of men. So then all who are born upon the earth are also earth. And moreover they shall return to earth, according to the sentence which was passed upon Adam: "Dust thou art, and to dust shalt thou also return."²

Now he saith³: "Rich and poor together." So then he did not distinguish one from the other. For the poor shall not say: "He said this concerning the rich alone, and not concerning me, the poor man." Therefore he explained the matter (showing) that he is speaking of all together. He saith: "All ye that dwell in the inhabited part of the earth, and ye sons of men, rich and poor together."⁴ Thou perceivest that he has not separated them but has called them all together into the world. As also when David (?) saith: "Come ye children and harken unto me, and I will teach you the fear of the Lord."⁵ And in Isaiah...

I What follows is very doubtful. 2 Gen. III, 19.

. 3 Psalm XLIX, 2.

× p. 857

XXXVI. MONASTICA

Parchment. Seven fragments of which the second and third belong to a single MS. Whether Frag. I belonged to the same volume is uncertain.¹ Frags. 4-5 belong to another MS. from which Frags. 6-7 also are probably derived.

Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 14^{Add}),² 20.5 × 21 cm., is the upper portion of a leaf numbered —, $\overline{\text{cin}}$. The inner edge has been torn off, and the text of the *recto* is consequently obscure. Frags. 2-3 (Cairo, no. 101), 15.2 × 22 cm. (complete width), form the upper portion of a sheet (two leaves) numbered on the *versos* by a later hand $\overline{\tau\lambda c}$, $\overline{\tau uc}$. The script is a regular, good-sized uncial: the only stop used is = (black). Frags. 4-5 (*Cod. Tisch.* xxv1, 24, 25),³ 7 × 19 and 7 × 18 cm., again form the upper part of a sheet of two leaves, numbered on their *versos* \overline{pn} , \overline{pq} . In script and style these fragments are identical with No. xxIII E i. Frags. 6-7 (Cairo, no. 102), 7 × 16.5 cm., are the lower part of a sheet belonging apparently to the same Ms. as Frags. 4-5.

Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 14^{Add}).

- ...]. RATA RIMWIT e[T] agthig na]n ñze nende Orog nennhh a]ndwc gwh nihen apitor eohe] $\overline{\phi}$ t nem orrwt nem or-
- 5 με]θπιςτος
 -]Беп запскетос прат
 -]. с ероп тар е ерке.
 -]. о пара¹ піснот єтен-
 - п Беп фыос пАмет-
- 10 con]

...]ар пак² е ер фаг кап ткатастасіс п]щорп марепарер ерос ñса пік]апшп мпімопастнріоп]

- 15 ... е]тщоп Бен підаос єботи ё ... п]ем отошт йбнт нем от-....]рег мпер† оро ймшот гі-
 -]. broc =
-]ες. ήπ... η Οτος πτεςερ 20 τηση]οημ ειτεη σταπαςτροφμ ε
 - .]. ECOTAL NEM OFACKHEIC

ס]דסט [n]דבאבטרתסדשא תראסד תו-אבת] ב כאסד ש.[

¹ †nor written above napa. ² Written above the line. сін

παπατ[κ]εοπ πτεσοτω[μ ceερποσρι ταρ οπ ñgancω[μα παε πιχρια παπατκεοπ ñτ[ε πι cωμα οτος ψατceror έδο[σπ ε πιππα-

- 5 TIRON
 - Сјушп ъе отрамао пе[.]теп рапкотс етп[аут арер ершот ката tcoф[ia ет a фt тніс пак - птекут[емер-
- 10 εςθαπεςθε ζολως [τεςμετχαχι ιμητι[οτζερετικος πε Οτος εςςώ[δε πε οτδε Φ7

Иппат етеммат екнаош[от с-

- 15 ροκ πρωπρωμι ετοτωβ ε[οτοπ щαομ μμωοτ ε ςωτεμ ε[μπωι ρητ πτεκθωμ πωι εω[β μμωοτ οτος πτεκερ ρω] ετοι έροτη ε ποτοτ-
- 20 **XAI**

Ηλεεφηκ οπ = οτος πτεκδρες ερ[οκ . .]ερωωτ ερ]...δλλα πη ε[]οηοτ [

× (p. 217)

× p. 218

"....*according to the way which our Lord and Master hath appointed us. In a word, do everything as unto God with regularity and faithfulness.

[Do not drink?] from vessels of silver; for...to us...contrary to the season which...in the life of brotherhood...to thyself to do this. And if the disposition already exists let us guard against it according to the rules of the monastery...who among the people...with persuasion and...do not allow victory over (?) them...because of (?)...life...And practise patience by means of a conversation...which is pure and of discipline. And be zealous at all times to bless...

... *necessities that he may eat. For the necessities of the body also profit some persons and are wont to lead them on to spiritual (necessities). But if it be a rich man (who doeth thee) cruel wrongs, guard against them according to the wisdom which God hath given thee. Do not perceive at all... his enmity, unless he be a heretic or a scoffer against God. At such a time thou shalt gather unto thee holy men who are able to hear (everything ?). So thou shalt commit this business unto them, and shalt...which tend towards their salvation.

Take heed also, and guard thyself...do business (?)...but those...profit...

I I have had no opportunity to compare the script of the two.

2 This number was assigned in error.

3 See Leipoldt, loc. cit., pp. 24 f.

MONASTICA

Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 101).

тирит ошт ёхшот йфриф потемилаз щастомтем е отιαραλολι - щастако ππεцкарпос – пл рн тишот етщот-

и = щачтаво мпоттар йнимот-5 иохос = ещоп чонт прит пемац Бахшот ппіаретн τηροτ πε πιθεδιο βααωοτ йпі...н[...]..... амар.

]. orne 4 10 Hx

Frag. 3 (Cairo, no. 101).

. στ απ πε-αλλα πα στοπ n[1]ben egnacutem e n[]entoλн = Ст[е]цмепре пн ётепотц¹ Беп o]varanh {ec}ecxhk2 ebox nag-5 хю ммос пютеп же йп[е]рергот пакота пог tuinstan axn gan tam type - TOTEM TO INTO TO STATE TO ST [oq 10

Пни свол пистепотархоп-

та...[..] мні т[...]ом єтпа]. ετεπ. [....]πωτε(π)]c

¹ nH eten written over erasure: org above line. ² Last syll. of атали written over erasure: after the following e, c over erasure; THR EBOX is repeated above the line. These changes are due to a second hand.

The

5

..... moc hen swh nike(n)- пем піємі . . па имепре пібі[с]і є отмест й от патысь отоз мпер-.... ETRPATEIA OTOP NER-..... ce.... ēpor... ep-.. 29 ... ETE 0709 4 (Slight remains of five more lines.)

TME

Kods τουτάπ τοωμπ 1919 ьеп ыст півен пте пы косnoc = nayxw mmoc nw[0]r Se ovon ntwten $mma[\tau]$ ga(n-)

Pice Peu hirocmoc = $\sigma y \gamma \sigma$ [x]emnom = = se aiopo e nikoc[m]oc -nq[9]Matma com twontpa какіп Беп пірох-9 EX

10 Илут йпіращі ёбо[т]п є по[тент? е пали тепра.[

(Remains of two lines wholly illegible.)

... * persuasion upon them. Just as ivy enshrouds a vineyard and destroys its fruit, so vain glory destroys × Frag. 2 (p. 335) the fruit of the monk, if it persuades him. Above all the virtues is humility, above (all the)... *...in all × р. 33б things...And knowledge loves toil, being a thing that hates...; and idleness...without toil. And do not (neglect?) continence and thy...

"... * are not; but Mine are all they who harken to My commandments."¹ Since He loves them who are His with a perfect love, He said unto us (?): "Fear not, My little flock; for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the Kingdom. Sell your goods..." *causing them to be undismayed in all the × p. 346 sufferings of this world, He said unto them: "Ye here in the world have affliction (toil): but be of good cheer; I have overcome the world."³ And He gave them strength so as not to faint in tribulations. He put joy into their hearts...

I A loose citation of Luke VI, 46.

2 Luke XII, 32.

3 Jobn XVI, 33.

× Frag. 3 (p. 345)

 \overline{nq}

[no

 $ep \, \bar{u} \phi p H + - xe \, ter \lambda \omega x$

5 Ещоп екнаще нак е пщем-

Οτος μα πιταιό πωοτ- же ατ-

ер піпы пемні собе онпот -

1

атщопот свотп =

Frag. 4 (Cod. Tisch. XXVI, 24).

ё Хремрем йсь пецсоп Батотк - мперщфіт Бахюц - мнпшс йтецбет пекент Беп пецсахі -5 отог йтекерпові ё ф1 ДЛД[а

.--

Frag. 5 (Cod. Tisch. XXVI, 25).

	<u>P4</u>		
Сщоп птекерхарігес-	ει πα πτεκεεμςι μεπ τεκ-		
ө е ммоц потсоп птак	pi=ben ormetenirhc		
акерпові ё ф7 = хач ё-	ёкотыщ птекотым		
Аод марецще пац-іё а-	ΜΠ ΕΚωΙΚ =		
5 риту премее иске ёч-	5 Ещып акщапще пак ё от-		
-лом q ё єр мопа-	bari-ië ortmi-ë t mner-		
xo[c	[qub ebor]		
* * *	* * *		

× Frag. 4 (p. 179)

... *to murmur against his brother in thy presence, be not confused before him, lest haply he overpersuade thy heart with his words, and thou sin against God. But...

- ... *do likewise; for they receive thy complaint. And give the glory to them; for they showed mercy on me for your sakes. If thou shalt go into a strange land...
- *Frag. 5 (p. 189) *If thou bestowest him¹ upon a brother of thine, thou hast sinned against God. Release him and let him go, or set him free if he himself desires to become a monk.

× (p. 190)

× (p. 180)

go, or set him free if he himself desires to become a monk. ...*that thou mayest sit in thy cell in a state of gentleness (?) when thou wouldest eat thy bread. If thou shouldest go to a town or a village to sell thy handiwork...

1 sc. a slave.

5

Frag. 6 (Cairo, no. 102^a).

	*	*	*
	RE HIR	ecaher =	
	Птеутаро	о ератот п	niento-
	ун кал	мохрэт б	- nteg-
	штель	лаплев – а	ЛЛа птед-
5	хотщт	éboh dats	ен апіве-
]e	мпі†щєви	NIER
	*	*	*

Frag. 7 (Cairo, no. 102^b).

... пещині бынтцпащині пънтц-Фмає споът хе поос пхом пте ФУхн обі ет а ф7 π τα πτα το πιεκολειτεη φτ μματατη - εημετί ε τπαροτεια μπότ ππατ πικεη σΗ ετοι πεοτ - οτος εσμες πωοτ * * * * * * Σε πσος ετεοτη πεμ πιςωμα ρωςτε εσρεη-

MMOT EDOG - adda ULEGENT

ωπь έβολγιτοτς

Frag. 6 × Recto

... *even the wise; let (?) him establish the commandments according to his power; let him not be overeager (?), but let him look towards the... of the recompense, the...

 $\times Verso$... \times them to him; but let him seek after the glory which is from God alone, thinking upon the dreadful and glorious appearing of the Lord at all times.

Frag. 7 × Recto × Verso

 $\ldots^{\times}\ldots$ shall be in him. But the second strength of the soul, that which God...

 \dots *for it (the soul) is united with the body, so that the body lives through it.

BIBLICAL FRAGMENTS

XXXVII. BIBLICAL FRAGMENTS

A. Exodus.

Parchment. Two leaves (Cairo, no. 15), each 34×27 cm., forming a single sheet from the outer part of a quire, and numbered $-\overline{142}$, $-\overline{142}$. Vertical guide-lines are drawn on the left of the column and horizontal lines for every fourth or fifth line of the text. The hand is thick and very regular (see Plate VI B) and may be assigned to the tenth century. The only stop used is = (black): it occurs usually at the end of a paragraph.

The sheet has been folded apparently to serve as a book-wrapper. In the left margin of page $\overline{\text{tr} \Sigma}$ is a crude drawing of a bearded figure with halo and cross-headed staff: on the halo is inscribed when memory characteristic characteristic

The first leaf contains *Exodus* XXXIV, 29–35, XXXV, 1–10; the second, XXXIX, 30 f. + XXXVI, 8 f., 35–38 + XXXVIII, 9–18 (ϵ ³ μ m μ) as published by Lagarde, *Der Pentateuch Koptisch*,¹ pp. 215⁵–216¹⁴, 221²⁰–222³¹. A collation is here added, the references being to Lagarde's text.

L., p. 215⁵ ϕ nor \Rightarrow > noc; L. 6 ovog agnar > ovog omitted; L. 7 nenympi thpor > thpor omitted; L. 8 ñze ngo &c. > ñze nanom ñte nego; L. 9 navepgot &c. > avep-...epog ne || ovog agnor \Rightarrow > ovog omitted; L. 10 agtacoo > avtacoo; L. 11 niapxwn thpor > thpor omitted; L. 12 ovog agcazi > ovog omitted; L. 15 ñcina > ñte cina; L. 17 kalimma > kalima || agyani > eqnai; L. 19 kalimma > kalimma || gategnori ñi édol > yategnori egcazi nemag; L. 20 f. thpor > omitted; L. 21 gengwng > gongen āmoq; L. 24 kalimma > kalīma; L. 29 ñbhtor > āmwor; L. 30 orāton > nemton; L. 31 etnaipi > eo-; L., p. 216⁵ etna -> eona-; L. 6 negght eveini eborn ñni- > novent eini eborn ñor-; L. 9 f. ādaāni > ñdaemu; L. 12 ganāni > ovuni; L., p. 221²³ grakindinon > grakī(n)o-; L. 24 mitpa > matpa; L. 26 ñtekīnh &c. > tmtñavāh ñte teknni; L. 29 (as l. 23); L. 30 egepied > egepiih; L. 32 ctrāloc > ctrāloc; L., p. 222² netacma > kalīma ; L. 3 ckīnh > cknini; L. 3 grakindinon > grakīndinon; L. 4 kokkinon > kokkoc (so also in L. 29 below) || egepied-yenc > omitted; L. 6 ctrāloc...novīkpikoc > ctrāloc; L. 17 ē ñdacic ñtwor... ñtwor> ovog (inverting the order of what follows); L. 21 ovog niarāh > ovog omitted; L. 27 kalima > kalīma; L. 31 evyhy > eq-.

B. Psalms.

Fragments from MSS. of the Psalms are numerous: most, if not all of these, however, were written either for liturgical or devotional use² and do not come from copies of the Scriptures. The parchment leaves and fragments³ are here noticed first; then the remains of paper copies.

(a) Parchment.

(1) Single leaf (Cairo, no. 33^{A}), 27.6×18 cm., medium sized, very regular hand of the tenth or eleventh century. Contents: *Pss.* xxix, 1—xxx, 19.⁴

(2) Single leaf (Cairo, no. 33^B), 26×17 cm. The verso (last page of quire twelve) is headed \overline{poc} $\overline{10}$ (Ornament) $\overline{\chi v}$ $\overline{16}$. Contents: *Ps.* LXX, 5-18.

(3) Single leaf (Cairo, no. 76, vi), 26×19 cm., numbered on verso $\overline{19}$; thirteenth century paper hand. The text, *Ps*. cv1, 8-19, is almost bleached out by exposure.

(4) Fragment (Cairo, no. 76, v); upper half of a leaf, 9×18.5 cm., headed (verso) \overline{qc} \overline{Rc} (Ornament) \overline{soc} [..]. Thick, twelfth century hand. Contents: Ps. xxxix, 5-6, 10-11.

(5) Complete leaf and two fragments (Cairo, no. 76, i-iii) from one MS.; large, rather unformed thirteenth fourteenth century hand; Psalm-headings and numerals in red. (a), 29.3×22 cm., headed on verso is in the second s

I The text is based upon another 'Nitrian' MS., from Dêr Anba Bishoi, acquired by Tattam (op. cit., p. iii).

2 Fragments of the Psalter as adapted for use in Horologia and other service-books are not included in this section. 3 Some of these, doubtless, belong to the same Mss. as the parchment leaves of Psalters recovered by Tischendorf (*Cod. Tisch.* XXIX, 23–28): see Leipoldt, *loc. cit.*, pp. 422 f. 4 The references are to the Coptic version (Cairo, 1898).

(Ornament) \overline{nni} \overline{pnv} . Contents: *Pss*. LXXIV, 3—LXXV, 10; (b) (fragment from upper edge of a leaf), 12 × 11 cm. Contents: *Ps*. LXXVII, 35–38, 43–45; (c) (lower half of a leaf), 15 × 21.5 cm. Contents: *Ps*. cII, 2–4, 9–12.

(6) Upper half of a leaf (Cairo, no. 76, iv), 22.5×25 cm., possibly from the same vol. as (5), though the script here is a late variety of the square 'vellum' hand. Contents: *Pss.* xxiv, 11-17; xxv, 1-6.

(b) Paper.

(1) Nineteen leaves (Cairo, no. 77, i), 22.2×14.2 cm., foliated on *versos*. Very regular 'paper' hand of thirteenth century; stops * and *— (red). Psalm-headings in red; first lines in thick black lettering; capitals and large letters in text are touched in with red. Contents: *Pss*. XLI, 3—XLII, 2; XLIII, 3–8; XLIV, 1–10; CVII, 5—CVIII, 8; CX, 1—CXII, 2; CXIV, 3—CXVII, 12; CXLIV, 4—CXLVII, 1.

(2) Fourteen leaves (*id.* ii), 18.5×13.5 cm., foliated on the *verso*. Small, regular, thick script (? thirteenth century), eighteen lines to the page. Stops (*), Psalm-numbers (in margin), and headings, in red; paragraph capitals and prominent letters in the text are touched in with red. Each Psalm began with a large capital illuminated in red and yellow and was further distinguished by marginal illuminations, but the former have been mostly cut out, no doubt to serve as models for later scribes. Contents: *Pss*. XXXI, 10—XXXII, 6; XXXIV, 13—XXXVII, 3; XXXVII, 12—XXXVIII, 6; XLIV, 15—XLV, 3; LXXV, 9—LXXVI, 5.

(3) Eighty-seven leaves¹ (*id.* iii), 18×13.3 cm., foliated on the *verso* with cursive Coptic numerals. The script is a small, thick uncial approximating to the 'vellum' style (see Plate XX A), thirteenth century. Psalmheadings and numerals are ordinarily in thin informal uncials usually black, but occasionally in red. Each Psalm begins with a large illuminated capital and one line in red: red is also used for the stops (*) and for emphasising prominent letters. The lower and outer portions of the leaves from quires $\overline{in} - \overline{\kappa h}$ are eaten away. Quire-headings, *e.g.*, $-\overline{vc}$ (Ornament) $\overline{\chi v} \overline{\kappa h} \mid \overline{\kappa v} \overline{vc}$ (Ornament) χv . Contents are as follows: *Pss.* XIII, 6–12; XIV, 1–4; XXXI, 10–12; XXXII, 1–6; XXXIII, 1–8; XXXIV, 3–11; XXXV, 1–XXXVI, 14; XL, 1–8; XLII, 1–XLIII, 18; XLIV, 6–13; XLVI, 4–XLVII, 3; XLIX, 1–8, 14–50; LXX, 14–21; LXXI, 7–14; LXXII, 4–17; LXXIII, 4–11; LXXV, 10–LXXVI, 8; LXXVII, 6–17, 35–42, 49–57; LXXVIII, 1–LXXIX, 2; LXXIX, 11–LXXX, 2; LXXXVII, 1–6; LXXXVII, 13–XC, 4; XCII, 1–XVII, 5; CIII, 8–CIV, 12; CV, 2–CVI, 3; CIX, 3–CX, 4; CXI, 3–CXIII, 5; CXIII, 20–CXIV, 7; CXVII, 1–CXVIII, 17; CXVIII, 67–77, 119–138; CXXXIII, 2–CXXXIV, 7; CXXXVIII, 7–15; CXXXIX, 1–CXIIII, 8; CXLIV, 6–11; CXLVII, 3–CXLVIII, 12.

(4) Twenty leaves (*id.* iv), 17.7×13.3 cm., paged (irregularly) on *rectos* and *versos*. Coarse, thick, thirteenth century hand. Psalm-headings and numerals in red: enlarged initials (red or black); first lines in thick black capitals. Stops \ast (red) and \ast — (at end of paragraphs). Quire-headings (*e.g.*) \overline{z} $\overline{19}$ (Ornament) $\overline{\chi_{\overline{v}}} \overline{\overline{c}} | \overline{\overline{x}} \overline{\overline{19}}$ (Ornament) $\overline{\chi_{\overline{v}}} \overline{\overline{z}} \approx$. Contents: *Pss.* XIII, 7—XV, 2; XXI, 15—XXII, 4; XXIV, 2–16; XXVI, 1–14; XXXVI, 1–8, 21–29; CXVIII, 117–137; CXLI, 5—CXLIII, 1; CXLVII, 7—CLI, 4.

(5) Thirty leaves (*id.* v), 22.2×15 cm., without page or folio numbers. The script is a good-sized, very regular 'paper-uncial,' probably of the thirteenth century. Psalm-headings, numerals (in margin), and stops (*), are in red. Initial capitals are variously enlarged (see Plate XXVII A-c) and are sometimes red and sometimes black. The paper is often eaten through, apparently owing to the use of corrosive ink. A large part of the Psalter to which these leaves belonged was given by B. Drovetti to Peyron and is now at Turin.² Another leaf of the same Ms. (recovered by Tischendorf), containing the latter part of Psalm xXII, is at Cambridge (C.U.L., Add. 1886, 13). The contents of the new leaves are: *Pss.* IX, 24-XI, 3; XIII, 2-7; LX, 1-4; LX, 7-LXI, 3; LXV, 16-LXVI, 3; LXVII, 3-15, 18-23; LXXIII, 4-8; LXXVI, 9-LXXVII, 5; LXXXV, 2-13; LXXXVII, 6-10; LXXXVII, 7-10; XCI, 1-12; XCIII, 3-10; CIII, 6-12.

(6) Thirty leaves or fragments (Cairo, no. 34),⁸ 25.5 × 17.3 cm., foliated on versos. Medium-sized 'paper' uncial (Plate XXIII B): deep black ink. Psalm-headings, numerals, first lines, enlarged initials, and stops (\diamond or \diamond), in red. Quire-headings (e.g. [.] \overline{ic} (Ornament) $\overline{\chi c} - |\overline{R} \overline{Rsi}$ (Ornament) $\overline{\pi Hi}$ [$\overline{p\lambda o}$]). Contents: Pss. XXI, 23—XXII, 1; XLVI, 1-8; LXXVII, 14—LXXXVII, 4; CVI, 25—CVII, 1; CX, 9—CXI, 8; CXXI, 3—CXXIV, 2; CXXVI, 1—CXXVIII, 8; CXXXII, 1—CXXXIV, 7; Song of the Three Children. To the same Ms. belongs C.U.L., Add. 1886, 6 numbered \overline{cMH} and containing Pss. CXLVI (end), CXLVII, CXLVIII (beginning).

I Three leaves at Cambridge (C.U.L., Add. 1886, 15, 18) belong to the same Ms.

(1893), pp. 226 ff. The new leaves partially fill the gaps in the Turin MS., which must have come from Dêr Abû Makâr.

2 Published with an excellent facsimile by Rossi, Mem. della Reale Accad. delle Scienze di Torino, Ser. II, t. XLIII 3 The margins were illuminated, but the color has eaten away the paper.

BIBLICAL FRAGMENTS

(7) ¹Two leaves (Cairo, no. 77, vii), 22 × 14.2 cm., unnumbered, headed --. Coarse thirteenth—fourteenth century hand; Psalm-numbers and stops (*) red. Contents: *Pss.* vii, 1–7; viii, 2–6.

(8) Two leaves (*id.* viii), 12.7×8.2 cm., unnumbered. Running fourteenth century script; first lines (of sections) red, with Arabic incipits; no stops. Contents: *Ps.* cxvIII, 124-133.

(9) Three leaves (*id.* ix), 26×18 cm., unnumbered. Large, bold, and very even script of the 'paper' style. Psalm-headings, numerals, and stops (*) in red: first lines in thick black script, sometimes with elaborated capitals. Quire-headings (*e.g.*) $\overline{\mathbf{k}}$ $\overline{\mathbf{ke}}$ (Ornament) $\overline{\mathbf{ooc}}$. Contents: *Pss.* LXXII, 11—LXXXIII, 6; CXIV, I—CXV, 1; CXVIII, 2-10, 23-35.

(10) Four leaves (id. x), 26.5×17.8 cm., numbered on *versos*. Psalm-headings, numerals, and stops (*), red: enlarged initial letters. Coarse, ill-formed, 'paper' uncials of the fourteenth century; green-brown ink. Contents: *Pss.* IV, 8–V, 8; XXV, 4–XXVI, 5; CL, 6–CLI, 8; Prayer of Zacharias, of Simeon, and the 'Hymn of Abba Athanasius the Archbishop.'² The text of the last is as follows:

порыс пте авва абапасное пнархнепископос

Отшот Бен пнетвост уф4 > нем отгірнин біхе(и) пікабі > нем от4ма4 Реи пірти > тепбтс убок > тенсмот брок > тепщемщі умок > тепотти умок >

Тепотыпу пак евол > тепсахи ben пекшот > тепщепумот птотк сове пекниц n[wo]т пос потро ...

(11) Three leaves (*id.* xi), 26.5 × 18.5 cm., unnumbered. Script, regular thirteenth—fourteenth century 'paper' style: Psalm-headings, stops (*), &c., in red. Contents: *Pss.* v11, 9–19; CXXX1, 1–11; CXXX11, 2—CXXX1V, 8.

C. Gospels.

(1) Six nearly complete and six fragmentary leaves (Cairo, no. 73), 33.5×25 cm., paged on versos. Pageheadings on left- and right-hand leaves respectively: RATA | (MATOGON); last and first leaves of quires headed (e.g.) $\overline{\lambda a}^3 \overline{10}$ (Ornament) $\overline{\chi b} \overline{k} | \overline{v} \overline{10}$ (Ornament) $\overline{\chi b} \overline{\lambda e}$. Stops, * (red). Sections are distinguished by enlarged initials and marginal illuminations (the latter mostly perished), the first two lines being in red: the section-numbers are often placed inside the initial. Contents (originally), the Four Gospels, of which the following portions remain: *Mattb.* VIII, 20—IX, 4; IX, 9–12, 15–24; XI, 28—XII, 12; XIII, 30–52; *Mark* III, 21–23, 27–30; XII, 34–44; *Jobn* III, 2–5, 8–11; VIII, 49–52, 55–58; IX, 13–16, 19–23; X, 14–29; XI, 17–33; XX, 25—XXI, 4 (the last named is in Cambridge University Library, *Add.* 1886, 1).⁴

(2) 113 leaves or fragments (Cairo, no. 74), 25.5×19 cm., foliated on *versos*: horizontal guide-lines to every line of the text: ten leaves to the quire. Very fine and careful 'paper' hand of the early thirteenth century.⁵ (See Plate XVIII A.) Sections begin with enlarged illuminated capitals and two lines in red: major (red) and minor (black) section-numbers are placed in the margin or inside capitals; stops, * (red) or = (first hand, black). Left-hand pages are headed $\lambda_{0.006}$ or $\overline{1006}$: quire-headings (*e.g.*) \overline{po} $\overline{10}$ (Ornament) $\overline{\chi_{...}}$ I was not able to retain the leaves sufficiently long to make a collation. Contents (originally), the Gospels of SS. Luke and John,⁶ of which the following portions are preserved: *Luke* I, 21–28, 38–81; II, 19–11I, I; III, 8–16; IV, 17–33; V, 4–17, 25–33; VI, 9–22, 31–37, 44–49; VII, 8–22; VIII, 15–56; IX, 8–13, 21–61; XI, 10–25; XII, 15–31; XIII, 27–XIV, 13; XIV, 21–30; ⁷ XVI, 18–XVII, 2; XVII, 22–30; XVIII, 13–19, 29–39; XIX, 15–26; XX, 35–46; XXI, 16–25; XXII, 36–48; XXII, 54–XXIII, 2; XXIII, 11–22; XXIV, 18–53 (end of Gospel);

1 Nos. 7 and 8 may well belong to Horologia.

2 Identical with the 'Gloria in excelsis' of Western liturgies. For the complete Coptic text see the Cairo *Psalmodia*, pp. $\overline{c_4c}$ ff. Has this ode any bearing on the 'mention of S. Athanasius' which John Khamé bade his monks use in connection with the Song of the Three Children (*Life of John Khamé*, ed. Davis, p. 41)?

3 Assuming that the first two pp. were outside the quire and contained prefatory matter, we may take the quire to have contained 16 pp. (8 folios).

4 Recovered by Tischendorf.

5 It closely resembles a (? hitherto unnoticed) copy of the Gospels at Dêr es Suriân, dated 1216 A.D., and written

(as the colophon also states) by one Simon, son of the deacon Peter, son of John $\mathbf{n}\overline{\mathbf{v}}$ ncra \mathfrak{G}_{1} , at the charge of 'the archon Bartholomew, son of the deacon Abu'l Feth ($\mathfrak{snorAqco}$) Mansur, the man of the Monastery (\mathfrak{MONH}) of Apa Besa.' Note that in the Abû Makâr Ms. double *mu* is regularly written with a narrow and a spreading character: \mathfrak{MM} .

6 No trace of the first volume (SS. Matthew and Mark) was found: it may be extant in the modern library or in Europe.

7 = Fo. 92 : fo. 93 is at Cambridge (C.U.L., *Add.* 1886, 11) and was recovered by Tischendorf.

John I, 9-49; III, 26-34; IV, 8-16; V, 19-VI, 33; VI, 61-70; VII, 10-44;¹ VIII, 14-29; VIII, 53-IX. 3; IX, 19x, 24; XI, 14-36; XII, 30-XIII, 4; XIII, 13-20; XIV, 10-19; XIV, 27-XV, 4; XV, 9-XVI, 4; XVI, 20-XVII, 1; XVII, 14-XX, 15; XX, 29-XXI, 5; XXI, 13-25 (end of Gospel).

D. Epistles.

Five leaves (Cairo, no. 75), 28.8×22 cm., paged (?) on the versos, 23 ll. to the page. Good-sized, regular, but not very careful 'paper' uncials (fourteenth century: Plate XXVI A); stops (*), section-numbers, and marginal references (to authors of citations), in red. Sections begin with enlarged capitals which, like the paragraph capitals and prominent letters, are touched in with red: superfluous syllables have been deleted by the rubricator with red paint. Left-hand pages are headed pumeoc; quire-headings, [\overline{Rs} ic (Ornament) \overline{xc} is [\overline{Rs} ic (Ornament) \overline{vc} is [\overline{Rs} is contents: *Epistles to the Romans* (Coptic and Arabic),² 1, 17-24; 111, 4-15; 1V, 7-16; followed (on leaf $-\overline{AR}$) by a collection of the O.T. citations occurring in the text with references to their sources.

The fifth leaf is headed (on verso) \overline{pz} Ropin à iv (Ornament) $\overline{\chi v}$ H. Contents: i Cor. XIV, 20, hopped ben netengent—XIV. 28, Mapequaxi diw nem \$\overline{4}\$. The following variants from Horner's (Oxford) text occur: 20, hopped ben netengent emoni (1 added by a second hand) epetenxee. 21, ovog thov on curtem ficus (with an added by the same or a second hand) nexe noc. 22, navx H hovenens! I throught to earagt omitted by haplography. 23, xe epetendall. 25, ntegorung || ontwo omitted. 26, hoved termon || gen gus miken. 28, emun as on overm.

E. Catena Patrum.³

Parchment. Two leaves, one half-leaf, and five fragments (Cairo, no. 36^{Add}). The script is a fine regular hand of the tenth or eleventh century. Headings to the Gospel-sections are in small informal uncials; those prefixed to citations from the Fathers are in red ink. Paragraph capitals usually have \Rightarrow prefixed : stops, = (black).

Frag. 1, 33.5 × 25.5 cm. (column 27.5 × c. 17 cm.), numbered — \overline{pmn} (on *Matth.* XVIII), corresponds to Lagarde's text,⁴ pp. 49¹⁷–50¹³. The following variants occur: L(agarde), p. 49¹⁷, edden nexad > order inverted; L.²⁰, exwy > ëxen nencwthp; L.²¹, ganmeddet > ganmetmeddet; L.²², ñiorxac > omitted; L.²³, nagxw > ënagxw; L.²⁴, eqwor > etemmar; L.^{24f.}, notinam nexad > inverted; L.²⁵, cranzadizin > -zecdai (so also in L.²⁸); L.²⁸, ët enidimia > -otmia; L.³⁶, cetipoc > omitted; qxw mmoc > xw mmoc xe; L.^{36f.}, ühepi ëdotn > inverted. L., p. 50¹, ñtengingo > ñtengtngo; L.^{2f.}, otog etapeg edwor > omitted; L.⁸, ita > xe added; L.⁹, agxw > otn added; nitwor > ni-; L.¹⁰, agi > otog agi; L.¹³, dotwig an > an omitted.

Frag. 2, 21 × 15 cm., is a fragment from the outer side of a leaf (on *Matth.* xx1), corresponding to L., pp. $57^{39}-58^{13}$, 58^{23-25} . It is too small for collation.

Frag. 3 (Cairo, no. 36), 32×26 cm., numbered — pnx (on *Matth*. XXII), corresponds to L., pp. 60^{13} - 61^{14} . The following variants are found: L., p. 60^{18t} , nexeq—taigtright in > inverted; L.²⁰, neteqxw > ϕH eteqxw; L.²¹, niretaini > a second ethon nuter added; L.³¹, niretoc > omitted; $-nireticor > \phi inted; -nireticor > \phi inted; -nireticor > \phi inted; L.³³, enireticor > enireticor = interval.$ L.³³, enireticor > enireticor = interval.

L., p. 61¹, ergion > Nornon added; ünetatpworg > -net- omitted; ünatifi > with xe added; L.², othe ünon $\varrho \lambda_i > \tilde{u} \varrho \lambda_i$; L.³, unaterin > with othe unatepyeade üent = othe ünateric: =, added; L.⁵, etnaywmi > atna-; L.⁷, utnetin > menetin; $\varrho wor > omitted$; L.¹³, nen > omitted.

 $I = Fo. 183; 8^{14-22}$ is fo. 185. The lost fo. 184 contained 7^{45-52} ; but clearly the famous passage $7^{53}-8^{11}$ was omitted as usual in Coptic texts.

2 Whether or no this is part of the copy of the Epistles seen by Tattam (Introd. p. xl) must be left uncertain. It can hardly be described as a 'beautifully-written' MS.

3 Other leaves from this work are at Leipzig (Cod. Tiscb. XXVII, 8-15) and doubtless belong to the same Ms. Fragments of another Nitrian copy are in the British Museum, Add. 14740 A, foll. 10, 11, 24: see Crum, Cat.,

no. 914. It is to W. E. Crum that I am indebted for this information.

4 Catenae in Evangelia Aegyptiacae quae supersunt (from MS. Parham, no. 102). Note that Lagarde's MS. (see colophon *ib.*, p. 232) was written by a monk of S. Macarius and doubtless belonged to the Library there, though it was obtained by Curzon at Dêr es Suriân (see *Visits to Monasteries of the Levant*, pp. 82 f., where it is wrongly described as a 'manuscript of the Gospels').

BIBLICAL FRAGMENTS

Frag. 4, 16.2×25 cm., upper half of a leaf, headed on verso \overline{pq} [1]Hc (Ornament) $[\pi \overline{\chi c}]$, relating to *Matth.* XXIV. By a singular good fortune the fragment partly fills the lacuna in Lagarde's text,¹ p. 67. A copy (without line-division) is here given:

- Recto [.....] парт є [п]іпланос = [..... пех]ац алерщорп йхос [пштеп ещ]шп атщапхос пштеп хе енппе цел пщаце йпер[ї] євод енппе цьеп пітаміон йпертепеоттот - Епіхн отп йбоц пе піносмопланос йаптіхрістос
- * Υπλερεμτο Ben τ[ε]μαρχη έ τρι πεανεθηστι άμετιμοβι άπεμφο πτιρωμι εωστε εφρεςιμε nag έ πιμαζετ πτεςτίρι πεανεξουτ πημοτιά άπιμα ετεμματ εξφονητει άμος έ ηχο πιάληφηπος πηοττ «μειεποιος πτεςμμε nag εβοτη έ εανταμιοή εως τε πτεςτεροικιή μ...[...
- Verso ετταλη[οτ]τ έχε.[....] = εαμοττ χε [....] εσθε πιτ περοοτ ε[....]. πμροτ οικοπομικως ελαμωπι εασι πρεαμωσττ εσθηττεπ κατα πεαχι πτοικοπομια ματεατοτποεεπ τηροτ [n]εμαα στος πτεα[[σ]ρεπολλει μφρητ ππιαδωμ ριτεπ πιμε[..] μμετετεεθης πτε τεαμεσποττ πρεαταπδο

Ilenenca..... † rap a. mooprep (slight remains of one line).

Frag. 5, 18×8 cm., is a strip cut from the outer edge of a leaf. A few letters only in each line are preserved. The text (on *Mark* XIV) corresponds to L., p. 109^{18} Refs. [cs for for for for for the slight traces of two further lines).

Frag. 6, 13.5×24 cm. (lower portion of a leaf). The text (on Luke I) = L., p. 119¹⁵⁻²¹, ³⁴⁻³⁹. In the left margin of the verso is an Arabic gloss.

Frag. 7, 18.3 × 13 cm., upper and outer corner of a leaf headed on the verso $\overline{pnh^2}$ \overline{inc} [. Of the text (on Luke XXIII), ll. 18–21 of the recto (fragmentary) = L., p. 174^{20–21}: the preceding seventeen lines (imperfect) partly fill the lacuna in the published text (p. 174¹⁹), and read as follows:]nspantums $\overline{nte(n)}$] $e nthegada \overline{e}[|]notygays otog n[|]enays = eqphi exen(n) |] wqt |] ninhy <math>\overline{ny}$ mem |] oto \overline{e} at atom | n]te nispxhépetc |]the xe et a niego- |] | t]ooti \overline{nt} indexet $[\dots]$ | n of the constant $n[\dots]$ |] the nispxhépetc $\overline{nt}[e]$ | c]ab nem nispxhépetc |] the xe other $n[\dots]$ |] xe ñook ne. [....] |] nwot xe as [....] |]nagt |

The verso = L., p. 174^{29-39} (l. 36 eti on titoc—l. 38 hwh ehoh being omitted).

Frag. 8, 17×15.5 cm., outer (?) and upper corner of a leaf. Unidentified.

Frag. 9, 23.5×4.2 cm., strip cut vertically from the middle of a leaf. Unidentified; but the fourth and third lines from the foot of the *recto* (?) are part of a subject-heading (? not in L.'s text):]ben michw[] ... hackrase collectors

1 Our fragment (the *top* of a leaf) picks up the text exactly (allowing for a lacuna of ten letters) where the Curzon MS. breaks off (at the *foot* of a leaf). Can the new fragment actually belong to the Curzon MS.? Yet if so, how are we to account for the other fragments (from the same MS.) which reproduce passages extant in the more complete copy ?

2 The numeration indicates that this leaf belonged to a second volume of the *Catena*, the first dealing with *Matthew* and *Mark*, the second with *Luke* and *John*.

XXXVIII. LITURGICAL FRAGMENTS

A. The Greek Liturgies of Saints Basil and Gregory.

Paper. Twenty-five leaves (Cairo, no. 20), 17.7×13.3 cm., unpaged. Rubrics, alternate capitals, and sometimes stops (high, low, and middle points are used), are in red ink.

1. The first ten leaves come from the Egyptian Anaphora of Saint Basil. The script is a clear but coarse sloping uncial (see Plate XXIA). Accents and breathings are intermittently marked, but are usually incorrect (e.g. + normally marks a rough breathing): initial Y has the form \dot{Y} . Summary Arabic renderings of the rubrics are added in the margins by another (?) but probably contemporary hand. The ordinary abbreviations are used— $\overline{\theta c}$, \overline{tc} , $\overline{\chi c}$, $\overline{\kappa e}$, $\overline{\pi Hp}$, $\overline{\pi Na}$, $\overline{\sigma \gamma Noc}$, $\overline{\sigma p_{1a}}$, $\overline{\sigma r_{poc}}$. On fo. 9^a the reigning Patriarch (Benjamin II, 1327– 1339) is named, thus dating the MS.

2. Fifteen leaves belong to the Egyptian Anaphora of Saint Gregory. The script is here a fine, slightly sloping uncial, apparently contemporary with the script of the Basilian Anaphora, but by a far more expert scribe (see Plate XXI B). Errors are comparatively few, accents are mostly correct, and the breathings (+ and +) are rightly used. Ends of sections are marked by a line of spaced commas (red). The brief Arabic directions in the margin appear to be by another hand.

Folio 4 in this group is the inner edge only of a leaf; folios 7-8 are badly affected by damp, which also obliterated many of the rubrics.

The size of the leaves, the quality of the paper, and (in a most general sense) the similarity of the hands make it certain that both Rites, though written by different scribes, belonged to a single volume. When (if indeed ever) the Liturgy was celebrated in Greek at the Monastery of Saint Macarius we cannot ascertain: that it was used at the 'secondary enthronement' of the Patriarch there, is perhaps a possible conjecture.

The fragments of the Basilian Anaphora are valuable as containing the principal parts of the 'Mass of the Catechumens,' which is taken for granted as common form in the Ms. used by Renaudot¹ and so not written out. They supply the Greek text of several passages of which only the Coptic—and in some cases Ethiopic has hitherto been known, besides a large number of variant readings.² The following is an analysis³ of this group of leaves with references to the texts and versions edited by Brightman (B.)⁴ and Renaudot (R.).⁵

Fo. 1	[Εὐχαριστοῦμεν] σὺν τῷ παναγίῷ· ᾿Αμήν (Β. 113, 148).
10.1	II. Prayer of Prothesis. Δέσποτα Κύριε—αιώνων. 'Αμήν (Β. 148: cp. 124).
	[III. ? Prayer after the 'Praxis' (Acts-lesson). ⁶ θρου δικαίωσον—χάριτι καὶ οἰκτ[ιρμοῖς].
Fos. 2–4	IV. Censing. 'Ο Θεὸς ὁ aἰώνιος (Β. 150). Καὶ μνησθῆναι (Β. 150, 166, R. 58). Tὴν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ—τὸν λαόν σου (Β. 166, 126, R. 59).
	V. Prayer of the Gospel. Δέσποτα Κύριε &c. (cp. B. 115, 117).

(I. Prayer of Thanksgiving.

1 Lit. Or. Coll. (2nd edition) 1, 57 ff.

Rev. F. E. Brightman of Magdalen College.

4 Liturgies Eastern and Western, Vol. 1.

5 ut supra.

fragments are parallel to the text of Renaudot). 3 For this as for other notes on the contents of the Basil fragment I am greatly indebted to the kindness of the

2 These are noted in the apparatus criticus (where our

6 The identification is provisionally made by Brightman.

LITURGICAL FRAGMENTS

Fos. 5–6	 VI. Intercession after the Gospel.
	VII. Kiss of Peace. ΄Ο Θεός ὁ alώνιος—ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ κal(R. 62).
Fo. 7	VIII. Anaphora. [ἀναγέν]νησιν έξ ὕδατος—ἐπὶ τῶν ἁ[γίων] (= R. 65 sq.).
Fo. 8	IX. Intercession (after the Consecration). [έλπί]ζοντες—εὐκαιρίαις + ὁ διδοὺς—ἔργον ἀγαθόν (B. 128, 167 f.; R. 69). Μνήσθητι Κύριε—ὁμολογητῶν (R. 70).
Fo. 9	[ἀγγε]λικῆς καὶ ἀρχ. σου λειτουργίας (Β. 120). Μνήσθητι κε ὑπὲρ τ. θύσια—προσφερόντων (R. 32, 70: cp. B. 129). Μνήσθητι κε ὑπὲρ τ.—ἐκκλησίας (Β. 121, 150). Μνήσθητι κε ὑπὲρ τ.—ἐπισκόπων (Β. 121, 151). Μνήσθητι κε ὑπὲρ τ.—συνελεύσεων ἡμῶν (Β. 121, 151). ΄Ως προσεδέξω—βουλο[μένων] (Β. 129).
F0. 10	X. Fraction. μεταλήψεως—Θεός ήμῶν (R. 72). Δέσποτα κε—ἀπαρεστικόν (R. 73).

The remains of the Liturgy of Saint Gregory correspond generally to the text of Renaudot,¹ but with numerous variants. The addition, at the end, of two Psalms and two hymns is perhaps noteworthy: the Alphabetic Hymn to the Theotokos appears to be unpublished. The following is a rough analysis of the contents of this group.

Fo. 1 ^a –2 ^b	Ι. Prayer of Peace. [ἀνα]καινίσαι—ἀμήν (= Ren. 90–91). ἡ ἀγάπη—κυρίφ (= Ren. 92).
Fo. 2 ^b	II. Beginning of the Anaphora. ἀληθῶς—ἄχρονον (= Ren. 93).
	III. Consecration.
Fo. 3 ^a –4 ^b	τοῦ πτώματος—πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ (= Ren. 96-97).
Fo. 5 ^a -5 ^b	ό διάκονος—άμαρτιŵν (= Ren. 98).
	IV. Intercession after Consecration.
Fo. б ^а –7 ^а	παρασχοῦ πασιν-το πρόσωπον (τῆς γῆς) (= Ren. 100-101).
Fo. 7 ^a –9 ^b	χάρισαι τῷ λαῷ—ὀνόματα (= Ren. 102–104).
	V. (After the Eucharistic Confession).
Fo. 10ª	$\tau \hat{\varphi} \pi a \tau \rho \ell - \dot{a} \mu \eta \nu$ (= Ren. 113, with differences).
	VI. Psalms and Hymns.
Fo. 10 ^b -12 ^a	Psalm cxxxv.
Fo. 12 ^b –13 ^a	Psalm cl.
Fo. 13 ^b -14 ^b	Hymn to the Trinity.
Fo. 14 ^b –15 ^b	Hymn to the Theotokos (Alphabetic).

1 op. cit., pp. 85 ff.

THE LITURGY OF SAINT BASIL.

×σγν τω παναγίω και άγαθω και ζωοποιω και όμοογσιω σογ πνι·νγν και άει και εις τογς αιωνάς των αιωνών × Fo. 1^a AMHN:-

※ сүхн спікλнссωс¹ ※

السر

Δεςποτα κε τη χε ό εγναιδίος λογος του άχραντου εου πρε και πνε αγιου ό αρτος ό εκ του ούνου καταβας·καί προθείς σεαγτον άμνον άμωμον γπερ της του κοςμου ζωής δεομεθα και παρακαλογμέν² σε φιλανέ άγα²θε × Fo. 1^b κε·επιφανόν το προσωπόν σου·έπι τον άρτον τουτον·καί επί το ποτήριον τουτο-(α) προεθήκαμεν εν ταγτή³ τη ιερατηκή σου τραπεζη·καί αγιασον αγτα και μεταποιήσου. Πο ό μετα αρτος ογτος⁴·γενηται εις το αγίου σου σωμα το⁵ δε ποτηρίου σου αίμα εῖς αφέςιν αμαρτίων χαριτί και οικτειρμοίς και φιλανία του προ και TOY AFIOY TINC . NYN KAÌ ẢCĨ KAÌ EIC TOYC AIWNAC TWN AIWNWN AMHN :-

[εχ] «θρογ δικαίωσον εν τη χρηστότητι σογ·ως κορνηλίον (τον εν) ταις πραζεςί των αγιών σογ αποστολών· * Fo. 2^a ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΥΜΕΝΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΙCXYCON ΗΜώΝ ΤΟΝ ΝΟΥΝ·ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΔΙΑΝΟΙΑΝ ΪΝΑ ΜΙΜΗΤΑΙ ΓΕΝώΜΕθΑ⁶ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΙCΤΟΥ⁷ COY· Χαριτί και οικ^τ :---صلاه البخور × €үхн 💥

*

* Fo. 2^d *Ο θc ο αιωνιος ο αναρχος και ατελεγτητος ό μεγας τη Βογλη και Δγνατος εν τοις εργοις ό παν×ταχογ παρων καί τοις παςιν παρισταλένος συμπαρέςω ήμιν κατά την ωράν ταυτήν και γένου (έν) μέσω παντών ημω(ν) άγνισον⁸ ήμων τας καρδιας •άγιαςον ήμων τας ψύχας •καθαρίζον ήμας •από παντός άμαρτηματός έκογείου τε • καί ακογείον καί δος ήμιν προσφεριν ενώπιον σου τας λογικάς λατρείας αινέςεως θυμιαμά πνευματικού \times Fo. 3^a = R. 58 ειςερ×χομενον εις το εςωτερον του καταπεταςματος εις τά αγια των άγιων (και μνηθηναι παρακληθητι περι τής⁹ ειρηνής της αγιάς μονής καθολικής σου εκκλησίας:----

Την εξ ότνοι coy10 ειρηνή(n)· βραβεύςον ταις απάντων ήμων καρδίαις· αλλά και του βιού τούτου· την ειρηνήν

^(sic) Ημιν Δωρησαί τον Βασιλέα τα στρατίωτι·κα ταγμα×τα τούς αρχοντας¹¹ Βούλην Δημούς Γειτονίας¹² ημών $^{\times}$ Fo. $3^{b} = R. 59$ (Fo. 1^a-2^b: no parallel Greek text in Renaudot.)

> ¹ ϵ π i κ λ h c i c od. ² -PA- omitted by first hand, supplied in margin by later hand in 'Coptic' uncials.

³ Originally TAYTHN (N erased). ⁴ TOYTOC, Cod. ⁵ тоү, Cod. ⁶ Γενομέθα, Cod. ⁷ хрнстоу, Cod. ¹⁰ Ren. omits coy. ⁸ AFNHCON, Cod. ⁹ кај минсойнај параклионті пері тис, *Ren*. ¹¹ APXOYTAC, corrected by first hand. ¹² ΓΙΤωΝΙΑC, Cod. (= 'quarters' of a city): ΓείτοΝΑC, Ren.

× Fo. 1ª ... with Thy all-holy and good and life-giving and consubstantial Spirit, now and always and for ever and ever. Amen.

Prayer of Invocation.

O Master, Lord Jesus Christ, the co-eternal Word of Thy pure Father and the Holy Spirit, the Bread that came down from Heaven and didst offer Thyself, a Lamb without blemish, for the life of the world, we beseech and entreat Thee, O loving and good *Lord, show Thy face upon this Bread and upon this Cup which we have set forth upon this Thy Holy Table and sanctify them and transubstantiate them, that this bread may be changed into Thy Holy Body and this Cup into (Thy) Blood for the remission of sins. Through the grace and mercies and loving-kindness of the Father and the Holy Spirit, now and always and for ever and ever. Amen.

... * of the enemy, justify (us) in Thy graciousness as Thou didst Cornelius unto whom witness is borne × Fo. 2^a in the Acts of Thy holy Apostles, and strengthen our mind and our understanding that we may become imitators of Thy Christ. Through the grace and mercy &c.

Prayer < of Censing >.

O God, the Everlasting, without beginning and without end, Who art great in counsel and mighty in Thy works, Who art present *everywhere and standest beside all men, be present with us at this hour and be in the midst of us all. Purify our hearts, purify our souls, cleanse us from all sin deliberate and indeliberate, and grant unto us to offer before Thee the reasonable service of praise, a spiritual incense-offering *entering into the inner side of the veil, into the Holy of Holies. And be entreated to remember the peace of Thy one holy Catholic Church.

Vouchsafe (?) Thy peace which is from Heaven vouchsafe (?) unto the hearts of us all, but the peace of this life also grant unto us. Our King, the ranks ^xof our army, our magistrates, our Senate, our people, the * Fo. 3^b

* Fo. 1^b

- × Fo. 2^b
- × Fo. 3^a

LITURGICAL FRAGMENTS

ειςοδούς και έξοδούς εν παςη ειρηνή κατακοσμήση¹ :: Βασιλεύς της ειρηνής κε του ελέους ειρηνήν² δος ημίν παντά γαρ απεδωκάς ημίν κτησαι³ ήμας ο θς εκτός σου αλλόν ουκ οιδάμει το ονόμα σου όνομαζόμει το ύπερ σριάς και ευεργεσίας των ψύχων ημών (επονομάζομει)⁴ σωο[×]ποίησον τας άπαντών [×] Fo. 4^a ήμων ψύχας δια του άγιου σου πης όπως μη κατισχύςη⁵ θανατός άμαρτιών ημών υμάτε⁶ καθ ήμων τους δούλους σου ωμτέ⁷ κατά παντός του λάου σου κε ευλογμούν την εκκλησίαν⁸ σου χαριτι και οικτειρμοίς

* εγχη εγαγγελιογ *

صلاه الانجيل

Δεςποτα κε τη χε ο έζαπόςτειλας τους αγίους⁹ σου μαθητας και αποστολούς έν όλω τω¹⁰ κόσμω κηρυζαι ×και × Fo. 4^b

Δίδαξαι το εγαγγελίον της Βαςιλείας σου + καὶ μαθητευείν {εις} πάντα τα έθνη εῖς τὴν επιγνωςιν σου Δί σ¹¹ δεομεθα και παρακαλούμεν ςε φιλάνε ἀγαθε κε·διανοιζο(ν) τὰ ωτα των καρδιών ημών·εις την ἀκρόαςιν των ἀγίων σου ευαγγελιών·διανοιζον καὶ τα αιςθητηρία¹² των ψύχων ημών·καὶ καταζιώςον ημάς γενεσθαι μη μονον ακροάτάς·αλλα κ(αὶ) ποιητάς

κα] «θολικής και αποςτολικής του θτ¹³ εκκληςίας ειρήνην και τριείαν αυτοίς τέ¹⁴ και ημιν χαριζομένος εκ

κα] θολικής και αποστολικής του θγ¹³ εκκλησίας εφρήμημα και Υγιείαν αυτοίς τέ¹⁴ και μμίν χαριζομένος εκ × Fo. 5^a = R. 60 παςων¹⁵ των μμερω(ν) τάς δε ευχάς αυτών ας ποιούνται Υπέρ μμων·και Υγιείαν αυτος του λαού σου και τας μμων¹⁶ Υπέρ αυτού¹⁷·προςδεξαι επί τον ούνιον και ευλογμμενου σου θυςιαςτήριον εις οςμαιάς πα(ν)τα δε¹⁸ εχθρόν¹⁹ αυτού·όρατον²⁰ μ αυράτον σύντριψον και καθύποταξον·Υπό τους ποδάς μμω(ν)²¹ εν²² τάχει × Fo. 5^b αυτόν δε εν τη αγιώ²³ εκκλησία εν ειρήμη²⁴ διαφύλαξον:----

ΜΝΗ Ο ΗΤΙ ΚΕ Υπέρ τΗς Αγιας εκκληςίας ταντής και των 25 συνελεύς εων ημω(ν)

¹ катакосмісон, Cod. ² Ren. omits ке \overline{ke} тоу елеоус and before еірнини adds тии сии.

³ κτιcal, Cod. ⁴ Ren. omits το γπερ-(επονομαζομένον): the last word was perhaps omitted by haplography.

⁵ KATAICXYNOHCEI, Cod. ⁶ Ren. omits. ⁷ MHDE, Cod. (so also Ren.). ⁸ THC EKKAHCIA, Cod.

(Fo. 4^b: no parallel Greek text in Renaudot.)

10 то, Cod. ⁹ ariac, Cod. ¹¹ coy, added above line by the scribe of the Gregory-Liturgy: ¹² εcθ-, Cod. λ i o, so corrected by the same hand from λ ioy. 13 coy, Ren. 15 TTANTWN, Cod. ¹⁴ $\stackrel{\circ}{Y}_{\Gamma IAN}$ aytwn be, Cod. 16 KATACHMWN, Cod.: KAI HMEIC, Ren. ¹⁸ mèn, *Ren*. 17 aytoye, Cod.: aytŵn, Ren. 20 - ω N corrected by second hand. ¹⁹ -ωΝ. Cod. 22 हॅग्गो, Ren. 21 aytoy, Ren. 23 Ren. adds coy. 24 Ren. adds kai Aikalocynh. (The remainder of 5^b with all but the last words of 6^a has no parallel in Renaudot's Greek text, which is here imperfect.) ²⁵ TON, Cod.

quarters (of our city) do Thou endue with all peace. O King, Lord of peace, Lord of mercy, give unto us Thy peace, for Thou hast given us all things. Possess us, O God; for besides Thee we know no other, we call upon Thy holy Name which (is named) for the salvation and well-being of our souls. *Quicken the souls of *Fo. 4^a us all through Thy Holy Spirit, that the death of our sins may not have dominion over us Thy servants nor over all Thy people. Lord, bless Thy Church. Through the grace and mercy...

*O Master, Lord Jesus Christ, Who didst send forth Thy holy Disciples and Apostles in all the world to preach and to teach the Gospel of Thy Kingdom, and to instruct all nations unto knowledge of Thee;—wherefore we entreat and beseech Thee, O Lover of men, good Lord, open the ears of our hearts unto the hearing of Thy holy Gospels. Open also the perceptions of our souls, and vouchsafe that we may become not only hearers but doers.

 \dots^{\times} of the Catholic and Apostolic Church of God, granting unto them and unto us peace and health all \times Fo. 5^a our days. And for their prayers which they offer on behalf of us and of all Thy people, and our (prayers) on its¹ behalf—do Thou accept them upon Thy heavenly and blessed altar for a smell of sweet savor. Its every enemy, visible or invisible, do Thou soon \times crush and set under our feet, but for itself, preserve it in \times Fo. 5^b peace in the holy Church.

Remember, O Lord, this holy Church and our assemblies.

1 sc. of Thy people.

× Fo**. 6**ª

= R.60

Τάς επιςγναγωγώς ημών εγλογηςου δές ημιν αγτας ό θς ακώλυτως¹ και άνεμποδιστώς² γενεςθαι κατά το αγιον και μακαριόν σου θελημά οικούς εύχων οικούς ×ευλογιών ημιν και τοις μεθ ημών³ είς τον αιώνα χάριςαι εξηγερθητί κε και διαςκορπισθητώςαν πάντες οι εχθροί σου και φυγετώςαν πάντες οι μισούντες⁴ το δνόμα σου το αγιόν του δέ λαόν σου τον πιστόν και αληθινόν ποιήςου επιευλογιαίς⁵ χιλίας χιλιάδων και μυρίας μυρίαδων εν ύποταγη ποιούντας το θελήμα σου το άγιον⁶:----

[×] Fo. 6 ^b			[×] еүхн ас:	тасмоү ⁷	ų	الاصبصمود
	Ο θ ξ⁸ ό αϊώ νιος ο κ	стісас еп афварс	IAN ⁹ TON ANON KA	τςν ειςελθοντα	φθονώ τογ διαβ	ολογ θανατον · εῖς τον
	κοςмο(n) Διὰ τῆς εмπληςας τὴν γην					н̀с ογ πο θєм ¹⁰ єї́рнмнс
	Δοξα εν γψιςτοῖς θώ	• KAI *	*	* *	· *	
× Fo. 7 ^a = R. 65	R.65 αναγεν]×νηςιν·εζ γδατος και πνς·και εποιήσεν ημας ξαγτω ¹² λαον περιογςιον αγίαςον ¹³ ημας (δια) το σου τό αγιον ¹⁴ +					
						ἀμων θανατω·Ϋ́φ ω ¹⁶ τον ἀΔην·ἀνέςτη εκ
× Fo. 7 ^b	κατειχοπεθα ¹⁷ πεπραςμένοι ¹⁸ Υπο της ἀμαρτιας ἀμών ¹⁹ καὶ κατελθων Διὰ ²⁰ στρογ εῖς τον ἀΔην ἀνέςτη ει Νεκρών τη τριτη ἀμέρα·καὶ ανελθών εῖς ογνογς·ἐκαθισεν·εκ ×Δεξιών ²¹ σογ τογ προ·ὄρισας ²² μμεραν ανταπο Δοσέως καθ ην ²³ επιφανεῖς κριναι τὴν οικογμενήν εν Δγκαίοσγνη καὶ αποδογναι·εκαστώ κατὰ την πράξιν αγτογ + ο λ(αος) κατα το ελέος σογ					ісас ²² нмера н ант атто-
						L
	1 ακολλγτως, <i>Cod</i> .	,				ิ ค คุณจัด should be read.
	⁴ MHCOYNTAC, Cod. ⁵ Sic: ? place ἐπὶ before λaòn and read εγλογιας.					
	⁶ Ren. adds χάριτι και οικτιρμοίς τος μονογενούς σου γιος δι' οξ και μεθ' οξ, κλ'.					
	⁷ actacmon, Cod.	8]	Ren. adds o mérac.	9 d	тафварсіан, Cod	.: еп афθарсіан (or -a)
	seems preferable to en	aquapcía of Ren.	10 ΟΥΝΟ	υθεn, Cod.	11 Ĥ al, Ren.	
						¹⁵ <i>Ren.</i> adds τφ.
	16 έΝ &, <i>Ren</i> .	17 катехоме в а,	<i>Cod.</i> ¹⁸ тет	TPAFMENOI, Cod.	19 Υπό τΗν	н амартíан (only), <i>Ren</i> .
	20 Διά τογ, <i>Ren</i> .			22 о́рнсас, (²³ каθниа <i>і, Cod</i> .

Our gatherings together do Thou bless. Grant unto us, O God, that they may be held without let and hindrance according to Thy holy and blessed will. Vouchsafe unto us and to them who are with us¹ houses of prayer, houses 'of blessing for ever. Arise, O Lord, and let all Thine enemies be scattered, and let all that hate Thy holy Name flee before Thee, but upon Thy faithful and true people who in obedience do Thy holy will, bring thousands of thousands and tens of thousands of tens of blessings.

* Fo. 6^b

× Fo. 6^a

*Prayer of Salutation.²

O God the Everlasting, Who didst create man for incorruption, and didst destroy death, which had entered into the world through the envy of the Devil, through the life-giving presence of Thine only-begotten Son, and didst fill the earth with that peace from Heaven which also the hosts of the Angels glorified, saying: "Glory to God in the Highest, and . . ."

× Fc. 7^a

* Fo. 7^b

... *regeneration through water and the Spirit, and made us an especial people, sanctify us through Thy Holy Spirit.

He Who loved His own that were in the world, gave Himself as a ransom unto Death, who reigned over us and unto whom we were subject, being sold into slavery by our sin; and when He had descended through the Cross into Hades, He rose again on the third day from the dead; and when He had ascended into Heaven, He sat \times at the right hand of Thy (*sic*) Father, having appointed a day of retribution whereon He shall appear

and judge the world in righteousness and reward every man according to his work;

(The People: According to Thy mercy, O Lord.)

1 Or better "after us" (see note on text).

2 (Aspasmos): 1.e., of the Kiss of Peace.

LITURGICAL FRAGMENTS

Κατέλιπεν 1 δε μμιν τούτο (το) μέγα της εύςεβείας (μεγα) μυστηρίον μέλλων γαρ παραδούναι εαύτον $^2\cdot$ εῖς $= {
m R}.66$ θανατον³ Υπερ τής του κοςμού ζωής $+\frac{4}{3}$ (ε)λαβεν αρτον επι των ά [ελπι]×zοντας έπι ςοι⁵·καὶ επικαλογμενογς τό ονομα σογ τό ἀγίον ότι οἱ οφθαλμοὶ παντων εῖς cè ελπιζογςιν· \times Fo. 8^a = R. 60 και οι διασια τη προφην αλιτών εν ελκαιδίας μοιμούν ωεθ, μωών κατά την αίσθομητα σολ ο σισούς τροφην παςη ταρκι πλήρωςον χαρας · και εγφροςγνής τας καρδίας ήπων · ίνα⁸ πάντοτε παςαν άγτάρκιαν εχοντές \times Fo. 8^b = R. 70 περισσεγσωμέν⁹ είς παν έργον αγαθόν τογ¹⁰ ποιείν × το θελημά σογ τό αγιόν :----MNHCθΗΤΙ $\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$ και των τα¹¹ λωρα ταυτά προσφεροντών¹²·και μισθον ουρανιόν παράσχου πασιν¹³·επειδή¹⁴

δεςποτα προσταγμα εστιν τον μονογένους σου γιου τές μνημάς των άγιων σου κοινωνειν ήμας μνησθηναι¹⁵ καταξιωcon¹⁶ των απ αιωνός εγαρέςτης αντων¹⁷ col¹⁸ · αγιών πρών πριαρχών · προφητών¹⁹ · αποςτολών · ΜΑΡΤΥΡώΝ · ΟΜΟλογητώΝ

[αγγε]×λικής και αρχαγγελικής σου λειτουργίας · | Μνηςθητί κε ύπερ των θυσια²⁰ ήμων ταυτά δώρα προσφέρον-× Fo. 9ª των + Μνηςθητί κε γπερ της ειρηνής της άγιας μουής καθολικής και άποςτολικής²¹ ορθοδοζού του θύ cp. R. 70 εκκληςίας +

ΜΝΗΟΘΗΤΙ ΚΕ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΡΟ ΗΜωΝ ΠΑΠΑ ΑΒΒΑ ΒΕΝΙΑΜΗΝ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΙΑΡΧΟΥ ΤΗΟ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΠΟΛΕωΟ ΑΛΕΖΑΝΔΡΕΙΑΟ · cp. R. 68 кај орво \cdot Дозин епіскопин 22

 $^{ imes}$ Минсөнті $\overline{\kappa}\overline{c}$ упер тйс агіас екклнсіас таутнс \cdot каї тωи сумелеусе ω и 23 нм ω и:——

ως προςεδέξω τα δωρά του δικαίου σου αβέλ·και την θύσιαν του προ ημωω(ν) άβραδη·ζαχαριού του θυμια(μα)· κορνηλίου. τός πρόσευχας και ελεημοσύνας24 και της χηρας25 τα δυό λεπτα και τα ευχαριστηρία των δουλων coy · προςδεξαι των το πολγ²⁶ και ολιγον κργφα · και παρρησία Βογλο [[μενων

¹ -λειπεν, <i>Cod</i> .	² AYTON, Cod.	³ θανατογ, <i>Cod</i> .	⁴ People's response o	mitted. ⁵ εποιcoι, Cod.
6 EYKAIPÍA, Ren.	⁷ пасн, <i>Cod</i> .		· ·	ωμεν, <i>Ren</i> . ¹⁰ τό, <i>Ren</i> .
11 TA added by a set	cond hand: тà тíміа	δώρα coi ταγτα, <i>Ren.</i>	¹² -топ, Cod.: Re	n. adds και Υπέρ ῶν και δι
ών και έφ' οις αγτά	просеко́місан.	13 Ren. adds aytoic.	¹⁴ єтідн, <i>Cod</i> .	¹⁵ еті минсониа <i>і, Ren</i> .
		τάντων, <i>Ren</i> . 18	coy, Cod.	¹⁹ апост., проф., кнру́кωм,
εγαγγελιστῶν, μαρτ., ²³ -εον, <i>Cod</i> .		²⁰ sic. ²⁵ tac xeipac, Cod.	²¹ ἀποςτολοις, (²⁶ πολογ	Cod. ²² -по н, Cod.

—and He left unto us this great mystery of holiness. For when He was about to deliver Himself up unto death for the life of the world, ... He took bread in ...

... *who wait upon Thee and call upon Thy holy Name; for the eyes of all wait upon Thee, and Thou givest them their meat in due season. Deal with us according to Thy goodness, Thou Who givest food unto all flesh. Fill our hearts with joy and gladness, that having at all times all sufficiency we may abound unto every good work, to do 'Thy holy will.

Remember also, O Lord, them who offer these gifts and grant unto them all a heavenly reward. Forasmuch as it is a commandment of Thine only-begotten Son, O Lord, that we should partake in memory of Thy Saints, vouchsafe to be mindful of them who well-pleased Thee from the beginning, the holy Fathers, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors...

....*of Thine angelic and archangelic liturgy.

Remember, O Lord, them who offer these our sacrificial (?) gifts.

Remember, O Lord, the peace of the one, holy, Catholic, and Apostolic, Orthodox Church ...

*

Remember, O Lord, our holy Father Papa Abba Benjamin,¹ the Patriarch of the great city Alexandria, and (all) Orthodox Bishops.

*Remember, O Lord, this holy Church and our assemblies.

As Thou didst accept the gifts of Thy righteous Abel, the sacrifice of our Father Abraham, the incenseoffering of Zacharias, the prayers and alms of Cornelius, and the widow's two mites; even so accept the thankofferings of Thy servants who desire to... their much and their little secretly and openly...

1 Benjamin II, Monophysite Patriarch, 1327-1339 A.D.

× Fo. 8^a

× Fo. 9^b

× Fo. 8^b

× Fo. 9^b

× Fo. gª

Μετάλήψεως των άγιων αυτού Μυςτηρίων¹ ς παντοκρατωρ κε' ο θς ημων

[×] Fo. 10 ^a =R.72	* خوکله القسمر $* $ خوکله $*$
= R. 73	Δεςποτα κε ο θε θ πηρ ο παντοκρατωρ ³ ο μεγας ο αιωνίος · και θαγμαςτός εν δοζη · ο φγλαςςων ⁴ την
	Διαθηκην σου και το ελεος τοῖς αγαπωςιν ςε·ὄ δούς ημιν λγτρωςιν5 ἀμαρτιων·Διὰ του μονογενούς σου

γιογ κγ δέ και θγ6 και τρς ημων τη χγ·ή ζωη των απαντων ×ή Βοηθεία των προς ςε καταφεγγοντών και * Fo. 10^b ελπις τοῖς επικαλογμενοῖς⁷ ςε ω παρεςτηκαςιν μγριαδες⁸ · αγγέλων καὶ αρχαγγελών χερογβίμ καὶ σεραφίμ καὶ πασα των υτνιων⁹ δύναμεων ή αμετρητος¹⁰ πληθύς ό άγίαςας τά¹¹ προκείμενα σου δώρα ταύτα·καθαρίζου нмас апо тым круфаным кај фанерым нмым амартнматым кај пан Δ нанонма 12 апарестикон 13

[Sic exit.]

THE LITURGY OF SAINT GREGORY.

- ×καινίζαι Βογλόμενος και προ[ς] το αρχαιον αναγάγειν αξ[ιω]μα·ογκ αγγελος·ογκ αρχαγγελος·ογ πριάρχμο·ογ × Fo. 1ª = R. 90 προφήτης · την ήπων ενεχείρηςε14 σρίαν ·
- Αλλ' αγτός ατρεπτως cápž Γενόμενος · και ενανθρώπηςας 15 κατά παντα ωμοιώθης 16 μμι(ν) εκτός μόνης 17 αμαρτίας · Μεςίτης μμών Γεγονας 18 και τος πρέ · και τόν Μεςότοιχον τος φραγμος · και την χρονίαν έχθραν καθελων · τά επίγεια τοῖς επογπίοις εγνηψας · καὶ τὰ ἀμφότερα εἰς ἐν εγνηγαγες · ×καὶ την ἐν×εαρκον επλήρωεας οἰκο-* Fo. 1^b = R. 91 NOMÍAN · KAÌ ΜΕΊλλωΝ CUMATIKÔC ελαγΝΕΙΝ είς 19 ογραΝογο · ΘΕΪΚῶς Τὰ ΠάΝΤΑ ΠΛΗΡώΝ · ΤΟΙς Αγίοις τογ ΜΑθΗΤΑΙς
 - καί αποστόλοις έλεμες ·

Ειρήνην αφίημι Υμίν ειρήνην την εμήν δίδωμι Υμίν

Ταγτην και νην ειρήνην μαι(ν) δωρησαι δέςποτα χάρισαι παντός αποκάθαρον²⁰ μολήςματος παντός δόλογ και πάςμς κακίας και πανογργίας και της θανατμφόρογ μνηςικακίας και καταζίωςον μμάς

1 Ren. adds τογ αχράντογ εώματος και τογ τιμίογ αίματος τογ χριστογ αγτογ. 2 класас, Cod. 3 KÝDIE TANTOKDATUND O REÓC O METAC R_{av} 4 -CON Cod 6 AT Cod

- KYPIE, HAN	чтократшр о беос, о ме	rac, <i>Ken.</i> * -con, Cou	<i>i.</i> -CEIN, Coa.	• ec, coa.
7 των επικ	αλογмεnωn, <i>Ren</i> . 8	παραστήκογοι χίλιαι χιλιάδες	каі мү́ріаі мүріа́дес, <i>Ren.</i>	⁹ OTNION, Cod.
¹⁰ н аметріт	oc, Cod.; Ren. omits.	11 So <i>Ren</i> .: агіасонт	ra, <i>Cod</i> . (But aríacon tá ma	ay well be the right
reading.)	¹² -NOIHMA, Cod.	¹³ аптарастікон, Cod.	: απάρεςκον, <i>Ren</i> .	
14 enexeiphca	AC, Cod. (so Ren.).	15 ённнө-, <i>Cod</i> . (so <i>Ren</i> .).	¹⁶ о́моіώθнс, <i>Ren</i> .	17 + TĤC, <i>Ren</i> .
		-		

¹⁹ +то́ус, *Ren*. ²⁰ από καθαρώς, Cod. 18 **FENÓMENOC**, *Ren*.

... * of partaking in His holy Mysteries, O Lord our God Almighty.

× Fo. 10ª

* Fo. 10^b

Prayer at the Breaking of the Bread.

O Master, Lord God the Father Almighty, the Great, the Eternal, Who art wondrous in glory; Who keepest Thy covenant and Thy mercy unto them that love Thee; Who hast given us remission of our sins through Thine only-begotten Son, our Lord and God and Savior Jesus Christ; the Life of all, "the Help of them who flee unto Thee, and Hope of them who call upon Thee; beside Whom stand tens of thousands of Angels and Archangels, Cherubim and Seraphim, and all the countless multitude of the heavenly powers; Thou Who hast hallowed these gifts which lie before Thee, cleanse us from our secret and our open sins, and [remove far from us] every thought which is displeasing [to Thy goodness...]

× Fo. 1ª

× Fo. 1^b

... *when Thou didst desire to renew him (sc. man) and to restore him to his former estate, neither Angel, nor Archangel, nor Patriarch, nor Prophet attempted our Salvation;

But Thyself, without change, though made flesh and putting on manhood, didst become in all points like us saving only sin, and didst become a Mediator between us and the Father. And when Thou hadst broken down the middle wall of partition and the ancient enmity, Thou didst unite things earthly with things heavenly, and bring the twain together in one, ^x and fulfil the dispensation in the flesh. And when Thou wast about to mount up into the Heavens bodily, divinely fulfilling all things Thou didst say to Thy holy Disciples and Apostles:

"Peace I leave with you, My peace I give unto you."

That peace do Thou now also give unto us, O Master. Vouchsafe to cleanse us from all stain, all guile, all

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LITURGICAL FRAGMENTS

×αςπαςαςθαι αλλήλογς εν φιλήματι αρίω είς το μεταςχείν ακατακρίτως της αθανάτογ και επογνίογ σογ δωρεας. × Fo. 2^a χάριτι¹ τη εή·ενδοκία² τογ πρε·και ενεργεία τογ παναγίογ σογ πατς·

Cỳ ràp cổ ο χορηγός και δοτήρ πά(n)των των αγαθών και coi την δόξαν την αίδιον δοξολογίαν αναπέμπομεν³ · cỳn τω ανάρχω coy πρί · και τω αγίω πνί νγν κ(ai) cic τ(ογς) αιω(Nac) τ(ων) αιω(Nων) αμήν⁴.

Η αγάπη τος θη και πρέ και μχάρις τος μονογενος τ(10) κ(γριο) γ × δε και θη και σρό μμων τη τη πρέ = R.92 Και μ κοινωνία και μ δωρεά τος άγίον πνέ · Fo. 2^b

Ε΄ σται 6 Μετά πάντων Υ΄ ΜῶΝ

Α΄νω Ϋμων⁸ τὰς καρδίας · 9

Εγχαριστήςωμεν τω κώ .10

архн**11**

= R. 93

 \vec{A} ληθώς¹² άζιον καὶ Δίκαιον cè aineîn cè Ϋ́μνεῖν¹³ cè εΫ́λογεῖν cè προσκγνεῖν cè Δοζάζειν τὸν μόνον αληθινόν θν τὸν φιλάνον τὸν ἀφραστον τὸν ἀσρατον τὸν ἀζώρητον τὸν ἀχώρητον τὸν ἀναρχον τὸν ἀιώνιον τὸν α΄χρονον

? Four leaves lost.

[×]τος πτώματός μου την ανά(ς)ταςιν τημρόρεγεας έδωκας τοῖς την τος άδογ κρατογμένοις την αφέςιν τος [×]Fo. 3^a νόμος την αράν απέςοβηςας¹⁴ εν εαρκί την αμαρτίαν κατήργηςας της είζογείας μοι την δυνάςτειαν = R. 96 εγνώριςας τγφλοῖς τὸ Βλέπει(ν) απέδωκας νεκρούς εκ τάφω(ν) ανέςτηςας γμηματι την φυριν¹⁵ ανώρθωςας της είς της είζοπτιστη την οι[κονομιαν] της της του την την βιαν την πάνεγκας [τον νωτον]

¹ In marg. (?) **(later hand**), "Here he cuts the (bread"). ⁴ $\kappa(\alpha l)$ eic ... $\dot{\alpha}_{MHN}$, Ren. omits. ⁵ Ren. omits. ⁶ $\epsilon \tilde{r} H$, Ren. ⁷ People's response omitted. ⁶ $\epsilon \tilde{r} H$, Ren. ⁷ People's response omitted. ⁹ People's response omitted. ¹⁰ People's and priest's versicles ($\dot{\alpha} \Xi_{ION} \kappa \alpha \lambda \dot{\alpha} \Lambda \dot{\alpha}$

¹³ cè $\dot{\vec{Y}}_{MNE\hat{I}N}$: *Ren.* omits. ¹⁴ $\dot{\vec{A}}_{MEC\hat{I}}$ $dec \omega Bhcac, Cod.$ ¹⁵ $\phi_{YCIC}, Cod.$

evil, from wickedness and from deadly malice. And vouchsafe that we *may greet one another with a holy * Fo. 2^a kiss, to the end that we may partake without condemnation of Thy deathless and heavenly gift, through Thy grace and the good pleasure of the Father and the operation of Thy Holy Spirit.

For Thou art the Bestower and Giver of all good things, and unto Thee we offer up glory, the eternal praisegiving, together with Thy Father Who is from everlasting, and the Holy Spirit, now and for ever and ever. Amen.

The love of God the Father, and the grace of the Only-Begotten Son, our Lord ×and God and Savior Jesus × Fo. 2^b Christ,

And the fellowship and the gift of the Holy Spirit

Shall be with you all.

Lift up your hearts.

Let us give thanks unto the Lord.

Beginning <of the Oblation>.

Verily it is meet and right to praise Thee, to hymn Thee, to bless Thee, to worship Thee, to glorify Thee, the Only True God, the Lover of man, the Ineffable, the Invisible, the Uncontained, without beginning, the Eternal, without time...

* Fo. 3^a the power of Hades; Thou didst drive away the curse of the Law; in the flesh Thou didst set sin at naught; the might of Thy authority Thou didst make known to me; to the blind Thou didst restore sight; the dead Thou didst raise up from the tombs; by Thy word Thou didst restore nature; Thou didst show unto me the dispensation of Thy loving-kindness; Thou didst endure the violence of wicked men; Thou hast given Thy

* Fo. 3^b

coy δέδωκας ε[ις mactifac] ×τάς δέ ειαγόνας coy Υπεθηκας εις ράπίςματα ογκ απέςτρεψας δι εμέ τό πρόςωπόν σογ από αιςχήνη[ς ε] μπτης κάτων

ο $\lambda(\text{aoc})$ $\lambda \epsilon(\textbf{rei})$ $\kappa(\textbf{ypi}) \epsilon \ \vec{\epsilon} \lambda(\epsilon \textbf{hcon})^1$

ώς πρόβατον επί σφαγην· Αλθες μεχρι στρογ την εμήν κηδεμονίαν Υπέδειζας τω ςώ τάφω την εμήν αμαρτίαν ενέκρωσας είς ογνόν μοι την² απαρχή(ν) [ανε]βίβασας της σήσεως³ [μοι την πα]ρογσίαν εμήνγεας. [εν ή μελλείς ερ]χεσθαι κρίναι ζώ(ν)[τας και νεκ]ρογς · και αποδογ[ναι εκάςτω] κατά τα έγγα αγτογ.

×ο $\lambda(aoc)$ $\lambda \in \Gamma(\epsilon)$ κα[τά τὸ $\epsilon \lambda(\epsilon \circ c)$ coy $\kappa(\gamma P) \epsilon$]⁴ × Fo. 4^a

'Αγτος⁵ μο[γ τής ελεγθεριας προςφε]ρω σοι τὰ ς[γμβολα τοις ρημαςι] σον επιγράφ[ω τα πραγματα] Cγ μοι την μ[γστικην ταγτην] λειτογρ[ιαν⁶ παρεδωκας της] chc capko[ς εν αρτω και οινω] την μέθ[εξιν]⁷ Th gap nym[ti h papedwkac8 aytoc] ceayton t[hc ceaytoy ezoyciac]

Λαβών αρτ[ον εν ταις αγιαίς] και αχρά[ντοις και ανωνητοίς] σου χερς[ίν ενεύζας ανώ προς] τόν "ίδ[ίον σου = R.97πατερα]

Ηγχαρίς[τησας ηγλογησας]

×[ηγιασας εκλασας μ]ετέδω[κας τοις αγιοις σου μ]αθήταις¹⁰ [ειπας] \times Fo. 4^b

> [Λαβετε φαγετε τογτ]ο μογ έστι(Ν) [το σωμα το Υπερ Υ]μών και πο[λλων κλωμενον κ]αι διαδιδο[μενον εις αφεείνα δ] Μαρτιών (τογτο ποιείτε είς την ε] ΜΗΝ ανάμνηςιν

[Ω αγτως μετα το δει]πημίζαι λα[Βωη ποτηριοή και εκ]έρας[ας αγτό εκ γενηματ]ος αμπέ[λου και εξ υδατός] [Ηγχαριστήσας μγλογή] cas μγία ανα πετέδωκας τοις αγι]οις σεαγ[τογ¹¹ είπας πιέτε εξ αγ]τόγ

*

× Fo. 5^a = R.98

- ×Ο Δ(1akonoc) λέ $_{\Gamma}(\epsilon)$ κλίνατ (ϵ) θ $\overline{\omega}^{12}$ μετά φόβογ Ο Ι(ερεγς) λέρ(ει) εν εαγτω κλινων¹³
- ³ афні 2 є шс, *Cod*. ⁴ (Red). ted. ⁸ паредіднс*, *Ren*. ² thn emhn, Ren. ¹ (Red). ⁵ Taýthe, Ren. ⁹ Ren. omits. ⁷ People's response omitted. ⁶ Ren. omits.

¹⁰ + καὶ ἀποςτόλοις, *Ren.*: the lacuna would perhaps admit these words in abbreviated form, κ_{l} αποςτ. ¹¹ coŷ μαθηταῖc καὶ ἀποcτόλοιc, *Ren.* ¹² $\theta \bar{\gamma}$, *Cod.* (in the margin is an illegible Arabic gloss). ¹³ κλινάς, Ren.

back unto scourging; "Thou didst submit Thy cheeks to buffeting; for my sake Thou didst not turn Thy × Fo. 3^b face away from shame and spitting.

(*The People say*: Lord, have mercy.)

As a sheep thou didst come to the slaughter; Thou showedst care for me even unto the Cross; by Thy burial Thou didst mortify my sin; for me Thou didst raise up into Heaven the first-fruits; Thou didst inform me of the appearance of Thy coming, wherein Thou shalt come to judge the quick and the dead and to reward every man according to his work.

× Fo. 4^a

* Fo. 4^b

*(*The People say*: According to Thy mercy, O Lord.)

Myself I offer unto Thee the tokens of my liberty; against Thy words I inscribe my deeds. Thou hast bequeathed unto me this mystical service, the participation in Thy flesh through bread and wine. For in the night when Thou didst deliver up Thyself of Thine own power,

Taking bread in Thy holy, pure, and undefiled hands, Thou didst look up to Thine own Father

And didst give thanks and bless, *and consecrate and bless and give it to Thy holy disciples, saying:

"Take, eat: this is My Body which is broken and given for you and for many for the remission of sins. Do this in remembrance of Me."

Likewise after supper, taking a cup, Thou didst mix it with the fruit of the vine and with water, and didst give thanks and bless and consecrate and give it unto Thy holy ones, saying:

"Drink ye of it . . . "

*The Deacon says: Bow down unto God with fear:

The Priest bowing says inaudibly-

LITURGICAL FRAGMENTS

Αγτός ογν δέςποτα τη εή φωνή τα προκείμενα μεταποίηςον

Αγτός παρών την Μγςτικήν ταγτην λειτογργίαν κατάρτιςον αγτός μωΐν της επό δατρείας την Μυμειν Δγνάμωςον¹ αγτό τό πνα σογ τό πανάγιον κατάπεμψον τίνα επιφοιτμέαν τη άγία και αγαθή και ενδέζω αγτογ παρογεία άγιάςη και μεταποιμεί το προκείμενα τίμια και άγια δώρα ταγτα είς αγτό το ςώμα και το ×διμα της μμετέρας απολγτρώςεως ·

O D(1akonoc²) $\lambda \varepsilon_{\Gamma}(\varepsilon_{I}) \ \pi_{POC} \omega M(\varepsilon_{N})^{3}$

Ο $\lambda(aoc^4)$ $\lambda \epsilon_{\Gamma}(\epsilon_{I})$ amén

Ο ι(ερεγς) εκφωνήςει

Καὶ ποιήςΗ τὸΝ ΜὲΝ ἀρτοΝ τογτοΝ γενηται⁵ εἰς τὸ ἅγιοΝ σογ⁶ cῶμα· τογ κή Δὲ καὶ θỹ καὶ σρο κ(ai) παμβαςιλέως⁷ μμών τy χy · εἰς ἀφεςιν ἀμαρτιών · καὶ εἰς ζωὴν τὴν αἰώνιοΝ · τοῖς έξ ἀγτογ μεταλαμβανογειν⁸ ·

Τὸ Δὲ ποτήριον τογτο τὸ τίμιον coy alma·τὸ τῆς καινῆς Διαθήκης⁹·τογ κή Δὲ καὶ θΫ καὶ σῦς κạὶ παμβαςιλέως μμών τῆ χΫ·είς ἀφεςιν ἀμαρτιών·καὶ είς

×παράςχου πάςιν αυτοίς ·

Μνήςθητι \vec{k} και των εν όρεςι και ςπηλαίοις και ταῖς όπαις τῆς γῆς και τῶν εν αιχμαλωςίαις όντων ἀδελφων = R. 100 μμών και εἰρηνικάς ἀποκαταςταςείς εἰς τὰ ἰμα χάριζαι ·

يصح هنا

[Rubric in two lines effaced by damp.¹⁰]

Μ] ΝΗ COHTI ΚΕ και τΗς εμής αθλίας και ταλαιπώρου ψυχής ταπεινώς ως μου και συγχώρης ναι πάντα τα εμά

πλημμελήματα · | καὶ ὅποΥ ἐπλεόναcen μ ἀμαρτία · ϔπερπερίςceγcón¹¹ × coy την χαριν · καὶ μη Διὰ τὰς ἐμας × Fo. 6^b ἀμαρτίας · καὶ την Βεβήλωςιν τῆς καρδίας μου · ϔςτερήςμε τον λαόν coy τῆς χάριτος τοῦ ἀρίου coy πνς · = R. 101 [Rubric in two lines effaced by damp.]

¹ ΔιάςωςοΝ, Ren. ² ο λαός, Ren. ³ προςχοΜ(εΝ), Cod. ⁴ ο ΔιάκοΝος, Ren. ⁵ -Ηται rewritten (by first hand?) over -εσθαι (erased). ⁶ σωμα coγ, Ren. ⁷ κ(αι) παΜΒ. added in margin by original or contemporary hand. ⁸ People's response omitted. ⁹ + coγ, Ren. ¹⁰ In margin is an illegible Arabic gloss. ¹¹ περίςσεγcoN, Ren.

Therefore, O Master, do Thou Thyself with Thy voice transform these offerings;

Do Thou Thyself be present and perform this mystic service; do Thou Thyself strengthen in us the remembrance of Thy worship; send down Thy All-Holy Spirit that, coming, it may through its holy and good and glorious presence hallow and transform these precious and holy gifts now offered into the very Body and *Blood of our Redemption,

The Deacon says: Let us give heed.

The People say: Amen.

The Priest shall say aloud—

—and cause this Bread to become the Holy Body of Thee, our Lord and God and Savior and supreme King, Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins and for eternal life unto them who partake of it,

----and this Cup to become Thy precious Blood of the New Testament of our Lord and God and Savior and supreme King Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins and for...

... *do Thou grant unto them all.

Remember also, O Lord, those who are in the mountains and caves and holes of the earth, and our brethren who are in captivity, and grant them peaceful restoration unto their own homes.

(The rubric following is illegible.)

Remember also, O Lord, my miserable and wretched soul and my lowliness, and forgive me all my transgressions; and where sin has abounded, make Thy grace *more to abound, and because of my sins and the *Fo. 6^b uncleanness of my heart deprive not Thy people of the grace of Thy Holy Spirit.

(The rubric following is illegible.)

× Fo. 6

* Fo. 5^b

× Fo. 6ª

	NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS	
	Ο γαρ λα]ός ςου και μ εκκληςία ςου ικετεγεί ςε και διά ςου και σύν σοι τον πρά λέγουςα. Ε]λέηςον μμάς ο θο ό σπρ μμών.	
	[Rubric in one line effaced by damp.]	
	Μ]νήςθητι κε΄ τογ αέρος και των καρπων της γης.	
× Fo. 7 ^a	Μνήςθητι κε της ςγμμέτρου χαναβάςεως των ποταμείων ¹ γδάτων ·	
	Μημαθητί κεί των γετών και των απορίμων της γης	
	$\mathbf{\epsilon}$]ήφρανον πάλ(in) κ(αὶ) ανακ(αι)νις(ον) τὸ προςωπ(ον) (τῆς Γῆς) ²	
= R. 102	Χ]άρισαι τω λαω σου την ομονοιαν ·	
	Τῶ κόςμω την εγςτάθειαν	
	Τω αέρι την εγκρασίαν ·	
	Τοις νοςούςι την σρίαν	
	Τοῖς δεομένοις την ανάψγειν	
	Toîc en ezopiaic thn anecin	
	Τοῖς ορφανοίς τὴν Βοήθειαν	
× Fo. 7 ^{b3}	×Ταῖς χήραις [την αντιληψιν]	
	Τοῖς θλιβομεν[οις επαρκήζον είς] αγαθον	
	Τογς έςτωτ[ας οχγρωςον] Τογς πεπτω[κοτας εγειρον]	
	[Four lines wholly illegible.]	
	Τογς ημαρ]τηκότας και μετανοήςαντας ςγναρίθμηςον τοις πιςτοις ⁴ ςογ Τογς] πιςτογς [суναριθμηςον τοις] μαρτγει ⁵ σογ	
	Μι]μητάς [τογς παροντάς] έν τω	
	 ποταμίων, Cod. ² The passage τογc αγλακαςκγριε ἐλέμουν (Ren. 101²⁶–102⁹) is omitted from the m ³ Folios 7 and 8 are seriously injured by damp; fo. 7^b is almost illegible. ⁴ μετά των πιστων, Ren. ⁵ μετά μαρτγρων, Ren. 	(S.
	For Thy people and Thy Church beseech Thee, and through Thee and with Thee Thy Father, saying: Have mercy upon us, O God our Savior.	:
	(The rubric following is illegible.)	
* Fo. 7 ^a	Remember, O Lord, the atmosphere and the fruits of the earth. Remember, O Lord, the suitable [×] rising of the waters of the River.	
1	Remember, O Lord, the rains and the seed of the ground.	
	Rejoice again and renew the face of the earth.	
	Grant unto Thy people concord;	
	Unto the world, good estate; Unto the sick, salvation;	
	Unto the needy, refreshment;	
	Unto those in exile, release;	
	Unto the orphans, succor;	
× Fo. 7 ^b	*Unto widows, protection;	
	Unto those who are distressed, give sufficiency for their good;	
	Stablish them who stand; Raise up the fallen:	
	Raise up the fallen; (Four lines of the MS. are illegible.)	

Them who have sinned and repented do Thou number with Thy faithful ones; The faithful do Thou number with Thy martyrs;

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LITURGICAL FRAGMENTS

*τόπω τογτω των αγγέλων κατάστησον και ήμας τη ση χάριτι πρός την σην κε[κλη]μένους διακονίαν αναξιούς × Fo. 8ª όντας γποδ[εξ]αι

[Rubric in one line effaced by damp.]

ΜΝΗΟΘΗΤΙ] ΚΕ΄ και της πόλεως μμών ταγτης και των εν ορθοδόζω πίςτει οικογντων εν αγτή και πάςης πό[λεως και χώρας σγν παντί τω κοςμω αγτών και ργςαι μμάς από λιμογ·και λοιμογ·ςειςμογ·και κατα· = R. 103 ποντισμογ·πγρός·και αιχμαλωσίας Βαρβάρω(ν) ×και από των αλλοτρίων μαχαιρών·και επαναστάσεως εχθρώ(ν) × Fo. 8^b τε και αιρετικών¹.

ΜΝήςθητι κε' καί² των προλαβόντων όςιων π[ρω]ν ήμων όρθοδόζων επι[ςκο]πων

Καὶ πάντων τῶ[ν α]π [αιωνος] coi εγαρεςτηςάντων

Αγίων πρών πριαρχω[ν απο]ςτόλων προφητών · κηργ[κων] έγαγγελιστών · μαρτήρων ομολογητών · και παντός πνό δικαίογ · έν πίστει χή τετελειωμένογ

Εξαιρέτως της παναγίας Υπερ×ενδόζου αχραντου Υπερεγλογημένης δεςποίνας ήμων θ(εοτο)κού και αειπαρθενου × Fo. 9ª Μαρίας

Τος ενδόζος προφήτος προδρόμος βαπτιστός και μάρτγρος ιωαννος.

Τογ αγίογ στεφάνογ τογ πρωτοδιακόνογ και πρωτολάρτγρος.

Καί τος άγιος και μακαρίος πρέ μμων μάρκος τος αποστόλος και εγαγγελιστος.

Καί τογ εν δρίοις προ μωών θεολόγον3 γρηγορίον και ών εν τη εμμερον [μ]μερα την γπόμνησιν ποιογ[μεθ]α

και παντός ×χορογ των αγίων σου Ŵν ταίς εγχαίς και πρεςβείαις και μμάς ελέμουν και σώσον διά το σνομά σου το άγιον το επικληθέν εφ μμάς. [ο δ(ιακονος) λεγ(ει) τά δίπτγχα4]

Καὶ ἀνάπαγοον τὰς ψγχὰς ἀγτῶ(Ν) Μετὰ ὁςίων Μετὰ Δικαίων.

Cýnayon⁵ εις τόποη χλόης επί τατας αναπατείου τραδείου τραφης.

¹ People's response of	mitted.	² Ren. omits.	³ Ren. omits.	⁴ A single-line Rubric is
here effaced by damp.	It may perhaps	have contained the	Rubrics both for Deacon	and Priest, if these were strictly
abbreviated.	⁵ ἕκθρεψοn μ	каі су́нащон, <i>Ren.</i>	⁶ Ren. omits.	7 Ren. adds aytûn.

Them who are present in this *place do Thou make imitators of the Angels; and though we be unworthy * Fo. 8^a do Thou accept us who have been called to Thy service.

(The rubric following is illegible.)

Remember also, O Lord, this our city, and them who dwell therein in the Orthodox Faith, and every city and country together with all their people. Deliver us from famine and pestilence, earthquake and flood, fire and captivity of the barbarians, [×]and from alien swords and insurrection of enemies and heretics.

Remember also, O Lord, the predeceased, our holy Fathers the Orthodox Bishops,

And all who from the beginning have pleased Thee well,

Holy Fathers, Patriarchs, Apostles, Prophets, Heralds, Evangelists, Martyrs, Confessors, and every righteous spirit that hath finished its course in the faith of Christ;

Especially our all-holy, most *glorious, immaculate, and ever-blessed Lady, the Mother of God and ever- * Fo. 9^a Virgin Mary;

The holy, glorious, Prophet, Forerunner, Baptist, and Martyr John;

The holy Stephen, the first Deacon and first Martyr,

And our holy and blessed Father, Mark the Apostle and Evangelist,

And our sainted Father Gregory the Divine, and them of whom we make remembrance on this day, and all the ^xcompany of Thy saints.

Through the prayers and intercessions of these have mercy upon us and save us for the sake of Thy holy Name which is called over us.

(The Deacon reads the Diptychs.)

Remember, O Lord, our fathers and brethren who have fallen asleep in times past in the Orthodox Faith, And give repose to their souls with the holy, with the righteous;

Gather them together unto a place of pasture by the water of refreshment in a paradise of delight together with those whose names we have mentioned.

× Fo. 9^b

× Fo. 8^b

× Fo. 9^b

NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS ×τω πρί1·και τω αριω2 πρί το ποογείε και εγναίδιε3·δέχογ παρ μπώμ των απαρτωλών έz αναζίων χειλέων × Fo. 10^a = R. 113 γ. Υμουν · μετά των ανώ δινάμεων · coì γαρ πρέπει πάςα δόζα τιμή και προςκγνησις · είς πάντας τούς αιώνας amán · > >))) 5 5 [The remainder of the page is left blank.] ¹ τώ ανάρχω coy πατρί, Ren. ² τώ zωοποιώ coy πνεγματι, *Ren.* ³ These three words are absent from Renaudot's text, where the association of the Father and the Holy Spirit is placed after mpockynhuic. ... * consubstantial and coeternal with the Father and the Holy Spirit, receive from us sinners and from × Fo. 10^a our unworthy lips praise with the Powers above. For Thee befitteth all glory, honor, and worship for ever and ever. Amen. 🐺 Ψαλμός • Ρλέ^Ι. 😳 * Fo. 10^b [The following variants from Swete's (Cambridge) text occur: ×Fo.11^a(verse8) v. I araboc (so $\aleph^{c.a} RT$) > $\chi \rho \eta \sigma \tau \sigma s$. υ. 4 τῶ ποιήςαντι (so s^{c.a} RT)> ποιοῦντι. ×υ. ο τογς άςτερας υ. 14 Διά Μέζογ (SO NC.ª AT) > έν μέσφ. υ. 15 εκτεινάζαντι > έκτινάζαντι · (so $\aleph^{c,a}T$)> $\tau \dot{a} \, \ddot{a} \sigma \tau \rho a$. ×πάcan thn δγνάμιν>τήν δύναμιν. v. IG EN TH EPHMW> iv $i\rho\eta\mu\omega$. v. 22 δόγλογ > δούλω. × Fo. 11^b υ. 23 Ότι έν τΑ ταπεινώςει Ημών | εμνήςθη Ημών ο κς' etc. (see Swete's apparatus). × Fo. 12^a υ. 22 εκ των εχθρων (so ART)> εκ χειρός εχθ.] [The remainder of the page is left blank.] ¹ The Rubric in Renaudot's text (p. 113) prescribes only Ps. cl. × 💥 Ψαλμός • ΡΝ΄ • 💥 × Fo. 12^b-13^a [No variants from Swete's text occur. The remainder of fo. 13ª is left blank.] × * Ϋ́MNOC ΤĤC ΑΓΊΑC ΤΡΙάλ(OC) * × Fo. 13^b-14^b Δέγτε πάντες πιςτοί προςκγνήςωμεν κ.τ.λ. [For the text see Maas, Frühbyzantinische Kirchenpoesie 1, no. 2. The following variants occur: 1. 5 εξογείαι θρόνοι κγριότητες> έξουσίαι, κυριότητες; παρισταμενα> -εναι. Ι. 6 χαιρογβία (sic) προεφέρογείν 1. 12 Cod. has the reading of MP, αλλά σωσον...καταφεύγομεν. Thereafter ce (sic). l. 7 Cod. omits τε. Cod. inserts the following verse (not in Maas)-2622 COI 0 00 HAW 2622 COI 0 00 00 HAW 2622 COI 1. 13 Cod. has the ascription as in Maas' text, but reads εic alanac aci (instead of αὐτῶν) τῶν alώνων.] εις την θ(εοτο)κόν κατά άλφαβητα1. * Fo. 14^b (end) Χαίρε ανανδρε Μ(ΗΤ) Ηρ αλόχεγτε χαίρε Βάτε πγρι · ακαταφλεκτε · ×Χαῖρε Γένογο² Βροτών Η αντίληψιο · χαῖρε δόξα πι[c]των και αγλαιομα ·3 × Fo. 15^a Χαΐρε εγας κατάρας Η λήτρωςις · χαίρε ζώςα {αεί}4 Βαςιλέγογςα Χαῖρε μ c(ωτη)ρία τῶν ἀ cθενόγντων · χαῖρε θρόνε κ(γρίο)γ καὶ cκήνωμα · ¹ Heading in red. Alternate initials (X) are also in red, as are all the alphabetic initials. ² renoc, Cod. ³ $a_{\pi\lambda}$ aicma. Cod. ⁴ Probably interpolated. ×To the Theotokos. * Fo. 14^b Hail, Mother unwedded who didst never travail! Hail thou Bush unconsumed by fire! × Fo. 15^a *Hail, thou Protection of the human race! Hail, thou Glory and Ornament of the faithful! Hail, thou Redemption of the Curse of Eve! Hail, Ever-living, Ever-reigning! Hail, thou Deliverance of the feeble! Hail, Throne and Tabernacle of the Lord!

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LITURGICAL FRAGMENTS

Χαΐρε Τάςις των νοςημάτω(Ν) κακών χαΐρε κράτος στερρό(Ν) καταφήγιον. Χαΐρε λόγον θ(εο)γ ή γεννήςαςα χαΐρε μόνη παρθένος και άφθορος · Χαΐρε νήμφη άγνη και απόληντε¹ χαΐρε ζοάνων είδωλω(Ν) ×κατάληςις · Χαΐρε όγος θ(εο)γ το πανάγιον χαΐρε προζενε² της αιωνίου χαράς · Χαΐρε φάβδος βλαςτήςαςα στάχην ζωής · χαΐρε στέμμα και κάγχημα των δικαίων · Χαΐρε τόμος ο έμψηχος και καθαρός · χαΐρε τέμμα των πεπτωκότων φθοράς · Χαΐρε φέγγος και είδας ορθοδοζίας · χαΐρε χειμαζομένων το σκέπαςμα · Χαΐρε ψηχοφθόρον έχθρον³ ή θραήςαςα · χαΐρε ψμημα ⁴ θεῖο(Ν) · · ·

¹ αμώλγντε, <i>Cod</i> .	² TPOZENON , Cod.	³ ψγχοφορων εχθρων, Cod.	$\frac{4}{\text{sic}}$: $? = 0$ XHMA.
	11 - 02 - 00 - 00 - 00 - 00 - 00 - 00 -		5701. 0,11110

Hail, thou Healing of sore sickness! Hail, Might and Strong Refuge!

Hail, thou that didst bear the Word of God! Hail, only Virgin and uncorrupt! Hail, thou Bride, pure and undefiled! Hail, Destruction ×of graven images!

Hail, all-holy Mount of God! Hail, thou who dost procure eternal joy!

Hall, an holy mount of God. Than, thou who dost produce eleman joy.

Hail, Rod that budded with the ear of life! Hail, Crown and Boast of the righteous!

Hail, thou living and pure Volume (?)! Hail, thou that raisest the fallen from destruction!

Hail, Light and Worship of Orthodoxy! Hail, thou Shelter of the tempest-tossed!

Hail, thou who didst smite the soul-destroying enemy! Hail, Chariot of God...

B. Copto-Arabic Anaphora.

Paper. Thirty-five leaves, 18.5×13 cm. (Cairo, no. 79, i), foliated on the versos (many numbers are lost or illegible). Contents, portions of the Liturgies of SS. Basil (ending with colophon on fo. \overline{pe}^{b}) and Gregory. To one or other of these belongs a leaf from the Diptychs, wherein the last Patriarch commemorated is John VI (died 1215 A.D.). A fly-leaf, apparently from this MS., has a lengthy Arabic note commemorating the consecration of one John Khalbûs (*sic*) as priest in 1265 A.M. (= 1549 A.D.), and Hegumen (? of Dêr Abû Makâr) in 1277 (= 1561 A.D.). Both consecrations took place under Gabriel VII, the latter in the Church of S. Mercurius "in the Monastery of Tamwa" (opposite Meadi in the district of Utfih).

A leaf, numbered \overline{z} , from the same MS., was recovered by Tischendorf, and is at Cambridge (C.U.L., Add. 1887, 5): twelve leaves from the same MS. (containing parts of the Anaphora of Cyril) are in the John Rylands Library at Manchester,¹ and were doubtless found by Tattam.

The hand (see Plate XXII A) is, in the Priest's part, a bold, thick, but coarse uncial, to be dated (as the Diptych-fragment shows) in the early thirteenth century; the Deacon's part is in smaller, lighter uncials. Stops (\bullet and \bullet), rarely used, are red, as are also the rubrics. Initial capitals are greatly enlarged and are in black and red: paragraph-capitals, slightly enlarged, are plain save for red touches.

[Note. Further groups of Anaphora fragments are Cairo, no. 79, ii-x. I was unable to retain the leaves long enough to identify these.]

C. The Ordinal.

Paper. Twenty-eight leaves (Cairo, no. 80), 18.2×13 cm., unnumbered. The text is in Coptic (except the Archdeacon's part, which is in Greek), with Arabic versions accompanying the rubrics: the last (?) three pages are in Arabic alone. The script (see Plate XXVA) is a good thirteenth to fourteenth century 'paper-hand.' Rubrics (red) are in smaller script: the Greek passages are in sloping Greek uncials with accents. The beginnings of sections are marked by enlarged capitals, usually of interlaced work, and by pieces of marginal penwork.

The leaves contain part of the Rites for the Ordination of Subdeacons and Deacons. I have had no opportunity to compare them with Tuki's text.

I See Crum, Catalogue, no. 428.

* Fo. 15^a

× Fo. 15^b

D. Horologia.¹

(1) Paper. Fifty-five leaves (Cairo, no. 82), 17.5×13.2 cm., foliated on versos,² 17 ll. to the page. The volume was made up of quires of ten leaves each, the first and last pp. being headed (e.g.) $\overline{\mathfrak{s}}$ $\overline{\mathfrak{rs}}$ (Ornament) $\overline{\mathfrak{rs}}$ ($\overline{\mathfrak{rs}}$). Directions, Psalm-headings, and stops (•), are in red. Initial capitals of sections slightly ornamented; paragraph-capitals are smaller and plain: both are in red and black.

The hand (see Plate XXV B) is a plain, sloping uncial with thin strokes, probably of the fourteenth century,³ and apparently identical with that of No. xxxix, i (Sahidic Vocabulary). Not only is the hand Sahidic, but the whole of the Psalms and Biblical passages are in Sahidic; though the rubrics, prayers, &c., are in Bohairic (with a parallel Arabic version).

The contents appear to correspond with the modern Book of Hours, but I am unable to collate the ancient with the modern copy.

(2) Paper. Fifty-one leaves and two fragments (*id.*, no. 83), 16.2×12.5 cm., foliated on the *versos*,⁴ 15 ll. to the page. Directions, Psalm-headings, section-capitals, and stops (•), red: paragraph-capitals, red and black. The hand is a plain, sloping uncial similar to that of (1), but smaller and thicker. The paper is brittle and most leaves are in bad condition.

As in (1) the Psalms, &c., are in Sahidic; the remainder in Bohairic (with Arabic version).

Further groups of fragments from ordinary Bohairic Horologia are as follows:-

(3) Paper. Thirty-one leaves (*id.*, no. 84), 17.2×13 cm., foliated on the *versos.*⁵ Good, free hand (thirteenth to fourteenth century). Each 'Hour' has a head-piece of interlaced work in red, green, and yellow. The directions are in red, initial lines in thick black script, second lines in red: the Psalms begin similarly, but are further marked by marginal illuminations. The whole is in Bohairic with an Arabic version.

(4) Paper. Twenty-seven leaves (*id.*, no. 86), 17.5×13 cm., foliated on the *versos*.⁶ Thirteenth to fourteenth century hand: directions and Psalm-headings, red. Psalms begin with a single line in thick script: paragraph-capitals are enlarged and plain but for red touches (little beyond the Psalmody is preserved, but the order in which the Psalms occur shows that the MS. is a Horologion). Bohairic, with Arabic version.

(5) Paper. Thirty-two leaves (*id.*, no. 85), 17.5×13.8 cm., foliated on the *versos*.⁷ Directions, Psalmheadings, stops (*), are in red: initial-lines in thick black script; paragraph-capitals, enlarged, are red and black. Bohairic, with Arabic version.

E. The Pascha.⁸

(HOURS FOR HOLY WEEK)

(1) Paper. Seven leaves (Cairo, no. 87), 21.5×14.4 cm., unfoliated. Same hand and paper as *Psalms* (5); but, as the proportions of the column are slightly different and the lines closer, the two groups are probably not from the same MS. Paragraph-capitals slightly enlarged; headings (e.g. fo. 6), red. Contents: (fo. 1) Nicene Creed; (fo. 2) part of a Prayer; (fos. 4-5) *Isaiab* LIII, 4 ff.; (fos. 6-7) "A Prayer of the Night."

The identification is purely conjectural.

(2) Paper. Nineteen leaves (*id.*, no. 88), 17×13.2 cm., paged (?) on the versos.⁹ Good, bold thirteenth century hand. Headings (with Arabic versions) in red, e.g. ann π μπισχωρε μπβ μπιπαχα εφτ ψαλι ax(am)); stops (*) red; plain, enlarged capitals with red touches.

The leaves preserved contain odes (*psali*) for the Hours in Holy Week; but the last $(-c\lambda H)$ has the heading orranum fite thentikocth.

الرجبية A collection of Psalms, prayers, Scriptural passages, &c., for each of the Canonical Hours. Modern editions are (1) Arabic: الرجبية ضلوات (Cairo, 1914); (2) English: The Coptic Morning Service for the Lord's Day, translated by the Marquis of Bute (London, 1882 and 1908), pp. 119ff. and 135 ff.

2 The first leaf is $\overline{1c}$, the last $\overline{cn_7}$ (*i.e.* 16-287).

3 In size, quality of paper, &c., this MS. is similar to No. XXXVIII A (Greek Liturgies).

- 4 Between The and the (i.e. 12-251).
- 5 Between IH and THE (18-246).

6 Between $\overline{n_{H}}$ and $\overline{c\lambda_{H}}$ (58-238).

Between \overline{ie} and $[\overline{ci}]$ (15–210).

8 Apparently there is no published edition, unless the non-Jacobite edition (ed. Mgr. Cyril II, Cairo, 1902) corresponds with the Monophysite version.

9 Between \overline{c} and $\overline{c\lambda H}$ (6-238).

LITURGICAL FRAGMENTS

(3) Parchment. One leaf (Cairo, no. 14), 34.2×27.5 cm., unnumbered. Medium-sized uncial script, probably of the twelfth century; no stops (Plate VI A).

Contents: lections for the Pascha, vi_{ℓ} ., Ro. to Vo. l. 30: Isaiah XLIX, 11-25; then, after a paragraphus, the direction (in smaller informal uncials) news nitebaouse are ninecxs ere nineov úgi é niwy nas required to fire nine $\overline{\tau \lambda h}$ news $\overline{\tau \lambda h}$ news. Thereafter, with one line in enlarged capitals, Isaiah XLIX, 26.

Under the Patriarch Gabriel II (1131-1146), "certain learned, skilful, and wise men, as also many monks of the Monastery of S. Macarius, compiled a book of passages from the Old and New Testaments, and named it *The Book of the Passion*; and it was used yearly for the celebration of Easter in the Church."² At a later date this work was enlarged by a certain Peter, Bishop of Behnesa. Presumably our fragment belongs to the earlier of these recensions.

F. The Difnâr.

Paper. Thirty-three and twenty-six leaves, complete or fragmentary (Cairo, nos. 89, 90), from two volumes³ of the *Difnâr*. Each volume contained something like 160 leaves (320 pages), grouped in quires of ten leaves each. Where complete, the page measures 25×17 cm. The numeration (on the *versos*) is by folios, but as usual the first and last pages in each quire have a special heading: thus folios 140 and 141^a of the first volume are headed — $\overline{p_{M}}$ $\overline{r_{5}}$ (Ornament) $\overline{\chi_{5}}$ $\overline{r_{5}}$ | $\overline{r_{6}}$ Re (Ornament) $\overline{o_{50}}$ $\overline{p_{MS}}$. But very frequently folios are left unnumbered, probably because the scribe was content to number for his own guidance only the left-hand leaf of each sheet.

The hand (Plate XVIII B) is of a large and regular 'paper-uncial' type, belonging probably to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. The forms \mathfrak{b} and \mathfrak{S} both occur: capital \mathfrak{s} always has the form $\mathfrak{L}: \mathfrak{F}^{\ddagger}$ never carries the mark of abbreviation. The stop \ast or \ast (red) is uniformly employed; and both capitals and large letters in the interior of the column are touched in with red. The ink is a very thick, glossy black.

The extant leaves of Volume I cover the first third of the year (Thôout-Khoiak); the remains of Volume II cover the second third (Tôbi to Pashons), but no remains of the presumed third volume have been found. Manuscripts of the *Difnâr* are rare, and the four extant copies⁴ date only from the eighteenth century: our fragments, such as they are, therefore represent by far the earliest known copy of this work.⁵ The ample recognition in these pages of Saints of Scetis possibly indicates that there was a local 'Use': indeed there is some evidence to show that the MS. once belonged to the Monastery of Saint John the Little.⁶

To every saint and festival commemorated two hymns were assigned, set to the modes or melodies 'Batos' and 'Adam.' It is noteworthy that in this, unlike the Rylands Difnar,' the 'Batos' odes usually precede those set to the melody of 'Adam.' The first of each pair of hymns has a heading in red ink, stating the date, the festival or saint commemorated, and the melody, and accompanied by an Arabic translation.

The second hymn is headed merely nooq (or nooc) on, 'the same (person) again,' with the appropriate melody. The individual hymns are in stanzas (written as paragraphs) of four lines each, the lines being distinguished by stops. The first hymn usually concludes τωδε μπστ...εερμι εχωπ πτεγχα (πεπποδι πωπ εδολ), but once (Tôbi 21, Death of the Virgin) the formula is varied by [πτεq]ερεμοτ ππεηψτχμ μπχω εδολ πτε πεπποδι, followed by apπpecheτιπ εερμι εχωπ: the second hymn ends ειτεπ πιετχμ πτε...πστ (apiεμοτ? &c.). But both are commonly abbreviated to one or two words. Where neither formula was appropriate (as at Christmas) a variant, beginning τεπ τεο, was substituted. Ordinarily the hymns show no sign of acrostic arrangement: the only exceptions are: (i) the second Ode on Dioscoros (Thôout 3), and (ii) the second Ode on the Nativity, wherein each stanza begins with a letter of the alphabet.⁸ In the latter Ode, moreover, a refrain,

I The first numeral surely indicates a page, the second perhaps a numbered volume in the Monastic Library. Cp. below on No. xxxvIII G, Frag. 12 and note thereon.

2 See Dillmann, Cod. Eth. in Mus. Brit., no. XXVII (p. 30).

3 This is evident from the folio-numbers.

4 They are at Göttingen, Rome (Vatican, Borg.), Manchester (Rylands Library), and Cairo (Cathedral Church of S. Mark); it is said that an edition (from the last-named ms.) is in preparation by a Coptic priest.

5 The date of the compilation of the *Difnâr* itself is quite obscure (see Crum, *Cat. of Copt. MSS. in the Rylands Lib.*, p. 213).

6 See No. XXIV, 2, pnA, Il. 5-6.

7 Crum, op. cit., p. 211.

8 The text of this Ode is given above (No. 11).

mapengue epoq nem nuarreloc, follows each stanza: in the first Christmas Ode there is a refrain, cole φar renepχωρετιπ, after every second stanza. But this feature does not occur elsewhere.

Of the individual hymns preserved few are likely to be of much interest, but among the exceptions may be mentioned the narrative of the translation of a saint (almost certainly Ephraem Syrus) to the Monastery of Anba Bishoi (Tôbi 7), two hymns to Saint Macarius (Phamenoth 27), and the two imperfect hymns on John the Little (Paophi 20). The following is a summary of the contents:¹

(Vol. 1) *Thôout* 1: New Year's Day; 3, Dioscoros; 8, Moses the Prophet, Zacharias the Priest; 17, Holy Cross. *Paophi* 1, Paul of Tamwah, Sergius and Bacchus; 12, Matthew the Apostle; 20, John Colobos (the Little); 25, Abba Apollo; 26, Abba Makari of Tkoou. *Athor* 9, The cccxv111 Fathers at Nicaea; 22, Cosmas; 23, Merinê (Marina); 27, James the Persian; 28, Abba Sarapamon; 29, Peter of Alexandria. *Khoiak* 1, Shenouti (*i.e.* Consecration of Church of); 1, Peter the Bishop (the Iberian); 3, Entry of the Virgin into the Temple; 8, Şaint Barbara;² 15, Gregory of Armenia; 25, John Khamé; 27, Psoti and Callinicus; 29, The Nativity.

(Vol. 11) Tôbi 6, Basil of Caesarea; 7, Translation (of Ephraem) to Dêr Anba Bishoi; 11, John the Baptist and Feast of the Baptism; 12, Theodore the Eastern; 13, Marriage at Cana; 16, Saint Philotheos; 21, Death of the Virgin; 22, Saint Antony; 30, Martyrdom of Elpis, Pistis, and Agape. *Mecheir* 2, Paul the Hermit; 6, Apa Kyri and John; 8, Entry of Christ into the Temple. *Phamenoth* 13, The xL Martyrs (of Sebaste); Macarius the Great. *Pharmouthi* 25, Saint George. *Pashons* 6, Isaac of Tiphre; 10, The Three Children; 14, Abba Pachom.

G. A Book of Hymns.

Parchment. Twelve leaves or fragments (Cairo, no. 91) from one Ms. With these must be grouped (1) Cod. Tisch. XXIX, 29-33 (perhaps also 34),³ and (2) C.U.L., Add. 1886, 17 (from Tischendorf's collection).

The MS. was paged on the versos; but how many leaves the quire contained is not clear, since the last leaf of quire \overline{rs} is paged — \overline{cAb} , and the first in quire \overline{rc} is numbered \overline{cmo} , \overline{cn} . The intervening quire \overline{rc} , however, certainly contained eight leaves or sixteen pages. The complete page measures 19.4 × 16.3 cm. Many leaves (see on Frags. 1-4, 10, 12) have been cut vertically down the center, no doubt to be used for binding purposes. Guide-lines are ruled for every alternate line and down the left side of the column. The hand is a good-sized, clear, but somewhat coarse uncial of the 'paper' type, which may be assigned to the thirteenth century (see Plate XIX A, B). Illuminated headings accompanied by a spray of marginal illumination marked the beginning of the group of hymns assigned to each month. Rubrics are normally in red; but if they are lengthy, alternate passages are in red and black. The stop - (black), inserted by the original scribe, has generally been superseded by * (red).

The book to which these fragments belonged was a collection of hymns appointed for use on various festivals throughout the year,⁴ beginning with the month Thôout. Whether more than one hymn was allotted to each does not appear. The 'melodies' indicated are usually the familiar 'Batos' and 'Adam,' the latter being markedly preferred for feasts falling late in the month.⁵ In one case, however (Frag. 8, Pharmouthi 23), an alternative melody called 'The Fifty' is sanctioned, and on Epep 20 (see Frag. 12) a melody distinguished as 'O mighty Cross' was used.

Frag. I (Cairo, no. 91), 19.3 × 15 cm., a single leaf cut vertically into two unequal parts,⁶ and paged on the verso \overline{e} . Recto: Hymn to Dioscoros (Thôout 7) "the confessor, [he who] rejected the Tome of Leo." Of his following was "Abba Theodosius the Archbishop of the city of Rakoti." Verso: same concluded. Then, each between paragraphi, the 'rubrics' alana an..lec, and is nequeany the pen | new nninpoontine "Lo, all his ministry (?) is (written) in the Book of the Prophets." Lastly comes the heading (red):

I Most of the hymns are incomplete.

2 One leaf (pma) is in the possession of Dr. G. A. Auden of Birmingham, having been given to him in the Monastery in 1915 or 1916.

3 See Leipoldt, loc. cit., pp. 423 f.

4 Other collections of hymns are in the Rylands Library, Manchester: see Crum, Cat., nos. 433, 434 (pp. 208 ff.), and references.

5 Cp. Crum, op. cit., p. 211 (on the Rylands Difnâr).

6 The inner portion is much shrunk and faded, and the upper part (the first two ll.) has been cut off.

7 The Plerophoriae? If so, cp. Crum, op. cit., no. 435 (p. 212).

LITURGICAL FRAGMENTS

"Second day of Thô[out¹: John] the Baptist. Melody, 'Adam'" with the opening of the Hymn: піянас етачеротыни пе ишанинс пипродромос пооч ачт Бахич.

Frag. 2 (C.U.L. Add., 1885, 9), 18×14.5 cm., two leaves (one sheet) paged on the versos $\overline{\mathbf{R}\mathbf{h}}$, $\overline{\mathbf{R}\mathbf{n}}$. Folio 1 recto: text completely effaced; verso: text (in part) of Hymn for the Feast of the Cross (? Thôout 17). Folio 2 recto: the latter part of a Hymn on John the Little (Paopi 20);² verso: heading (red): "Twenty-second day of Paopi: Luke the Evangelist. Say (the) *psali* for the twelfth day of Paopi" (in the margin is the reference or correction $\overline{\mathbf{R}\mathbf{v}}$ onnec).³ Then follows a second heading: "Twenty-second day of Paopi: Abba Apollo. *Psali*. Melody, 'Batos.'" The short Hymn following is complete. Lastly (after a *paragraphus*) the direction $a\lambda \lambda n \lambda o \overline{r}[sa]$ **npo20c** $e \overline{sugen}$.⁴

Frag. 3 (Cairo, no. 91), 19.5×5.7 cm., is the outer half of a leaf, paged — $\overline{\mathbf{a}}$, which has been cut vertically down the center. *Recto*: conclusion of an unidentified Hymn. Then follows the heading (red): "[Twenty-seventh day of Paopi, Abb]a Makari [the Bishop. Let them] say, 'Let [...,'⁵ Melody,] 'Adam.'" The endings of seven lines of the Hymn follow. *Verso*: after the conclusion of the foregoing Hymn is the heading (red): "The...Sunday [of Pao]pi. *Psali*. Melody,..." The beginnings of ten lines of the Hymn follow.

Frag. 4 (Cairo, no. 91), 17×7.2 cm., is the outer half of a leaf paged $-\overline{\lambda c}$ and cut vertically down the center. *Recto*: after one line of text is the direction (black, between *paragraphi*)]ben toco[tokia? $\lambda\lambda\mu\lambda\sigma$]ia npo Δc . Then comes the heading (red): "[Eighth day of Athor. The Four] Beasts...*Psali*. Melody, 'Batos.'" The endings of twelve lines of text follow. *Verso*: the same continued. Next is the heading (red): "Athor 9. [Abba Isaac the Archbis]hop. Let them wor[ship in Abba Be]nopher.⁶ Ps[ali. Melody...]." The beginnings of four lines follow. (*Cod. Tisch.* XXIX, 31, a leaf paged $-\overline{\lambda c}$, 15×13 cm., and dealing with Athor 15 and 18, should come next in the sequence.)

Frag. 5 (Cairo, no. 41), 19×16 cm., comprises two leaves (one sheet). No page-numbers are distinguishable. Folio 1 recto: text wholly effaced; verso: text of Hymn for Khoiak 29 (?) beginning inc not choose etaggicapz agywni nonte(n). Folio 2 recto: text of Hymn beginning heave numpoophthe wy ebod; verso: text wholly effaced.

Frag. 6 (Cairo, no. 91), 16×14 cm., comprises two leaves (one sheet) of which the lower and outer margins are cropped.⁷ The first leaf is paged $-\overline{ox}$; the outer edge with the page-number of the second has been cut off. Folio 1 recto: text wholly illegible; verso: part of Hymn for the Nativity narrating the Visit of the Magi. Folio 2 recto: after two lines of text is the heading (red) cure etch orw[...] HXOC haroc $\frac{1}{2}$ [...]

Frag. 7 (id.), 13.2 × 16 cm., is the lower portion of a leaf. Recto. Heading: "Second day of Mechir, Abba Longinus. Psali. Melody, 'Adam.' SIRHIN ECDHTY (? an incipit) Den SARE RECORDER"⁸ (the last two words are canceled and a later hand has substituted RECORDER, 'the little book'). Second heading (red): "Fifteenth day of Mechir, Symon (sic) the Priest. Let them veil the throne.⁹ Psali. Melody, 'Adam.'" Five lines of the Hymn follow, beginning etstance Ebod RECORDER. Verso. The same concluded, ending SRI otog SRCWT AMON.

Frag. 8 (*id.*), 18.7×16 cm., is a complete but faded leaf, paged — $\overline{c\kappa k}$. *Recto.* "'Renew unto me' (an *incipit*). Take it from the first day of Thôout. Alleluia. Virgin."¹⁰ Then follows a second heading (red): "The Second Sunday of the Fifty (Days);"¹¹ and in black, "See (?) on the Second Sunday of the Forty Days"¹² (IC Tun¹³ ben the \bar{k} is the \bar{k} is the main.). A third heading (red) comes next: "The [Second] Sunday of the

1 That Thôout 2 should follow Thôout 7 is strange. Perhaps the arrangement was intended to give special prominence to Dioscoros.

2 The outer portion of this leaf was found in 1921. For the text of the Hymn on John see above No. XXIV, Ode 2.

3 I cannot explain опист.

4 I cannot explain проъос (which occurs elsewhere): стщен may be an *incipit*.

5 An incipit.

 $6 \text{ exgle[mgs ben ahla he]nopep, i.e. in the Sanctuary of Benopher, on which see A.A.C.M. 1, i, § 4.$

7 Possibly Frag. 6 should be placed between the leaves of Frag. 5. The former has been used to hold a hot iron bar and is therefore scorched. 8 "At the end of Khoiak" (for where see Auct. ad Peyronis Lexicon): *i.e.* the Hymn indicated was to be found there. In the margin is the page-number $\bar{\mathbf{n}}$ giving a more definite reference.

9 events \hat{n} that is a liturgical direction (and not an *incipit*) does it refer to some ceremony of veiling the Patriarchal Throne in the Sanctuary of Benjamin at the Monastery of S. Macarius?

10 арівері зарої тазос Беп сот а поотыт + аддидотіа паро.

And the Second Sunday

11 sc. the Second Sunday in the period between Easter and Pentecost.

12 sc. in Lent.

13 Obscure.

Fifty (Days)," followed by the direction (black) "The Samaritan Woman ($\frac{1}{4}$ campute). Psali. Melody, 'Adam.' Take it from the Sunday (*sic*) of Mechir" ($\frac{1}{4}$ cog den $\frac{1}{4}$ replace it mexcep). A fourth heading (red) follows: "The Fourth [Sunday of the Fifty Days]. Psali. Melody, 'Adam.'" The text of the Hymn follows, beginning page orog oedand w nuenoc finipums. Verso. The same concluded. A heading (red, two lines) followed, but is wholly effaced. The Hymn which followed begins $\frac{1}{4}$ den etxop fiezotciactec orog nuarreadoc fite ninight ficogni.¹

Lastly there is the heading, "Twenty-seventh day of Pharmouthi, the holy Apa Biktor. *Psali*. Melody, 'Adam,'" followed by the first line of the hymn put namoe $\bar{n}cmor + nalac$. *Verso*. Heading for last page of a quire, cAA \bar{Re} (Ornament) $o \bar{oc}$ \bar{rs} . Then the text of the Hymn is continued— $naoe\lambda H\lambda + eicasi \bar{e}$ nearraio + niarioc ana Airtup &c., and concludes with the rubric $[a\lambda AH]\lambda orna npo2oc$.

Frag. 10 (*id.*), 19.3×16.4 cm., is a complete leaf, the first in quire \overline{re} , paged \overline{cmo} , \overline{cm} . Recto. Below the quire-heading \overline{re} \overline{ro} (Ornament) $\overline{\chi v}$ \overline{cmo} , follows the text (without beginning) of a Hymn to "our Father Abba Panoub" (Paoni 23), who "in his choice (**npogepecic**) became a martyr and endured the affliction of punishment ($\underline{simopis}$) when the King Co(n)stantine (*sic*) pursued after thee (*sic*) and the Seventy Confessors." Verso. Heading: "Twenty-fourth day of Paoni. Abba Mousê (Moses the Robber). Psali. Melody, 'Adam'" (red). For the text of the Hymn following see above, No. xxiv, Ode 4.

Frag. 11 (*id.*), 17×6.5 cm., is the outer half of a leaf slit down the center and paged — cqÅ. Recto. Endings of seven lines of a hymn followed by a paragraphus. Then comes a rubric (red) [eyuon avya]nowy $\mathbf{b}e(\mathbf{n})$ [.....e]ohe nis[nocroloc⁶ + \mathbf{U}_{a}]A1 $\mathbf{h}_{\mathbf{X}}(\mathbf{oc})$ have. The endings of five lines of the Hymn follow. Verso. Beginnings of ten lines of the same Hymn show that the text is an adaptation of Matth. XIX, 27 ff., and commemorates the Martyrdom of Saint Peter (? and Paul) on Epep 5. Next follows the direction eyon av[yanowy $\bar{\mathbf{u}}$]nilowoc [....] hte niav[ioc...] concerning the [? found]ing of the Church..." (black).

Frag. 12 (*id.*), 19.7 × 16 cm., comprises two leaves (one sheet) from which both page-numbers have been torn (see Plate XIX A). Folio 1. *Recto*: "Epep 20. The holy Theodore the General. Let them worship (*lit.* worshiping) in (the Sanctuary of) the holy Mark, the small (Sanctuary).⁷ *Psali*. Melody, 'Batos.'" (сот $\bar{\mathbf{R}}$ *ñ*enhn niāvice өеоъюрос-пістра Алтнс етщемщі Бен пійчісе маркос *ñ*котхі-ψалі *й*хос-батос). The text of the Hymn follows, beginning a nenore inc nxc approx *î* нермюоті *ñ*re *f*xнра єтБен пани. *Verso*. The same Hymn is continued and concluded. Then, between *paragraphi*, comes the direction(black), "Put first a *psali* from the Theotokia. Melody, 'O mighty Cross.'⁸ Alleluia: ..." (сок є тен + ψалі євойьен *†*өеоъовій + йхос $\frac{\lambda}{R}$ *ñ*niщ $\frac{\lambda}{R}$ + aλλ_H *про*⁵). Next follows a heading, "Epep 25. The Second *Lakane*,⁹ and the holy Thekla the Apostle (red). Repeat everything which is written for Epep 5 except the *psali* 'These Twelve did Our Savior choose.'¹⁰ Alleluia. *Prodos*." Сот <u>Re</u> *ñ*епни - †Лаванн *й*мар *k* **5** † žoria *o*erAa

Twelve the Our Savior choose. Anentia. Frouds. Cor Re neural - Transmit and the factor of the facto

I For the 'Angel of the great Council' see above, p. 26.

2 Sic, but the word coerns is unknown to me. Possibly it is an initial word indicating some well-known Hymn, or the melody to which that Hymn was sung, just as does msn below, or msn below, or msn below, or msn below.

3 In the adjoining margin is a spray of conventional foliage: see Plate XIX B.

4 яхос пій адшантнат.

5 сик ετεн-пафпарбенос εβολδεη φθεόσοκιά πτε πιε2007 έτεμματ + αλληλοτία + πιπ. 6 Or perhaps any $h \omega y$ $h \varepsilon(n)$ [TCRHNH NT]e hense[min, "If they read in the Sanctuary of Benjamin" (for the Sanctuary named, see *A.A.C.M.* II, iv, § 5); but the text of the Hymn certainly has reference to the Apostles.

7 *i.e.* the Sanctuary of S. Mark in the Great Church at the Monastery of S. Macarius, situated to the N. of the Sanctuary of Benjamin: see A.A.C.M. I, i, § 5.

8 ñxoc & ñniuf.

9 Аланапн ймар бА.

10 The *incipit* of the Hymn of which slight fragments are preserved in Frag. 11.

LITURGICAL FRAGMENTS

Martyrs. Psali. Melody, 'Adam.'" Folio 2. Recto: "Mesôrê 16. The holy Assumption of the Theotokos [...] (red). Let them say 'This is the Gate' [and] 'Piakabôn.'¹ Psali. Melody, 'Batos.' Take from Khoiak 3 (the psali) 'The [righteous] shine.' Cov ic μμεςωρμ τω[μωλνμ]ψις μτε τοεόδοκ[ος εθονωβ] ενω θωι τε τμη[Άμ μεμ] μιδκαθών + ψαλ[ι μχος] βωτος + τωθος μ[επ cov] τ μχοιωκ + ετε + [....] ανερονωικι μαε μ[ιθμμι]. Alleluia—Virgin." Then follows the heading: "Mesôrê 19. The Coming-in (Translation) of the body of our Father Abba Makari (red) to Shiêt. Let them say 'Let them exalt him,' and 'Piakabôn' (black). Psali. Melody, 'Batos'" (cov iθ μμειμ τ μχικι έβονη μτε πλυμωπου μπεκιωτ ωβάω μωκωρι - (red), έβονη έ μιμτ + ενωμ μωρονσως + 5 μιδικοψων (black) ψωλι μχ βωτος (red)). For the text of the Hymn which follows and is continued throughout the verso see No. XXIII A, Ode IV.

The fragmentary sheet (*Cod. Tisch.* XXIX, 30, 30a) relating to festivals in the 'Little Month' should follow next in the sequence.

Frag. 13 (*id.*), 11.3×12.5 cm., is the lower part of the last leaf in the volume, containing references for finding Homilies, &c., appropriate for various occasions. Since the numerals are usually grouped in pairs, the smaller following the larger, it may be conjectured that the former refer to pages (or folios), the latter to volumes in the Library of the Monastery which must be assumed to have been numbered : cp. No. XXXVIII E, 3, and note thereon.² In the right margin other numerals have been added in red. If these are by a later hand, they may be revised references made necessary by a renumbering of the volumes in the Library, or they may be original and indicate the number of the chest in which the volume was to be found.³

At the foot of the *verso* is an Arabic note in a bold hand—perhaps that of the scribe who wrote the Ms. Unfortunately no notice of its contents can be supplied.

The text of this fragment is given in full.⁴

* * * * * * сде + % 5 фотсій пте ісаак + п2 + ке + Собе піхіпмісі + мо [к. піхрнсостомос ео[h]е [к. піхіпмісі . qā . ā . q + |н + пікотхі йайот Пійчіос апаріапос [ч. рпч + ке к. Оебфіддос еобе піарн [ч.

232 \asymp And the Sacrifice of Isaac 54.22. On the Nativity, 49⁵: Chrysostom *On the Nativity*

91.1.93 The Little Month.

Saint Andrianos, 153.22⁶. Theophilus On the Archangel (?).

1 The meaning of πιωκωρωπ (apparently an *incipit* or popular name for some hymn) is quite obscure.

2 See also Introduction, p. xliv.

3 This is made more probable by the fact that no one of these numerals in the margin is higher than 20.

4 The right edge of the *recto* has been cropped: any unitciphers following R (twenty) have therefore been destroyed. These marginal numbers are ignored in the version. * * * * Піт йёгоот йте п(іп)етн дахаріас сьшот еөће піпетн рде + пћ ріө¹ Піхрнсостомос + еөће ішпа + кт

¹ Added by a later hand.

The three Days of Nineveh—Zacharias of Schoou On Nineveh 165.82 (119 added by a later hand). Chrysostom On Jonah 23.

5 The reference is doubtless to the page of the volume from which our fragments come.

6 sc. Adrianus, commemorated (with his wife) on the third or fifth of the 'Little Month.' Of the two numerals, the second may indicate the volume, the first certainly the page to which reference was to be made.

H. Psalmody for Festal Days.

Parchment. Seven fragments (Cairo, no. 97) from a single MS. The script, a smallish, thick, and very regular uncial-hand, is probably to be assigned to the eleventh century. Headings to the various sections are in thin informal uncials.

The plan of the work to which these fragments belonged is as follows. A heading sets forth the day of the month, the name of the festival, and the appropriate Psalm-number. Then (in formal uncials) follows the text of one, two, or three verses of the Psalm preceding the reading of the Gospel. A noteworthy feature is the introduction of the word Aezic "Lection" between two verses of the selected Psalm-passage or even in the middle of a verse.¹

Further fragments of this MS. were recovered by Tischendorf and are now at Leipzig (Cod. Tisch. XXIX, $1 - 10^{A}$).²

Before the first of our fragments should be placed Cod. Tisch. XXIX, 1, containing directions for the Third Sabbath and Sunday of Paopi, and for Paopi 23 and 25; and id. xxix, 2 (Paopi 27-Athôr 8).

Frag. 1 comprises the lower halves (each 9×18.5 cm.) of two successive sheets (four leaves) from a quire. Folio 1, recto, begins with the heading, "The First Sunday of Athôr. Psalm XXIV." Verses 6-7 (= XXV, 6)³ are cited, followed by the direction λe_{31c} . Verso. The heading is lost. Psalm xcvi, 8 (λe_{31c}) and 6 (= xcvii, 7-8, 6)⁴ are cited. Folio 2, recto. The heading is lost. Psalm CIII (CIV) 4-5 are quoted. Verso. After the close of a citation, "The Second Sunday of Athôr. Psalm LXIV (LXV)," verse 10 is cited. Folio 3, recto. The heading is lost. Psalm LXV (LXVI) II (Ae31c) and 12 then follow. Verso. "[Athôr 22.] Day of the holy Cosma and Damianos and their Brethren. Psalm xcv1 (xcv11)." Verse 11 is quoted and followed by Acz1c. Folio 4, recto. The heading is lost. Psalm XLIV (XLV) 5 (Aezic), 6 are quoted. Verso. "Athôr 27. The Day of Iacobos (James) the Persian. Psalm CXXXIV (CXXXV)." Verse 4 is quoted.

Frag. 2 is a sheet of two leaves, each 17×16.5 cm., the second being numbered on the verso $\overline{\mathbf{R}\mathbf{R}}$. The lower part has been cut off and the text of the remainder is very dim. Folio 1, recto. After an illegible citation is the heading: "The Third Sabbath of Athôr. Psalm IV." Verses 3-4 (Aegac), I (sic) are cited. Verso. After an illegible citation is the heading: "Athôr 9. The Assembling of the cccxvIII of the holy Synod of Nicaea. Psalm ci (cii)." The cited passage is illegible. Folio 2, recto. Illegible quotation. "[Athôr 24.] The Day of the XXIV Elders. Psalm LXXXVIII (LXXXIX)." The passage quoted is illegible, as is also a heading which follows. Verso. Illegible heading and citation followed by "The Third Sunday of Athôr. Psalm XLV (XLVI)." The verse quoted is illegible.

Frag. 3 is a single leaf, 25.2×18.7 cm., paged on the verso $\overline{\mathbf{Ro}}$. The text is much bleached owing to exposure to weather. Recto. Citation from Psalms, followed by the heading: "[Athôr 28.] Abba Sarap[am]on, the holy Bishop. Psalm..." The quotation is illegible. Verso. "[Athôr 29.] The Day of Abba Peter the Martyr. Psalm..." The citation which follows is unidentified. Next comes "[The Fourth Sabbath of Athôr.] Psalm xxxix" and "The Fourth Sunday of Athôr. Psalm xxxvi" (in both cases the passages cited are too dim to be identified).

Next in the series should come: Cod. Tisch. XXIX, 3, containing mention of Peter the Iberian (Khoiak 1) and citations from *Psalms* XXI, XXIV, LXXXVII; and *Cod. Tisch.* XXIX, 8, the upper half of a leaf numbered $-\overline{\lambda c}$, and dealing with Khoiak 15, the Third Sabbath and Sunday of the month, and Khoiak 22.

Frag. 4 is a sheet of two leaves numbered on the versos $\overline{\lambda n}$, $5 \overline{\lambda n}$ and measuring 18×17.7 cm. (the lower part is torn off). Folio 1, recto, opens with a citation of Psalm CIII, 23 (= CIV, 24), followed by the heading: "The Fourth Sabbath of Khoiak. Psalm LXXIX (LXXX)." Verses 2 (Aezic), 2 continued,6 and 3, are quoted. Then comes "The Fourth Sunday of Khoiak. Psalm xcv (xcvi)." Verso. Verse i (= 1-2) is cited. Next is "Khoiak 2[7. The Day?] of our Lord the Christ... The Day of Abba Psoti the Bishop." Psalm XLIX (L)."

1 For the use of the direction λe_{31} see Junker, Koptische Poesie des Zehnten Jahrbunderts, 1. Teil, pp. 57 f.

2 See Leipoldt, loc. cit., pp. 420 f.

3 The Psalm- and verse-numbers are those of the Coptic Psalter (Cairo, 1897). The numeration of the English Psalter is added in brackets.

4 Very noticeable is the occasional inversion of the

passages quoted.

5 If, as is probable, this leaf immediately followed Cod. Tisch. XXIX, 8, the numeration is by pages, not folios.

6 This breaking of a verse is not unusual.

7 In the Synaxarium Psoti is commemorated on Khoiak 27, and the Nativity on the 27-28.

LITURGICAL FRAGMENTS

Verses 2 ($\lambda e \pi i c$), 5-6 are quoted [Cod. Tisch. XXIX, 4, commemorating John the Hegumen (Khoiak 30) with *Psalm* CXXXI, and Kallinikos (Tôbi 2) with *Psalm* LXXVII, must have formed part of leaf, $-\pi$ immediately following $-\overline{\lambda \pi}$]. Folio 2, recto. $\lambda e \pi i c$, followed by Psalm LXXVI, 11-12. Then follows the heading: "Tôbi 8. The consecration of the Church of our Father Abba Makari. *Psalm* LXVII (LXVIII)," verses 25-27 being quoted. Next, "Tôbi 9. The Day of our Father Abraham [of Shiêt]. *Psalm*" (citation illegible). [Cod. Tisch. XXIX, 8^a, commemorating the Feast of the Baptism (Tôbi 11) and the Third Day of the Baptism, evidently completes the foot of the page with which we are dealing].¹ Verso. "The [Second] Sabbath of Tôbi. ... Psalm VIII," verses 1 ($\lambda e \pi i c$), 1 continued, being quoted. "The Second Sunday of Tôbi. *Psalm* XXVIII." Verses 1-2 ($\lambda e \pi i c$) and 3 being quoted (= Ps. XXIX, 1-3).

Frag. 5 is the upper half, 17×19.5 cm., of the first leaf in a quire headed $\frac{1}{2}$ nor (Ornament) nni [$\overline{100}$?]. Recto: "The Third Sabbath of Tôbi. Psalm 1V (?)" (citation illegible). "The Third Sunday of Tôbi, Psalm XCII (XCIII)." Verso. "Tôbi 21. The Day of Our Lady the Theotokos. Psalm XLIV (XLV)...[The Day of the holy] Hilaria (nAlopia) Psalm..." [To the following page doubtless belonged Cod. Tisch. XXIX, 7^a, relating to the Fourth Sabbath and Sunday and to the last day of Tôbi, and to Mechir 2. Succeeding pages are represented by Cod. Tisch. XXIX, 9 (Mechir 10, 13), and 7 (Fourth Sabbath and Sunday of Mechir and the Sabbath of nimorp \tilde{e}_{born}).]

Frag. 6 is a single leaf, 26.8×15 cm., numbered $-\overline{px}^2$ The inner edge has been torn away, but the upper part of the missing fragment is extant at Leipzig (Cod. Tisch. XXIX, 5).³ Recto: "Epep 20. The Day of the holy Theodoros the General. Psalm XC," verses 10, 11 (Aczic), 11 continued -13 (= xCI, 13-16), being quoted. "Epep 21. The Theotokos. Psalm XLVII (XLVIII)." Verses 1 (Aczic) and 2 are quoted. "Epep 25. The Day of the holy Thecla. Psalm LXVII." Verse 33 (Aczic), followed (verso) by two verses from another Psalm, is quoted. "Epep 26. The Day of my Father Joseph. Psalm LXXIX." Verses 1 (Aczic) and 17 (= LXXX, 1, 19) are cited. "Epep 27. Ap(a) Amoun the man of Terenouti. Psalm [XXXVI]." Verses 28, first half (Aczic), and 28 (second half) cited. "Epep 2[.] The Day of Our Lord Jesus the Christ." [Cod. Tisch. XXIX, 5^a, paged \overline{pc}^4 , followed Frag. 6 immediately, forming with it (since Cod. Tisch. XXIX, 5, 5^a are connected) a single sheet. It indicates the Psalmody for the Fourth Sunday of Epep, for the feasts of Apa Apoli (Psalm XXVI) on Mesôrê 1, and for Simeon Stylites (Psalm LX) on Mesôrê 3.⁵]

Frag. 7 is a sheet of two leaves, each 26×19.2 cm. The second is paged —prex. Folio 1, recto. Citation (unidentified) from the Psalms. Then follows the direction, "The second time of reading for him (the saint previously commemorated). Psalm cv," verses 3 ($\lambda e z i c$) and part of 4 (= cv1, 4-5) being quoted. "The first place of reading for the end of the holy Theodosius, the Archbishop of Rakoti.⁶ Psalm civ." Verses 8 ($\lambda e z i c$) and 8 (second part) are cited. Verso. "Again (at) the second time of reading. . . Psalm cxviii." Verses 33 ($\lambda e z i c$), 29, 31 (= cx1x, 46, 42, 44) are quoted. Folio 2, recto. Psalm citation (unidentified). "If they read on (the Day of ?) the Prodigal Son, Psalm xxx1." Verses 1 ($\lambda e z i c$) and 2 (first half) are added. Verso. "If they read on (the Day of) Lazarus the Poor, Psalm xx1." Verses 1 ($\lambda e z i c$) and 2 (first half) are added. Verso. "If they read on . . . concerning the man who [went down to] Jericho, Psalm [Lxxxvii]." Verses 1 ($\lambda e z i c$), and parts of 4–6, are quoted. "The second time of reading for him, Psalm xx1." Verse 23 ($\lambda e z i c$), and parts of 4–6, are quoted. "The second time of reading for him, Psalm Lxvii." Verse 23 (= Lxvi, 25) is quoted.

1 How Cod. Tisch. XXIX, 10, 10^a (on the Second Day of the Baptism) is to be fitted to 8^a and to Frag. 4, fo. $-\overline{ma}$ is by no means clear.

2 The numeration of Frag. 6 and of *Cod. Tisch.* xx1x, 5^a indicates that by whatever accident the month Epep was placed before Paôni.

3 See Leipoldt, loc. cit., p. 421 (the two fragments are here

treated as one).

4 This instance leaves no doubt that the numeration is by pages.

5 Cod. Tisch. XXIX, 29, which has reference to the same dates, belongs to another MS., as the page-numbers clearly show.

6 Commemorated on Paôni 27.

XXXIX. COPTO-ARABIC VOCABULARIES

Paper. Fragments from ten vocabularies (Cairo, no. 100, i-x) giving the Arabic equivalents for Coptic (and Greek) words selected from the Scriptures and liturgical books.

(1) Twenty-two leaves, 17×13.1 cm., from a Sahidic-Arabic vocabulary, foliated as follows: \overline{mo} , \overline{zv} , \overline{zv} , \overline{zz} , \overline{z}

As the headings³ show, the work was divided into a number of sections first containing words from the Gospels and Epistles in order; then classified groups of words under such headings as fithtpicker, tantopa faction (*sic*); next (with Arabic headings) lists of Church Orders, buildings &c.; the Greek and Coptic numerals and so forth. The group corresponds more or less closely with a Sahidic vocabulary at Paris.⁴

(2) Two leaves (one sheet), 15×11.7 cm., unnumbered, from a Bohairic-Arabic vocabulary. The hand is the same as that of the Anaphora fragments above noticed (No. XXXVIII B = Plate XXII A).

(3) Eight leaves (four sheets), 14.3×10.5 cm., foliated (on the *rectos*) $\overline{\lambda}$ b, $[\lambda \mathbf{v}]$, $\overline{\mathbf{ov}}$, $\overline{\mathbf{oH}}$, $\overline{\mathbf{qb}}$, $\overline{\mathbf{qv}}$, $\mathbf{pR} \times$, —. These leaves mostly belong to the Biblical section of the Vocabulary, the headings (red) indicating *Timothy* I, *Philemon*, and *James* as the sources of the lists.

(4) Three leaves, 17.8×15.5 cm., numbered on the versos \overline{ok} , \overline{ms} , \overline{q} , the second and third being the first and last leaves of quire \overline{o} (there were therefore ten leaves in the quire, and the numeration is probably by folios). The heading of folio 90 is \overline{q} $\overline{10}$ (Ornament) $\overline{\chi c}$ \overline{o} . Late thirteenth century hand; stops \ast (red). Red numerals added in the margins appear to indicate page-numbers in a text rather than section-numbers. Since folio 90 partly duplicates folio \overline{qw} of no. (3) both groups belonged to copies of the same work.

(5) Eleven leaves, 13×8.5 cm., unnumbered, from a Grammar and Biblical Vocabulary. Greek equivalents are often added below the Coptic. Clear but rather rough hand of the late thirteenth (?) century.

(6) One leaf, 18×13 cm., numbered on the verso price. The list of words is drawn from *Revelation* (e.g. XIII, 2, XVI, 1, 12, XVIII, 12, XXI, 19 f.). Late thirteenth century hand.

(7) Fragmentary leaf numbered \overline{Ro} , and three leaves, 17.3×13.2 cm., numbered \overline{Ro} , \overline{nE} , — (the first two forming the outer sheet of a quire of ten leaves). The quire-heading is $[\overline{h}]$ \overline{IHC} (Ornament) $\overline{n\chi c}$ \overline{Ro} . Red stops \ast and \ast are used.

(8) Single leaf, 17.5×13 cm., headed $\overline{\nabla} \frac{(siz)}{\nabla cc}$ (Ornament) $\overline{\nabla c} \overline{\lambda[n]}$. Late thirteenth century hand (see Plate XXII B 2, right). The words (mostly Greek) are drawn from the *Anaphora* of Saint Basil.⁵

(9) Two leaves, 17.5×12.4 cm., unnumbered. Thick, earlier thirteenth century hand identical with that of (2). The words (mostly Greek) are drawn from liturgical sources, the list contained in the first leaf being drawn from the Basilian Anaphora,⁶ while the second includes such words as crnoponoc, fragmer, etc. (Plate XXII B).

(10) Single leaf, 17.5×13 cm., headed on the verso \overline{pR} \overline{vc} (Ornament) \overline{vc} s. Late thirteenth century hand: headings, capitals, and stops (*) are red. The words listed seem to be drawn from the *Theotokia*.

I The paper is the same as that of the Greek Liturgies (No. XXXVIII A).

2 See Crum, Cat., no. 114 (p. 62), where the folio numbers are given. Other fragments from the same MSS. to which our groups 2–10 belonged are also in the Rylands Library (Crum, Cat. 459), but I have had no opportunity to equate my groups with the groups distinguished by Crum, loc. cit.,

and by him attributed to the vocabulary of Es Sam-manûdi.

3 Biblical headings are in Coptic, the remainder in Arabic.

4 Bibl. Nat., Copt. 44 (as Crum informs me).

- 5 From pp. 312-337 of the Cairo Euchologion (1907).
- 6 From pp. 329-343 of ed. cit.

SUPPLEMENTARY TEXTS

SUPPLEMENTARY TEXTS

A. PSEUDO-LINUS

The Martyrdom of Saint Paul.

Parchment. The upper half of a leaf (Cairo, no. 17^{Add}),¹ measuring 16×23 cm., and foliated on the verso \overline{z}^2 . The outer margin of the fragment, which has apparently been used for book-binding, has been folded over and pasted down. The script, a small, regular uncial, is perhaps identical with the script of No. xxi, Frags. 2-4 (with which the fragment is erroneously grouped). The stops used are, = (black ink) and + (red ink).

The fragments of the text preserved are from the Martyrdom of S. Paul by pseudo-Linus,³ and answer to parts of folios 13^b, 14^a of the Arabic version.⁴ They should have been grouped with No. vi.

Cairo, no. 17^{Add}.

d, no. 17 ^{Add} . мвасано щтеко	с пшот адеіт	07 ë 11-		ζ 0802 пехац пац хе пірωм[і йте піпіщ4 йоя[ро е]таятні , [
Gταςщωπι 2007 + 1 5 κωቶ ñca 26 άποκ κες ñor	ъе бен отни пем отйвон а отон нівен отматоі пте ро ётем-	сөпахос сөпахос	5	йтот ексопе + ахос пні хе от петацщыпі ймок + хе а[к-
10 рн† ечх пібеп ет	чсемпі потри 66 млос же о 10тпа[ж]емот 11тс п <u>хс</u> [ма]	поп Ет[01 <i>й</i> -	10	χιά = Πατλος δε πεχας ώπεμθο [ποτ- οπ πιμέπ χε κεςαρος οτ μ[ο- ποπ θη ετε θωκ ñ επαρχ[ι]α μ- μα]τάτς τ[εη]πάβεκ ματ[ο]ι εμ-
	* eu] 4ŭoji[c 9 ve uiči[b9 26 u[z6] u[3		2	نشنک иеиеб . آشار انعه عند (مط]فکنوپر[وع]نا (]مار

[Nero inflicted great] 'torments on them and cast them into the prison. And since he was in a great rage and fury, he caused search to be made for every one who should say, "I am a soldier of that eternal King." And he established a decree after this manner, saying: "All who shall be found being soldiers of Jesus the Christ let them be..., one and all." Now when this decree was made, the whole army scattered throughout the city...

*And he (Nero) said unto him: "O man of the great king who art delivered bound into my hands, tell me × Verso what hath happened unto thee that thou hast ventured to come into Rome and to raise soldiers for thy king from mine own realm?" But Paul said in the presence of every one: "Caesar, not only from thine own realm will we raise soldiers; (for our King) hath commanded"

1 This number was assigned before the fragment was identified.

2 The numeral is doubtful: if correct it must be a folionumber.

3 For a discussion of the origin, history, and character of this work see C. Schmidt, Acta Pauli, §§ vI-IX.

4 Lewis, Myth. Acts of the Apostles, pp. 218ff. The passage is extant in Sahidic and has been published by Guidi in Atti della Accad. dei Lincei, 111, ii, p. 67. For a Latin version see Lipsius-Bonnet, Acta Apost. Apocr., 1, pp. 28-30.

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* Recto ?

B. Ode on the Four and Twenty Elders.

Paper. Leaf from the *Theotokia* (Cairo, no. 92 i), 27×17.5 cm., foliated on the *verso* $\overline{z^{2}}$. The script, a large, loose, irregular uncial, is probably later than the fourteenth century.

The text is an Ode on the Four and Twenty Elders, partly extant also in Cairo, no. 93, Group B, but hitherto unpublished. For other Coptic matter relating to the Four and Twenty see S. Gaselee, *De* xxiv *Senioribus*. The most remarkable feature in the Ode is the alleged recital of the Elders' names by the Lamb (see ll. 29-32).

	піка мпресвотерос ¹		32
	Ш пім пе ебпощохі2.	25	GTQENCI EXWOT .
	μπωοτ πεμ πταιο •		пже саппрескотерос •
	NTE MIRA .		ммоп шхом пдес псерз •
	мпресвътерос »		ΝΑCΑΣΙ Ε ΠΟΤΤΑΙΟ •
5	Наі стерфоріп •		Алсытем ё підінь •
	пеанстолн потшии •	30	еутаото ппотран •
	ερε εδηχλομ πώοτ •		ісхеп тархн <i>й</i> піахфа •
	ยาระถ ทอรล์อุหอรรี •		щα пхωк йнιώ •
	Сре па пфіблно		Себепт ёботп ё ф†•
10	nnork ben norxix •		ñxe пај отна етбосі •
	હ્રઽમાદઇ પુરભ્યાયયેલ આ	35	ёготе пітатма тнрот «
	ечсоти емащи»		ñenospanion »
	Ете піпросетун •		Стро пснот пивеп •
	• วงเๆลี่ยา จาก		è trpiac eo(otab) •
15	еготырп ймшот е пщыг о		» маре пекметщепрнт о
	2a Atpiac eo(orab) •	40	таре пікосмос тнру •
	Наі пе пн ёт аусахі •		Йтекнал Ба піршмі •
	<i>мп</i> шот ñte тотметп1Щ † •		птекще пент ва пітелпшоті •
	ихе фн ед(отор) 10(9иинс) •		птексмот ё питаршот мишот •
20	πιεγαννελιατής •		ñterñor ³ ē πщωι ñraλωc •
	Amar rap nezay .	45	Витеп пипрескта •
	è къ поропос •		ñte nai
	етки с пюропос •		sic exit
	йте птаптократыр •		

¹ Red ink. The last two syllables are added in black by a later hand.

² The letter $\underline{\mathbf{u}}$ is added in red by the *rubricator*. ³ = ntekenov.

The Four and Twenty Elders.

O who can tell the glory and the honor of Four and Twenty Elders—they who are clad in robes of light and have crowns of glory upon their heads? Four and twenty vials of gold are in their hands, filled with perfume exceeding precious, even the prayers of the saints which they send up on high unto the Holy Trinity.

These are they of the glory of whose greatness the holy John the Evangelist spake: "For I saw," said he, "four and twenty thrones round about the throne of the Almighty; and upon them sat Elders." No tongue of flesh might express their glory. I heard the Lamb declaring their names from the beginning with *alpha* unto the end with *omega*.

Nearer unto God are these exalted priests than all the heavenly hosts, as they beseech the Holy Trinity at all times, saying: "Let Thy compassion encompass the whole earth, that Thou mayest have mercy upon men, that Thou mayest have compassion upon cattle, that Thou mayest bless the rivers of water, that Thou mayest make them to rise duly."

Through the intercessions of these...

SUPPLEMENTARY TEXTS

C. Acrostic Hymn on the Finding of the Cross.

Paper. Two leaves, foliated on the versos \overline{Re} , \overline{Re} , from the first volume of the Difnâr (see above, No. xxxvIII F). The text is the opening of an acrostic ode on the Finding of the Cross by the Empress Helena.¹ Each alphabetic stanza (containing four verses) is followed by a subsidiary, non-alphabetic stanza: in the fourth and fifth sections these subsidiary stanzas are doubled.

× Ke recto	السابع عشر من Cov गर् ग्राके60т شهر ثوت عَيد الصَليب معنه معنه لحن آمريمه بقرار آمريم أمريم أمريم فراطس آمريم أمريم	×ñαε ຈλεημ τογρω + αε ματαμοί ε πιτ + πιψε ετ αγαψ παστ ερος Άγερ ογώ ñαε πιιογααι + 3° εγςααι πθωογ πεμ πογέρμογ 4	RC recto
	Α τερεπιστμιπ ε πατ + παε τλειμ τοτρω + ε πιψε εσοταβ πτε πιτε + πιψε ετ αταψ παστ ερος + 5 Ππεςχα τοτς έβολ ε πτηρη + εςκωτ πους μεμ οτσιμιμουτ α	αε ις πιςααι ήτε πεπιστ + αταωκ έλολ έρρκι εαωπ + Α πιτοτ στελ ψελψητίλι + ά πιπααρι ήτε ποτψηρι ςληαι + 35 πιωιωτλος ετασταρωστ + ασι έρρκι έαεπ ποτψηρι + 6τ α ήλεπη τοτρω +	
× Re verso	ескиф йсшу Бен отстущшоот » щатесхему Бен отспотън » едбе песпаст ёботп ероу » «Воп отращі щоп йфоот » О Беп тфе пем гіхеп пікагі » ёгрні ёхеп піотипе ёбод »	άμοπι ππιιογδαι τηρογ + Σε ις φμογ πεμ πωηή ώπετεπώθο + 40 ματαμοι έ πιτέ + Αγτ πιογδας πας έδον(η)	RE verso
I	пте пь载 предтапъо » Пъ载 тепоъющт дмод » пъще пте Фметатмоъ » 5 пъще ет аъащ паот ерод » щаптедсоттеп Беп пепповь »	πτεςταμος έ πιτέ + 45 Αςερ οτώ παε ιοταας + οτος πεαας ήπιιοτααι + αε αςαωκ έλολ πφοοτ + παι πιςααι ήτε πεπιοτ +	
2	Ге пар астыпс йже блепн » асбі йё йщо мматоі » асще пас ё іднм » ескы† йса піф » Дъер отсобпі йже піготдаі »	ζακχεος φιωτ ώπαιωτ + 50 αςςαχι πεμ ςιμωπ παιωτ + χε εωτ πε άτογκωτ + άςα πιψε πτε πιτ + Gywn άτογκωτ πςως + ογοηρς έβολ ώπαιτεκμογ +	
	κεμ κοτέρκοτ ετω πμος ↔ ∞ε διμδκφος κτεκμετότρο ↔ τεκκδοτωκς ¹ πκι π έδολ δκ ↔ 5 Δικεός διςδαι κεμώοτ ↔	55 же бен пиченос ите писевреос » ммон гли унаер отро ан же » Нъсос аусажи пемас » * * * *	

¹ Grouped in the Ms. with the preceding line.

*The seventeenth day of the Month Thôout. The Feast of the Holy Cross.

Melody, 'Batos.'

Helen the queen desired to behold the holy wood of the Cross, the wood whereon my Lord was crucified. She stayed not her hand at all in seeking for it earnestly, until she found it with joy because of her faith therein. *There was joy on that day in heaven and upon earth at the revealing of the life-giving Cross. * The Cross do we worship, the wood of immortality, the wood whereon my Lord was crucified that He might save us from our sins.

Helen arose and took three thousand soldiers and went to Jerusalem, seeking for the Cross. The Jews took counsel together, saying: "If she come unto our kingdom, we will not reveal the Cross." Justly spake *Helen the queen unto them: "Show me the Cross, the wood whereon my Lord was crucified." The Jews answered, speaking among themselves: "Lo, the words of our fathers are come to pass upon us, 'The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the teeth of the children are set on edge.'¹ The persecution which overtook them is come upon their children."

When Helen the queen had seized all the Jews (saying): "Lo death and life are before you: show me the Cross," they delivered unto her Judas, *because he was the son of a prophet and knew well the Law, * Fo. 26^b

1 Jer. XXXI (XXXVIII) 29. Cp. Synax., Tût 17, ed. Basset, pp. 61 f.

× Fo. 25ª

* Fo. 25^b

* Fo. 26^a

that he might show her the Cross. Judas answered and said to the Jews: "Fulfilled today are the words of our fathers. Zacchaeus, the father of my father, spake unto Simon my father, saying, 'Needs must that they will seek after the wood of the Cross. If they seek after it, reveal it, that thou mayest not die; for in the race of the Hebrews there is none shall reign again."

Readily spake he unto her...

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

FRAGMENTS OF AN ARABIC MS. IN COPTIC SCRIPT

EDITED BY

DR. G. P. G. SOBHY

[Paper. Thirty-three leaves nearly complete, six mutilated leaves, and one small fragment¹ (Cairo, no. 45). The leaves, 19.8×13.5 cm. when complete, are unnumbered; though the first and last leaves of each quire are duly signed. Examples of these headings are — $\overline{16}$ $\overline{19}$ (Ornament) $\overline{\chi_{9}}$ | \overline{ke} (Ornament) $\overline{\overline{\phi_{9}}}$ is a thick black uncial, probably of the late thirteenth or fourteenth century. New sections open with an enlarged initial and with their first two lines in red ink: ordinary paragraphs have the usual enlarged capital. The stops =, : and · are regularly used to distinguish every word. In certain cases Arabic consonants are written above their Coptic equivalents, red ink being used. To the same Ms. belonged two leaves recovered by Tischendorf which are now at Cambridge (C.U.L., Add. 1886, 17).² The work to which these fragments belonged was apparently designed for the instruction of novices (see fo. 15^{vo}), drawing mainly upon the Sayings of the Fathers³ and the Orations of Esaias Abbas, of Scete.—H. G. E. W.]

The importance of these leaves is paramount. They teach us first of all how Arabic was pronounced in the period when the MS. was written. It is, of course, not the classical Arabic, but a type of the vernacular which was not so degenerate as at the present time. Secondly, they show us that the Arabic dialect used was that of Lower Egypt because it shows all its characteristics,⁴ which, though not yet all formed, were in the process of formation. The *ö* for example had not yet degenerated into the *hamza* of nowadays. I agree with Casanova's opinion that the subject-matter was written at dictation from the way the words were cut into syllables. They also teach us that until the period at which the Ms. was written Coptic was still the language spoken by the Monks and the Coptic Church, at least in the Monasteries. Last of all, the most important result of studying these leaves is the knowledge we gain of the values of the different letters in the Coptic alphabet and their equivalents in Arabic. My opinion on this matter differs in many respects from that of Casanova. It however corresponds most closely with the actual pronunciation of Coptic in the Church which I detailed in two articles published some time ago.⁵ For lack of space I cannot, unfortunately, study this most important document with the necessary detail and I must defer this examination to some other occasion. It must suffice to give a general table of the equivalents of the alphabets in Coptic and Arabic, and to give the necessary explanatory notes. In the translation I have tried to be as literal as possible, even at the sacrifice of good English phraseology. In the Arabic transliteration I have sometimes replaced suppressed marks in Coptic such as the tanwin, which is represented in the Coptic text by two oblique red lines at the end of the word, thus #. The nominative and objective tanwin need no additional letters, but the dative tanwin always, or almost always, calls for a preceding alef in Arabic. This I have always represented, when it does not appear in the Coptic texts. Thus محموماً is represented in Arabic as رجل (nominative), but (dative) and قل له = tobjective): so also with the suppressed final r in Coptic Rordhor . قل له = topic rordhor . قل له are other minor points which will be easily grasped by the reader.⁶ I must draw attention here to the curious transliteration of the Arabic letter $\dot{\omega}$ by the Coptic z. The letter $\dot{\omega}$ is never pronounced as z in Arabic of the present time, whether classical or vulgar. It is always pronounced as a guttural d; sometimes even in hurried pronunciation it becomes indistinguishable from the d = 3. The $\dot{\omega}$ however is pronounced like a d = 3. which is a guttural th = 2 and which is also represented by a ζ , in Turkish. Was the influence of Turkish already acting in Egypt at the date when the Ms. was written? If so, we might suspect that the A represented a v or Turkish ..

I Four or five of the fragments have been omitted by Dr. Sobhy as too small to deserve publication.

2 Published by P. le Page Renouf in *P.S.B.A.* XI, 112, 155, and later studied by Amélineau and by Casanova (*Bull. de l'Inst. Franç. d'Arcb. Or.* I, pp. I ff.). For convenience these leaves are now republished at the end of the new-found group of fragments. To the Rev. De Lacy O'Leary, D.D., I am deeply indebted for reading a proof of the following pages.

3 See the footnotes. The references are to the Greek Apophthegmata as found in the editions of Cotelier and Migne, and to the Coptic edited by Amélineau in Annales du Musée Guimet (A.M.G.) xxv.

4 Cp. Ancient Egypt, 1921, pt. 111, pp. 70 ff.

5 Cp. Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, vol. 11, 1915, pt. 1, p. 15; and Bull. de l'Inst. Franç. d'Arch. Or. XIV, p. 51.

6 Underlined words are rubrics written in red in the мs.

Coptic	Arabic	Remarks	Arabic	Coptic	Remarks
à	1, 0	The	1	ъ, ε, н	The n before 1 is invariably used with no difference what- ever for 1 . Casanova's theory of Emala does not hold good at all
£	و	This may have been pro- nounced like V and represent- ed the Turkish \mathfrak{g}	Ų	n	
יז	ġ	Invariably used for the v	Ţ	చ చ గ, ల	The \Leftrightarrow always, marked above it $\stackrel{\bullet}{\sim}$ with three dots instead of two $\stackrel{\bullet}{\sim}$ although it repre- sents t 3. The actual spoken Arabic has lost entirely the $\stackrel{\bullet}{\sim}$ th
2	ذ ,د		ث	ۍ د	ألاثة In همكوهو Th
e	I, <u>-</u> ,	Invariably used for either t or <u></u>	5	X	There is no doubt whatever that the ∞ and the \overleftarrow{c} here represent dj and not the g hard. The Classical Arabic knows no g hard, and the sound g hard in Upper or Lower Egypt, ex- cept in Cairo, nowadays al- ways means \overleftarrow{c}
ζ	ز , ض , ظ	Only once for j . The $\phi = \zeta$ only in Turkish??	۲	2 2	Always the \mathfrak{e} marked with the Arabic \mathfrak{a} above it
н alone	•••	Not represented	Ż	న	Which is variable in its form, \$, р being used
Ð	ث ,ط ,ت	ث Once for	\$	2	
3	,,	Sometimes for a short ±, in Χιδεκ	ذ	2	in the spoken Arabic is lost, always pronounced a
R	ق ,ك	Always marked with the re- spective Arabic letter it re- presents	ر	р	
λ	J		j	ζ, c	Twice in the same word $ma-acen$ the i ought to be $i = i$; main call i = i
м	هر		س	c	
п	ن		ŵ	<u>щ</u>	Once $\overset{\circ}{\mathbf{y}}$ thus, never $\boldsymbol{\sigma}$, which however does not occur at all ¹
z	Ļ	Appears in one fragment with- out my being able to assign its value	ص	c	

CONCORDANCE OF COPTIC AND ARABIC ALPHABETS

I See the monumental work of M. Chassinat where he attacks my dictum that the σ is always pronounced like English ch. Un Papyrus Médical Copte, p. 33.

APPENDIX I

Coptic	Arabic	Remarks	Arabic	Coptic	Remarks
0	<u>َ</u> , و , <u>ـ</u>	Is oddly used for <u></u> in poxoλ etc.	ض	ζ	Was the فن then pronounced as فظ as in Turkish? Or was it the influence of Turkish??
π	ب		ط	ط ط ۳, ۰	Always with the Arabic equivalents above them
q	ر		ظ	ζ	The Copts could not catch exactly the right pronuncia- tion of this letter
c	ز , ص , س	Faultily used for خ which ought to be ک	3	e 2 2	The Arabic ε above is never written in full and might pass for ε hamzah, once or twice \diamond
т	ث, ط, ت		ġ	77	
r alone		Always $+ o(v)$	ف	4	
ልን	او ,آو		ق	ق K	
03	به ,و	As in котλλот قلله	ك	<u>نے با</u> K, X	
¢		Not represented	J	λ	
x	ك		هر	M	
Ψ	• • •		ن	п	
ω	•••		٥	2, 07, a	According to its position
Щ	ش		Ä	દર, દર, દ ર, દ, રુ	77 37 37
વ	ف		ـوَ ,و	b, 07, 0, ar	
న	 خ		Y	λε, λα	
٤	ع ,ح ,ه		۽ ,ي	І, Н	
x	Ĉ		۽َ ,يَ	ні, єі	
đ	• • •	Never used, never represents ج or	-	ð., E	Not represented when final
4	• • •			//, EN	Two oblique red lines, once or twice en
			-	ε, 1	
			<u>.</u>	0, 07	Not represented at end
				// =	Two oblique red lines
			-3	//_	Two oblique red lines
	_		ع	66	Once or twice

Cairo, no. 45.

* Fo. 1 recto	ο ×πεκαςεβεο · καλπ · yελ	بقساوة قلب
10. 17000	ζ λεΣι · θεζο · ιεχονη · πε	فالذى تحت يكون
	s	
	Mecxeneden 2271Me2	بمسكنة عظيمه
	eanzoe · bemeienka :	عنده وما يبقى
	λοτ : μελχε : δεσαλας	له ملجا وخلاص
	ίλλε : садепод цеге	الا صاحبه فيصيح
	с С12 · Песато 2271м	بصوت عظیم
	ь 1966а сябеноб : деіъе	يعرف صاحبه فاذا
	семае : сарепор 160	mag alaça
	ζ γληπεή γλημό ce	يتحنن عليه س[ريعا]
	Δειεολοπ βαλας	ويطلب خلاص
	Аелераллесог :	وخلاصه
	deces seyer	فسد ذلك
	ерразі і цегзе	الردى . فاذا
	С 2еп 2еъе	حبّ هذا
× Fo. 1 verso	е ×бауніб · режебея : бя	عليه وجاهد على
	уя Рауасоб · нецеу	خلاصه من
	варщ ерраът : Беме	الوحش الردى
	басе ен теходи · уене	ومعاذ ان يكون لنا
	noon eypeped . eu	نحن الخراف
	ق ط петакар • еддеоз • де	الناطقه التى
	Radie · eduecie · ize	لقطيع المسيح اذا
	υοδ μ • Θ εβεκκε <u>γ</u> με	نحن توڪلنا
	[α]λμις · γελε ιοήςαδ	عليه فلا يفسح
	λ· εαδου· ευ· ιεζ	لعدو ان
	ne : Jexen 1ep	[يعز]نا لكن
	μελεχοτ • λεπε	ير[سل] ملاڪه لنا
	Баууасие • мен х	خلاصنا من
	tan seno	[الشي]طان
	оъ. еудо	· · · · · ·
	λλαλε	

* Fo. 1 recto

× Fo. 1 verso

... * and cruelty of heart.¹ He who is underneath will be in great meekness and shall have no refuge or salvation except his master. He then crieth with a loud voice which his master knoweth, and when his master heareth...he shall have pity on him and demand salvation...and save him...he spoiled this... harmful. If ... liked this ... *on him and strove to save him from the ferocious beast.² Refuge !-- that if we the rational sheep of Christ's flock depend on Him, He will not let an enemy do us harm but send His angel....to save us from Satan...

*

1 = Virtues of S. Macarius (A.M.G. XXV, 131).

*

2 loc. cit.

*

APPENDIX I

×ле • Фак дале елме ق кам • реропе : цекал εγχεμιό : νεμδον · 17ε 6 λεη · μακθε : δαλε : εγμε кам : регопе : метала ihe : matzae : abap : ق кау : че : кољуо : унис еу : боже : іуе ен • 97 роъгоме : делетхл Хе : десфрокооме : שלישב שביותב י ארסשים ש γεδοπε · θεδαγολ εμ nor $\cdot \lambda \in \mathbb{X}$ on $[e \ ma] = [a]$ еп хоп · оом ق ценалот <u>κε</u> [0 ⊕]ζ <u>Σ</u> ×вепар • п....ре • цеъе царт · Легом · цес · Бе τοριε · Δεθελλις 50ηζ решеуб · ререузніфе Sow . ISE COPPS . IELE се • веколт • легом of solution sedone sod pag · bezinor dexom касап • меп едваът • he · 92000009e · hear 20208. Acxont 17en ennegom 129 рап ді суженеу уди ÷ Бесе 10x0rn ت ق

لا على المقامر هاهنا فقال الكبير منهم اذا لمرنقوى على المقامر هاهنا مضينا الی موضع اخر قال فقلت ليس الحاجة الى ان اطردهما فيشكيكما فاتركهها ناذا تعبا فهما يهربان فقلت لهما تعالوا ابنوا لكما [موضعا] فقالوا

× Fo. 2 recto

× Fo. 2 verso

× Fo. 2 recto

* Fo. 2 verso

وملح وودیتهم الی صخرة یابسة وقلت لهم احفروا هاهنا حفرة واجنوا لكم قصب من الوادی وحطوها واقعدوا وڪنت یهرب فی الجبل

فدفعت لہمر فاس و

طورية وتلَّيس خبز

*....to stay here.¹ The elder² amongst them said, "If we cannot stay in this place we shall depart to another." He³ said, "I said (that) there is no need to send them away lest they complain of you. So leave them and if they are tired they will run away." I said to them, "Come, build you [a place]...they said... *...and I gave them an axe and a hatchet⁴ and a sack of bread and salt, and I brought them to a dry rock and said to them, "Dig here a hole and bring reeds from the valley and put them down and sit...then that....run away...in the desert....I said...

I = Apophth. Patr., Macarius, XXXIII; and A.M.G. XXV, 207 ff.

..... цеколт

3 sc. Macarius.

2 i.e. of the two 'Little Strangers' (Maximus and Domitius).

4 Notice that Arabic طورية τωρι "hatchet."

× Fo. 3 recto

×вепмещотр ومشوره 126 ЛЕМ · IEDEMECCER . . . اذا لمريتمسك ελεπсеп · πεεθθεζαρ الانسان باتضاع ظع ق 2221M · 41824002 = Fe عظيمر في قلبه ي ع معدد عدم مع مع مع وجسده و يعود печсот • чі щні • бе نغسه في شي ιεκπελ · χολ · ελχελεμ ويقبل كل الكلام венетлем печсот . чи ويظلم نفسه في ход : щні · ве ісхотп ڪل شي ويکون موته قريبا منه ματθοτ · καριπ = μεπ2.. IAMENS RELATINS . A يوما بيوم و σ <u></u> ιεχγα» · χολ ελ..... يجحد كل الا λιεö .. Δειεχολάويجحد ويک دوکر . فوجره اهٔل وکلّ الى ابو ile enor ق ق ق ہ مقار وقال له قل макар • Векаллор кол لى كلام كيف **γι Χεγε**η • Χειά • 1ε يكون خلاصي قال хоти · радась · над له الشيخ امض yo5 · emmer? · enzi الى القبور واشتمر иле · елкопотр · Беещ الموتى оом · елматое · Leop zonzon · nedzizap وارجمهم بالحجار فمضى الاخ чемета · елар · реше وشتمهم ورجمهم оемоом · Вераженоом بالحجارة وعاد [n]edgizapa · Legaz الشيح فقال ... ещщегь · чекол ещщењ • ме . . . الشيح ٤ŝ пок · чекал فقال

× Fo. 3 verso

× Fo. 3 recto

... * the counsel... If man do not hold great meekness in his heart and body and submit himself to everything and accept every saying and be harsh to himself in everything, his death shall be near him day by day and... exorciseth all... and exorciseth.... and every....

*[A brother came] to Abba Makari¹ and said to him, "Say to me words how I can gain my salvation." The Sheikh told him, "Go to the cemetery and revile the dead and throw stones at them." The brother went, and reviled them, and stoned them and returned...the Sheikh. And he said.... the Sheikh...And he said... * * * * * * * *

1 = Apophth. Patr., Macarius, XXIII; A.M.G. XXV, 126.

* Fo. 3 verso

APPENDIX I

ق ×еррадие · коъ мелек елместе • тех . . . λεγε λελ .. 9271 * и у коъ.... од • heiexehen хо еп · лемпароа · Ceelog . 2526 . ELAB EL hegaz gan · edyacd · en щепепак • 1ефехелел MEON · En · HECP · Kan hog ق мпа макарі · Хемеоу · еттерен іте мегор • чаппал . 1.... ...p. xezez..... ... xi · opan ... θ..εθθ.... £ 922 · 219846 DEXON xezize · be 22 ile · elgor Сеелог елад не gor eccogors . ite ق (9 ανκ · ιε επι · καλλο ния макарі · Хенефу. еппеср · ізе өзр · чі ελαδα · desor ιεθραγ Jac · Men · Jap · Eccar e ize · 222 · ite geiexor ъ€ ⊕ ... €Щ ... еъе

الرحمة ملاك المسيح لها عظيم قو ويجاوب ،.... يمنعها سأله هذا الاخ الواحد عن الفصل ان شبابك يتجدد مثل النسر قال له انبا مقارئ كمثل الذهب اذا مح [ص] ? . . بالنار چدد نغس از و ها وكل حاج ضعفة تكون جديده . . . الي الع[لمو ساله الاخ . . . ما هو الصعود الي فوق يا ابي قال له انبا مکاری کمثل النسر اذا طار في الجوّ فهو يتخلّص من فخ الصياد ? . . . اذا عاذ الى فيكون

× Fo. 4 verso

* Fo. 4 recto

* Fo. 4 recto

* Fo. 4 verso

....^xmercy....The Angel of Christ....to her....great...and answered....prevented her. *This same brother asked*¹ concerning the passage that "Thy youth shall be renewed like the eagle."² Abba Makari said to him: "Like gold when tried in the fire....renewed....

×....and everything that shineth shall become new....to...

The brother asked him.... "What is the 'going upwards,' O my father?" Abba Makari said to him: "Like unto the eagle when he mounteth upwards in the sky which is to save himself from the hunter's trap...if he returned.....

I = A.M.G. xxv, 145 f.

2

* Fo. 5 recto

×сар • сууе⊅і боуніб ∻ λεχεππερε : σεσρεπωπη ρω уніб · рефеукіб · Лалк CEAPESE · HEPEZS · JEPES Bexod . Wei . yor . Seyor δαυσεδε · deise Seues 26 · 622200 · WECHOLLS · 61236 λε · 2011 · βεγε>δε · de ÷ мерасе еп техотп • меп μεγαππεσ · εςςαπας · 41 ne · cenezne · recos · ey MEC19 : АБ : сел : ипа макарі : ق κοτλ · λι · εελ · εσσατ ق πε · καλλοξ μπα μακαρι епеббатер 🔆 Лніс топьтэмкэп • покпэө× ре · Хеневу · еурате πε · ελλεφι · λελ · Þαφ • эмбэ · деоза · едне . лехен · меод · сапар · Soxim · obor · eu · 106 мен · сенсене ÷ банана ъереп · ребоуяка · Лаг Za ∻ вемен еубаэгэ Берресас · іде еп · ге RIM · ECCENCENE · BEIE XENNEYSE · SEZE NE 064) · 60042116 · 06206 ned · eystney · Xoy * λεγομ · Δειεθ · αλακο πεγε

... ساخ الذي عليه لكنها تتحنن عليه وتلقيه فوق صدرها بوجه فرح وڪل شي له هلو عندها فازا كانت هذه مسبوغه على حب ولدها فمعاذ ان يكون من محبة الصانع فينا سيدنا يسوع المسيح اخصال انبا مقارى قل لي اصل التوبة قالله انبا مقارى انالتوبه ليس تبلغ بالمطانوه كمثل الخشبه التى للخطَّاره متاع الما لكن مثل صنع حکیم اراد ان يعمل سلسلة حلقه ذهب وحلقة فضه ومن الحديد والرصاص الى ان يقيم السلسلة ويكمهلها هذا مثل التوبه تجتمع الاعمال كحلهمر ويتعلقوا بها

× Fo. 5 recto

* Fo. 5 verso

 \dots '[dirt] on him,¹ but she hath pity on him and taketh him to her bosom gladly and every sweet thing she hath is his. So if she is thus created to love her child, how much more is the love of our Maker and Master Jesus Christ for us ?

The Virtues of Abba Makari. "Say to me the nature of repentance."² Abba Makari said to him, "Repentance is not \times to be procured by kneeling like the wood which is for drawing water, but (is) like the work of the skilful man who desires to make a chain of rings of gold, and rings of silver, and iron, and lead, until he complete the chain and make it perfect. So (is) repentance by the joining together of deeds, and thereby they become connected."

I = A.M.G. xxv, 143.

2 ib.

238

* Fo. 5 verso

APPENDIX I

ق ×че : кад уоб : iye еш бем21 : емме 205 : це кау · уоб : еых : еп : ед оекаљ : еу : арре : de уение : ах : каллор ещщегь • едкаддіс z z z z z zkay = 5ay : eu = bazi = $de = k \nabla y y o = e \overline{m} \overline{m} e \overline{p}$ эммэ = шіэ = Кхэ = пэм ق 202 - deray - yos - eu пером = сораза ... за ληι = σεμιάγομ = . . . ещарр = мехеп = га.. ق $\epsilon n = \epsilon c c \delta \lambda r = \epsilon \lambda \lambda$... λι : εουακ : χευ - ιε[c] хичб - пециі • уенчб уеч • Хнід : обланььβελες - 202 : τριεμ : εγ кауи : небі : уехенноб сар : аръе : меп : едход βεδαγελο : γε : εφι - με рехуні : беъе : еуме хеп : іде : пара : семен de : yenne : ray = bar уні : мега баи - ет щењ : велме - ещ (9 шегр : еукарагс четерая : іле метаре DOD PEY : WEXXET : YEY εππ · βελεπη = βερατο ελκοσε σ μιμ

فقال له الى اين تمضی اما هو فقال له ارید ان افتقد الأخوة فلها عاد قال له الشيخ القديس كيف حال الاخوة قال حال ردئ فقالله الشيخ من اجل ای شی اما هو فقال له انهمر ا عليّ جميعهم الشرّ ما كان عداي] . . . ان الصديق ال[ذي] ... هناك كان یسمع منی لمر اعلمر ڪيف تغيَّر وليس هو طيَّب القلب معى لكنه صار ازداء من الكل وحلفت لا أُتبى برجلي هذا المكان الا بعد زمان

> فلما قال ہولا<u>ء</u> مضی عن الشیخ

الشيخ القديس

فدخل الى مغارته

والمجد للاب و الابن

والروح القدس امين

وامآ

× Fo. 6 recto

× Fo. 6 verso

* Fo. 6 *recto*

* Fo. 6 verso

 \times ...(with)...from me, I did not know why he changed: he is not good of heart with me, but he has become the worst of all. And I swore not to return to this place on foot save after a time. And when he had said these things, he left the Elder. The holy Elder however entered into his cave. Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit. Amen.

*And he said to him:¹ "Whither art thou going ?" and he said to him, "I am going to visit the brethren."

And when he returned the holy Elder said to him, "What is the condition of the brethren?" He said, "The condition (is) bad." And the Elder said to him, "In what way?" He said to him that they...all

against me... the evil (in) (the) place... the righteous... there was there....

1 = Apophth. Patr., Macarius, 111; A.M.G. xxv, 233 f. (Macarius is speaking to the Devil).

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× Fo. 7 recto

×емпа ішгапинс Ле = γεχειι : σεφεγι : μεθ[γ] Барехі : ق Векад : епот изапинс = ق εγ · κατιό · γεθλεπισοδ NEMEZZEZ · $\epsilon\lambda = hegez$. Lexol · agaz = ienez xerne : beize : pegaz με : εγγεδες = εγγεγι 205 alla · cieb[d]02 πε ελ = χολ μεπε... іуе : еубіуек ```` Bese : as : ide : $e[m\pi a \ i\omega -]$ ванинс тель едмесе : ве pog le ×.... Χεγγεποδ γεεΖγ ط ت Луасепео : Беатал еухеуен : іуе : ен : «с с парот : be : дем гар лемот · верарех · 1е 6 perreson . de : sexey yen : nedor : eiza iye ء ات EDDECED : BE DEDAN nor : be exed megot Бопу : вемеза μεκ]αλ εποτ ιωραπημα [σγκσ]cib - γεεριδ : εγ еріх еп екотп

.... егоемем : мебл

... ехе лееппе

انبا يوحانس لا لكن داخلي مثل خارجى وقال ابو يوحانس القصير لتلاميده نهجد الواحد وکل احد یمجدنا واذا رفضنا الواحد الذي هو الله سير فضنا الكل ون[ذهب] الى الهلاك وجاء اخ الى انبا يوحانس دفعه المساء و كلمه لاجل حسنات واطال الكلام: الى ان اصبحوا ولمريعلموا وخرج يودّعه فتكلّم معه ايضا الى التاسعة و دخل به وأكل معه خبزا ومضى [وقا]ل ابو يحانس [ال]قصير لاخيه اريد ان اكون . . . اهتهام مثل لات اهتهام

* Fo. 7 verso

× Fo. 7 recto

*Abba Johannes:¹ "Do not....but what is within me is as what is outside."

ерөімем

And said Abba Johannes the Short to his disciples:² "If we praise the One, every one praises us; but if we ignore the One Who is God, everyone will ignore us and we shall go to perdition."...A brother came to Abba Johannes³....the evening, and.....^{*}talked with him for...charities, and he continued the conversation until the morning and did not notice it, and he went out to see him off, but talked with him again until the ninth (hour), and he came in with him and ate bread with him, and went away.

Abba Johannes the Short said to his brother⁴.... "I wish to be [free from] occupation, as [the Angels], because—[they have no] occupation"

I = A.M.G. xxv, 338.

2 = A pophth. Patr., Ioh. Colob., xxiv.

4.0

3 = A.M.G. xxv, 367 f.

4 = Apophth. Patr., Ioh. Colob., 11; A.M.G. xxv, 354.

APPENDIX I

ولا شغلٍ الا كلمة الله دائما قلع ثوبه وخرج الى البرّ[يه] واقام جمعه	
قلع ثوبه وخرج الی البرؓ[یه]	
الى البر [يه]	
و (د) هر جمعه	
ورجع	
اخيه فلمر	
الباب لمر	
له قال	
انت	
قال انا	
فاحاب	
ليس	
اما هو فقال له	× Fo. 8
وطُلب اليه	
~	
يفعل ? بل تركه	
الى بكره	
وقال	
• -	
تعمل	
•••••	
[تعهل] المطانوه ?	
له اغفر	
انبا بمأ	
نش ?	
• • • •	
	 اخیه فلم الباب لم له قال قال انا قال انا فاجاب له يو له يو اما هو فقال له اما هو فقال له اما هو فقال له ب ب بال تركه بال تركه بال يكره بال يكره بال المان بال يوأل بال يوأل بال يوأل بالمان بالمان بالمان بالمان بال يوأل بالمان بالممان بالمان بالما

*and no work except the word of God always.....He took off his clothes and went out to the desert....and * Fo. 8 recto stayed a week...and returned.....his brother and not.....the door not....to him said....Thou..... said, "I....answered....to him.....who....is not.....

×...But he said to him....and asked him....[that he] open to him, and [he did ?] not, but left him.... × Fo. 8 verso until the morrow....and said: ["Thou art] a man [and must] do [work.] Thou [kneelest?]....to him. Forgive ...Abba Jo[bannes].....

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s

× Fo. 8 recto

Fo. 8 verso

× Fo. 9 recto

× Fo. 9 verso

×еп : 1еөбаи : d1 Хоу : теі

веках : емпа ішеаппис раеіт : щегь - бегот пе చ చ 9εο - μεσελεσεο - μος ء ق ueu = riew = 5 sye = ms $\pi = e \lambda \pi = d \delta \pi = \pi$ ατο με η ελαεηεη υ едађар • калед / Бо ∞ od = yexodm = exue 2a = nap = Leveitor : i γε - δσμσι - Λεεθμεμ אפוואס אפוואס און א גער אין א exnega = nap = Aeta por : ile = $\epsilon \lambda \pi p p = \epsilon \lambda$ ађар = беемме = еда ق ق Бар цепекі = каієм∥ = ح ۲۰۰۳×۱ : ۲۰۰۲ : ۲۰۰۲ : ۲۰۰۲ : ۲۰۰۲ ед : ебір : абталб же перат • дніс бот цар yexennese : Sosiden ق педе : котре : рехенот Ь кенрот : іде цатк veiye : ecdey : deue соротпебен : разгле же ile : елпарр : 9е Хіре : бере : сухіу : еродот : ехнера bedexen . Juic 21 nap вепедбаре : 1ероъ ехпера : сакар : за Sade : neye : nothed Кад епот изранинс

ان يتعب في ڪل شي وقال انبا يوحانس رایت شیخ وهو بهت وثلاثه رهبان قياما على شاطى البحر فجاهم صوت من الجانب الاخر قائلا خذوا لكم اجنحه نار وتعالوا الى عندى فاثنان منهم اخذوا اجنحه نار وطاروا الى البر الاخر واما الاخر فبقى قائما يبكى ويصيح وفى الأخر اعطوه جناحين ليس هم نار لكنها ضعيفان بلا قوة وكانوا يطيروا الى فوق والى اسفل فبصعوبة عظيمة جاء الي البرّ هكذا هذا الجيل يأخذوا اجنحه ولکن لیس هی نار وبالاحرى يأخذ اجنحه صغار ضعفة بلا قوه قال ابو يحنس

× Fo. 9 recto

× Fo. 9 verso

*...that he suffereth in everything.

And said Abba Johannes:¹" I saw an elder in ecstasy and three monks standing on the sea-shore. There came to them a voice from the other side, saying: 'Take wings of fire and come to me.' And two of them took wings of fire and flew to the other side; and the other remained standing [×]crying and weeping. And at last they gave him two wings that were not of fire, but they were weak, without strength, and flew up and down with great difficulty, but he came to the shore. Thus this generation taketh wings, but not of fire, and furthermore they take wings that are small and weak and without strength."

Abba Johannes said²

I = A pophth. Patr., Ioh. Colob., XIV; A.M.G. XXV, 344.

2 = Apophth. Patr., Ioh. Colob., IV.

APPENDIX I

×меп : гемде : патпот Хеуещ : ноб : сош : de каљ : дерач : мемме : ق иетни мерот : пекал nór ق Векід : Леехдот : еппор іче : церан : мен : еубі Ь cas : ietory : gade ещщеготь : вегебе dabbau : yeccayes e becenae · edmezemip Теумеует : бадое иссоеким : чекрор ق pade : Razieoog : ed ashele Кай ипа горанинс ×еппог : ещпег : пере చ చ xod : xedec : oago щежерар : ратімер Legor : ien : 70p : Le 907 = XEOIDES : he жепіп : вері : жнігер иуніб : de : ize : уеш ق 1282ер = еп : 1екец xepa - Δεθαλας iλe еттехера : реферау Лас • везехиъе : епе ق **хеуес** : di : кеууеіе о1 : беепzop едхар ещщієтіп : фехі bayı : deize : yen акъер : захнизе :

کلاما مع صبی فقد فرغ مما يزنى معه بقلبه وقيل لاجله انه اذافرغ من الحصاد يطوف على الشيوخ ويتفرغ للصلاة وسماع المزاميم والملادى حتى يستقيم فكره على قضيته الأولى قال انبا يوحانس انه اشبه برجل حالس تحت شحره عظيمه وهو ينظر وحوش كثيرة ودبيب وهي جاية اليه فاذا لمر يقدر ان يقف جرى وطلع الى الشجرة وتخلص وهكذا انا جالس في قلايتي وانظر افكار الشياطين تجي عليَّ فاذا لمر اقدر عليها

من يہلاء بطنہ

* Fo. 10 recto

* Fo. 10 verso

* Fo. 10 *recto*

* Fo. 10 verso

[×]He who filleth his belly in converse with a youth hath already committed fornication with him in his heart. It was said of him¹ that when he had finished the harvest he went round amongst the elders and devoted himself to prayers, and listening to psalms and melodies until his mind was at harmony with his original quest.

Abba Johannes said:² [×]" He is like a man sitting under a great tree and seeing many beasts and reptiles coming to him. If he cannot make a stand he escapes and ascends the tree and saves himself. So, when I am sitting in my cell I can see diabolical imaginings worrying me. If I am not able to resist them...

 $\mathbf{I} = id. \mathbf{X}\mathbf{X}\mathbf{V}.$

2 = id. XII; A.M.G. XXV, 339.

× Fo. 11 recto

хуе • ежуоб • енноб • уе IEVXED · ENCEN · IE θεχεγεν · 416 · μεγ μεθλ · εσσερεπ · ελ payec . Eynesabbab πελμιζεη · βεζεδε . μπα τεττοι · χεη мотуотпеп . Веднис 418 · XECEY · PEYE WE иещпер · реде · Beceek . ab . una zez ق xor · bekan [1]02 . . . 6 меъе · өерек.... щинт • веха..... 19 END . ENOT MARA [PI] весоню · іле ре 19 хчекал : ещшегь · лем ме • пеъе ещщірнт ت ء еп сехоор . семарт επ εθθογπεπι · δητω ق ت ق пос • раках • чекомт вехнию · іде реропе $decene \cdot di = \delta e > e \cdot ey$ жепед · гестр · енді ق ت pes · beraazo · ge 215 · EYWOZZEO · EY ق [ка]стрер • цекал ک ک ађ • Хем Лав

لاجله انه لا يوجد انسان يتكلم فيه بل مثل الذهب الخالص المحرر بالميزان وهذا انبا باجيجوي كان مضنيً ? وليس فيه كسل ولا ما یشابه هذا وسأل اخ انبا با جيجوى وقال له... ...ماذا ترك... شيهات وكا[نك] عند ابو مقا[ری] واتيت الي ها فقال الشيح لما بدا الشيهات ان یکثر سمعت ان الطوباني انطونيوس رقد فقمت وجئت الى هاهنا فاصبت ? في هذا الجبل يسير انفراد ? وقعدت هذه الهدة القصيره فقال اخ كمر لك يا أبى فقال وسنين له انبا جيجوي

.... 205 MAA XEXXO

..... ге епг • цекал

..... in • Becenin

ق

* Fo. 11 recto

* Fo. 11 verso

*... that there is no man who can speak against him¹ but he is like pure gold which is weighed in the balance; and this Abba Djidjoi² was sickly (?): there was in him no laziness nor its like.

And a brother asked Abba Djidjoi³ and said to him "...why did you leave Shiët (шинт), being with Abba * Fo. 11 verso Makari, and come hither...?" *The Sheikh said, "When Shihët (ширнт) began to be populous I heard that the blessed Antonios had fallen asleep, so I left and came hither, and (arrived) in this desert walking alone.... and I stayed this short time." He said....a brother, "How long....O my father ?" He said: "....andyears"

... to him Abba Djidjoi ...

.

1 ? = Apophth. Patr., Poemen, CLXXXVII (in extended form).

2 = Copt. x1x01, Gk. Σισόηs. 3 = Apophth. Patr., Sisoes, xxvIII.

APPENDIX I

м. ресиня хеххоі		وانبا جيجوى	× Fo. 12 recto
		مرض دفعه وڪان	
мереz хеуга бехеп >			
бялуол Пегор · de		حوله شيوخ	
раать : 1е бехеууеч 		فروّح يتكلمر	
ق م دمیں جو 2 حمد 2 حمد		فقالوا له ماذا	
чевалот Лод мехе о епzop : 1e епепе - че		تنظر يا ابانا	
ق ق		فقال قوما جاوا	
Rad : Ratmen ^e xeot		خلفي يأخذوا	
«уда ісрохот	[The lower half of the base is lost]		
ق	[The lower half of the page is lost.]		
хчевау: еййегд іте		فقال الشيخ اذا	× Fo. 12 verso
		ڪنت لا اقوى ان	
хопт : де : акве еп едад : цеепе : е о пес		افعل فانا	
egant : geene : eonez ه ه		اتنہد قلیلا علی	
бет : каулу : бауе	· · ·	نفسى وهذا عظيمر	
пецсі вереъе адім" Эт		لى	
		ى جا ^ء اليە دفعە	
ze iyhib zedsa	[The lower half of the page is lost.]		
*	* * * *	*	
		اسمع منهمر كلمه	× Fo. 13 <i>recto</i>
есмае • мепром Хеб»× ق		•	
меб : декауол уг :		فقالوا لي	
ак упе · емепе : ве		لك فينا امانه	
ت ق عط ت		وانت تطيع قلت	
επτ θετις · κολτ		نعمر : یا ابہاتی	
neam = 16 €NNE2€&1 ق			
чекалот лі : емзі		فقالوا لی امض	
Лг өепсорні		تبصرنی	
7	[The lower half of the page is lost.]		
ق		((++))	× D
×еййегр : декау уе	9. 	الشيخ فقال	× Fo. 13 verso
20м · рас = Хоу : Теі	\$2,2	لہمر راس کیل شی	
бол : бете : ен уе : 1е		هو هذا ان لا	
orr = eyencen : ued		يعود الانسان	
сор щег έλπε οο ε		نفسه شي البته	
ت م Бесемарт : еп : ап		وسمعت ان	
: еппа хе		ابنا جيجوي	
	[The lower half of the page is lost.]		

*And Abba Djidjoi once fell ill.¹ He had elders sitting round him: he ceased talking. They said to him, "What dost thou see, O (our) father?" And he said: "Some people who came for me...to take [my soul..."]. *And the Sheikh said: "If I cannot do it, I sigh a little for myself, and this is enough for me"... × Fo. 12 recto × Fo. 12 verso Came to him once.... * *

*...hear from them a word. They said to me: "Thou hast faith in us and thou dost obey." And I said:
"Yes, O my fathers." They said to me: "Go....thou seest me.....
*...the elder. And he said to them, "The chief of all things is that one does not ever accustom oneself × Fo. 13 recto

*

× Fo. 13 verso to anything. And I heard that Abba Djidjoi ...

I = id. XLIX.

ske

*

×7епоти : вех يد]زنوني وا[يس لي] * Fo. 14 recto маррап : Беде ме مهرب ولا[ملجا] ت الا انت فخلصني ελλε επτ : μεβαλλας يا رب من اجل пі : іє рап меп : ехд : рад رهمتك ويخزون метак веюблоти : الذين يقومون ελλεδια : ιε : κοτμοτα : على ويطلبون радні : вегатдопотп 5 نغسى ليهلكوها πεήτι λιερλεχορε لانك انت يا رب ت ك Хесппак спт : ге рап قوتي في ڪل ROTHE : OI YI XOTA حال ولك التسبحه дал : Белак : соосспера الى دهر الداهرين ίγε : σεδb : εσσεδεbιμ امين мни انبا يوسف سأل [انبا] Πης ιοτεήφ εεελ η[ης بيمن و[قال له] погмен : Ве..... قل لي коъу уг فاجابه ال[شيخ * Fo. 14 verso ×..... чеехепор ещ 51 .--.... ان کنت ترید ... епхонт берія [تا]خذ نياح في الدنيا .. Boz nise · di ezzou والاخره فتكون 1e · Ledebepeg 9... Фе 4 ق ت تقول في χοτη · θεκοτλ · 41 کل امر انا من XOTY . The neu = انا ولا تدين احد ene · here : oesin agas قال بعض الاخوة Kad nagz edabhe لاحد المشايخ уеобот : сунете ای شی اصنع тар ет щет еспар لانبي اقراء في уссинг якря : Лі : че مز امیری ولیس لی **ZEWIDI** : Реунис di قق رقّة قلب لاني ріккао кади · усси قع ما اعرف قوة Č. ni me apped norbed قال له Reggood لا تف[م]λε θεα

* Fo. 14 recto

*...grieve me and....place of refuge nor....save Thee. O Lord, save me in Thy mercy, and let them be ashamed who rise up against me and seek after my soul to destroy it: for Thou, Lord, art my support in all circumstances; and to Thee be praise for ever and ever. Amen.

× Fo. 14 verso

Abba Joseph asked Abba Poemen¹ and say to me..... *the Elder answered him "... if thou desire repose in this world and in the other, say in everything, 'I am what I am,' and do not judge any one."

A certain one of the brothers said to one of the elders: "What must I do? because when I read in my Psalms I do not feel my heart melt, because I do not know [the] power..." Said to him...thou dost not....

I ? = Apophth. Patr., Poemen, XXXI.

×126 : 1626п : 9 ραγεπ • επ : ιαγία meros · Beye : 1001 qe : en : Xen : encen мел : Хеогр : реуе.... цегор : це : Лнис оедаб : ие*т*еуек роход ен казлис : еп ق دمه : encen[°] Rad • م[b] Ta цепехе . похе "еп · еъ 212 / herad ... A ... 9 αρτα : ελια abor : arate ×..... ехіпор Беде депор • пед • пе vy · di • uedceue • eu ... ne · abta.. neng 27ам • жепп" мепе-Векад : гехен • дерра פרח · רח · באדם · באאופ ађоте ле • 122ная веуе : 1ехея : бауньб ε cegadog : πελ χοε · ελοσε - 162 ه ۳۵۶۵

е сера = оом

... يجيب راهب ان يحف [ظ] ... مله ولا ان کان انسان كثير ولا فظه فليس . . . طفح ? . بذلك رجل قديس ابصر انسانا قد اخطاء فبكاء بكا [شديدا] وقال اخطا الى اخطى ادينه ولا بل في نفسنا ان ... انا أخطأ منه ... اعظمر ذنب منه وقال يجب للراهب ان اخطاء عليه اخوه لا يحقد ولا يجد عليه ساعته بل ، . . . حتى غضبه ساعة ثير

* Fo. 15 recto

× Fo. 15 verso

(it) must...monk....and not....if a man....much, and not....(?) and not....(?) with this.
 A holy man saw a man commit sin, and he wept a great deal....and he said....sinned against (me)
commit sin....

 \times judge him, and not but in ourselves, that I am more sinful than he..... fault greater \times Fo. 15 verso than his.

*

And he said (when (?)) it happens to the monk that his brother sin against him he must not harbor ill feelingsand not repeat....immediately....but....even....his rage....an hour, then....

*

1 Apophthegmata.

* Fo. 16 recto

.... пэм = тпэ • qэө× ъеъ · уг метем λε · εππι · семьрт · πьργ ελεππερεο · ιεςςελοτ bou · Sezes · eyneceyes ye · exenory · hera nor · en · engabi · me 19 126bed · колреф · еу Χεγεη · εγγεσι · ιε котдое · уеу · бошеб λεχει · ελέσιιες · σοδ ق bed . Rosped . exxeyen ق iλλεzi · ιεκοτλος · ελ Lsic Z Love Levezey · izece ح _{sic} لا вехиденек порп 5 ×..... Хоппе мепеч ເອົ້ຈ ковео · менекод респ · ещщентап · ве хепотьог · ізе семе \$ ع الله δολ = Χεγεπ σλησ δσ peqoe · begezeeor mene вегарачот мене = Καλ : παρχ · ελμεщε иор • уе еі Меіфеб ζεπ • ελλε»ι ιεζλε μοκ · Δεθεπιτος · ελλε AI IEZZENAK · YE = אוור 201 . נאאנשו 5] 5] **7алеман • Белехе**п ещщеітап і чеіе жеп

επ θεπιος ελμερας

... انت من في لا نی سمعت بعض الابيات يسألوا عن هذة المسألة فا جابوا وقالوا ان الحاوي ما يعرف قوة الكلام الذي يقوله للحيَّه لكن الحية تعرف قوة الكلامر الذي يقوله الحاوى وتذل اذا سمعته وتخضع وكذلك نحن كنا مانغهم ? قوة مانقول فان الشيطان وجنوده اذا سمعوا كلام الله عرفوا وفزعوا منه وضعفوا منه قال بعض المشايخ لاى شى تحزن الذى يظلمك وتبغض الذي يحزنك فليس هو الذي ظلمك ولكن الشيطان فيجب ان تبغض المرض

* Fo. 16 recto

× Fo. 16 verso

*1...thou....in....because I heard that some of the Fathers asked about this question, and they answered that the charmer doth not know the power of the words he uttereth to the snake, but the snake knoweth the power of the words said by the charmer, and it becometh weak when it heareth and obeyeth: and so we.... *...so we do not understand...the force of what we say. And Satan and his armies when they hear the word of God recognize it and become afraid at it and are made weak.

One of the elders said, "Wherefore dost thou grieve at him who is unjust to thee and hatest him who maketh thee grieve? It is not he who is unjust to thee, but Satan is. Therefore thou must hate the sickness...

1 Apophthegmata.

×neycor heiedzemee نفسه ويلزمها η εθθεσαμ : βελε ιεμαρ في التعب ولا يمرمز мар гедах" устехеп : сп احدا فيجب ان оабресот : не арреон تحرصوا يا اخوتي د ک ۲ کومکو کوطکر : کویکو : بانوبر ک ک ۲ على حفظ هذا لئلا уе : Сехоли : болессот تكون حياتكم педе осмарая . всеп ос بلا ثمره وان хотпот : месбедалли تكونوا مستعدين λεχολ : χελμες : θεςμε لكل كلمه تسمعونها تقولوا γοτπεγε : σεκοτλοτ еслев : уеие : уееие у اغفر لنا لان eogep : nene : neene : εοσεζας : 1εςζεμ : χολ ψμι^{*}: μεπ : εμορ ελεασο الاتضاع يعزم كل شى من امور العدو ولا تعد نفسك веле : бегод пеусак епоьбе : суер : уетег ايها الاخ لشى من اعمالك мен абиеуан ويكون وجهك ×ветехота : вехеак : ме معبس ابدا الا 22nnec : επετε² ίλλε دn : افعمته : مهمدو : ۳۵ ان ياتوك اخوه غرباء تكون بش معهمر وتفرح negom : dexi : iecxon بهمرلكي يسكن чік : Бату адда Сп. черепт : мар : абве б б б б فيك خوف الله ان ذهبت مع اخوه ч • тарік • беперея • б في طريق تباعد εαπεομ : καλιλ / λεχι σεχοτη : cameo · heize عنهم قليلا لكي تكون صامت واذا ت کامید : عومین : مومی موم : موجود : ۱۹۳۱مو موم : موجود : ۱۹۳۱مو ڪنت تمشي فلا تلتفت يمينا Ре : Пітеуе № : иеу : Укра وشمالا بل اقراء ין אפזפאזאסג אנגער קי אפזפאזאסג אנגעאזע קי א אנגער גער און הנקנאאסג : נאנ : גאאס فی مزامیرك وصل بفكرك الى الله

 $1 \dots$ *himself and restrain himself and not persecute anybody. You must therefore, my brethren, try to learn this lest your life be without fruit, and be always ready, and for every word ye hear say, "Forgive me." Meekness putteth an end to everything belonging to the enemy. Do not, O brother, account thyself anything in thy deeds...

... *and let not thy face ever be severe. If strange brethren come to see thee, be cheerful and pleasant with them, that the fear of God may dwell in thee. If thou walk with brethren in the road, separate thyself from them a little in order to be silent, and as thou walkest do not turn to the right or to the left, but read thy Psalms and pray to God in thy thought...

I Esaias Abbas: Greek, *ed.* Jerusalem, 1911, p. 7; Latin, *P.G.* XL, col. 1108 D. The following pp. have been arranged in accordance with the sequence of the Greek edition, although the Coptic version (e.g. Wessely, Studien, no. 276 a) shows that some arrangement entirely different existed. [W. E. C.]

* Fo. 17 recto

× Fo. 17 verso

× Fo. 17 recto

* Fo. 17 verso

× Fo. 18 recto

хөебеуе : di : Xoy : ner 205 : өетроуоб : уе 1eхоти : уак : теууоб μαφ : ερλοτει : πελ : χοτη di : Хоу : Шні, чеи : ено DOR: MECIOI: DEVI : XOY маттар" оссален . Sareday : Sahbad daw веепхопт : щепп[≠] че *уе беноя* : *терок* : це тарам « өстрот : 41 цом : адади. всеп nemt · yi แลงวุลอ чеуе : Феблария : енб ве абар : 41 хисееп pedes pe : coggi хсадеоен хеогрее : капд еппати · Асепхонт ق ط (9 ث ء кая : берепо : 41 ебтарік = βεερεττ = σεпъереп пекаліл / 7ні / Леехл εθθεδαμ : λεyε : θεσδομ Щні∥ меп хесеъък : севе режднік • Реуе семех ∠ Z Xen : a2a121/ en : 1029en **бе : у**ак : еууе : неи = теъ 2020 at mepaz deize жеуест : ді кеууеіе оак : bexe : ile рапъак ора поріп° деєзбои ر ۹ рехуния : Реколу уоб еспад. медаппед : ве

تعالى في كل موضع تدخله لا یکون لك داله مع اهله بل ڪن في کل شيء من امورك مسيحي وفي ڪل موضع تأدّب معرفه وحياء وان ڪنت شابا فلا تمد يدك بطعامر تضعه في فمر أحد وان نهت في موضع فلا تتغط انت وآخر في ڪيس واحد وصل صلاة كثيره قبل النومر وان كنت قد تعبت في الطريق واردت تندهن بقليل زيت لاجل التعب فلا تدهن شيئا من جسدك سوا رجليك ولاتمكن احدا ان يدهنها لك الا من شده او مرض واذا جلست في قلايتك وجا الي عندك اخ غريب فادهن رجليه وقل له اصنع محبة

* Fo. 18 *recto*

× Fo. 18 verso

× Fo. 18 verso

¹... *the Most High in every place where thou goest. Be not familiar with its people, but be thou a Christian in all thy affairs. In every place be polite and full of prudence and modesty. If thou art young do not put forth thy hand with food to put in the mouth of another, and in the place where thou sleepest do not be covered with the same covering as another person. And pray *a great deal before sleep. And if thou walk in a road and from fatigue need anointing with a little oil, do not anoint any part of thy body except thy feet, and do not allow any other to anoint them for thee, except on account of necessity or disease. And if thou sit in thy Cell and a strange brother visit thee, anoint his feet and say to him, "Be so kind and...

* mui weu : eyewob · de λε = θεχθομ · Σελεκ = вефекиен : ведехен еспар метапотье · ве ق кер • пеъепотпан • бе есөатчер · леготчер · α · been καλλακ · en cen =// χελμεθεn// щε Хер · релесоениер : кох <u>≤</u>
 пак = bele xen • петер ض Беадрап • дог • мета ποτήε · βελε σελοτμος 19 αι καλπακ · δείλλε = qeλ = ταζαπ : 1εθεξαρρεκ е ⊆ ×2аунік • пешні = уем مومات موبو موج مومات موبو zen · heozzag · hede < sic Xer : vehezag · heecnag ت ک metanothe · en Xont ς γεγαλοογ • βε επλεμ ق oeysayos . Perosy уоб : еслев уг : дееши Anic : egosa eggad : δεσιδ εγθεσαу · μελε ба : уеуабъео : Л. ερροηπεπιέ = ί »ε ء ت ک хопт : бармей : рамей ιενμικ - αενε : σεσερε ne : gang : Ledexen: ооммор : перату

شي من الأُمور فلا تكتم ذلك وتكذب ولكن اصنع مطانوه وقر بذنوبك و استغفر ليغفر لك وان قال لك انسان كلمة شديده فلا تتفكر ويستكبر قلبك ولكن بدر واضرب له مطانوه ولا تلومه فىقلبك وإلا فالغضب يتحرك عليك ان كذب عليك بشي لمر تفعله فلا تحزن وتجزع ولكن تواضع واصنع مطانوه ان ڪنت فعلته او ان لمر تفعله وقل له اغفر لي فاني ليس أعود أفعل: هذه الخصال نافعه للاحداث في الرهبانيه اذا ڪنت تعمل عمل يديك فلا تتوان عنه ولكن تيمه بخوف

* Fo. 19 recto

* Fo. 19 verso

×1...anything: do not hide this and lie, but kneel down and confess thy sins and ask forgiveness, that thou × Fo. 19 recto

* Fo. 19 verso

but hasten and kneel down to him. Do not blame him in thy heart lest resentment trouble thee. If he accuse thee *falsely of something thou hast not done, do not grieve and become troubled, but humble thyself and kneel down, whether thou hast done it or not done it, and say to him, "Forgive me, I will not do it again." These commandments are good for those young in the monastic life. If thou undertake manual labor do not neglect it but perform it with fear.²

mayest be forgiven. If anyone speak to thee a hard word, do not take note of it so as to harden thy heart,

1 Esaias, Gr. 9, Lat. 1109 D.

2 Or "carefulness."

* Fo. 20 recto

×αλλα · λιελλε · Θεβτι пеле мегрече · веход εαμελ∥. σαεμελοτ · ye 22162021. BERE DE2DE $\widehat{\mathsf{mew}} \cdot eu \cdot \Theta e c e y = \cdot e y y e$ 5 жі тебаууетак · жете 6) με / beθekotλ λοg eccae · meganne : hear рипи · Есспсор · сп Хсп 2еъе · хниеъ∥ ем Ле ح ڪ ۽ Ассп Дерак · срад / меп еларье · веепт жеуес : бауе батеу : ie 2нік · Чесорок бя 4 мелая • Бееспар епт 2. 116905 кē 0 00 16 хіде : Барехо · мен мат עבי באאאושני אננש ב boy · Reyyeieoak be ود عرف و و عرف و ع мар мен · де · епцеран · Ас · емме еп Хепот · MEIOTE / · IEDEXENDEMOT Хеуен · аууа · деесөе **чеи** • небоууенон • de еи • еъен уяк • еи • өех я yec · decuso · Xeyene 20м • Бехеме • гемарак geecnag · en epca у<u>чк</u> • шебяууешак

ide • ropneg • 41 • 2022e 5

цекота дот . епп :

الله لئلا تخطى بلا معرفه وكل عمل ٍ تعمله فا عمله ولا تحتشم ان تسال الذى بعلمك دائماً وتقول له اصنع محبة و اوريني وابصر ان کان هذا جيدًا امر لا وان دعاك احد من الاخوه وانت جالس على عمل يديك فاترك عملك واصنع انت نياحه اذا خرجت من موضع المائده فادخل قلايتك وتجلس تتحدث مع من لا ? ينفعك وامّا ان ڪانوا شيوخا يتكلموا كلامر الله فاستاذن معلمك . فان اذن لك ان تجلس تسمع کلامہم وكما يأمرك فاصنع ان ارسلك معليك الی غربه فی حاجه

فقل له انی

* Fo. 20 verso

* Fo. 20 recto

* Fo. 20 verso

 1^{\times} ... of God, lest thou sin without knowing. Every work that thou doest, do it and be not ashamed to ask thy master always and say to him, "Be kind and direct me: Thou seest whether it be good or not." If any one of the brethren call thee when thou art sitting doing thy handiwork, leave thy work and do for him what he desires...

 \times ...when thou comest out of the Refectory go into thy Cell and sit (not) and talk with one who is not of use to thee. If there are elders talking about the words of God, ask permission of thy instructor: if he permit thee to sit and listen to their conversation, do as he directs thee. If thy instructor send thee to a far place for some errand, say to him, "I am.....

1 Esaias, Gr. 9, 10, Lat. 1110 A.

*

*

×Аесмае • ме іекотдот واسمع ما يقولوه * Fo. 21 recto אאא י אונאאנ י אסעקנח لك لئلا تحزنهم 2000 · Beiezgen · eccolg ويذهب الصلح من بينكم ان меп пнипехом • еп 5j _^, کنت ساکنا مع اخ فقال لك اطبخ чекал лак : етпоб د ت لنا شىئا فاستأذنه yeue mei . deecoereuos иеъе : гехеп : чеен ماذا يجب فان جعل لك السلطان GEMEQNE · BEXETT فمهما وجدت 2 чеесдоб : нерату فاصلح بخوف وارادة الله Peibazeo : ayya · Pe وكل عمل يعمله XOY : SOMEY & ISSUEYOS فاشركه فيه ولا **demebexos dis : peye** с 1ерог · егадхом : Ле يرثى احدكم لحسده لئلا жеселоб • улеууе харден : кадп = еыр يحزن قلب اخيه * Fo. 21 verso ث ق ازا قمت بالغذا іче кома : пеулате في ڪل يوم فمن dı Xoy : 192₩% deneu قبل ان تمس капд : еп бемосс : ба عمل يديك فابدى меу : 1ехнік · дееихі الله ث πεμοηεχεο · ۵λλο بمناجاة الله والصلاة ومن beccales · benen بعد ذلك ان كان πορα · Σεγεκ · ευ χευ لك عمل في القلايه yor somey & di : eykey فاعمله yeies · dissneyos بلا ڪسل ان ڪنت πελε χεςελ - επ χοητ تريد ثعمل امرا өерія : өлемеу • амр-فيه اجر وثواب ч12 · 2хр4 · Бебевеп4 فشارك اخر فيه дещерек - «Р«b : d15 = peye osoceros - deeu ولا تحسده فان کان امرا صغیرا و Xen : amp/ carip/ be

^{×1} and listen to what they tell thee lest thou grieve them and peace be lost amongst you. If thou live with a brother and he ask thee to cook him something, get his permission for what he wants: if he give thee liberty, whatever thou findest carry out, in the fear and favor of God. Take part with him in anything he doeth, Do not let anyone be tender towards his body lest (he) *grieve the heart of his brother. If thou rise early every × Fo. 21 verso day, before thou touchest anything to do with thy hands, begin by calling on God and praying to Him, and afterwards if thou hast anything to do in thy Cell, do it without reluctance. If thou desire to do a thing wherein is wage and reward, let another participate in it and do not envy him. If it be a small thing...

1 Esaias, Gr. 10, 11, Lat. 1110 в.

× Fo. 21 recto

* Fo. 22 recto

×βεκολ λοο ευσερ λι ие ери · чесппи 7 лич реунис : ебоетеу : ес مرود و د د مردد المردد الم مردد المردد ا heen . Xeu : 2081d : Pe өлепор : Бесеђа : це ebcelge · log bebas гатра всеп хеп : 207 радеп : татвари ... ובאסאו • לטושם פ encen : Raddic · g өеърод : пот сад велехеп : е : па.. < ٢ 205 · радмег пер..... βεραλλι сеп ... الله хиеи : еху • аууа рехе 5 еунік : өеинібол · de хе бесреч вежелк ق ك баиб · реуехеи екие хот · пецераб 4. чоб е́у πορμεμιμ · ελλεσιμ 신 ال 1евотн · вееп хеп мес Χιυ η άεγε σεθαγγιδ. រ s м(е)п бои*то*к Роіец = طء لا $[\beta \epsilon] y \epsilon X \epsilon u = \delta 11\delta = mew$ الله لأطع (0) αρτακ αλλα = мен 51 [ελ]πορχε - δεθεζεπ \$ «бует еи Хоу= \$1 51 готлак • Бенгдак ط الله atieg · men adda -.

وقول له اغفر لي یا اخی فانی ضعیف وليس احتمل اسمع هذا الكلام وان ڪان ضعيف وثيابه وسخه فاغسلها له وخيَّطها وان ڪان هو راهب دولر.... يكون عند ك] انسان قديس تدخل به عل[يهم] ولكن هو رحمة . . . وخل من أجل الله وجا اليك تنيحه فلا تصرف وجهك عنه ولكن اقبله بفرح مع المؤمنين الذين يأتوك وان كان مسكين فلا تخليه من عندك خائبا ولكن اعطه مما اعطاك الله من البركه وتحب اعلم انه کل حولك وبدك عطيه من الله

.

× Fo. 22 verso

* Fo. 22 recto

× Fo. 22 verso

^{×1}and say to him, "Forgive me, my brother, for I am weak and cannot endure this talk." And if he should be weak and his clothes dirty, wash them for him and sew them, and if he should be a wandering monk, (and) thou hast with thee a holy man....bring him in....but...him mercy...and leave...×for the sake of God comfort (?) him and do not turn thy face from him but receive him with gladness with all the faithful who come to thee, and if he be poor do not let him go away from thee empty-handed but give him of what God hath given thee in blessings. Thou lovest...know that all...round thee....gift from God.

1 Esaias, Gr. 11, 12, Lat. 1110 D.

6 5 ×алла : Бееп : атъерак ab/ heala · yeellar = 22 επ σεγσα22α = λεσα2 рад : не дібе : еууе це δοζοδοι, = yeeu : δοb меө еурехияб : Mebide жедде : вееп епт 2egeno : ile : ropne чеөспису : бои» : еи ق сеп чи кеууелевол = Bebapez · 205 : 412226 веосрекак · уг · едкед λειες : βας α κ : ye ¹ ειιακ επ · Θαργας : pa ö сан : вебечбена» ЩНІ[®] мемме : Ціре хат өелиес щеі : немме ق ك дібе : реуехеи : колу s yos - Sour : Poborzo طء v61111 = mei \ v6mey01 веход щет «• тотсік **μεε**δησχολολ = μελε Χε $cey - ize : zedeno \cdot osd$ ق ран – суме – Реъерауо пніо : сррада : 412a **χεθακ = deye : θεθεμε** ป ป велехен : еххор : ен adda : gaz : bezed senzop : ednik : heize i ei комт : бесеууг : чі ق រ ខ кеууелефок : себофок ย่

цеенак · еп фесаууі

الله وان اودعك اخ وديعه فاياك ان تفتحها لتعرف ما فيها الا بحضوره لان حرمة الوريعة شريفة جدا وان انت ذهبت الى غربة قتنزل عند انسان في قلايته وخرج هو في حاجة وتركك في القلاية وحدك فاياك ان ترفع راسك وتفتقد شيئا مما فيها او تلمس شيئا مها فيها ولكن قل له عند خروجه اعطنى شيئا اعهله وڪل شي يوصيك فاعمله بلا ڪسل . اذا ذهبت تهرق الماء ودخلت بيت الراحة في حاجتك فلا تتوان ولكن اذكر ان الله عزّ وجلَّ ينظر اليك واذا قهت تصلى في قلايتك ساعتك

فاياك ان تصل

× Fo. 23 recto

* Fo. 23 verso

* Fo. 23 recto

× Fo. 23 verso

×1God." And if a brother confide a trust to thee, do not open it to know what it contains except in his presence, because the respect due to a trust is very sacred. If thou go abroad and live with another in his Cell and he go out for some business and leave thee alone in the Cell, do not lift up thy head to observe anything in it ×or touch any object in it, but say to him before he goeth out: "Give me something to do." Everything he adviseth thee to do, do it without laziness. If thou go to pass water and enter the latrine to do thy need, do not linger but remember that God (praise and majesty to Him) observeth thee. If thou stand to pray at the time appointed, do not pray

1 Esaias, Gr. 12, Lat. 1111 A.

× Fo. 24 recto

×nedegehen = at mezga ق لا pa: hedexen = key = ne دورمور الموموعدو : ٨٤ مدموري = ومكد دكومات = heoep51 = 2222 = pex المعني المعالية المعا المعالية الم унік : рефеколи = бауе суребете : рефердаб Праводание : рефердаб eyopbe = Xene · 1edbe λογ = ελχορρελ : πελ 신 신 ق кадер = еухарак : Ае у с өсөрокус : өсумсл = di = eynorb = eyyeol418e : εοσεδεμεи · ye \$1 الله ق ы ы Хіме іекиеу = Уууч садеван : еп хоп лгдэмэөхэм = моө ق ก ก xoorboa : di : coyeoe XOM : YE : IEXOTH : XON de hegez 1. Men : Xom ecnag : cadeoog : been Хеп : мераллемен га г biu \= €9youo2 €yhis . επ · ιεςαλλι πεχομ πεμεγαπηε : Δελε θε YEZZOL ESYPTE · CEPE **уедбаөнш · 92 өеуеөе** ق ت لا іле : Хоил : рекед di : еуноууес : deue 신 신 сеп : еухарак : hеен ^у оехотп : gahecak - he кечер : пемерачео σύλο : μεχιμε : θεςθε

بتهاون او مجهره ولكن قف بفزع ورعدة لا تتكي على الحائط وترخ احد[ی] رجلیك وتقومر على الواحدة وترفع الاخرى كما يفعلوا الجهال بل كثر? افكارك وتتركها تعمل في الامور التي فيها التهاون لكيها يقبل الله صلاتك ان ڪنتر مجتمعين تقراؤا في صلاتكم فيکون ڪلَّ واحد منكهر يصنع صلاته وان ڪان معلما غريبا اطلبو اليه ان یصلی بکمر بمحبة ولا تلجوا عليه سوى دفعتین او ثلاثه ازا كنت واقفا في القداس فناسب افكارك وان تكون حواسك واقفة بمخافه الله لكيما تست(حق)

× Fo. 24 recto

* Fo. 24 verso

× Fo. 24 verso

 $^{\times 1}$ negligently or with a loud voice, but stand in awe and trembling. Do not lean against the wall, nor relax one leg and stand on the other as the ignorant do, but collect thy thoughts and allow them to control every negligence, so that God accept thy prayers. If you are assembled together $^{\times}(and)$ reciting your prayers, let every one recite his own prayer. If there be a teacher who is a stranger, ask him to pray for you in love, but do not press him more than twice or thrice. If thou stand during Mass, collect thy thoughts and let all thy feelings be filled with the fear of God, in order that it (*sic*) may be worthy of ...

хену · епоероя · еукор пеп • хесех • еррап иесор · едместр · Детещ 41 = eppan zepagao 51 - 51 пецсак • енак еп = 2 ocopor · yi xecedar $fecap \cdot ie79ap = \lambda ie\lambda\lambda e$ Ξ τ ιεχοτη · cong · εληε ك ق тех = іесракак • цеем ме • ещщепеп • чефе XOTH · EXCEDEDOM = $\pi \in X \circ y = c \in \mathbb{N} \in \mathbb{N} \circ X \circ y \in \mathbb{N}$ еп Беуен • гепачбот **Χέγγε** = βεγε ιεγμε cos = 0 0 0 0 = xhitesEREZE · 2200E IEZBOTHO ×9[0λα] ελχαπαρ βειεθ9α nor · yi · eccen · eize хопт бемщі мор ав гот ахпар меннак чеуе • Эсдкаттеноб ελπεθθε · βεεπ χεπ епсеп • ехпър менк а иехеуует оррии de ק کړي епак : еп • баркарор рефехуес • реуехен ڭ ح ق Rey • 22006 iemepar περαίον - ίδε δεγεπο ίλε μεδιπε · «τ κεριε · цебехоти · ранак пегербен / ίλε ελαργ ες σελ • λιελλε

حال . ان تاخذ القربان جسد الربّ يسوع المسيح ويشفى الرب جراحات نفسك اياك ان تترك فىجسدك وسخ يظهر لئلا يكون سبح الباطل يسرقك فاما الشباب فتكون اجسادهم بكل سماجه فان زلك ينفعهم جدا ولا يلبسوا ثوبا جيدا ابدا حتى يدخلوا على الكبر ويطعنوا فی السنَّ اذا کنت تہشی مع اخ هو اڪبر منك فلا تتقدّمه البته وان کان انسان اكبر منك يكلمر أخرين فاياك أن تحقره وتجلس ولكن قف حتمي يأمرك برأيه اذا ذهبت الی مدینه او قریة فتكون عيناك ناظرتين الى الارض اسفل لئلا

* Fo. 25 recto

× Fo. 25 verso

× Fo. 25 recto

× Fo. 25 verso

 $^{\times 1}$ condition (?) to partake of the oblation, the Body of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the Lord will heal the wounds of thy soul. Let it not be that uncleanness appear in thy body, lest vain glory seize thee. The young, however, must have their bodies left in all roughness because it will be good for them, and they must not put on a good robe at any time before they approach $^{\times}$ towards seniority and advance in years. If thou walk with a brother who is older than thou (art), do not walk before him, and if there be a man who is thy senior and he talk to others, do not despise him and sit down, but stand until he biddeth thee at his discretion. If thou go to a town or to a village, let thy eyes look down on the ground...

1 Esaias, Gr. 13, 14, Lat. 1111 c.

× Fo. 26 recto

ق ط ×ех • сератака • петагр neopeyeo • men • eyewe ق neo : etnecoerimey • ye ت ق ج λε : οδέκορος : εσυσ pozorzor · heaz = yaz пецсак : еп бехехед ق ط едеератана : еднот त त Payediu • усоеbiz : ие **уеуек : еи : бекім : еу : е** *weneb* : γιεγγε : ιεσθογ сем • Хеуешебом : d.... я чеөерлек • рееп кібеп : меп • Хобп . . . ق чеуе • өокра : діб · · · Л уе : лемуе : Ллк сем : еу мато : велехен : емсен 9 г ×еменідак • вехоти за уе : бохорц неи : субоун = دكم وي المربعة بالمربعة وي المربعة المربعة المربعة المربعة المربعة وي ZEZ · OSTJIN = EYZSKK = Хене : нау : чарі палуо ерросотд : ессемент . . ث еп Хои1 · суеп · Пеи № а парана и пара и п Пара и neycak · hexecedak . . еөөерап : еууежі HIR - XEME - CEMQ2T ... ελεπε : δεθαρλι [n]zon : Beschereden ... шериде едмогиер

ء ط

рефефиясь : еи фенеуе

: перэф : цеган : мор

الهراطقه بغير معرفه من الامانات المستقيمه فلا تحقره عند رجوعه واحفظ نفسك ان تجادل الهراطقه المخالفين لتريد بذلك ان تقيم الامانه لئلا يدخل سم ڪلامهم في لک فتهلك وان . . . ڪتاب من ڪتب.... فلا تقراء فيه . . . لئلا يملاء فيك سمر الموت ولكن امسك امانتك وكن على حذر من العلم الكاذب الذي يضادد تعليم الحق ڪما قال مار بولص الرسول السماوي . . ان کنت الان شابا فيجب ان تشقى نفسك وجسدك التعب الذي - Los الأباء وتعاليمهمر واعمالهمر وحب بير الشريفة المضيئه وتطمع ان تنالهم بغير تعب

× Fo. 26 recto

× Fo. 26 verso

× Fo. 26 verso

 *1 the heretics without knowledge of the orthodox faith. Do not repel him if he come back. Keep thyself from any controversy with the heretics (and) schismatics to uphold the faith, lest the poison of their argument enter into thee and thou go to perdition: and if ... any of their books, do not read it ... lest it fill thee with deadly poison, but uphold ***thy faith. Beware of the false knowledge that contradicts the true teaching, according to the saying of Mar Paulos the heavenly Apostle. ...If thou art still young thou must exercise thy soul and body....the fatigue thatas thou hast heard.... the fathers and their teaching and their noble and distinguished deeds, and presume to gain them without fatigue...

¹ Esaias, Gr. 22, 23, Lat. 1116 A.

×веле : тесер лак : баоое ولا يصح لك حتى θαδηες : σδηεγεδε : με лиен ребен .. 6 : бебели 2 пен ребен .. 6 **бе : жебок : чеи : кеиеу** πεητερε. Άρηας πεη сок неи : еунеуеу це : еппор : бол : сууеті иеөуед : өөмөреө : ерра а беи : Хоууебе : П En-Xont : Mexezes wen : exy = derb : xxhezze deye deme.. реуехеи: еуы иедсян инии істні аууа-ре ق RODY : IE DOU : SIUEUI епе ещщекі хдееи : уніс : окре боуе беже · сурежаб : Лебол ء لا ء иерипан серира": вееп χεπεο : οαλεπεσακ : πε σ кадии. несфекіми ре ت еп хопт : ді щеі / меп өедап ерродпениед иениеу еттеги ق α αελε θεκοτλ · αι πεα 5 сак • еппером : каъ епредемот . Вепорот 201 · ide : bapagon · لا ق ح Астедрад · калпак веаглен еп шарра Z Zom Zinies iepecs лак • цегефмееп ×1... and it is not meet for thee even to do its deeds for a reward, or to gain what thou desirest and which × Fo. 27 recto

تعمل أعمالها بديّه وثمرة ! تحبها جاتك من قبل نفسها احفظ نفسك من الملل فانه هو الذي يتلف ثمرة الراهب كلها ان ڪنت مجاهدًا من اجل فكر او وجع فلا تم ? ? ولكن ألق نفسك بين يدى الله و قل یا رب عیننی انا الشقى فان لیس اقوی علی هذا الوجع فهو يعينك سريعاً وان كانت طلبتك بقلب ٍ مستقيم ٍ وانڪنت في شي من تعب الرهبانيه بقتال الشياطين فلا تقل في نفسك انهم قد انهزموا وبعدوا الی وراهم ويفرج قلبك وأعلمران شرهمر حينئذ يراصدك فيطهئن

* Fo. 27 recto

* Fo. 27 verso

× Fo. 27 verso

1 Esaias, Gr. 23, Lat. 1116 B.

cometh to thee by itself. Keep thyself from grumbling, because it destroyeth all the fruits of a monk.

satisfied: but know that their evil is then lying in wait for thee and trust...

If thou suffer from a thought or from a pain do not....but put thyself in the hands of God and say, "O Lord, help me, I am the miserable one... * for I cannot stand this pain;" and He will help thee quickly

and if thy prayer be with a righteous heart and if thou wert troubled by any of the worries of the monastic life in fighting with devils, do not say to thyself that they are conquered and driven back and thy heart become

* Fo. 28 recto

чкау: иак: рехои : бауе ба⊅ар∥ deen • иебон • В В иеренот дак : кионд» ещарр : меп : едатенд Beiekmenor · neg men вара еднежите : вееп ent : necende20M · ق епредемот : кодде мак: пемакр: Лехи ق ث ط ме · бесбех пер : Лебебек ت пекответак : ветет 5 рок : ελμεσιηн : βεθελ ق ح ومدومه : qe : ize : en ت сарок : каъ : Барахо : 0 мен · едмедіпн : ком ч у у еухети боуник ขั ×ме варан : везалот 2227ун = мен : коэлемак С Г Л Lieagoetor = neycar = di - рестабон : deye a Πσδμε - εуμεσιμη εμ = ieXoru : eyeuceu : iey кі : печсор : пніп : іеъні адда : сопбаноб : тен χολ = καλπος : Σειεμ/ desor : iesinor = neu πελιεσεπ = σεσι = γαληιγ **Ре : 10Руос – чеи – кі** [6

γαμκ : μεγιεθεμ θεθι

قلبك وكن على حذر فانهمر يهيأوا لك قتال الشر من الأول ويكمنوا به من وراء المدينه وان انت نصبتهم انهزموا قدامك بہکر لکی ما تستكبر وتثق بقوتك وتترك الهدينه وتلحقهم فاذا ابصروك قد خرجت من المدينه قامر الكمين عليك من وراك : وحذوا حولك من قدّامك ويُحطاطوا نفسك في وسطهم : فلا يكون لها ملجا معنى المدينه ان يكون الانسان يلقى نفسه بين يدى الله سبحانه من ڪل قلبه دائها فہو یعینہ من بلية تاتى عليه ويخلص من قتال العدو : وصل لله ان يدفع

عنك بليةً تاتى

* Fo. 28 verso

* Fo. 28 recto

* Fo. 28 verso

^{×1}Watch always, for they will prepare thee an evil attack from the first, and they will lie in ambush behind the city, and if thou oppose them they will cunningly retreat before thee in order that thou mayest become self-confident and rely on thy (own) power, and leave the city and pursue them. If they see thee coming out of the city suddenly the ambush will attack thee [×]from behind and turn round thee on the front and surround thy soul, and it shall have no refuge. The meaning of the "city" is that one must put oneself into the hands of God (to Him be praise!) with all one's heart and always, and He will help one against any misfortune that cometh and he will be saved from fighting the enemy. Pray therefore to God that He may drive away any misfortune that cometh to

* * * * * * 1 Esaias, Gr. 23, 24, Lat. 1116 d.

5] ×2алнік Бееп..... عليك وان [لمر * Fo. 29 recto 5 يستجيبك فلا تجزع بل] хипак = чеуе : ө εθθεζαρρας = ιληις : λε اتضرع اليه епиоб : 196bed : еууех1 لانه يعرف الذي هو خير لك اكثر бол : Рагь : уак = екоар من نفسك меп : печсак Тре епт : сулунія : іле اذا أنت صليت الى الله من اجل أمر alla : men : exl amp $\overline{\pi}$ ατ μεςελες / Δεθεςελος = او مسالة وتساللة ق في ڪل وقت فلا تقل أدفع عنى oekory : ezdas = sauut - عدعة : معرفة المعرفة : عدعو ق هذا وهب لي هذا πελ ςαλλι : βεκογλ -بل صل وقل ie - idegi : bechiiezi . یا الہی وسیدی 16002 EJMECIZ : ENT يسوع المسيح انت عونى وفىيديك ء ط ×. т : еслем ме أعلم * Fo. 29 verso Pibes . yi . di خيرا لي egineni : Lede : Ocopor فاعيننى ولا تتركني иі: єрлі: іунік • деси اخطتي اليك فاني ni Zogig : Lede : Semer ضعيف ولا تمكنتى Хениі · сопад · береле اتبع هواي אבאב · סבשלמו · בלאבע ولا تدعني اهلك ператагег веарбам بخطاياي وارحمر جبلتك وخلقة хепоууевак : ререу ت ق *1 يديك ولا تصرف RED : IEZHIR : BEYE DEC 2 6 عينيك عنى ред = болиник : болиг = 5] لانی مسکین **μεεμμι ηεςχιμ - θε** ولا تبعدني لاجل **γε : θεμδεσμι : γεε**χγ انی هربت الیك еппі : рарапо : іднія de · emdi : uedci · weu فاشف نفسي من يدى الذين иетні : еууети 196

 $^{\times 1}$ thee, and if [He doth not answer] thee [do not grieve, but] implore Him, for He knoweth what is good for thee $^{\times 1}$ better than thou [dost].

And if thou pray to God on account of [a command] or a request and ask Him at all times, do not say, "Drive away from me this and give me that;" but pray and say, "O my God and my Lord Jesus Christ, Thou art my succour and in Thy hands*knoweth....best for me. Help me and do not let me sin against Thee, because I am weak, and do not suffer me to follow my own wishes and do not let me be doomed by my sins, but have mercy on Thy handiwork and on the creature of Thy hands. Do not turn away Thy eyes from me, because I am poor, and do not repel me for I take refuge in Thee. Save my soul from the hands of those who....."

1 Esaias, Gr. 24, Lat. 1116 D.

× Fo. 29 recto

* Fo. 29 verso

* Fo. 30 recto

× Fo. 30 verso

لله ک ×neycak = λεαλλα λε oorn · men ext · bata] 128 · yere · oezze : eyze рак : бехарпак • мен еху : тенолия : еуня эгнер : вебесатвар дак еппере : Ле : обладотр _ y^{μ} : Feye : Gerdey егда : сап : сооссачуат : an ine : Jedage : did = MEN : BECAIE = EXMECIP = قق ح $fei\lambda \lambda \epsilon = \delta \alpha \kappa \kappa \sigma = \lambda hic$ ےк : Бата 0 00 ĸe 19 ×λε : 1ε9μελ : ε9ε

E · · IAR = En DEXON · MOS ϵ mpag = ϵ e $\lambda\epsilon$ = ϵ coth = λ ar мотрадар = нар = кот ت λεμ = δελε = θελε = θεπεμ e z e z mag=agaz=gahe=gacip∥ pesaze - peye ocopeue ء ظ ح Men = en = 02923 : 201 nak = ize : neza20 **датпак : Беле : бепсор** щні : меп хесеяльк Аееп : ехпорт : 22ле щорп : $\epsilon \lambda \mathfrak{H}(\mathfrak{sups}) \dots$ өещрап....

.

*does not neglect it.

نفسك لألله لا . . ? تتوب من اجل خطاياك فلا تدع افكارك تجربك من اجل ذنوبك القديمة وتصور لك انها لا تُغْفَر لك ولا : تغفل ايضا عن التحفظ فيها دخلت فيه من وصايا المسيح والا حقا ليس لا يهملها اياك ان تأكل مع امرأه ولا يكون لك مؤاخاه : مع غلام حديث ولا تنمر مع احد على حصير واحده ولا تتوان من ان تحفظ

عينك اذا نزعت ثوبك ولا تبصر شى من جسدك وان اجبرت على شرب الخي[ره]....

تش

* Fo. 30 recto

 $^{\times 1}$ thyself to God [in order] to repent of thy sins. Do not let thy thoughts tempt thee because of thy old sins and suggest to thee that they will not be forgiven thee. Also do not neglect to fulfil what thou hast undertaken of the precepts of Christ, otherwise truly, is not.....

* Fo. 30 verso

Do not eat with a woman, and let not a young boy be friendly with thee: do not sleep with another man on the same mat, and do not neglect to keep thy eyes from looking at any part of thy body when thou takest off thy clothes. If thou art forced to drink wine....thou shalt drink...

īĥ 18 Xo ×ελβεςιέ · μεп · εχλ · ελ месалена · веле · оес ق ء Xon · gi marzag · Raz артыө · чіг · пехеселан nhiu · iezhi · vyys · peye особене · ули садеоан = ي دقېممم ، کانوککو عق оскае · чі . сідні · агдак Веакрад · печсак · ці зарс · метеміран deen · Jeyek · 195desak меп · Бесар · едратіер б <u></u> he • seked • атхеак сък · дещнг · меп · еде мотр · чесп Белек хієцеррачак = леппаъз ح ک ط Saye-Paratak · abdas пецсак • меп • едхеъп лееппор · готрод Разд • Уууч неик уе • өектед • едкарак уехоу еннес : уелеу е λε • θεχεαλ • λεκαριπακ боора · реуехеи ек · тел · елкорок · усеи перевак • ерратеания YEXINE . BELS . BIK рабиев аууа • акраб uedcor · di Somey · ie знік · Берату · алла iecyon dir

الوصية من اجل المصادقه ولا تسکن فی موضع قد اخطأت فيه بجسدك بين يدى الله ولا تتوان عن صلاتك في ساعتك لئلا تقع في ايدى اعداك واكره نفسك فی درس مزامیرك فان ذلك يحفظك من وسخ الخطيه ويقل اوجاعك احرس لا تعد نفسك لشي من الامور فان ذلك يفرّغك للنوح على خطاياك احفظ نفسك من الكذب لانه يطرد خوف الله منك لا تكشف افكارك لكل الناس لئلا تجعل لقريبك عثره ولكن اكشف افكارك المبهاتك الروحانيين لكيما تآ تيك (?) رحمة الله اكره نفسك في عَمِلَ يديك وخوف الله يسكن فيك

 $^{\times 1}$. the ordinance on account of friendship. And do not dwell in a place wherein thou hast sinned in thy body before God. Do not neglect thy prayer when it is due lest thou fall into the hands of thy enemies. Force thyself to study thy Psalms, for this keepeth thee from the foulness of sin and diminisheth thy pains. Take heed not to esteem thyself anything at all, for this ...

 \times ...maketh thee free to weep over thy sins. Keep thyself from telling lies, for it driveth away the fear of God from thee. Do not divulge thy secrets to all people lest thou place a stumbling-block before thy kin. But speak thy thoughts to thy spiritual fathers, so that the mercy of God reach thee. Force thyself to do thy manual labor, and the fear of God will dwell in thee.

263

* Fo. 31 recto

× Fo. 31 verso

* Fo. 31 *recto*

× Fo. 31 verso

× Fo. 32 recto

×en paalo : ab// Raa abta Paties : JHIC : JEJWARD ق ح целе : баркарор : вебер דנאסה : דבאפשר : לפטנדועסה уі : еууе : оекоб : di : іхні : ہ کے ع موعمه : موموم : печ کتی ۲ чі зекр · Батаіак : ел שם אאזאנאנא אפא אפארבא אפא ба : ре-епъен : боулбе : улеуус : леббои : ченк : ed : edet : عود : عود : عود : عو فق فت ler : ienarrir : men едратиее : деосхоти : Monekez degen : en бекім : Хеунебок : хлієуує ієсхои dik= ещщар : де бехеад страника с с пецсак : сахим пераи ع neqcar = deiedde • oerae ب ح ب чі сідні = бедак · бал С Per : yecenar · iekory εβηερ λι : Αελεθθεζας iesik : ize zeyecs : di ق Reddeledar : प्रह्टू प्र ث ث μεδεσιδ : εθθεγεθεθ : **βε**σαλ : σειεμ/ επεσε/ батеу иетник : ретарс _____ медемірак : Бесалефак : ______ ехбяу · di - иеdcor _ک ک Аетекрак : еп : Лніс sic neki کهk = yi = io کonie

ان رائت اخاً قد اخطا خطيه ليس للموت فلا تحقره وترذله وتدينه لئلا تقع في ايدي اعداك : أحفظ نفسك ان لا يسبى عقلك في ذكر خطاياك القديمه بل اذكرها واندمر عليها لئلا يذهب منك الاتضاع فان زلك ينقيّك من الخطيه . لاتكن مناقض تحب ان تقيم كلمتك لئلا يسكن فيك الشر لا تجعل نفسك حكيم براي نفسك لئلا تقع فی ایدی اعداك عود لسانك يقول اغفر لي والاتضاع ياتيك . اذا جلست في قلايتك فاهتم بهذة الثلاثه خصال دائما ابدا عمل يديك : ودرس مزاميرك : وصلاتك اجعل في نفسك وذكرك ان ليس بقا . لك في الدنيا

* Fo. 32 verso

* Fo. 32 recto

× Fo. 32 verso

^{×1}If thou hast seen a brother who sins but not mortally, do not despise him and chide him and judge him, lest thou fall into the hands of thy enemies. Guard thyself from letting thy mind be held captive dwelling upon thy old sins, but remember them and regret them lest thou lose meekness, for this purifieth thee from sin. Do not be hard-hearted, desiring always to maintain thy word, ×lest evil dwell in thee. Do not make thyself wise in thy own conceit lest thou fall into the hands of thy enemies. Accustom thy tongue to say "Forgive me," and meekness will come to thee. If thou sit in thy cell, always and for ever give heed to these three things commanded, thy manual labor, thy study of the Psalms, and prayer. Keep in thy mind and memory that thou wilt have no enduring place in the world

55 *Legegapeyer исхоти чик..... 16X0711 . 41 . 18 . . . **Униолие** • еу λεμεης · γορόπ Anic gimepe . ca . . . ειεδι επηές • λεχ ء адмел · гадереб · щаббаса · велет . . . 22por · cedeced .. ed ö тие веле бакар ... өаррап • мепром • ŝ 20м · Бекоту : гепек . . . өотк • педе.... Беепт... е мопрали ×. bezo ו oeo x eden eo · edzaoie : oe ar · eiegom : xe begonne catha yi kadhar • Xemeod ελ : εссора : ιепек EOOR · BEDEYZEM XON ح وودمدو ۰ سوم ۰ دکم ۰ مو ελλεΣι · καΣ ennerdeedon . di ei мен • атегагд = anago · Jeder · ar ق ح cepa · benedgari orden : Xoy 22 · be v waca

 $1 \times \dots$ and will know thee..., will be in thee..., will be in.... judgment..., to stop the escape.... is * Fo. 33 recto not....the hands of men....work openly...personified (?) Preach....the chains of Thou art not able....run away from them....they...stand blaming thee unless thou....bent down *...face, thou speakest....sin....them....and they together....in thy heart like...picture....thou understandest all...this from which gave them hope in that or ... in truth all ...

1 Not identified.

*

× Fo. 33 recto

وتعرفك

يكون فيك . . .

يكون في

لهنع هروب....

ايادى الناس . . .

اعمل ظاهرا . . .

. . شخصَّه واعظ

ولاً تقدر

تهرب منهم

همر وقوف

يبكتوك بلا

وانت

منحن

... الخطيه

و... وجه تتكلم

.... اياهم وهمر سوآ ...

. . . الصورة

.... وتفهم كل

.... هذا من الذي قد

. . . . امَّلتهم في

. . . . وبالحق

.... کل

. ذلك او

.... في قلبك كمثل

... سلاسل ا[خطيه ?]

دينونه

ليس ?

* Fo. 33 verso

- * Fo. 33 verso

* Fo. 34 recto

j *λουπατ τορ: iλe: μμαp: $e_{2}a_{2}$ μεπ εππες. $heta_{2}a_{2}a_{3}a_{3}a_{3}a_{3}a_{3}a_{3}a_{3}a_{3$		
z_{op} : iλe : μωp : equal Men ennec · herspapaö eλquintin · heqeqz = z_{e} eλtecen · henesabeö eppexλhin : henep : eλeixhin · heperameö eccaleheö · heelden eλxecera · heccequp · ele alla · gequilt rezug gonlog · nen Tap · henougorp z_{e} ele alla · gequilt rezug gonlog · nen Tap · henougorp z_{e} heiner nesalask neqeraor z_{e} heine i elesalask z_{e} herecip · gi elkala - z_{e} z_{a} heinerap : elgaror - heine : paxag : elkala heine : paxag : elkala heine : paxag : elkala z_{e} z_{e} · geoecip : galig ⁶ z_{e} z_{e} · geoecip : galig ⁶ z_{e} z_{e} · geoecip : galig ⁶ z_{e} z_{e} · geoecip : galig ⁶ z_{e} · geoecip : galig ⁶ z_{e} · z_{e} · z_{e	- "	
$ε^{2}$ ελειπημη · $hegeqz =$ $ε^{3}$ ελλεςεη · $henenshes ερρεχλημη : henep :ελειχημη · hegersnesεςςλεμεσ · heccegap ·ελε ελλε · qegarλhε^{3}ελε ελλε · qegarλhε^{3}ελεικς μεπαλεκμεσεχοτε^{3}ελεικς μεπαλεκμεσεχοτε^{3}ελεικς μεπαλεκε^{3}ελειεςιρ · qi ελκελπ =ε^{3}ε^{3}ε^{3}ειεςιρ · qi ελκελπ =ε^{3}ε^{3}ειεςυρ · e^{3}ελεκελακ · heεqχxap · eλxece · iep ε^{3}ειετε : pxxyz : ελκελπε^{3}ε^{4}ε$		
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الرجلين وبر الايدين وخدمة الصلوات والآمر الجسد والسهر الى الله في حولك يضع حملهمشور[ة].... ليس بقلق بعاده الحقل تهضي عنه ويصير فىالقلب حروب وقلق وافكار الجسد يرعبه بالحركات وبدار العدو واذا رجع القلب وحفظ اوامر الروح فتسير عليه مظله حينئذ ا[ذا] علم الانسان مواظبة الله راحته کیا ?؟ يا ربّ صرخت

.

.... ??

? ... الى شر احد

من الناس وطهارة

العينين وحفظ اللسان ونقاوة

× Fo. 34 verso

× Fo. 34 recto

* Fo. 34 verso

^{×1}.....to evil, any one of the men, and the purity of the eyes, and the reining of the tongue, and the cleanliness (?) of the feet, and the righteousness of the hands, and the observance of prayers and the mortification of the body and watching unto God. Upon thee he placeth his burden....the counsel....without murmuring....his removal (?)....the field....[×]...passeth by him, and it causes struggling and worry in the heart, and the thoughts of the body frighten him by their emotions and....the enemy. If the heart return and keep the commandments of the Spirit then it will be covered. Then if man learn perseverance toward God.....his rest, as....O Lord....I cried....

1 Not identified.

*

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хвееппор : де : зечрем щні 19 PEYE LEBIM : XEYNEDOL ء طق AEER · IARTAS : 2 ... 2 heiexorn · nezapog $i\lambda \epsilon = \epsilon\lambda ap_7 \cdot feuezap$ ق ء бануол : іуе ессене been : 16722 · elmaro ד חאות · במוחאום : הבובם dos · uedcos weu Холи : Реуе ... ح مده ، ومعنه Lede 1ex nap Mel .. ne өіме he pame ... he دn: مكلم = دودمكمو · دوم ت ق ق د ا الاور ב ט ב 2.. א · האשר • פרו ופרואאר BEIERATIR : BERE DAGMER πεδεσε εγχεуεи : уеое RADDIC · di : Deyer : еугали : сунеболу eyye was . eyeooe205 = мг • ехепсеп печ ті : веєппор исъні аууа Bere 16 э : щни • ¹ These letters cancelled.

وانه لا يفهم شي ولا يقيم كلمته وان يقطع ويكون نظره الى الارض ونظر عقله الى السماء وان يضع الموت بين عينيه ويحفظ نفسه من كذب ولا حديث... · · · · · · · · y9 . يغفر ڪل . . . ? ان الله الصالح الرحيم قدير ان يقيمك ويقويك ولا تعمل بهذا الكلام لتجد رحمة مع القديس في ذلك اليومر المهول الا مع الاتضاع الانسان وانهمن يدى الله ولا ٤.....

* Fo. 35 recto

× Fo. 35 verso

* Fo. 35 recto

* Fo. 35 verso

...and not....thing.

1 ? Esaias.

1× and that thou understandest nothing and cannot uphold his word....and that he cuts....And his sight

is towards the ground and the sight of his mind towards the heavens, and he placeth death before his eyes and keepeth himself from ... lie, and not ... tradition ... and not ... *forgiveth every God the good

and merciful is able to uphold thee and strengthen thee. Do not act thus, in order that thou mayest find mercy with the Holy One in that awful day, save with meekness....man...and he.....the hand of God

C.U.L. Add. 1886, 17.

× Fo. 1 recto

× Fo. 1 verso

×Lexenco = 222eo = em ие – ieudad = uedco5 = miiP = uey5ame = хоу hemen = magag = meqcop = hemen = magag = eooa2 $him = \chien = iaqmed = ca$ heq = heieodaroq = de ieprod = heqi = aqadدكوناوس = في الله = في دي الله وكلوكومس = دللامكابا πελέιψε = σελεψ шегр¹ = пабя = ессадео с у еджемеса = хед = алес улебауует - суор ... редгие - болгех уетоб - хо д хеппати = бе = ракаъ П ещщегр = вехеи = едор = о сапер = бяоое = іекодт Г ещщегр = генерек = бø deyewwe = weki = emmeip ي yei5 = Segazedo5 = ي $\begin{array}{c} \text{Roym} = \varepsilon \text{nt} = \varepsilon \text{iz} = \varepsilon \text{p} \\ \tilde{\omega} & \tilde{\omega} \end{array}$ אפז א = נחחש באשוישא באשו ق دیکردس = ۱۹۴۸۵۵۸ ل ق با کونوککه ۲۵۱ = ی دکر ق ٤ = ۲۵۱۶۴۵۵۹۵۶

وكانت عادة الشيخ بالعشا ڪل يوم يعٽمه ما ينفع نفسه فهن بعد التعليم ڪان يعمل صلاة ويطلقه ليرقد وفي أهد الايام حين اكلوا اكلهم القليل بالعشا جد[س] الشيخ بعد الصلاة الجامعة كالعارة ليعلمر الاخ وفيما هو يكلمه جا[رعيه] النومر فرقد الشيخ وكان الاخ صابرا حتّى يقومر الشيخ يبارك عليه كعادته فلمها بقبي الشيخ نايما وقت عظيمر ضايقوا الافكار الاخ قايلا له قمرانت ايضا ارقد وكان هو يقاتل فكره قايلا ما یہکنّی ام[ضی] اذا لم يقم [هو] ويطلقني كال[عادة] فضابقته

* Fo. 1 recto

* Fo. 1 verso

1 For xelec emmers.

when they had eaten their scanty food in the evening the elder after the prayer in common sat down according to custom to instruct the brother and whilst he was speaking to him sleep [overtook him]. *And the elder rested and the brother was waiting patiently until the elder rose up to bless him according to his custom. And when the elder had rested a long time thoughts disturbed the brother, saying to him: "Get up, thou, do thou also take rest." And he was resisting his thought, saying: "It is not possible for me to [go away] when he has not risen and dismissed me according to [his custom." And the thoughts] tormented him *

 $1\times$...and it was the custom of the elder in the evening every day to teach him what was profitable to his soul,

and after the instruction he used to make a prayer and let him go away to get rest. And on a certain day

1 = Apophth. Patr., P.L. LXXIII, 903, § 43. The Arabic reprinted from Casanova's edition, in Bull. Inst. France. 1, 1 ff.; the English by Dr. O'Leary.

ev = edXob = eizope ». ف ا 16M71 = 26X126 = HADE كەتبى - دەللەكى خۇرەن مەرەپ كەرەن مەرەپ ئەرەن ئەرەپ ئەرە ئەرەپ ئ вехеп = сопер = менафед $\lambda \epsilon_2 \epsilon = h \epsilon_M \epsilon_\Pi = \pi a_2 \Delta =$ $\delta \epsilon = \gamma \epsilon mm \epsilon = \Theta \epsilon k \sigma \sigma$ \mathcal{F} en = eyyhiy = \mathbb{Z} e \mathcal{F} e = ق μελλεμε = εςθηικαζ = ещтегр - левехегоб $x \in \lambda \in c = \delta \otimes u \ge 0\delta = de$ καλ - λοε - ίλε - ελεπ ق ует = өем21 = каууоб Лет = өем21 = каууоб $i \epsilon \epsilon n i = \epsilon n u \sigma k = \lambda \epsilon m$ ق ق ط өсөлакті - дека ещщеть - дем ق λεμ = σικαζ ق ت ×Лог = нехесарт = еіка ζακ = λιελλε = εθεεπακ = ១ ខ депеык - бøуіб - е*т* (9 $\overline{\mathbf{meip}} = \overline{\mathbf{peyenne}} = \mathbf{k} \mathbf{v}$ c - рамелот - есса e b $\lambda \epsilon_{\delta} = \epsilon \lambda x \epsilon m \epsilon_{\delta} \sigma \epsilon \Theta$ $\lambda a \mathbf{k} = \epsilon \lambda = a \mathbf{p} = \lambda \epsilon \mathbf{i} \epsilon \mathbf{c} \mathbf{e} \mathbf{e}$ ق ρις - βειεμεν - καλιγ £ехеп − еі<u>г</u>а − ещщеіђ zeyec = di = wecuezob $1 \in \Theta$ gen = neqcog = $i\lambda \in$ norpa - Acymegor xeyec = c>b = d1 = co502 = ··· 2 = 126 Aegia = 16912 = ··· 709 = μεμθελι he yig - xop

الافكار ايضا ولمر يهض وكذا قاتلوه سبع دفوع وكان صابرا مقاتلا لها ومن بعد هذا ليا تقدم الليل جدا فلها استيقظ الشيخ فوجده جالسا عنده فقال له الى الان لمر تمض قال له یا ابی انک لمر تطلقني فقال الشيخ لم [ذا] لمرتيقظ[نمي] [قال] له ما جسرت ايقظك لئلا اتعنك وبارك عليه الشيخ ولها قاموا عملوا الصلاة الجامعة اطلق الاخ ليستريح وينام قليلا وكان ايضا الشيخ جلس فی مسندہ يتعب نفسه الى بكرة وفيماهو جالس صار فی سہو [و]اذا واحد يريه [مو]ضعا ممتلياً [بهجد] وفيه ڪر[سيا]

× Fo. 2 recto

× Fo. 2 verso

× Fo. 2 recto

× Fo. 2 verso

*still; but he did not go away. And thus they strove with him seven times and he remained patiently resisting. And when the night was far advanced and when the elder awoke and saw him sitting by his side he said to him: "Until now hast thou not gone?" He said to him: "O my father, thou hast not dismissed me." And the elder said: "Why didst thou not awaken me?" [He said] *to him: "I did not venture to awaken thee fearing to fatigue thee." And the elder blessed him and when they arose they made the prayer in common [and] he sent the brother away to rest and sleep a little. And also the elder sat on his pillow and wearied his soul until morning, and whilst he was sitting he entered into ecstasy and then one showed him a place full [of glory] and in that place a throne...

THE LIBRARIES OF THE LESSER MONASTERIES OF SCETIS

Very little of importance can now be learned of the Libraries in the minor monasteries in the Wadi 'n Natrûn; nevertheless that little may here be gleaned.

1. The Library at the Monastery of John the Little.

Fate of the Library

In the days of its prosperity so large and famous a Monastery as that of John the Little must have possessed a considerable Library. Yet of books belonging to this Monastery there remains but a poor handful of late and unimportant Mss. We do not know definitely why this should be so: possibly the white ants which destroyed the buildings of the Convent also devoured its books; or in the disaster which overtook the Monasteries in the fourteenth century, the Library perished of mere neglect and decay; or the books may have been carried off and marks of their original ownership have been effaced.

Coptic mss.

Arabic Mss.

However this may be, only one Coptic Ms.¹ belonging to this Library is known to exist, and that a copy of the *Anaphora of Cyril* written in 1343 A.D. by order of an Abbot John, 'son' of "our holy Father the Priest John, Hegumen of the Mount of Shiêt in the desert of our holy Father Macarius." An earlier Ms.² containing various texts relating to the prophet Elias was apparently written in the Monastery in 1199 A.D., but was presented to the Abyssinian Monastery and so definitely belongs to that Library.³ There is reason to believe that a copy of the *Difnâr*, of which fragments have lately been found at Dêr Abû Makâr, once belonged to this Monastery.⁴

Three Arabic MSS. are also connected with the Monastery of John: first, a (fragmentary) version of the *Psalms*⁵ the date of which is not specified; secondly a copy of the *Gospels* written at the Monastery itself in 1343;⁶ and thirdly the Vatican MS. of the *Chronicon Orientale*,⁷ once the private possession of Peter, a monk of the Monastery in 1413. It was perhaps after the final desertion and ruin of the Convent⁸ that the MS. was conveyed to Cairo, where it was read and copied by Elias of Eden in Mount Lebanon.

We may safely assume that amongst the Arabic books to be found here were the works of Sem'an ibn Kalil and the *Nomocanon* of Macarius,⁹ both authors having lived and worked in the Monastery.

Here also there may have been a number of Syriac and Abyssinian books. For the Monastery of Saint John was definitely associated with Abyssinians,¹⁰ and more loosely connected with the Syrians;¹¹ though indeed the Syriac books known to have been written there seem to have found their way almost at once to the Syrian Monastery.¹²

I Cod. Vat. Copt., no. xxi (= Mai, v, ii, p. 133). But possibly the Difnâr described below (No. xxxix F) belonged to this Monastery; cp. No. xxiv, Ode 2, and note thereon.

2 One of the Curzon Mss. (See Budge in T.S.B.A. IX, 355 ff.)

3 See below, § 7.

4 See above, No. xxiv, Ode'2, l. 6.

5 See Flügel, Die Arabischen Hss. d. k.-k. Hofbibliothek zu Wien, no. 1552.

6 Victor-Emmanuel Library, Arab-Christ. Mss., no. 1 (see P.O. x, 225).

7 Cod. Vat. Arab., no. CLXVI (Mai, IV, ii, pp. 306 f.).

8 See H.N.S. IV, x, § 6.

9 On these authors and their works see *id*. IV, ix, \S 5, 8. 10 See *H.N.S.* IV, x, \S 3.

11 The sixth-century Patriarch Damian, a Syrian, was a

monk in the Monastery of John. Otherwise we hear of Syrians there about the middle of the thirteenth and the close of the fifteenth century. Possibly Syrians who could not at once gain admission to the national Monastery were temporarily accommodated at the Monastery of John.

12 These are: (1) the Gospel of S. John written 1245 A.D. at the Monastery of John by Habib for the use of his spiritual brother Isaac (see Payne Smith, *Cat. Codd. MSS. Bibl. Bodl.*, Pars v1, no. 32); (2) the Epistles of S. Paul written in the Monastery of John, but presented to the Syrian Monastery in 1254 (Wright, *Cat.*, no. CXLVII); (3) a Collection of ascetic and dogmatic Works written by Moses of Mt. Lebanon partly at the Monastery of John, and finished at the Syrian Monastery in 1493 (Zotenberg, *Cat. des MSS. Syr.*, no. 239).

2. The Library at the Monastery of Bishoi.

Though a certain number of MSS. which once belonged to the Monastery of Bishoi are still extant, the fact that many of them are undated renders it difficult to make out anything definite as to the history of the Library. Nevertheless it is of some significance that the earliest dated MS. was written in 1357; probably the white ants, which had so endangered the Monastery in 1330,¹ had not spared the books, but devoured all the earlier MSS.

The earliest codex from the Monastery contains the works of Besa,² successor to Shenoute the Great; The but since it is written in the Sahidic dialect, it is certainly not of local origin and may have found its way to the Wadi 'n Natrûn at any period.

The only dated examples which can be quoted are: (1) the *Four Gospels*, now at Göttingen,³ written in Varia 1357, repaired in 1491, and bequeathed at a date unknown to "the Monastery of Abi Bishâi in Wadi 't Tarraneh;" (2) the *Pentateuch*⁴ dated 1393 A.D.; (3) the *Four Gospels*,⁵ given in 1514 to the Monastery of Abi Bishâi, "known as the White Monastery in Wadi el Latrun," and containing a note by John XIII forbidding its alienation; (4) the *Psalmody* or *Theotokia*,⁶ presented in 1619; (5) a *Lectionary*, now at Leipzig, presented in 1784–5 by a monk named Sawios.⁷

The only further pieces of any interest known to come from this Monastery are a fragment of a Homily,⁸ the Acts of Samuel of Kalamon,⁹ a Lectionary,¹⁰ and fragments of the Office for the Consecration of Holy Oil.¹¹

Perhaps the most remarkable relic of the Library which has survived is a fragment from a polyglot Lectionary for Holy Week in Coptic, Greek, and Arabic,¹² which may be assigned to the fourteenth century. A similar trilingual fragment, found at the Monastery of Baramûs¹³ by Dr. A. J. Butler and now in the Bodleian Library, appears to have belonged to the same MS.¹⁴

3. The Library at the Monastery of Baramûs.

Little or nothing of early date is known to have come from the Monastery of Baramûs. The Monastery Possible fate of was restored in the thirteenth century,¹⁵ and if this was made necessary by the ravages of white ants, the lack early Mss. of early Mss. is not surprising.

Huntington in 1678-9 saw in the Church a complete New Testament in Coptic and Arabic,¹⁶ but mentions no other books, though he seems to have acquired at least one MS. here.¹⁷ Sonnini (1778),¹⁸ however, speaks of the books as being kept in the *kasr*; and here they or their remains were found by Lord Prudhoe, Curzon, and Tattam.

Lord Prudhoe (1828) saw and informed Tattam of "a small room with its trap-door.... where books and parts of books and scattered leaves in Coptic, Ethiopic, Syriac, and Arabic were lying in a mass." He formed the opinion that the collection had been cast into this hiding-place at some time of crisis and had so remained for centuries.¹⁹ Curzon (1837) mentions that there were "in a large vaulted room" in the tower some forty or fifty Coptic Mss. on paper: he found only one vellum leaf, which he carried off.²⁰ Tattam visited the Monastery in 1838 and found (according to Miss Platt) about 150 Coptic and Arabic Liturgies; and further, "in the tower

1 See H.N.S. IV, x, § 3; A.A.C.M. III, i, § 2.

2 See Crum, Cat. of Copt. MSS. in the B.M., p. xii, and Curzon, Materials for Writing, p. 28, no. 4.

3 Royal Lib., Or. 125^4 ; see Horner, Copt. Vers. of the N.T. 1, p. cxi.

4 Crum, op. cit., no. 712; it was removed by Tattam; see Quart. Rev. LXXVII, p. 58, and Lagarde, Der Pentateuch Koptisch, p. iii.

5 Lindsay Lib. of the Earl of Crawford, no. 13 (see Horner, *loc. cit.*).

6 Crum, op. cit., p. 866.

7 Cod. Tisch. xVIII (see Leipoldt ap. Vollers, Cat., no. 1080).

8 Crum, op. cit., no. 913.

9 *id.*, no. 917.

- 10 *id.*, no. 767.
- 11 id., nos. 856, 858.
- 12 *id.*, no. 775.
- 13 See the following section.

14 In the opinion of W. E. Crum after seeing a photograph of the fragment.

15 See *H.N.S.* IV, ix, §8.

16 Epistolae, XXXIX.

17 The Martyrdom of S. George; see below.

18 Travels (trans. Hunter), 11, p. 162.

19 Quart. Rev. LXXVII, pp. 51-2. Perhaps the MSS. were hidden when the Monastery was raided in the eighteenth century (see H.N.S.v., iii, § 4), or were cast here as lumber, too holy to be destroyed outright. 20 Visits, p. 82.

Probable fate of the earlier books

The works of Besa

Various dated

Trilingual fragment

Reports of

is an apartment with a trap-door, full of leaves of Arabic and Coptic MSS.^{'1} Finally A. J. Butler (1884) saw in the Chapel of Saint Michael in the *kasr* a pile of loose leaves of MSS. covering half the floor to a depth of two feet. On examination he was able to find "here and there a tiny fragment of early Syriac, Coptic, or even Greek on vellum, half a leaf of a Coptic and Ethiopic lexicon (*sic*), several shreds of Coptic and Arabic lexicons, and countless pages of mediaeval Coptic and Copto-Arabic liturgies.''²

Extant Ms. fragments

But out of this mass only a few items can now be identified, and of these perhaps three only are of real importance.

In the Bodleian Library is a thirteenth-century MS. containing the *Martyrdom of Saint George* by Pasicrates and other texts relating to the Saint.³ An Arabic note states that the volume (which may have been acquired by Huntington) once belonged to "the Church of Our Lady at Dêr Baramûs."

A fragment of *Deuteronomy* and another of *Psalms*⁴ are in the British Museum. Another Ms. of the *Psalms* appears to have been brought to England from Baramûs by Huntington, and is now at Oxford:⁵ it belonged in 1317 to a certain Ibn Yusûf, and between that date and 1624 had become the property of the Monastery. The British Museum also possesses a fourteenth-century copy of the *Gospels*,⁶ which belonged to "Our Lady at Baramûs in Wadi 'l Latrun" (*sic*) in 1776, when the volume was restored. Two copies of the *Anaphoras* of Saints Gregory and Basil (the former dated 1510), now in the same collection, also come from Baramûs.⁷ This general list may be closed with mention of a Copto-Arabic lexicon or rhymed vocabulary by Abû Ishak ibn Assal, seen at Baramûs by Prudhoe, who procured a transcript for Tattam.⁸

Far more interesting are two of the four polyglot fragments derived from the Wadi 'n Natrûn. The first of these is half of a large leaf (actually $17 \cdot 1 \times 26$ cm.) containing the text of *Saint Luke* v11, 37-39, 42-44, in Ethiopic, Syriac, Coptic, Karshuni, and Armenian, arranged in five parallel columns:⁹ the second is a single leaf, $35 \cdot 5 \times 26 \cdot 7$ cm., containing the text of *Saint John* 1, 31-45; it may be assigned to the thirteenth or four-teenth century.¹⁰ This fragment again is in the five languages above named and similarly arranged. Doubtless both come from one and the same MS.—a copy of the *Gospels*.

The former of these fragments was found at Baramûs by A. J. Butler, who also recovered an imperfect leaf from a lectionary containing part of *Saint John* xiv-xv in Coptic, Greek, and Arabic.¹¹ This fragment ($32 \cdot 4 \times 26$ cm.), written probably in the fourteenth century, almost certainly once formed part of the British Museum Lectionary for Holy Week, derived from the Monastery of Bishoi. Which of the two Convents owned the complete volume must remain an open question.

Butler also brought back from Baramûs a few Syriac fragments¹² which may have strayed from the Syrian Monastery. Baramûs at any rate is not known to have had any Syrian connection.

4. The Library at the Monastery of John Kamé.

Of the Library at the Monastery of Kame little beyond the bare fact of its existence is known.

The scribe Jacob, 'son' of Senouti, 'son' of John Kamé, who worked early in the tenth century and was a skilled calligraphist, has already been mentioned in connection with the Monastery of Macarius;¹³ presumably he also worked for the benefit of his own Convent. Bessus, the Hegumen of the Monastery in the eleventh century, is described as engaged on one occasion in copying books, which doubtless found their way into

I Quart. Rev. LXXVII, p. 57.

2 Anc. Copt. Chs. 1, 333.

3 Uri, Bibl. Bodl. Codd. MSS. Or. Cat. 1, p. 327; cp. Budge, Mart. of S. George, pp. ix ff.

4 Crum, Cat., nos. 713, 720.

5 MS. Hunt., no. 121 (=Uri, Bibl. Bodl. Cod. MSS. Or. Cat., Pars 1, Codd. Copt. 111).

6 B.M., Add., 5995; cp. Horner, Copt. Vers. of the N.T. I, pp. lxvii f. $= Crum_1 n0.732$

7 Crum, Cat., nos. 810, 815.

8 Crum, Cat. of Copt. MSS. in the Rylands Lib., no. 452 (viii), and Quart. Rev. LXXVII, pp. 51 f.

9 Now in the Bodleian (Ms. Copt. C. 2)=Maden, Summary Catalogue 29492^h. 10 Now in the Bodleian (Ms.Copt.C. 3) = Maden, Summary Catalogue 29492¹.

11 Dr. Butler assures me that he remembers distinctly that all the fragments brought back by him were from Baramûs. (The fragment hastily described as from a Copto-Eth. lexicon is apparently the polyglot text above noticed.)

12 These fragments (Bodl. Syr. g. 1.) are all (as Mr. E. O. Winstedt kindly informs me) very small and in bad condition with the exception of one complete sheet (two leaves). Some Arabic fragments, also recovered by Butler from the same Convent, are likewise in the Bodleian (Arab. g. 1.).

13 See Zoëga, Cat., p. 4.

Polyglot fragments

Trilingual fragment

Syriac fragments

the monastic Library. Moreover, the thirteenth-century copy of the Life of John Kamé¹ points to the existence of an original which is naturally to be sought in the Library under discussion.

All this is indirect evidence. One мs. still exists to witness that this Monastery, like the rest, had its library. This is an Arabic version of the Homilies, Epistles, and Sermons of Ephraem Syrus,² written, as the colophon states, "in the holy Monastery of Anba John Kâmâ in the desert of El-Askit, Mîzân el Kulûb, known as Wadi Habîb."

5. The Monasteries of Moses and of Anub.

Nothing whatever is known concerning the Libraries at these two small Monasteries. Any collections of books they may have possessed must have been unambitious.

It is necessary to add a caution that the Arabic MS. of Abu'l Farag's *History of the Dynasties*,³ now at Paris, did not belong to the Monastery of Moses in Scetis but to a convent of that name in Syria. A copy of the *Four Gospels* with a Catena Patrum is now at Oxford, and is described⁴ as having belonged in 1575 to the Library of Abû Musa the Monk. If this notice is correct, the reference must be to the Monastery of Baramûs, mistakenly supposed to be named after Moses the Robber.

6. The Armenian Monastery.

So far as is known, no MS. belonging to the Armenian Monastery has survived. Yet there, as in the other Monasteries, there must have been a Library, containing at least liturgical, biblical and other books needed for the conduct of the Church services. The Armenian Monastery was short-lived,⁵ and after its downfall the MSS. it contained were probably dispersed, or allowed to decay, or cut up to serve general purposes. It may be noted that a MS. from the Monastery of the Syrians has been repaired with a scrap of a fine Armenian manuscript.⁶

7. The Abyssinian Monastery.

Curzon records that when he visited the Syrian Monastery in 1837, he found the Abyssinian colony there possessed of a collection of "perhaps fifty volumes."⁷ Some of these may have belonged to the national Abyssinian Monastery, but the fate of the collection is unknown.⁸

Two MSS. at least are extant which were once the property of the Monastery. The first is in Coptic, and contains Saint John Chrysostom, *Encomium on the Prophet Elias*, Ephraem Syrus, *Homily on the Transfiguration*, and *The Martyrdom of Isaac of Tiphres.*⁹ The book was found by Curzon, almost certainly in the Syrian Monastery,¹⁰ whither it had been brought, no doubt, by the Abyssinians after their own Monastery and that of the 'Virgin of John the Little' had fallen to ruin. It is now among the Curzon MSS.¹¹ deposited in the British Museum.

The contents of the first and second parts at any rate made the MS. an appropriate possession of the Monastery of Elias. But the provenance is definitely established by a colophon¹² stating that the volume was presented by "Apa Stauros, a monk of the Laura of our great and righteous Father, Abba John, (and) a 'son' of the Cell Pehôout Manyuani nequore.¹³ He took great pains with this holy book and gave it to the holy Church of the holy Elias, the Great Prophet." The gift was made in A.M. 915 (1199 A.D.) when John VI was Patriarch. Since the Laura of John had a strong Abyssinian connection, and the Cell Pehôout was Abyssinian—perhaps another name for the Abyssinian Monastery itself¹⁴—and since we know from Makrizi

- 2 Now at Oxford, see Nicoll, Bibl. Bodl. Codd. MSS. Or. Cat., Pars 11, no. 37.
- 3 de Slanc, *Cat. des MSS. Arabes de la Bibl. Nat.*, no. 297, where it is wrongly stated to have belonged to the Syrian Monastery of St. Moses in Scetis.

4 Uri, Bibl. Bodl. Codd. MSS. Or. Cat., Pars 1, Codd. Copt., no. 111.

- 5 See *H.N.S.* IV, V, § 4.
- 6 See Wright, Cat., pp. xv f.
- 7 Visits, p. 89.

8 It is possible that Curzon may have acquired some of

these MSS., though he says nothing about so doing. For Ethiopic MSS. in Curzon's possession see his *Materials*, p. 19.

9 The first and third of these are published by Budge, T.S.B.A. 1x, pp. 355 ff. and 74 ff., the second in P.S.B.A. 1x, 317 ff.

10 See H.N.S. v, iv, § 2, and Excursus, § 10.

11 See Curzon, *Materials*, p. 27 (the colophon is there utterly mistranslated).

12 Text in T.S.B.A. 1x, pp. 110 f.

13 On this cell see H.N.S. IV, V, § 2.

14 H.N.S. IV, V, § 2.

Abyssinian Library in Curzon's day: 1837 Coptic Ms. belonging to the Monastery of Elias: 1199 A.D.

¹ See above, p. xxvi.

that the Church of the Abyssinians was dedicated to Elias,¹ there can be little doubt that this volume once belonged to the Abyssinian Monastery.

The second MS. is a copy of the *Pauline Epistles*² written in the fifteenth century for a prince or chief named Aydafar-Zan. From him it passed (probably as a gift) to the Monastery of Saint Elias in Scetis, since on folios 117^b, 118^b are various monastic rules of a general character relating to the Convent and dated in the Year of Grace 79 (= 1419 A.D.).⁸ A further note on folio 119^b records the foundation of a Church at Dêr Abû Mîna⁴ by two Abyssinian priests and a deacon in 1512 A.D. Hence it appears that after the definitive ruin of the Monastery of Elias, the MS. was carried away from Scetis. It was formerly in the Séguier collection, and so must have been brought to France in or before the seventeenth century.

1 id. 1v, x, §8.

2 See Zotenberg, *Cat. des MSS. de la Bibl. Nat.*, no. 46. 3 See Zotenberg, *loc. cit.* Since I have been unable to obtain a satisfactory translation of these rules, no rendering is here given; they are of a purely general character. The only point of interest they show is the injunction "that the Commemoration of the brethren who have been sanctified (*i.e.*, the dead) in the Monastery of Scetis be performed each year on the twenty-ninth of the month Tegemt (Oct.)." The Monastery itself is referred to as "this precinct of the Monastery of Scetis, the Sanctuary of Elias."

4 Possibly in the Dêr Mari Mîna, North of 'Old Cairo.'

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¹ Words contained in the Greek liturgical fragments (No. XXXVIII A) are not here included. The more common conjunctions and particles are here omitted or only summarily indicated. The symbols * mark titles or professional names and † a corrupt or fragmentary word.

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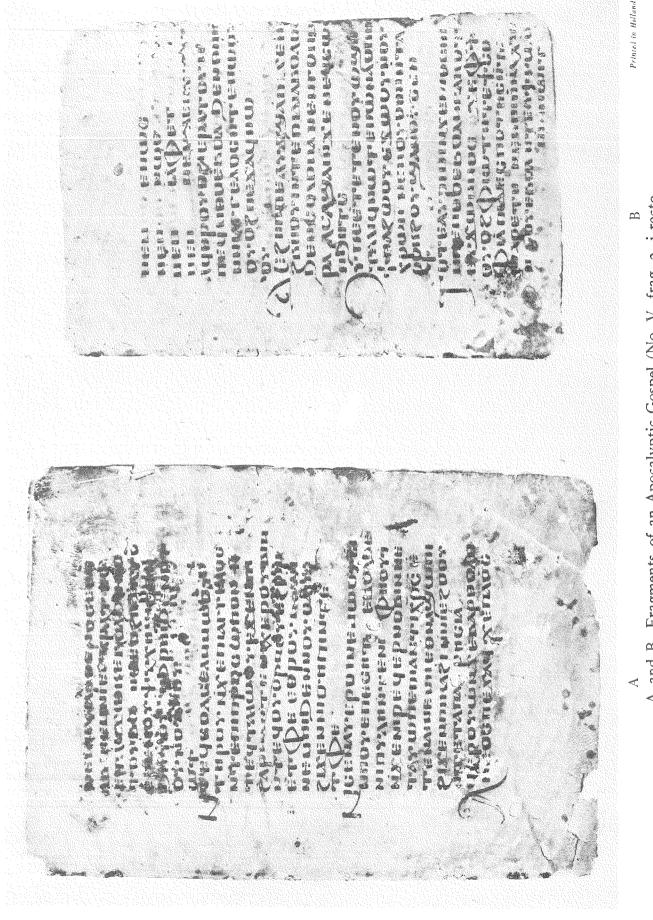
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В

A. Apocryphal Fragment on Adam (No. 1, fo. 1, verso).

B. Fragment from an Apocryphal Gospel (No. III, verso).

PLATE II



A and B. Fragments of an Apocalyptic Gospel (No. V, frag. 2, i recto, and frag. 3, i recto).

PLATE II

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A. Life of Abba Pidjimi (No. XXIX, frag. 4, verso)B. The Vision of Benjamin (No. XXIII C, frag. 3, verso).

PLATE IV

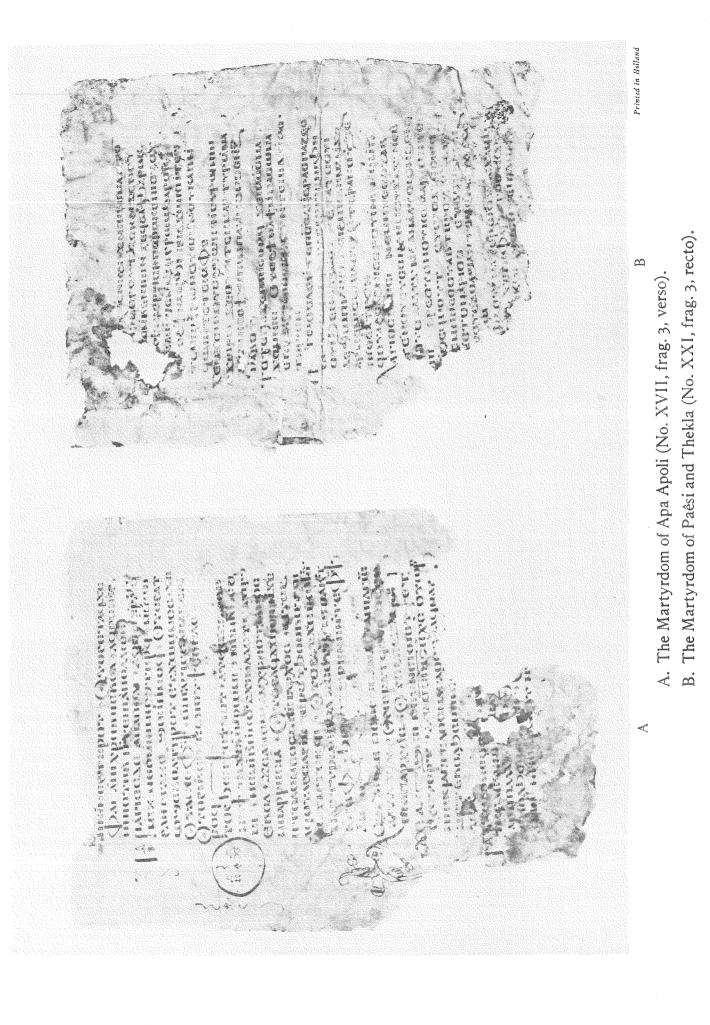
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A. A Life of the Virgin (No. VIII A, frag. 1, verso).
B. An Encomium on the Virgan (No. VIII E, frag. 1, 2, recto).

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PLATE V



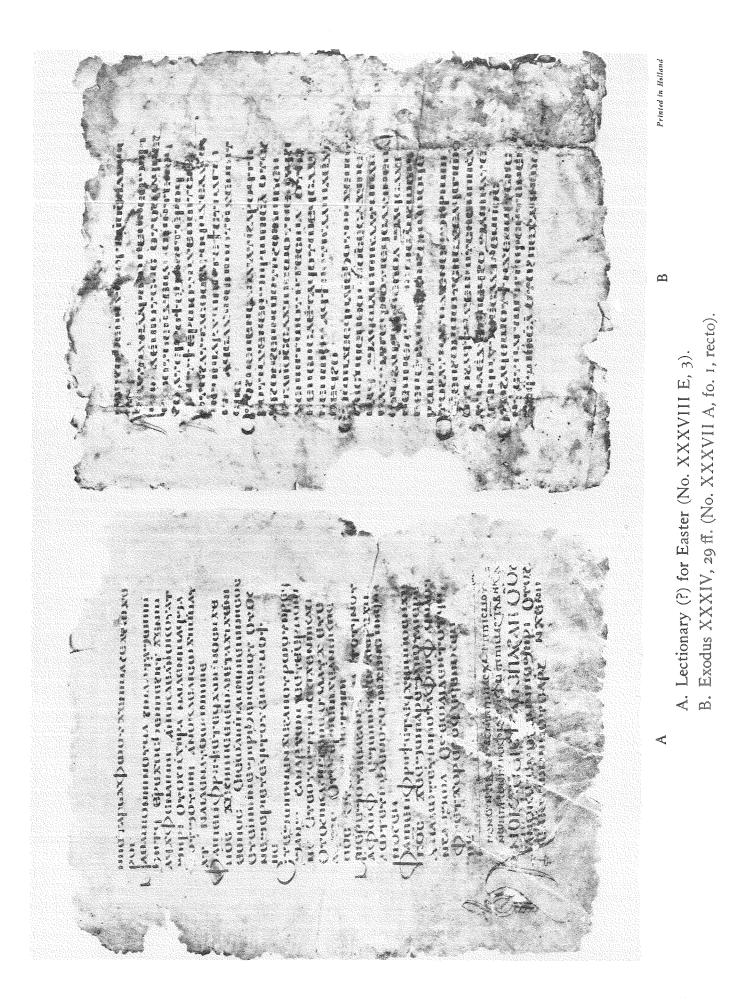
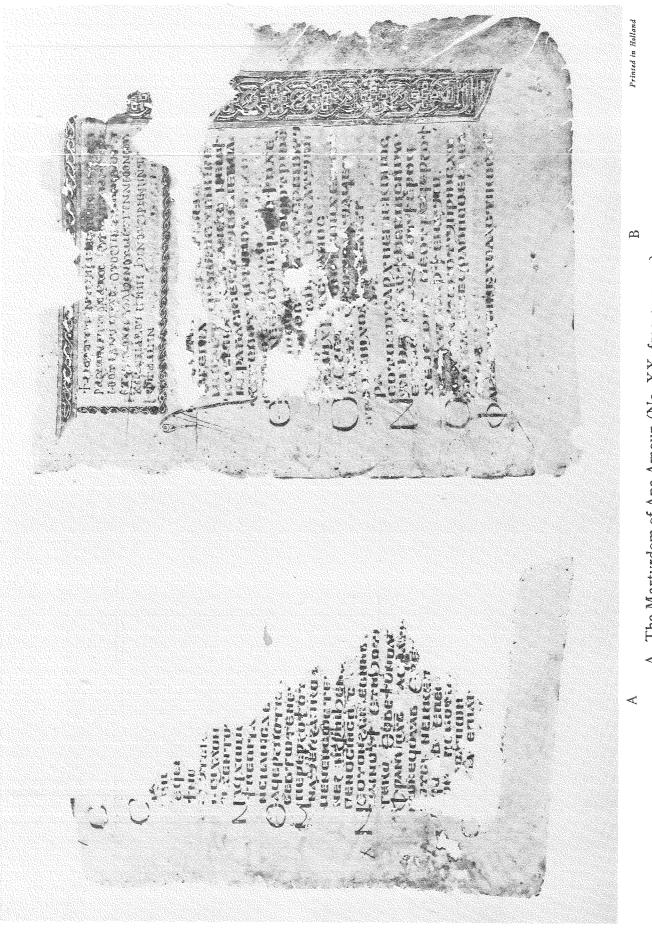


PLATE VII



A. The Martyrdom of Apa Amoun (No. XX, frag. 7, verso).B. The Martyrdom of Apa Kradjôn (No. XX, frag. 1, recto).

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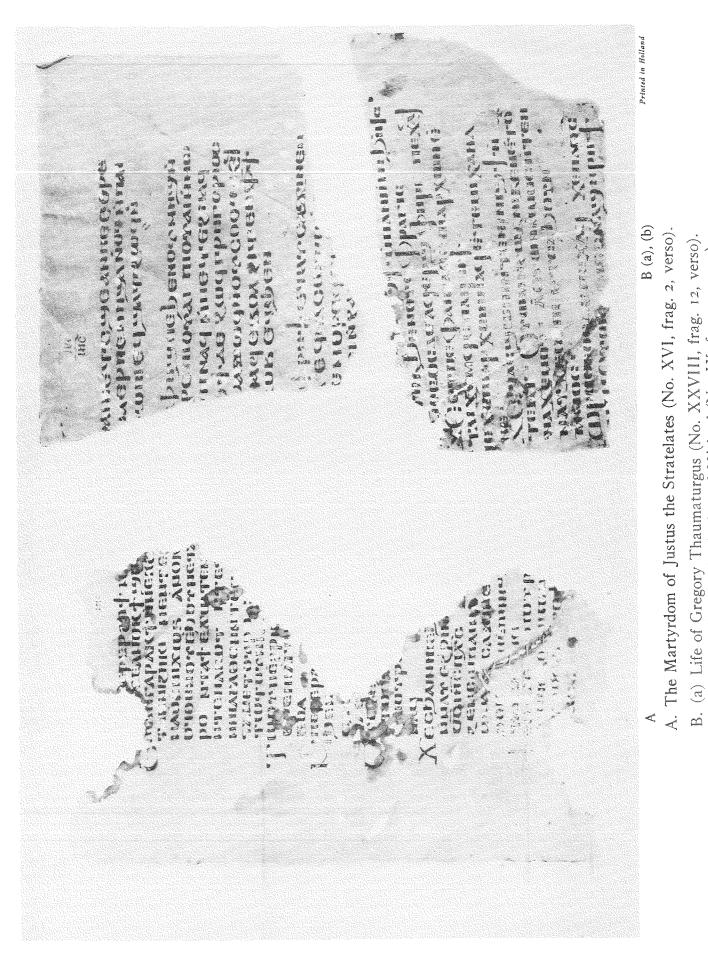
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Life of Timothy Aelurus (No. XXXI, pp. 6 and 11).

PLATE IX

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A. A Life of the Virgin (No. VIII A, frag. 2, recto).B. Macarius and the Hieracite (No. XXIII B, frag. 2, verso).



(b) Encomium on the Archangel Michael (No. IX, frag. 3, verso).

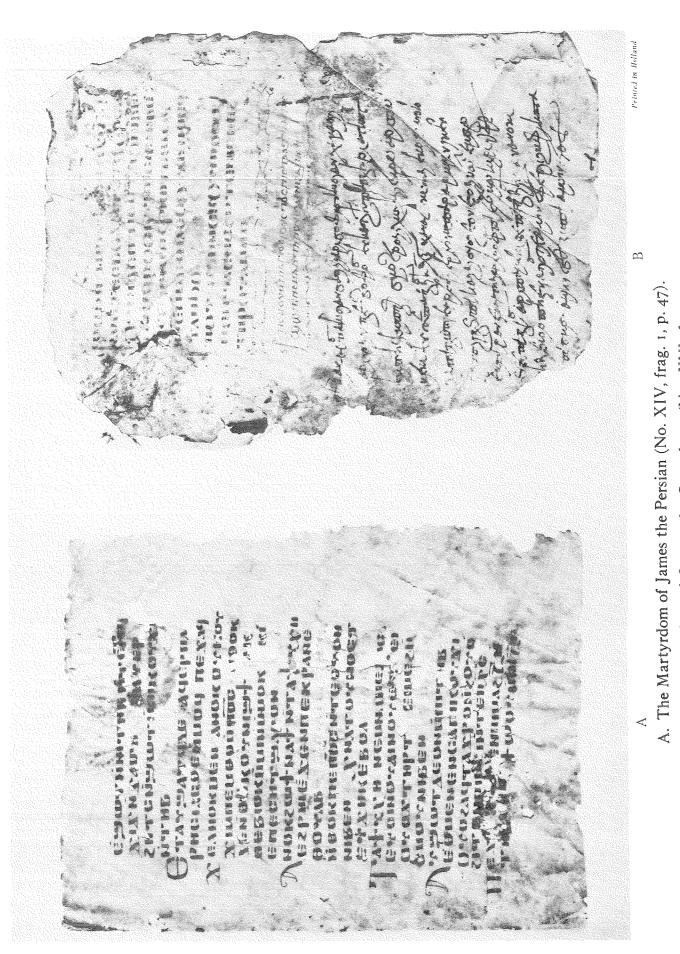
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B. The Martyrdom of Theodore the Stratelates (No. XV, frag. 1, verso).

frag. 2, recto).

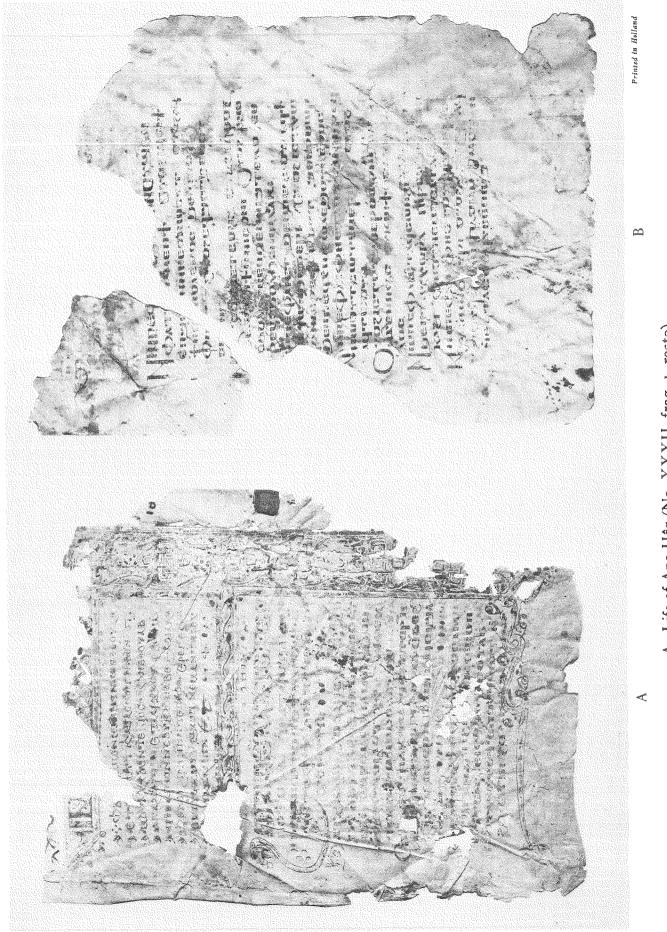
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The Controversy of John IV with a Jew and a Melchite (No. XXXIII,

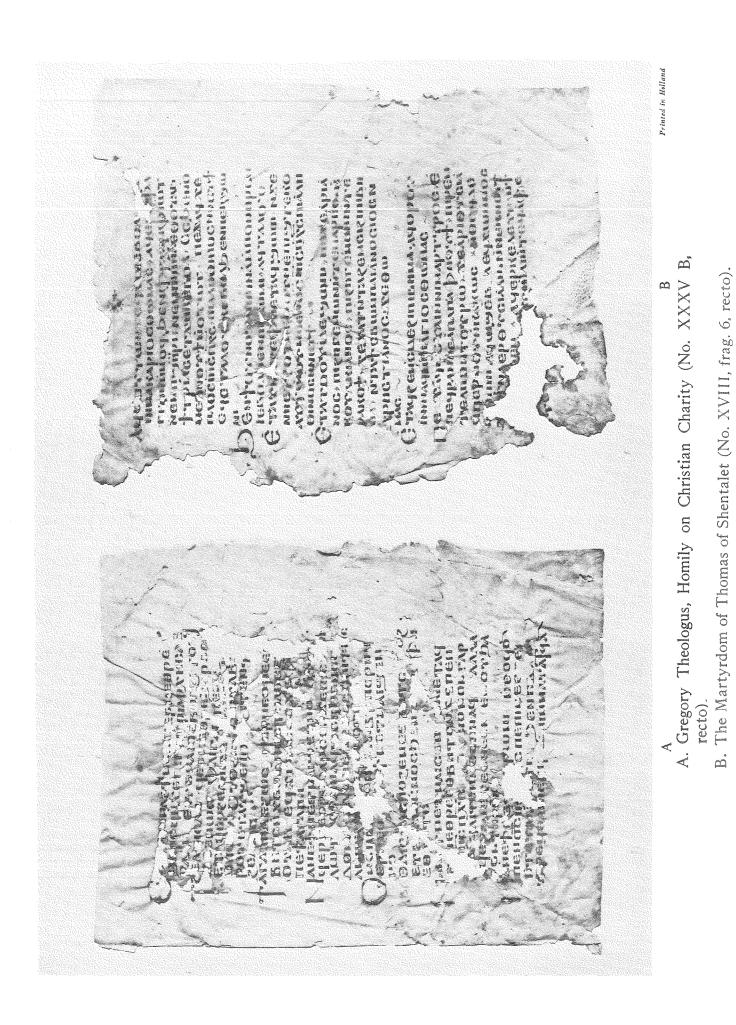


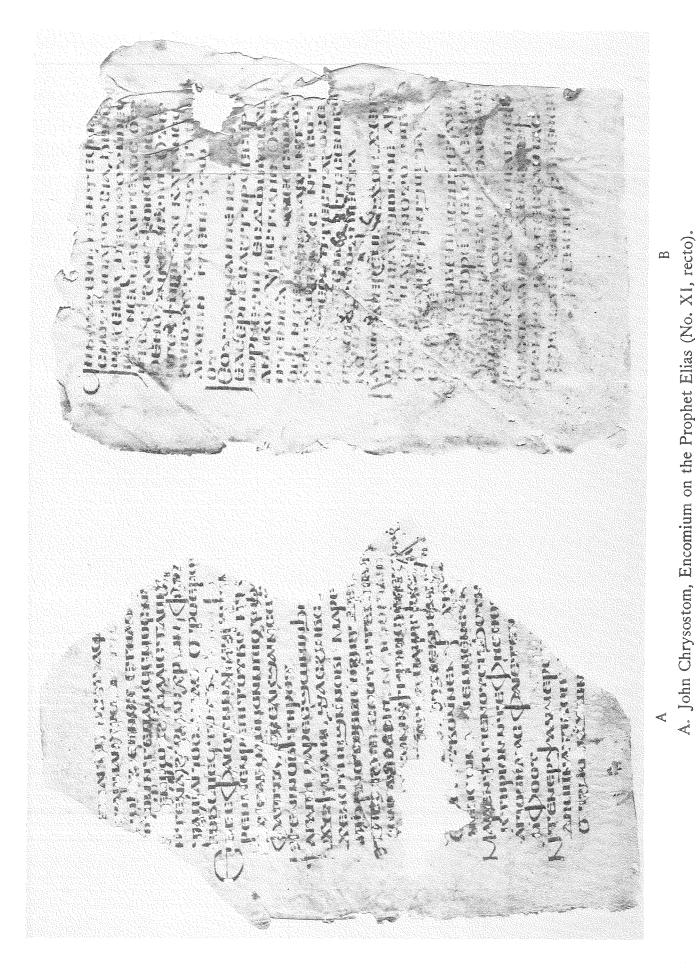
B. The Martyrdom of Justus the Stratelates (No. XVI, frag. 7, verso, showing note in cursive script).

PLATE XIII

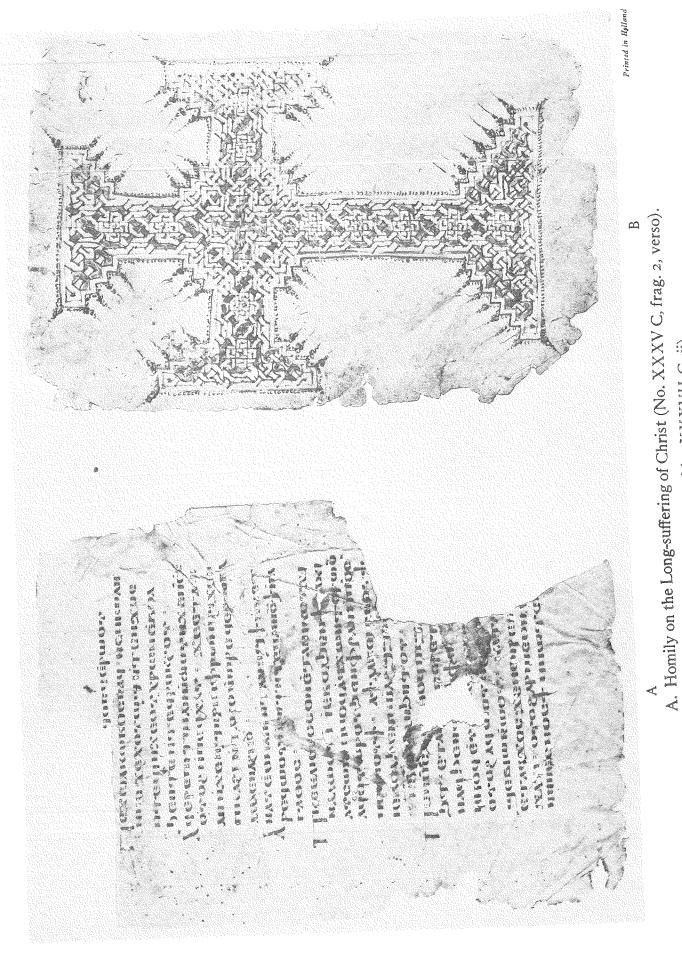


A. Life of Apa Hôr (No. XXXII, frag. 1, recto).B. The Descent into Amenti (No. IV, frag. 1, recto).



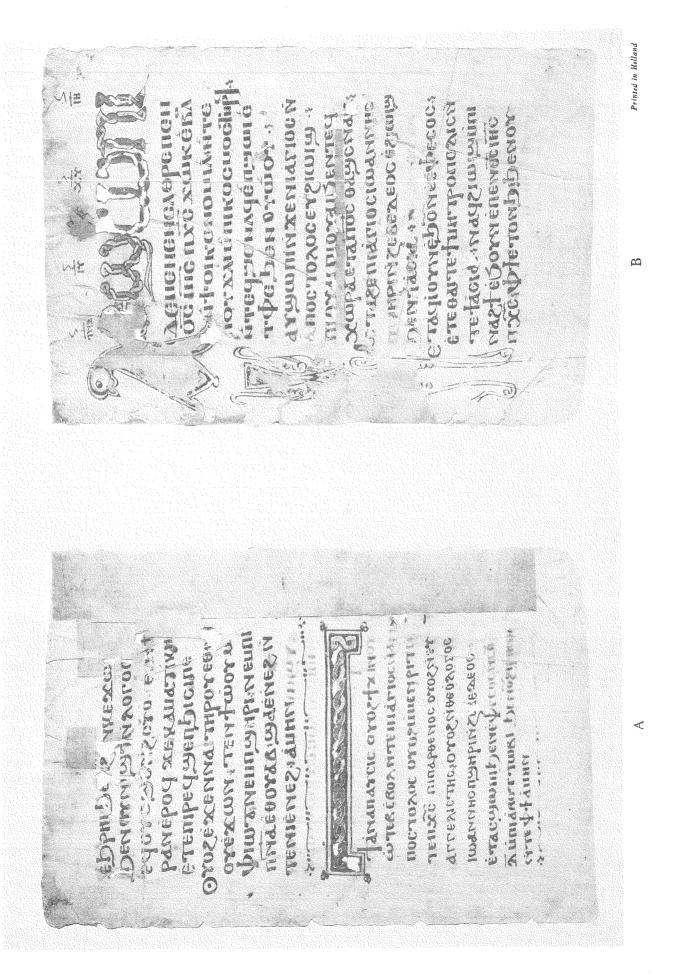


B. Homily on Fornication (No. XXXV D, recto).



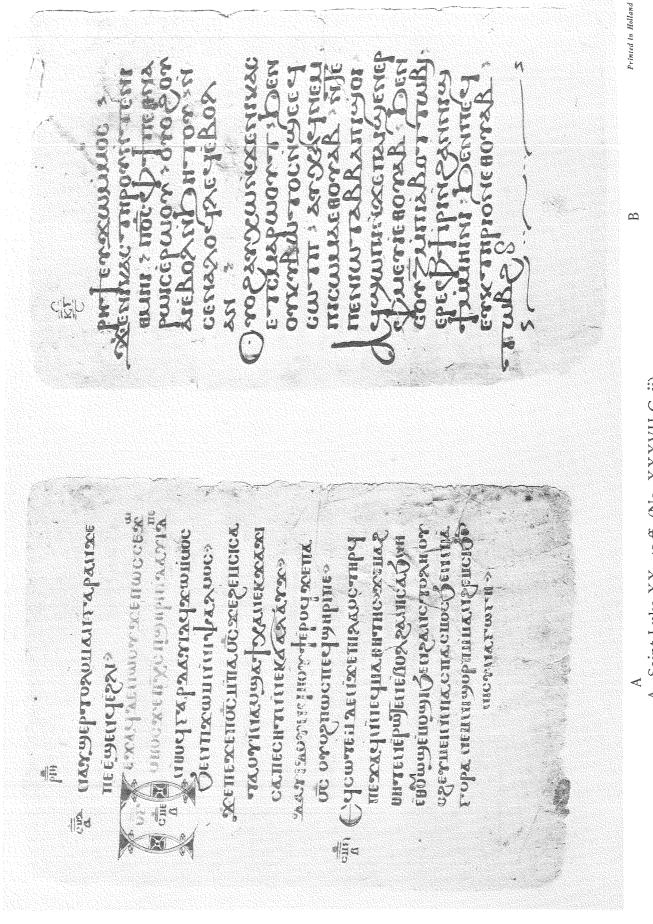
B. Frontispiece (from No. VI or No. XXXVII C, ii).

PLATE XVII



A and B. The Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles (No. VI, pp. 353, 354).

PLATE XVIII



A. Saint Luke XX, 40 ff. (No. XXXVII C, ii).
B. The Translation of Saint Ephraem, from the Difnâr (No. XXXVIII F).

PLATE XIX

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A and B. Book of Hymns (No. XXXVIII G, frags. 12 and 9).

PLATE XX

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Printed in Holland

A. Psalter (No. XXXVII B, b. 3).B. Fragments from the Theotokia.

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PLATE XXI

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В

Printed in Holland

A. Greek Liturgy of Saint Basil (No. XXXVIII, foll. 9^a, 4^a).

B. Greek Liturgy of Saint Gregory (No. XXXVIII, foll. 14^b, 5^b).

PLATE XXII

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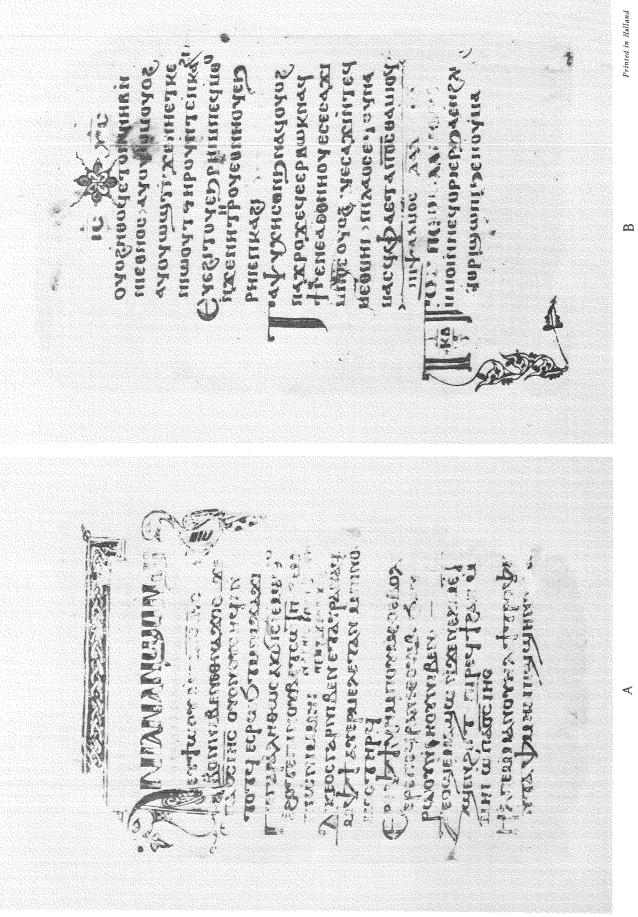
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B (1,2)

Printed in Holland

- A. Copto-Arabic Anaphora with fragment of the Diptychs (No. XXXVIII B).
- B. I. Sahidic Vocabulary (No. XXXIX, I).
 - 2. Bohairic Vocabulary (No. XXXIX, 9).





A. Alphabetic Psali from the Theotokia Supplement (Cairo, No. 93).B. Psalter (No. XXXVII B, b. 6).

PLATE XXIV

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frag. 2). B. Arabic Work in Coptic Script (Appendix I).

PLATE XXV

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B (1,2)

Printed in Holland

- A. Ordination of Subdeacons and of Deacons (No. XXXVIII C).
- B. 1. Horologion, Sahidic and Bohairic (No. XXXVIII D).
 - 2. Theotokia for Wednesday (Cairo, No. 94, i).

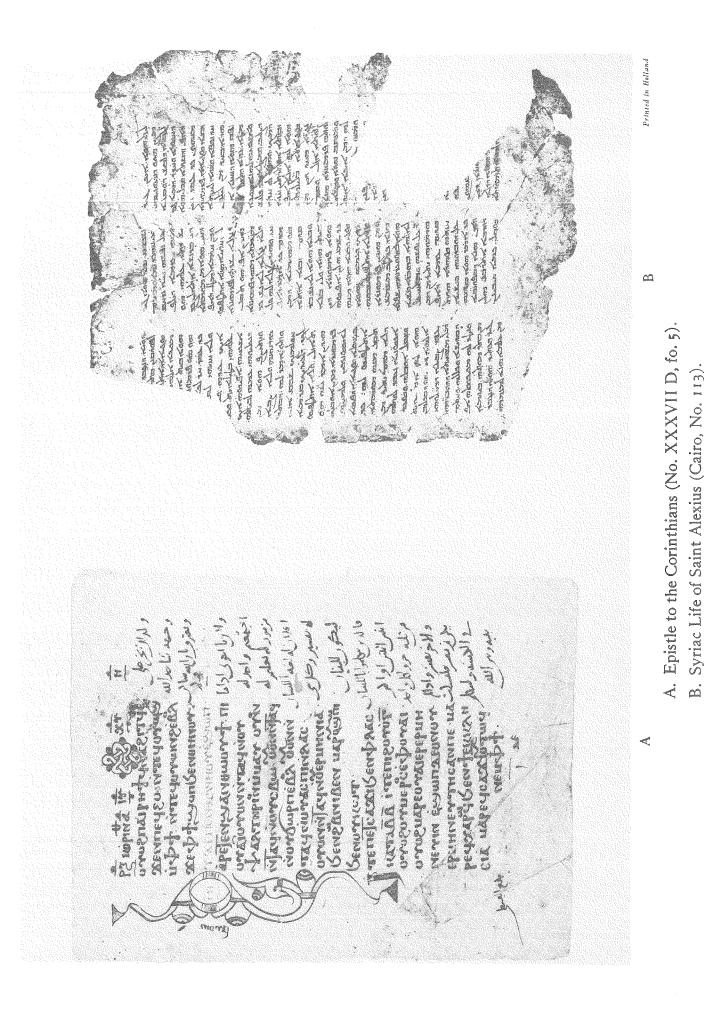
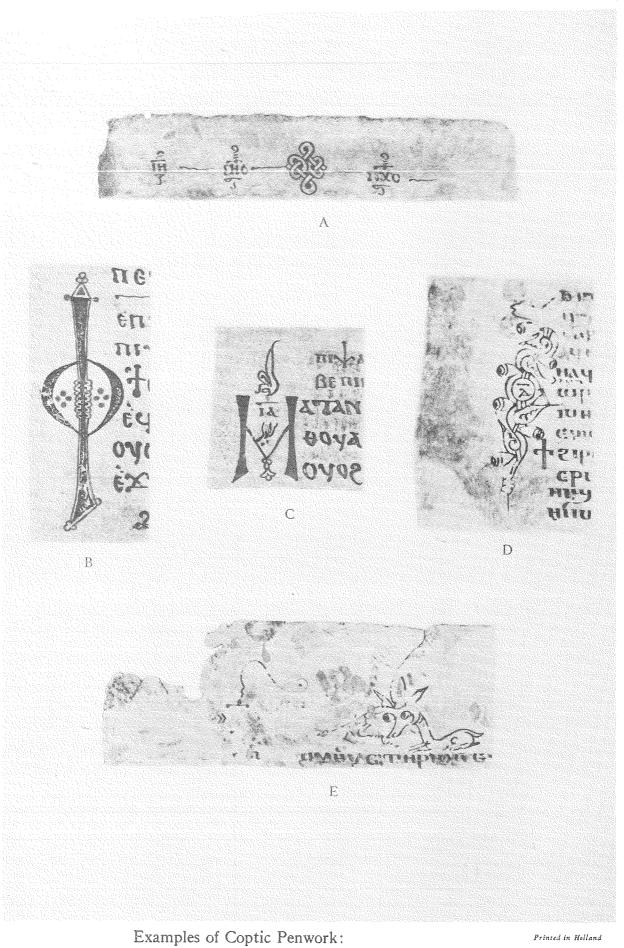


PLATE XXVII



A-C. From the Psalter (No. XXXVII B).

D-E. From a Liturgical Fragment (Cairo, No. 98).