

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

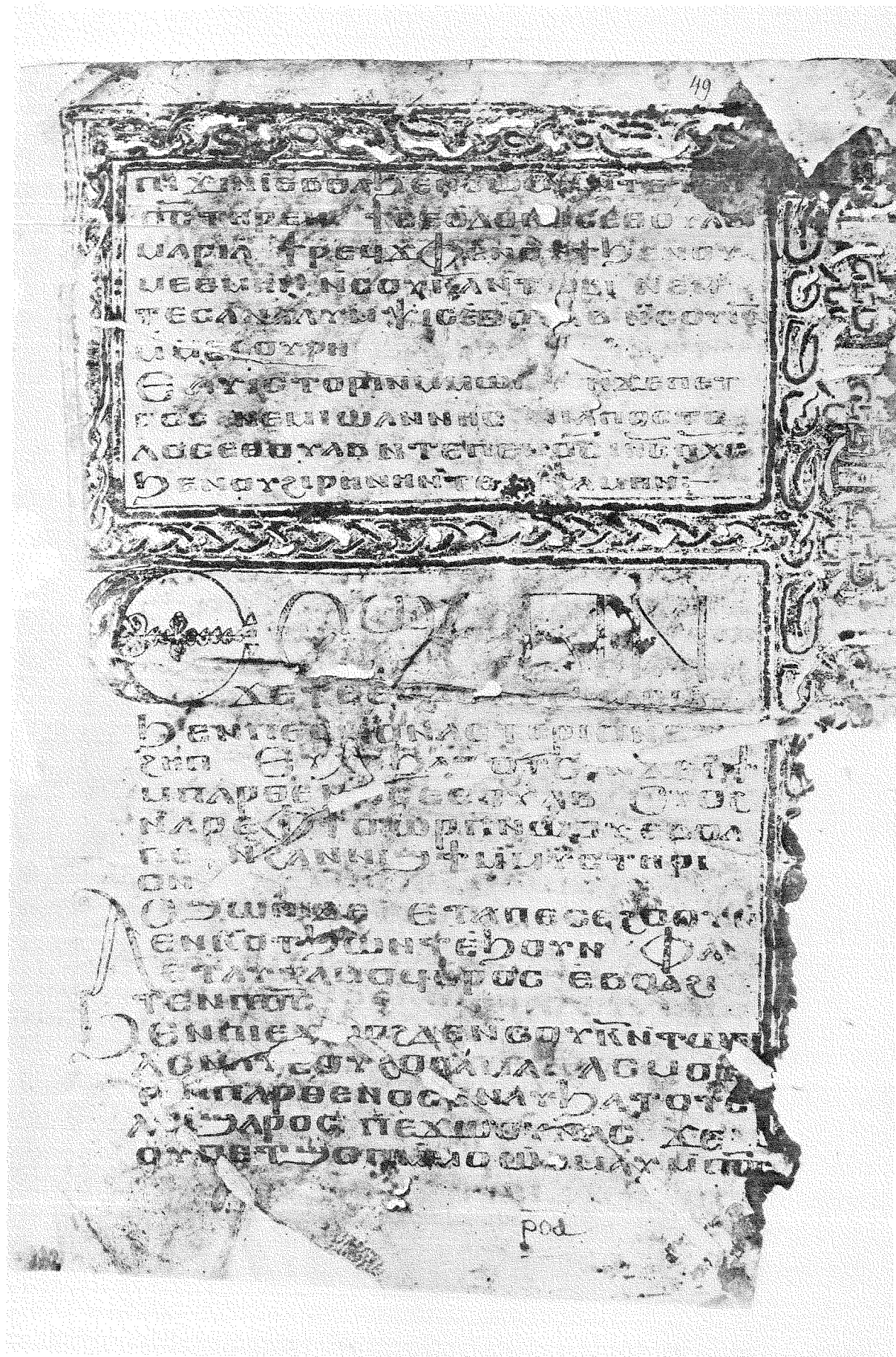
HUGH G. EVELYN WHITE

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



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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.<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>1</sup> 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).

<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>1</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> *H.N.S.*, Excursus.



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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.

HUGH G. EVELYN WHITE.

## HUGH G. EVELYN WHITE

THE 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 years<sup>1</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> 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 Nairân.*  
*A.M.G.* = *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.*  
*B.O.* = *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).  
*C.S.C.O.* = *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium.*  
*C.U.L.* = *Cambridge University Library.*  
*Eth.* = *Ethiopic.*  
*H.E.* = *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. II.  
*P.G.* = *Migne's Patrologia Graeca.*  
*P.L.* = *Migne's Patrologia Latina.*  
*P.O.* = *Graffin-Nau, Patrologia Orientalis.*  
*P.S.B.A.* = *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.*  
*R.O.C.* = *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-Orient. . . . Hss. d. Universitätsbibliothek zu Leipzig.*

### II. IN THE TEXT.

- ( ) 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 **наconi**, read as ms.  
 „ (transl.), l. 2. For “my brethren,” read “ye thieves”  
 P. 14 (transl.), l. 2. For “have been cast away,” read “had despaired.”  
 P. 19, l. 14. Delete **⟨па⟩**  
 P. 20, l. 14. For **ѡипѣ**, read **ѡипи**  
 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 **ѡимѣ**, read **срѣимѣ**  
 P. 45, l. 11 **мопони**, read as ms.  
 „ (transl.) F, l. 8. For “Only,” read “else”  
 P. 46, l. 1. For **ѡѡѣ**, read **ѡтѣ** (?)  
 „ (transl.), l. 2. For “material creatures,” read “molten images”  
 P. 47, l. 5. For **ѡѡѡни**, read **ѡѡѡни**  
 P. 49, l. 8. For **мипи**, read **мипи**  
 „ note 2. For (*Mon.*, read (*Not.*  
 P. 50. Delete note 1 (text)  
 „ (transl.), l. 5. Delete “and enchantments”  
 P. 51 *vo.* l. 2. For **ѡѡѡѣ**, read **ѡѡѡѣ**  
 „ *vo.* l. 8. For **тѣѣ**, read **тѣѣ**  
 P. 52, l. 14. Delete **⟨па⟩**  
 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 **ѡимѣ**, read **ѡимѣ**  
 P. 67 *vo.* l. 29. For **ѡимѣ**, read **ѡимѣ**  
 P. 68, l. 3. For **мипѣ**, read **мипѣ**  
 P. 70 *vo.* l. 3. For **сѣѣѣ**, read **ѡѣѣѣ**  
 P. 74, l. 9. For **ѡѡѣѣѣ**, read **ѡѡѣѣѣ**  
 „ (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. 1230 f.”

- P. 92, l. 1. For **nehio za**, read **nehiozi**  
 „ (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 Baunah 27  
 P. 95, note 4. For “see the Arabic *Synax.* Abib 25 (ed. Forget, ii 244),” read “see *Synax.* Baunah 4, ed. Basset, pp. 1078 f.”  
 P. 96, l. 12. For **hai on thowt**, read **haiō thōwt**  
 „ (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 krapon**, read **makrapon**  
 „ (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.”  
 „ *ult.* For “Athûr,” read “Abib;” and to note 10 add “see *Synax.*, ed. Basset, pp. 1234 f.”  
 P. 108, l. 26. For **comc**, read **comc**  
 P. 110 *vo.* l. 3. For **metzoto**, read **metoto**  
 P. 111, l. 27. For [**eyraot**], read [**eyrac**]  
 P. 112 *vo.* ll. 19, 25. For **thowt**, read **thōwt**  
 „ (transl.), l. 5. For “these insults I forgive thee,” read “I am weary of forgiving thee”  
 P. 116, l. 3. For **cazt**, read **cazt**  
 „ *vo.* l. 5. For **u[ε]k**, read **u[ε]k**  
 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 (π)  
 P. 123 *vo.* l. 4. For ϣηϣ, read  
 αμϣ  
 P. 125, l. 16. For ϣϣ, read ϣ  
 P. 126 (transl.), *ult.* After "mea-  
 sures," add "of bread"  
 P. 130 *vo.* l. 15. For ϣε παϣηνι,  
 read ϣεμ  
 „ (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 ηϣαη, read  
 ? ηϣαη  
 P. 151, l. 24. For τ[ε]νϣαμ, read  
 τ[ε]μϣαμ  
 P. 154 *vo.* l. 15. For ϣϣηρ, read  
 ϣϣηρ  
 P. 159 *vo.* l. 10. For ϣϣηρ, read  
 ϣϣηρ  
 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 ηι, read ηι  
 „ *vo.* l. 19. For ϣητ, read  
 ϣητ  
 P. 176, l. 22. For ϣωε, read ϣωε  
 „ Delete note 2  
 „ *vo.* l. 22. Read αναρϣη-  
 επισκοπος

## INTRODUCTION

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

#### 1. *The Monastic Libraries in General.*

NO 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;<sup>1</sup> and the same monk consulted Macarius as to what he ought to do with the three cherished volumes which constituted his library.<sup>2</sup> Paphnouthi of Scetis also was falsely charged with the theft of a volume which a malicious brother had hidden in his cell.<sup>3</sup>

Privately  
owned books

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.<sup>4</sup>

These private collections of books were kept in their owners' cells, where they were stored in cupboards (*θυρίδες*)—niches recessed in the walls of the cells—as we gather from the *Apophthegmata Patrum*. Sarapion,<sup>5</sup> 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:

Book-  
cupboards

<sup>1</sup> *Apophth. Patr.*, Theodore of Pherme, xxix.

<sup>2</sup> *id.* 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cassian, *Collationes*, xviii, 15.

<sup>4</sup> 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).

<sup>5</sup> Sarapion II.

## NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

"You have filled your cupboards with papers."<sup>1</sup> 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."<sup>2</sup>

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,<sup>3</sup> or standard works like the "book of the holy Athanasius" wherewith Sisoës routed his Arian visitors.<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> 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,<sup>6</sup> either for their own support,<sup>7</sup> or to furnish themselves with reading-matter,<sup>8</sup> or to accommodate others.<sup>9</sup>

So far as we can learn, the works thus produced were either copies of the Scriptures<sup>10</sup> 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.

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.<sup>11</sup> It reads as follows: "This book was bought

1 *R.O.C.* xviii (1913), p. 143 (no. 385) = Migne, *P.L.* lxxiii, 929.

2 *Apophth. Patr.*, Ammoe 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.

4 *Apophth. Patr.*, Sisoës xxv. The lemma prefixed to the Morgan *Life of Maximus and Domitius* asserts that 'Pshoi,' the author, wrote his work "in a volume (τομος) of papyrus and deposited it in the Church."

5 Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca*, Ch. vii.

6 See *Apophth. Patr.*, Marcus i.

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.

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.

11 Assemani, *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae Catalogus* iii, no. cxxliii (pp. 245 ff.).

Growing  
collections  
at the churches

Sources of  
supply

First direct  
evidence of  
a library in  
Scetis

## INTRODUCTION

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*,<sup>1</sup> it is highly probable that, as a stranger, he found his documentary sources<sup>2</sup> 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 exceptions<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup>

Earliest and subsequent collections

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

<sup>1</sup> Thomas of Marga, *Book of the Governors*, ed. Budge II, p. 175.

<sup>2</sup> Abbot Butler (*Lausiatic History* I, 85 f.) shows that Anan-Isho incorporated a Syriac recension of the *Lausiatic 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 Shihit* ⲡⲓⲡⲁⲣⲁⲃⲉⲥⲟⲥ ⲏⲧⲉ ⲥⲏⲏⲧ twice mentioned in the *Life of Pisenti* (ed. Amélineau, *Mém. de l'Inst. égypt.*, II, 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* (ⲡⲓⲱⲱⲙ ⲏⲡⲓⲉⲗⲗⲟⲓ) 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'* (ⲙⲏⲣⲟⲥⲙ) on a Theban ostraca (see Crum, *Coptic Ostraca*, no. 250; cp. p. 63 and note).

<sup>3</sup> 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.

<sup>4</sup> *H.N.S.* I, x, §§ 3 ff.

## NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Monastery an annual subsidy, which afterwards became a permanent endowment, and thus enriched it materially.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup>

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."<sup>4</sup> 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;"<sup>5</sup> and it is reasonable to suppose that this work—together with a copy of the more famous Chronicle by John of Nikiu<sup>6</sup>—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.<sup>7</sup>

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.<sup>8</sup> That sack was peculiarly thorough, and we shall hardly err in assuming that the Library hitherto existing was completely destroyed:<sup>9</sup> 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

1 *id.* II, i, § 3.

2 *id.* II, iii, §§ 1–3.

3 *id.* II, 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.



## INTRODUCTION

to submit to a secondary enthronement there; and there some of the most solemn rites of the Coptic Church were celebrated.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

Extant dated  
MSS.

- (1) 830 A.D. *Translation of Saint Macarius* (fragment).<sup>3</sup>
- (2) 884 A.D. *Martyrdom of James the Persian*, written by Cyriac, 'son' of the deacon Stauros, A.M. 600.<sup>4</sup>
- (3) Ninth century, Archelaus of Neapolis, *Sermon on the Archangel Gabriel* (by the same hand as the foregoing).<sup>5</sup>
- (4) 914 A.D. *Martyrdom of Macarius of Antioch* (written by Jacob, the 'son' of John Kamé).<sup>6</sup>
- (5) 918 A.D. Moses of Keft, *Encomium on Pisenti of Keft* (written by the same Jacob).<sup>7</sup>
- (6) 925 A.D. *Martyrdom of Isaac of Tiphres* (written by Theodore at the direction of Abbot (?) Abraham of Coltha).<sup>8</sup>
- (7) 933 A.D. Cyril of Alexandria, *Homily on the Three Children*.<sup>9</sup>
- (8) 956 A.D. *Martyrdom of Saint George*.<sup>10</sup>
- (9) 957 A.D. Dioscoros, *Elogium on Macarius of Tkoou* (written by Theodosius, 'son' of Mennas, priest of the Great Cell).<sup>11</sup>
- (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).<sup>12</sup>
- (11) 962 A.D. *The Deaths of the Three Patriarchs*.<sup>13</sup>
- (12) 962 A.D. Basil of Caesarea, *Sermon on the Monastic Life*.<sup>14</sup>
- (13) 979 A.D. Paphnouti, *Life of Unefer* (Onuphrius), written by Gabriel the Deacon.<sup>15</sup>
- (14) Tenth century (first half), *Martyrdom of Theodore the Eastern*.<sup>16</sup>
- (15) Tenth century, Gregory Nazianzen, *Homily on the Sacrifice of Abraham* (contains a note dated 995 A.D.).<sup>17</sup>
- (16) Tenth century, Gregory Nazianzen, *Homily on Poverty* (contains a later note dated 1025 A.D.).<sup>18</sup>
- (17) Tenth century, *Martyrdom of Eusebius* (contains later note as above).<sup>19</sup>
- (18) Tenth century, *Martyrdom of Saint Luke*.<sup>20</sup>
- (19) Tenth century, *Life of Macarius the Great*.<sup>21</sup>
- (20) Tenth century, Menas, *Elogium on Abba Macrobius*.<sup>22</sup>
- (21) Tenth century, *Life of Joseph the Carpenter*.<sup>23</sup>
- (22) Tenth century, *Life of Simeon of Mesopotamia*.<sup>24</sup>

1 *op. cit.* II, iii, §§ 1-3.

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 (Hyvernât, *Album*, Pl. 21).

5 *id.* LIX (Hyvernât, Pl. 22).

6 *id.* LIX, 4 (Hyvernât, Pl. 22).

7 *id.* LXVI, 5 (Hyvernât, Pl. 42, 3).

8 *id.* LXVI, 3 (cf. Zoëga, *Cat.*, no. XIX).

9 *id.* LXIX (Hyvernât, Pl. 24).

10 *id.* LXIII (Hyvernât, Pl. 26).

11 *id.* LXVIII, 7 (Hyvernât, Pl. 27).

12 *id.* LXVIII (Hyvernât, Pl. 29).

13 *id.* LXI (Hyvernât, Pl. 28).

14 *id.* LXVIII (Hyvernât, Pl. 29).

15 *id.* LXV, 3 (Hyvernât, Pl. 40).

16 *id.* LXI (Hyvernât, Pl. 41).

17 *id.* LXI (Hyvernât, Pl. 32).

18 *id.* LXVI, 12 (Hyvernât, Pl. 30).

19 *id.* LVIII, 4 (Hyvernât, Pl. 31).

20 *id.* LXVIII (Hyvernât, Pl. 40).

21 *id.* LIX (Hyvernât, Pl. 41).

22 *id.* LVIII (Hyvernât, Pl. 33).

23 *id.* LXVI (Hyvernât, Pl. 34).

24 *id.* LXI (Hyvernât, Pl. 35).

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

If the list given above presents anything approaching a true perspective,<sup>9</sup> 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.<sup>10</sup>

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*.<sup>11</sup> As stated above,<sup>12</sup> 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."<sup>13</sup> 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."<sup>14</sup>

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

1 *Cod. Vat. Copt.* LXII (Hyvernât, Pl. 38).  
 2 *id.* LXII (Hyvernât, Pl. 36).  
 3 *id.* LXIII (Hyvernât, 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 (Hyvernât, 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 *id.*, p. 469.

15 *id.*, pp. 43 ff.

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fragments have been recovered (No. vi).<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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;<sup>3</sup> but on the other hand very summary, if any, use is made of the *Life of Timothy Aelurus*,<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> 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."<sup>6</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. Patr.*, pp. 239 ff.

<sup>3</sup> For the Coptic see *P.O.* xi, 303 ff.; for the Arabic summary see *Hist. Patr.*, pp. 275 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See *Hist. Patr.*, p. 181. Possibly the Coptic *Life of Timothy* 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).

<sup>5</sup> 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 Apacrus 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."

<sup>6</sup> Paris, *Bibl. Nat., Fonds arabe* 304, pp. 143 f.: cp. *H.N.S.* iv, § 1.

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Week<sup>1</sup>, and the prominent position assigned to the great saints of Scetis<sup>2</sup> 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,<sup>3</sup> 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."<sup>4</sup> Though no fragments of Canons in Coptic are known to have been found there,<sup>5</sup> 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."<sup>6</sup>

(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;<sup>7</sup> the Armenian Monastery may have emerged in the eleventh–twelfth century, and the Abyssinian Monastery at the same period or slightly later.<sup>8</sup> How far Armenian and particularly Syrian monks<sup>9</sup> 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 *Synaxarium*<sup>10</sup> 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.<sup>11</sup> More important is the fact that several Metropolitans of Abyssinia were selected from among the monks of the desert.<sup>12</sup> In the Patriarchate of Yusâb or Joseph (830–849 A.D.) one John of El Baramûs was appointed to this dignity;<sup>13</sup> under Cosmas III (920 ?, 923 ?) Peter a monk (presumably of the desert)

<sup>1</sup> See Dillmann, *Catalogus Codicum Aethiopicorum in Museo Britannico*, no. xxvii (p. 30).

<sup>2</sup> See, *e.g.*, Renaudot, *Lit. Or. Coll.* i, p. 17.

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

<sup>4</sup> Paris, Bibl. Nat., *Fonds arabe* 251 (see de Slane's *Catalogue*).

<sup>5</sup> 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.

<sup>6</sup> *Cod. Vat. Arab.* dclxii (= Mai, *S.V.N.C.* iv, ii, p. 584).

<sup>7</sup> *H.N.S.* iii, ix, § 6.

<sup>8</sup> *id.* iv, v, § 4.

<sup>9</sup> 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.

<sup>10</sup> *P.O.* vii, 345.

<sup>11</sup> See his commemorative inscription, *A.A.C.M.* iii, iii, § 5.

<sup>12</sup> Others, probably, are unrecorded.

<sup>13</sup> *Hist. Patr.*, pp. 622 f.

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was consecrated;<sup>1</sup> under Philotheos (981 ?–1002 ?), Daniel of Dêr Abû Makâr became Metropolitan;<sup>2</sup> and in 1102 George, from the same monastery, held that office for a short time.<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup>

(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).<sup>6</sup> A few instances may be noted: (1) An Arabic ms. at Paris<sup>7</sup> 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*<sup>8</sup> 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.<sup>9</sup> (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.<sup>10</sup> Further, we have definite knowledge of a ritual for the Blessing of the Altar "according to the rite of the Monastery of Saint Macarius,"<sup>11</sup> 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).

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

### Biblical

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,<sup>1</sup> 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,<sup>2</sup> but they were produced for liturgical or devotional purposes and not as parts of the Scriptures: the remarkable Barberini Psalter<sup>3</sup> is no exception. The New Testament is only slightly better represented. A single copy of the Gospels was brought away by Huntington,<sup>4</sup> 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:<sup>5</sup> 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

Catenaes 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.<sup>6</sup> 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;<sup>7</sup> the fragments which were recovered by Tischendorf<sup>8</sup> and in 1920–1921 represent a second copy in two volumes.<sup>9</sup>

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.<sup>10</sup> 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 Chrysostom<sup>11</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> *Cod. Vat. Copt.* 1.

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

<sup>3</sup> See below, pp. xxxvii f.

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

<sup>5</sup> See below, p. xl.

<sup>6</sup> This is suggested by the numerous Arabic glosses written in the margins.

<sup>7</sup> It was probably carried to Dêr es Suriân by J. S. Assemani from Dêr Abû Makâr and accidentally left there.

<sup>8</sup> See below, pp. xl ff. The former are at Leipzig (*Cod. Tisch.* xxviii); for the latter see below, No. xxxvii E.

<sup>9</sup> The pagination indicates that the copy was in two volumes.

<sup>10</sup> This is contrary to the usual assumption that the Egyptians delighted in metaphysical subtilty. 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.

<sup>11</sup> *Cod. Vat. Copt.* LVII.



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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.<sup>1</sup>

Hitherto Dêr Abû Makâr has not been recognized as a source of 'primary' apocryphal material.<sup>2</sup> Secondary documents, indeed, such as the Discourses of Evodius and Theodosius on the Assumption, have long been known and published.<sup>3</sup> But apart from the little-noticed<sup>4</sup> 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. I-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 a particular tract was to be used. Thus a Sermon by Theophilus and an Encomium by Cyril on The Three Children<sup>5</sup> 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 Macarius<sup>6</sup> is to be read "on Epep 14 in the Sanctuary of Abba Makari to the South;" the Martyrdom of Saint Apatil<sup>7</sup> 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 Acacius<sup>8</sup> 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?

<sup>1</sup> *H.N.S.* III, vii, § 2.

<sup>2</sup> 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 Baramûs 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. II (1855), p. 452): "First hour of the Night; it is the hour of the adoration of the demons."

<sup>3</sup> Lagarde, *Aegyptiaca*, pp. 38 ff.; Robinson, *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels*, pp. 90 ff.

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

<sup>5</sup> *Cod. Vat. Copt.* no. LXII = Zoëga, *Cat.*, no. LVII.

<sup>6</sup> *id.* = Zoëga, *Cat.*, no. XXVIII.

<sup>7</sup> *id.*, no. LXII = Zoëga, *Cat.*, no. XXI.

<sup>8</sup> *id.*, no. LXII = Zoëga, *Cat.*, no. LIII.

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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.<sup>1</sup> 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,<sup>2</sup> internal evidence proves their derivation from this Convent;<sup>3</sup> 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;"<sup>4</sup> and (3) in respect of date, script, and general appearance their correspondence with the Vatican codices is close.<sup>5</sup> 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,<sup>6</sup> another dealing with the Translation of Macarius' body to Shiêt.<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup>

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.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Codd. Vat. Copt.* LVIII-LXIX; see Mai, *S.V.N.C.* v, Pt. ii.

<sup>2</sup> 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).

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

<sup>4</sup> *loc. cit.*, p. 393 = *Cod. Tisch.* xxiv, 22.

<sup>5</sup> As W. E. Crum informs me. Can the fragment *Cod. Tisch.* xxiv, 1-2 (*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?

<sup>6</sup> *Cod. Tisch.* xxiv, 23 (*loc. cit.*, p. 393).

<sup>7</sup> *Cod. Tisch.* xxiv, 22 (*loc. cit.*, p. 393). For the text of this and the foregoing fragment see below, No. xxiii c, d.

<sup>8</sup> *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.

<sup>9</sup> On the relationship of the groups of fragments to one another and to the Vatican mss. see below, p. xliii.

## INTRODUCTION

Zoëga has pointed out<sup>1</sup> 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 century<sup>2</sup>—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.<sup>3</sup> 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 available<sup>4</sup> 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,<sup>5</sup> and even a number of Homilies appointed for certain days.

Possible  
history of  
the collection

As we have already seen,<sup>6</sup> there is reason to believe that the Monastery was possessed of 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,'<sup>7</sup> though indeed this may have been no more than a copy of the *Nomocanon* of the monk Makârah.<sup>8</sup>

Canon Law, &c.

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

Liturgical  
books

<sup>1</sup> *Cat.*, p. 4.

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

<sup>3</sup> 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. xliiv) seem to indicate that the lack of sequence was an old-standing feature and not due wholly to the ignorance of later binders.

<sup>4</sup> e.g. the *Acta Martyrum* (edited by Balestri-Hyvernât, C.S.C.O., Script. Copt., Ser. III, t. I (Arabic)).

<sup>5</sup> 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).

<sup>6</sup> Above, p. xxviii.

<sup>7</sup> See below, p. xxxvii.

<sup>8</sup> If so, it may be the Paris ms., Bibl. Nat., *Fonds arabe*, no. 251.

## NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

with one exception<sup>1</sup> their remains are all relatively late, dating at earliest from the twelfth or thirteenth century. Yet the fragmentary copies of the Theotokias, of the *Difnâr* (Antiphonarium), and of the smaller collection of hymns recovered in 1921 may reveal local divergences from the normal medieval Egyptian uses.

Copto-Arabic  
vocabularies

Reference has already been made to the decay of Coptic as a living language from the beginning of the Middle Ages;<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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,<sup>4</sup> the extant fragments (below, No. xxxix) do not allow us to judge.

The Arabic  
Library

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,<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup> It is quite impossible here to outline the scope of the Arabic collection,<sup>7</sup> 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,<sup>8</sup> 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.<sup>9</sup> It is quite possible that he who will do so may

<sup>1</sup> Below, No. xxxviii E.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. xxvi.

<sup>3</sup> This is proved by the notes, glosses, etc., written in the margins of the mss.

<sup>4</sup> For these see Mallon, *Grammaire Copte*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 4 ff.

<sup>5</sup> 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."

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. xxvi.

<sup>7</sup> 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.

<sup>8</sup> I suspect that many of the Christian Arabic mss. in the Bibliothèque Nationale come from this Monastery.

<sup>9</sup> 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.

## INTRODUCTION

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,<sup>1</sup> 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;<sup>2</sup> secondly, appreciable fragments have now been recovered of an ascetic work which though composed in Arabic is written in Coptic characters.<sup>3</sup>

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.<sup>4</sup>

Alien elements  
in the Library

First, a few works in the Sahidic (Southern) dialect existed there, though all of these 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. ix, 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.

(1) Sahidic

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,<sup>5</sup> 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.;<sup>6</sup> and we now possess twenty-five leaves from the Greek Anaphoras of Saints Gregory and Basil (No. xxxviii A).<sup>7</sup> There are grounds for believing that Greek was occasionally used for liturgical purposes at other of the desert Monasteries.<sup>8</sup>

(2) Greek

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

(3) Syriac

<sup>1</sup> Certain of them are mentioned above (pp. xxviii f.).

<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>3</sup> 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).

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

<sup>5</sup> 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.

<sup>6</sup> 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.

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

<sup>8</sup> From the neighboring Monasteries of Anba Bishoi and El Baramûs 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).

## NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

the *Life of Saint Alexius*, by a second small parchment fragment, and by some tatters of a late liturgical paper book.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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 decay<sup>3</sup>—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;<sup>4</sup> and it is possible that the tracts in the Vatican codices were put together and bound about the same time.<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> These fragments (recovered in 1921) are unnoticed below, but for the script of the first see Plate XXVI B.

<sup>2</sup> See *H.N.S.* iv, x, § 6.

<sup>3</sup> 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.

<sup>4</sup> For the note see *P.Q.* x, 217.

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

<sup>6</sup> 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.

## INTRODUCTION

being spared);<sup>1</sup> then whole leaves were cut up to serve as ties or backing or even covers for other volumes.<sup>2</sup> Other leaves met a more piteous fate, being used to line shelves or even to wrap round jar-stoppers.<sup>3</sup> 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 Gassendi<sup>4</sup> 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,<sup>5</sup> 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,<sup>6</sup> 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,'<sup>7</sup> will only part with it in exchange for some object needed by the Convent—the *quid pro quo* to be a silver chalice and paten. Peiresc was all afire to receive this treasure—"with what earnestness," writes his biographer,<sup>8</sup> "he expected out of the East Books of six or eight Columns! Amongst the which there was a Psalter distinguished into 6 Columns and so many several languages."

The Barberini  
Psalter

On July 25, 1635, de Vendôme wrote<sup>9</sup> 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,

1 *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 mss.

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.

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

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

6 *Correspondance de Peiresc avec plusieurs Missionnaires*, p. 24.

7 "C'est le même qui donna les conciles" (see *P.O.* x, 218, and above, p. xxxiii).

8 *Life of Peireskius*, II, p. 154.

9 *Corr. de Peiresc avec plusieurs Missionnaires*, p. 154.

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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.<sup>1</sup>

The ms. with this romantic history is the Barberini Psalter (Barberini Or. 2), written, probably, in the fourteenth century.<sup>2</sup> 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 note<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup>

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.<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup>

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:<sup>7</sup> "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 single<sup>8</sup> copy of the Gospels mentioned above, I do not know that he brought away any mss.<sup>9</sup>

1 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.* i, 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-xi; facsimile in Hyvernat, *Album*, Pl. xx). The second, I believe, is the *Catena Patrum*, published by Lagarde, *Catena 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 *†ερμεντα †τε πισταρελιον εδοτακ κατα μαθεον*, follows *Matthew* i, 1 (a single line) and then a commentative passage beginning with the name *ιωαννης πυχρισостомос*. 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 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 either<sup>1</sup> 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.

Gabriel Eva,  
Elias Assemani

Claud Sicard the Jesuit first visited the Monastery in 1712. Unfortunately he devotes 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."<sup>2</sup>

Claud Sicard

The year 1715 is the most important landmark in the whole later history of the Library; 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."<sup>3</sup> 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.

J. S. Assemani

Sonnini (1778), as is well known, was deterred from visiting Dêr Abû Makâr; but his 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."<sup>4</sup>

Sonnini

Andréossy (1799) contributes little to our knowledge. Speaking generally of the 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.<sup>5</sup>

Andréossy

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

B. Drovetti

<sup>1</sup> For both Gabriel Eva and Elias Assemani see J. S. Assemani, *B.O.* I (Praefatio).

<sup>2</sup> *Lettres Édifiantes*, t. v (Levant) p. 21.

<sup>3</sup> See Assemani, *B.O.* I, 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.

<sup>4</sup> *Travels in Upper and Lower Egypt* (trans. Hunter), II, 162.

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

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was certainly acquired there.<sup>1</sup> And it is highly probable that the other Bohairic mss.<sup>2</sup> 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.

Lord Prudhoe,  
Robert Curzon

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.<sup>3</sup>

Henry Tattam

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."<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup>

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 Leipzig<sup>6</sup> 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:<sup>7</sup> "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.<sup>8</sup> I saw nothing Greek;

1 Since the new find includes many leaves from the self-same 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 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."<sup>1</sup> Doubtless this exploit was grossly exaggerated;<sup>2</sup> 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.

Fortune Ame

It was now tacitly assumed that Dêr Abû Makâr, as a mine of literary material, was worked out.<sup>3</sup> 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.

1920-1921

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.<sup>4</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> *Archaeological Journal*, xxx, 106.

<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>3</sup> 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).

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

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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,<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

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,<sup>3</sup> 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,<sup>4</sup> 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."

<sup>1</sup> Almost invariably the parchment leaves had been roughly folded twice or thrice, and besides, being much twisted and crumpled, were parched and highly brittle.

<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>3</sup> 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.

<sup>4</sup> 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.

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### 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 Paësi 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*.

New matter

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.

Importance of  
fragmentary  
texts

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.<sup>1</sup> 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,<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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.

<sup>1</sup> Balestri-Hyvernat, *Acta Martyrum* (C.S.C.O., Scr. Copt., Ser. III, tom. 1), pp. 242 ff.

<sup>2</sup> H. de Vis, *Homélies Coptes de la Vaticane*, pp. 200 ff.

<sup>3</sup> 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).

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The three<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

### 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,<sup>3</sup> where a room was set apart for their accommodation: this book-room was known in Coptic as ⲭⲁⲣⲉⲗⲓⲟⲩⲏⲕⲏ<sup>4</sup> or in Arabic as *الوشاكي*.<sup>5</sup> In the Monastery of Saint Macarius the small chamber with the oubliette, situated in the south-west angle of the second floor of the tower,<sup>6</sup> 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,<sup>7</sup> 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,<sup>8</sup> where some reference is made to another work to be read on Epep 16 with the direction ⲉⲃⲉⲛ ⲡⲙⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲩⲁ, *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;<sup>9</sup> though we hear once<sup>10</sup> 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.* I, 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. CCCLXXIV [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 (ⲩⲏⲕⲏ) 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. XXI (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 ix).

10 See Zoëga, *Cat.*, no. x (pp. 7 f.).

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of the sacred writings" (ⲁⲓⲩⲓ ⲫⲣⲟⲟⲩⲩ ⲛⲡⲓⲣⲁⲩⲏ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲕ) 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.<sup>1</sup>

Nothing like the *scriptorium* of a Western Monastery seems to have existed. Copying was indeed sometimes carried on in a 'common room,'<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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,<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup>

Production  
of mss.

After papyrus had gone out of use,<sup>6</sup> the material generally used down to about the thirteenth century was parchment or vellum.<sup>7</sup> 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.

Materials

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 Suriân<sup>8</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> See Wright, *op. cit.*, no. xvii.

<sup>2</sup> See Bibl. Nat., *Fonds arabe*, no. 302, p. 159 (quoted in *H.N.S.* iv, iv, § 2).

<sup>3</sup> See *H.N.S.* iv, iv, § 2 (and reference).

<sup>4</sup> See Wright, *op. cit.*, no. cccxxviii (p. 274).

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

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

<sup>7</sup> A Coptic recipe for the preparation of parchment has been edited by Crum (*P.S.B.A.* xxvii, 166 ff.).

<sup>8</sup> See Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum*, no. dcxcv (p. 580).

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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,<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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,<sup>3</sup> 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:<sup>4</sup> where natural pauses occurred the scribe left a short blank in which the rubricator<sup>5</sup> 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

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

<sup>2</sup> The letters 'hang' from these guide-lines.

<sup>3</sup> 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).

<sup>4</sup> Thus in No. xxix, frag. 4, *verso*, the grouping is  $\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon\pi\epsilon\chi\epsilon\pi\iota\varsigma\omega\tau\eta\rho\acute{\alpha}\mu\pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota\varsigma\ \chi\epsilon\pi\iota\chi\iota\mu\iota\pi\alpha\varsigma\omega\tau\eta\ \tau\omega\pi\kappa\text{--}\mu\alpha\psi\epsilon\pi\alpha\kappa\epsilon\pi\epsilon\kappa\tau\mu\iota$ , &c. Occasionally (as in No. xviii) the scribe splits a word, writing  $\alpha\zeta\ \epsilon\rho\sigma\omega$  or  $\pi\epsilon\ \chi\alpha\zeta$ , but this is mere affectation.

<sup>5</sup> Doubtless scribe and rubricator were often one and the same person.



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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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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 ⲛⲧⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲛⲓ (*sic*).<sup>3</sup>

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.<sup>4</sup> 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.

Binding

Sometimes the scribe would add on a blank page or in an empty space at the end of the 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.<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup>

Colophons

<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>3</sup> Sometimes an invocation is substituted, such as ⲛⲧⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲛⲓ: "Jesus the Christ, have mercy on me."

<sup>4</sup> 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.* II, p. 236).

<sup>5</sup> See Zoëga, *Cat.*, nos. XIX (pp. 21 f.), XLIV (p. 65), LIV (p. 105).

<sup>6</sup> 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*, I, p. cxiv.

## NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

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,<sup>1</sup> 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 "paper-hand" in a thirteenth-century text (No. vi, p. 172 = 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 ⲙⲁ ("unto") followed at a longer or shorter interval by ⲱⲙ ("read"), and the note ⲫⲟⲛⲉⲥ ("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.<sup>2</sup> (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. xvi, 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 ˉ, 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 ⲙⲡⲉⲣ-, ⲙⲉⲛⲡⲉⲥⲁ. It is also added to a number of Coptic vowels, such as the verbal prefix ⲁ when separated from the verbal stem; to the pronominal prefix ⲉⲧ-; to the prepositions ⲉ, ⲉⲃⲟⲩⲡ, ⲉⲃⲟⲩⲁ, &c.; to ⲡ and to ⲓ (especially when final) as in ⲟⲩⲓ, ⲧⲟⲩⲡⲓ and ⲓⲡⲓ; and to ⲟ and ⲱ as in ⲧⲁⲓⲟ, ⲟⲩⲓ, ⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ. Initial and final ⲁ (also medial ⲁ, ⲓ, ⲟ) in Greek words are similarly marked: *e.g.*, ⲁⲡⲧⲓⲟⲭⲓⲁ, ⲁⲓⲟⲕⲁⲛⲧⲓⲁⲡⲟⲥ, ⲁⲥⲓⲟⲥ, ⲁⲣⲓⲁⲡⲟⲥ. But in all these respects the fragments are strictly parallel with their fellows, the Bohairic mss. in the Vatican.

<sup>1</sup> The statement of Joseph the Deacon concerning El Hâkem's persecution (Zoëga, *Cat.*, no. LIV, p. 106).

<sup>2</sup> 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*  $\overline{\text{KA}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{KH}}$ , and forming a single sheet from a quire. Since the numeration is apparently by folios,<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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,<sup>3</sup> at once comparing and contrasting Abel and Christ.<sup>4</sup> Though the text has elements in common with such works as the Ethiopic *Book of Adam and Eve*,<sup>5</sup> the *Book of the Bee*, and the *Old Testament History* lately translated from the Ethiopic by Grébaut,<sup>6</sup> 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*.<sup>7</sup> 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<sup>b</sup>, 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.<sup>8</sup>

1 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.* II, 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.

# NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

(Cairo, no. 22.)

Παλ ρητ πε ερε φτ<sup>1</sup> .μ<sup>1</sup> μμοϥ  
 нем тецпрозереис еонапеч  
 Бтацпаτ ηξε καп πεϥсон ε  
 φη ετ еѳи<sup>1</sup> μμοϥ = аѳχορ ε-  
 5 ροϥ ρеп οτχορ еѳρωοτ =  
 аѳи<sup>1</sup> ρωϥ εβολρеп ппшорп  
 ηοτταρ ητε теѳκοι прап-  
 ολιλ μпот =  
 Ёшоп аѳшанепот = шажхос  
 10 ρеп перхнт = хе фт<sup>1</sup> отем  
 ρли ап = шажремс ерри η-  
 теѳотомот мпем-оо μ-  
 пот = ρеп теѳметлаρнт е-  
 па(т)τасо а фт<sup>1</sup> жотшт ρи-  
 15 жеп тпрозереис ηαηελ  
 ρижен пшотшωοτшι де η-  
 те кап мпечт<sup>1</sup> ер-онϥ ε-  
 ροϥ =  
 Α καп де ер μκαρ ηρηт = а пер-  
 20 ρο шибт ρеп οτшфит = пе-  
 хе фт<sup>1</sup> ηκαп εβολρеп тф[е  
 хе еоηе от акер μκαρ ηρηт  
 ешоп а[κш]анепот ρеп ρ[т-  
 сωοτтеп = екфωш μμω[от  
 25 ап ρеп οτсωοτтеп = ρ[онк<sup>2</sup>  
 п-орк хе акерпоби =  
 паλ ρητ а кап жопт е αηελ  
 πεϥсон хе паρε φт<sup>1</sup> м[еи  
 μμοϥ ероте (е)ροϥ пе

<sup>1</sup> Very doubtful: ? read μει.    <sup>2</sup> For μαρ-онк?

✠ κδ ✠  
Υ

Μεχαϥ παϥ ρеп οτχροϥ п-  
 те πεϥωт πηαηολос  
 хе марон е ткои ητεп-  
 σιερραϥ μμοп ηοτκοτхи  
 5 Хе оти тар а фт<sup>1</sup> оамιο η-  
 ρωη пηеп ηт<sup>1</sup> пероот  
 Παλ ρητ он = аѳоамιο μпρω-  
 ми еѳоι епафωф = ешоп  
 аѳшанмошι ιсхеп пма п-  
 10 шал = шад<sup>1</sup> е пма протп  
 ηт<sup>1</sup> пероот μмо-  
 шι  
 Εοηе φαλ а кап мωшι нем  
 αηελ πεϥсон ηт<sup>1</sup> пероот  
 15 μмошι шатеѳи ε тпетра  
 ηте пиколкооа = пимωт  
 ηте ιλιμ пимωт ете м-  
 мон тми ммаτ = хе мпа-  
 те ρωι шопι ммаτ  
 20 п]е =  
 Με]аϥер паλ ρωη φαλ = ηхе  
 ка]п ппопирос = хе η-  
 п]ештем πεϥωт сω-  
 т]ем е теѳсми еѳпаρω-  
 25 т]ελ мпечсон = етаѳи<sup>1</sup>  
 м]печсон ерри мфрит<sup>1</sup>  
 п]откоτхи ηρинη = епат-  
 с]ахи аѳκωλρ ерри ε-  
 х]ωϥ ηпечфат

\* Recto

\*Thus 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.<sup>1</sup> Bethink thee that thou hast sinned.” So Cain was wroth against Abel his brother, because God loved him (Abel) more than him.

\* Verso

\*He 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.

\* \* \* \* \*

<sup>1</sup> See Note (p. 6).

## APOCRYPHAL FRAGMENT ON ADAM

кері ймоу = шатеці ежен пи-  
молт ет аѳѡп йпсноу  
мпецшнрі еѡл прнтѣ = е-  
таѡпат ероу йже пирѡми  
5 атершфнрі емашѡ = етѡѡ  
ймос = же фал отаг пе еѡл-  
шен пирѡми пархеос аѳ-  
ѡмсеу ден пма етем-  
мат =

10 Атмотѣ ероу же пма йте пи-  
краніон ша еѡотп е фѡот =  
а[ѣ]кѡт йѣѡаки ден пма е-  
теммат =

Зѡте отп еѣа пирѡми ашаг  
15 аттасѡѡт еѡрнрі е пот-  
пѡѡи пархеос =

Пишнрі же йфѣ - мпецшцаг  
ероу = еснат е ѣгикѡп  
тирс йте ѣметрѡми ес-  
20 паще нас е пѣако

Аѣрек пифнотѣ = йте пифнот-  
і

Аѣі епеснт аѣтнѣ ймаѣатѣ  
еѡрнрі е пепѡхѣ<sup>2</sup> йпреѣер-  
пѡѡи = аѣѣрап ероу е ф[м]от  
25 аѣерѣтпѡменп [е пѣѡсапѡс  
тирот ден[ отсарѣ  
... [  
[...]

<sup>1</sup> sc. [а пмωοθ сκορ]||ker.

<sup>2</sup> ѣнцѣхъ, *MS.*

5 **Α**τωλι μεπευφε ατλοζυ<sup>1</sup> ερρι  
 ρεν φπετρα πτε πικολκοθα =  
 пма ёре пкராпюп ѡт[е] ѧ-  
 зам ѳомс ммоч = пем ѧ-  
 5 **Κ**ελ πεушри =  
**Α**ταш писωтир е пиѣ мене(п-)  
 са пал тиrot мпе теумет-  
 потѣ фворѣ е теуметрѡ-  
 ми =  
 10 **Α**тѣ потшеплоуχн е пек-  
 сфир еѳотаѣ аѣ<sup>1</sup> еѳол прнты  
 ѡне отмоот пем отсноѣ  
 аѣри ехеп пикари аѣфѡхи =  
 ашѳоортер ѡне пипоти =  
 15 **Ε**ѳѣ же фѣ петаѳер пал ти-  
 рот пач =  
**Α**терχакѣ ѡне пистѳиχюп ѡ-  
 те тѣ =  
**Ε**таѣпѣт е пал тиrot ѡне пи-  
 20 **Α**ρχиηοπласмѣ аѣершфнри  
 аѣтѡпѣ аѣронтѣ еѳоти  
 е пиѣ = же ѡтегерѳеωрип  
 е фн етаѣшѡпи-  
**Α** писωтир соттеп теуχѣх  
 25 **Ε**ѳотаѣ еѳол ρен фн етρεп  
 [т. . . ] пекшѣг = аѣ-  
 [ . . . . ар]χнѣтте-  
 [лос . . . . .  
 [ . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> *sic*: for  $\alpha\tau\Delta\theta\zeta\psi = \alpha\tau\theta\Delta\zeta\psi$ .

[. . .The waters of the Flood] rolled it,<sup>1</sup> 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.

× *Recto*

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 with Abel his son: they hanged the Savior upon the Cross. (Yet) after all this His Godhead did not separate from His Manhood.

<sup>x</sup> *Verso*

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 luminaries<sup>2</sup> 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. *στοιχεῖα*, the sun (and apparently the moon and stars).

# NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

## NOTES

### 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.

ll. 9-14. Somewhat similar is the account of Cain's offence given in the *Book of Adam and Eve* (trans. Malan) i, 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).

l. 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

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 *head* 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* iii, 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 vi 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.

ll. 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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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,<sup>3</sup> 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*.<sup>4</sup>

- \* Fo. 31 recto, l. 10      \* πθοϋ οπ ἀδὰμ      وابصاً ادا م
- Δμωπι τηροτ μφοοτ + ηγλαος ητε πκαρι +  
 αρθεωριπ + μπαμτστηριον +  
 же атмисι пап μφ† + εβολρηп † парθενос +  
 асне сперма ηр[ωми +] шантеуσω† [μμον]
- \* Fo. 31 verso      Παρερως ερο[η + нем] \* παττελος +  
 ρеп паг ρтпос εεота† + ηεποтрапion +  
 же отωот ρеп пн етсосι μφ† + нем отрирпни ριжен пкари +  
 нем от†ма† ρеп пирωми + же аҗі аҗсω† μмон +
- Внѡлеем ητε †ιотαε† + ραши ρеп отѡели†  
 же аҗфiri εβολ ηρηте + ηже фри ηте †меѡми +  
 ете ηнс пхс + ηιлогос етаҗсiсарз +  
 а maria масҗ + есог μпарθ(енос) +  
 Παρερως εροϋ + нем п[атτελος +]
- Графп ηηеп етсрнот† + [пн ет аш]орп ηхотот +
- \* Fo. 32 recto      \* ηже пппрофитнс + еѡе пхпi μпхс +  
 ашхон εβολ μφοот + ηρηп ρеп ηнѡлеем +  
 ѡѡани μпотро даҗа + ет атмасҗ пап ηρηте +  
 Παρερως εροϋ + нем παττελος +

*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!*

1 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. ρмс.



# NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

- Δατῆς πῖπροφῆτης + ἐρχωρετῖν παπ<sup>1</sup> +  
 же ѿметсаіѣ мпечсаі + ѿѣѡлѣен сѡп +  
 есѣі ꙗже фѣ + ѣен ѡѡпѣ ѣѡл +  
 пѡѣ ꙗте пѡом + ѣен ѡсми ꙗсаѡпѣтѡс +  
 Παρενρως ἐροϋ + [нем пи]αττελος +
- \* Fo. 32 verso  
 Σταγῆ ꙗже ѡτρω[п ѣ]ѡл ρῖтен ποτρο + ]  
 [же ꙗте ѣѡкоѡмени тѣрс + ] \*ѣренс ѣѡтп ѣ сѣаі +  
 ꙗте пѡтаі пѡтаі + ѡе ѣ ѣѡлѣем +  
 ꙗтесѣаі мпечрап + нем фрап ꙗте пѣѣѡт +  
 Παρεнρως ἐροϋ + нем пѡαττελος +
- Ζεονтως αϋтѡпѣ + ꙗже пѡмнѣ ѡснѣ +  
 ꙗѡсѣ нем маріа + ѣпар(ѡе)пос еѡѡтаѣ +  
 ατρωл ѣ ѣѡлѣем + еѡротсѣе потрап +  
 наре ѣпарѡенос + ерѡки мпепсѡтѣр +  
 Παρεнρως ἐροϋ + нем пи[αττελ]ос +
- Нѣн е]ѣсѣаі + ꙗже пи[ѡмнѣ ѣ]ѡснѣ +  
 ꙗѡтмѣ[тѣрѣон . . . . . ]  
 \*ѣрен пѣпѡрѣсѣаі + же ѣпѡк ѡснѣ +  
 нем маріа тѣсѣрѣмѣ + нем ꙗнс пѣсѣѣрѣ +  
 Παρεнρως ἐροϋ + нем пѡαττελος +
- \* Fo. 33 recto  
 Θѡѡтѣ тѣрот мѣѡѡт + аргѡѡрѣн +  
 ꙗтаі пѡѣ ꙗсѣѣрѣ + мпараѡѡ[ѣ]он +  
 же ѣрен пѣпѡрѣсѣе пѣсѣрап + нем фрап ꙗѣпарѡенос +  
 нем ꙗнс пѣсѣѣрѣ + мпатоѡмѣсѣ мѡсѣ +  
 Παρεнρως ἐροϋ + нем пѡαττελος +
- Ιс пѡтсѣтѣрѣон + αϋтѡпѣ паѣ<sup>2</sup> ѣѡл +  
 еѡѣе пѡпаѣ ет аѣѡсѣ + ꙗже пѡαττελος +  
 \*аѣсаѣи нем ѡснѣ + же ѡеп тексѣрѣмѣ ѣрок +  
 фѣ ѡар ѣт еспамаѣсѣ + мѡтѣ ѣ пѣсѣра(п) же ꙗнс +  
 Παρεнρως ἐροϋ + нем пѡαττελος +
- \* Fo. 33 verso

<sup>1</sup> ? read αριχωρετῖν νημαп.

<sup>2</sup> παп, 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.<sup>1</sup>

*With the Angels let us praise Him!*

5 When there came forth a decree from the King that all the world should be enrolled,<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup>

*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."<sup>4</sup>

*With the Angels let us praise Him!*

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Psalm L, 2 and XLVII, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Luke II, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Luke II, 5.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Matth. I, 21.

FRAGMENT FROM AN APOCRYPHAL GOSPEL

Ке гар аҗмоз ёһол + һизе пиэроот +  
 еоре җпарә(епо)с мис + мпепсотиһр +  
 пехас һуосиф + же ариһоһөм ёрог +  
 же фн етщоп һеп тапехи + оҗош е ї ёһол +  
 Парепроос ёроу + нем ппартелос +

Лопот етцупаѣ ꙗже плѣмни юсифъ ꙗ  
е пишѣтъ ѿзмот ꙗ ехн ѡеп песро ꙗ

\* \* \*

<sup>x</sup>Fo. 34 *recto*

$$\times \left[ \begin{array}{cccccccc} . & . & . & . & . & . & . & . \end{array} \right] \text{SINC} \left[ \begin{array}{cccccccc} . & . & . & . & . & . & . & . \end{array} \right]$$

[аѣ]мисі потеп [ѣфотъ → потсѡтнр ѡеп ѣн[ѡде]ем →

Παρεργως ἐροϋν ἄνεμ πιαττελός ἄ

Пеже пиаггелос + һипмапѣсѡт +  
 же тѡотпот маще пѡтеп + ѳрриг ѳ ѳнѡлеем +  
 тетеппат ѳ пѡт + ет атмасу притс +  
 есхн һеп отогрз + ѳте гзптеһпѡтѳ +  
 Парепѡс ѳроу + нем пиаггелос +

<sup>x</sup> Fo. 34 *verso*

Расті отноу дмостеп  $\times$  [

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[αρχι]μι ἡπενωτηρ ⁂ οτορ ατοτωштт ἡμοу

Παρεργως ἐροϋ + πεμ πλαττελος +

Сѡтем ѣ пмагос + етргѡшъ реп отѡпъ +  
м̃пжнї м̃пхс + реп глнм +  
же асѡпн фн єт атмасу + потро нте пшотдз +  
алпат ѣ пегсиот алї же нтенотѡшт ммоч +  
Парепрѡс ероу + нем [пгагтелос +]

\*               \*               \*

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...<sup>1</sup>

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. . . .<sup>2</sup> 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),  $26.5 \times 20$  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 (occupying one leaf) and part of 15, is lost.

2 Two and a half verses are lost.

# NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

The text is a fragment from the story of the Crucifixion<sup>1</sup> 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*,<sup>2</sup> 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*.<sup>3</sup> 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.)

матой кѡѣ ёроу от-  
 де чадъ роулоп =  
 Ѡнпне чащѣ рен тете(п-)  
 мнѣ ѡ насон<sup>1</sup> = ѡфрнѣ  
 5 потаѣ мпетепрнѣ  
 анок ѣжѡ ммос = ап ѣ от-  
 метотро фрос отсн-  
 от = алла отметотро  
 ща ёпер = ротап ачша(п-)  
 10 тѡпѣ еболрен пн еѡ-  
 мѡотт = чпаеро[то]т-  
 ро рѣжен отон пѣен  
 пн етопѣ нем пн еѡмѡ-  
 отт  
 15 Ёѡе фад рѡ аѣжос же па-  
 ѡт ѡрпамеѣн акшапѣ  
 рен текметотро ач-  
 еротѡ ѡже ѡнс же фѡ-  
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 тас] ачототрем  
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 [ еѣ]жѡ ммос = же  
 25 [ . . ]поѣн ап  
 [ . . ]пѣ ѡ  
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<sup>1</sup> писонѣ, MS.

амнп ѣжѡ ммос по-  
 теп же ѡ ппѣ кеотѣ  
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 10 рен шѡлѣ пѣен нем  
 хѡра пѣен = ачототр  
 ѡнс пѡот ебол же пот-  
 ро ѡте пѡтѡѣ пѣ  
 ачѣѣѣ пѡтѣтѣлос  
 15 мпѣ рнѣ = рѣжен пѣѣ  
 ачѣрнѣтѣ мметѣре-  
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 етѣрен фѡлѣс нем пѣ-  
 кѣшеммѡт = еѡрот  
 20 ѡш ммѡѣ<sup>1</sup> = ачшап-  
 тѡпѣ же рѣпа ѡт[от-  
 ште(м)хѡлѣ ебол  
 ачѣѣѣ мметр[ѡме-  
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<sup>1</sup> пѣммѡѣ, 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 (?) . . ."

<sup>1</sup> I do not know whether *Cod. Tisch.* xxvi, 10 (see Leipoldt *ap.* Vollers, *Kat.*, p. 409) belongs to the same ms. as our leaf.

<sup>2</sup> ed. Swete, § 4.

<sup>3</sup> = *P.O.* II, 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. \* *Verso*

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* xxiii, 42 (with *ⲧⲉⲛ* "in thy Kingdom," as usual in the Coptic version and most Greek mss.).

ll. 19-20 = *Luke* xxiii, 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 *τῆς*: both features occur in the Greek and Coptic *Acta Pilati*.

ll. 7-11. Possibly a reminiscence of *Acts* ii, 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.

l. 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* 15. 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 —18: 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<sup>vo</sup> l. 2—137<sup>vo</sup> l. 14.

Frag. 4 (*Cod. Tisch.* xxvi, 18<sup>1</sup>), measuring 26 × 20 cm. and numbered —18, 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,<sup>2</sup> but to this, as Professor Hyvernât informs me, our fragments do not correspond.

<sup>1</sup> See Leipoldt *ap. Vollers, Kat.*, pp. 411 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Cod. Vat. Copt.* LXV, 1.

# NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

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

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\* 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? <sup>1</sup> 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? <sup>2</sup> 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. . . (l. 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. . .

<sup>1</sup> For these interrogations cp. the *Descensus Christi ad Infernos*, ch. vi (ed. Tischendorf, *Evang. Apocr.*, p. 399).

<sup>2</sup> sic.

# THE DESCENT INTO AMENTI

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

..... ] πχωλεμ πχε  
 текм]етшенрнт етош  
 п[αδс]  
 Ке[ο]ραι же порем птаψт-  
 5 χн-εβολρεп аменѣ  
 етсапеснт  
 Кеотай же апиотй птаψт-  
 χн-εβολρεп аменѣ ет-  
 сапеснт  
 10 Кеотай же апиотй птаψтχн  
 εβολρεп пай штеко  
 Кеотай же пπεκωχп п-  
 таψтχн рен аменѣ  
 Кеотай же маречи епшωι ε-  
 15 холреп птако пхе па-  
 ωпъ пδс папотѣ  
 Фай де етафсωтем ерωот  
 пхе фаниметшенрнт  
 етош пχс-αϗѣ αϗ[αпн?  
 20 ..... ] παι ет[  
 \* \* \*

αν  
 Θεε φαι πирω[ми тирот]  
 етшоп рен тса[рз αϗ-]  
 жем потшпн пхе [φѣ ш-  
 λογος ριτεп оис[α]рз  
 5 еотоп птас ммаот пот-  
 ψтχн плогикн  
 Нтψтχн де он етафωрх  
 εβολρα пгсωма αϗот-  
 онρϗ ерωот рен аменѣ  
 10 ρитеп ѣψтχн ппотѣ  
 εθотаδ-εсфорх εβολ  
 пе  
 Οτκοτη μαρεпινс μмо(п)  
 птенше пп ерпн ε α-  
 15 менѣ рен пенкаѣ пте(п-)  
 паот  
 Хе пωс рен отамаг̃и еϗ-  
 α . . . αϗαмаг̃и εζотсга с  
 . . ]. ωс рен пснот  
 20 етем]μαот-εχеп.[.]ε  
 \* \* \*

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

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

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

Another: "Bring my soul out of this prison."<sup>3</sup>

Another: "Thou wilt not leave my soul in Amenti."<sup>4</sup>

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

Now when Christ Whose compassion is abundant<sup>6</sup> heard them, He saluted (?) . . .

\* \* \* \* \*

\*For this cause God the Word visited all men who were in the flesh through the medium of flesh, there 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 . . . \* Verso

<sup>1</sup> Ps. cxix, 41.

<sup>2</sup> id. lxxxvi, 13.

<sup>3</sup> id. cxlii, 9.

<sup>4</sup> id. xvi, 11.

<sup>5</sup> id. xxx, 3 ?

<sup>6</sup> Cp. id. lxix, 17, lxxxvi, 15.

## NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

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

пѣм зото є фн[ ет ескѡ†  
псѡѡ аѡрѣмѣ пѣе пет-  
рос аѡеретѣн[ ѡтѡхѡ  
ѣѡл [ѣ]ѡлѡгѣтѣотк  
5 Нѡок ѡе акѣ ѡ[ѡшт]т [пѡѡ  
ѣте феккл[нѣ]ѡ [н]ѣ[ѣ пн еѣ]ѣ(н)  
ѡметѡтѡро пѣѣфнѡѣ  
Оѡпѡрѣнѣ ѡар пѣ пек[ѡ]ѡмѡ  
ѣеп пн ет аѡгѣѡ то[т]ѡт  
10 псѡѡт ѣѡеп ѡѡрп  
пѣм ѣеп пн ете ммѡп  
тѡѡт ммѡт ѣѡл[ѣ]ѡ ѣѡ-  
ѡѣлпѣс ѡѡѡѡѣ ѣѣ[н]тк  
пѣм ѣеп пн ет аѡфѡр  
15 ммѡѡѡѡѡт є пѡѡѡ ѣѡ-  
мѣпѣ  
ѡѣтеп фпѡѣ ѣѡѡѡѡпѡ  
пѡѡѡ ѣѡл ѣѡметѣпѡѣ  
пте текметмѡѡѡѡѡ  
20 Ѣѡѣе фѡѣ ѡп фѡѡ ѡм[ѡс  
ѡѡѡѡ фѡпѡкпѣ ѡп ѣ[ѣѡѡ м-  
мѡс ѡе мѡт[ѡпѡѡ ѣѡѣе  
пѣкпѡѣ ѡѣ [ммѡп фн ет  
ѣ]ѣп фѡѡѡ ѣ[ѡметѣ ерѡк  
25 Нѣм п]ѣ ѣѡпѡѡѡѡѡѡѡѡ пѡк є-  
ѡл] ѣеп ѡмѣпѣ  
Ѣѡѣ]ѣ фѡѣ фѣнс ѣѡѣ[ѣ фѡѣ  
фѣс]ѣѣт[ѡ]т ѣѡѣе фѡѣ фѡѡсѣ  
ѣ]ѣмѣ [ѡе ѡѡ-  
30 ѣѡ]пѣт ѣѡѡпѣ ерѡѡ

<sup>1</sup> = *Cod. Vat. Copt.* LVIII fo. 136<sup>vo</sup>, l. 21.

<sup>2</sup> So *Cod. Vat.*: **ἔπει**, **ἐπὶ**, *MS.*

[illegible]

(slight remains of four more lines)

<sup>1</sup> = *Cod. Vat. Copt.* LVIII fo. 137<sup>ro</sup>, l. 19.

<sup>2</sup> sic (? = ΠΑΓΩΠΙΣΤΗΣ): ΣΕΔΑΤΙΟΝ (= ΣΤΑΔΙΟΝ),  
Cod. Vat.

<sup>3</sup> *Cod. Vat.* adds ἡ καὶ λωσ.

\* *Recto* . . . \*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 . . .<sup>1</sup> upon them who have been cast away from of old, and upon them who had not there any<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> For this cause I say and will not cease to say: "Quicken me for Thy mercy's sake.<sup>4</sup> For in death there is none that remembereth Thee. Who shall be able to show Thy praise in Amenti?"<sup>5</sup> 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 . . ."

\* *Verso*

<sup>1</sup> Some word like 'mercy,' 'compassion' is required by the context.

2 As the text stands, "*in any hope.*"

3 The meaning is obscure.

4 Cp. *Ps.* CXLIII, II.

5 *Ps.* VI, 5.

# THE DESCENT INTO AMENTI

Frag. 4 (*Cod. Tisch.* xxvi, 18).

[illegible]

пте пѣспознае мѣ-  
непса ѿ н[ε]роща ѡаг ѣ-  
тасшоу ёрон дѣп  
отраши е апон ѡа пис-  
5 тос еанпаз ёрос ап-  
ер амаднх ёрос

Пареперхωретп же  
фпоз—нем паателос  
марепершаг нем пар-  
10 хнаателос

Отор птенфωот пе-  
мωот етсон—мфн ѣ-  
таутотностен ећол-  
дѣп птакo пхс

15 Фал ете фωу не пиωот  
нем пѣмази нем пегу-  
иwt пѣгаѡос нем пппа  
ε[θ]отаѡ йреутанѡ ф-  
поз нем псноз пѣпен  
20 нем шѡ епер пте пепер  
тирот ѡмнп

✠ ————— ✠  
✠ ————— ✠  
✠ ————— ✠

“Prepared is the bride-chamber, prepared are the victuals made ready for the marriage-feast, the tabernacles and the everlasting habitations are prepared. Opened are the treasures 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,<sup>1</sup> and He brought them forth from the tombs. And they preached the Resurrection <sup>x</sup>of the Lord after three days;<sup>2</sup> the which took place to the joy of us,<sup>3</sup> 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.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. *Matth.* xxvii, 52 f.

2 According to the *Descensus Christi* (ch. xi) 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.



## NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

### 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<sup>Add</sup>) is a single leaf numbered — $\overline{\text{p}[\text{i}]\text{E}}$ , and measuring  $27.8 \times 17.6$  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*  $\overline{\text{p}[\text{i}]\text{E}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{p}[\text{i}]\text{Z}}$ : each leaf measures  $28 \times 20.4$  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  $20.5 \times 12-13$  cm. Frag. 3 (Cairo, no. 7) is again a sheet comprising leaves  $\overline{\text{p}[\text{i}]\text{E}}$  and  $\overline{\text{p}[\text{i}]\text{Z}}$ .<sup>1</sup> Each leaf is 24.5 cm. high by 16.6 cm. wide, the lower and outer margins having been cropped:<sup>2</sup> the written column here measures  $20.2 \times 12-13$  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 Resurrection<sup>3</sup> either in Galilee or on the Mount of Olives,<sup>4</sup> are warned by Christ that He must shortly ascend up into Heaven,<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup> 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'<sup>7</sup> 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 question<sup>8</sup> 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 Enoch<sup>9</sup> 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.<sup>10</sup> 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*, § 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.* xi, 3 ff.

8 This is directly implied in fo. 116<sup>a</sup>, 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.<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup> 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 fertility<sup>3</sup>—was to be "an everlasting Kingdom;"<sup>4</sup> but its duration was subsequently reduced. In iv *Esdras* vii, 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,<sup>5</sup> 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,<sup>6</sup> 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;<sup>7</sup> 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 others<sup>8</sup>—this period could only be pictured as one of material ease, luxury, and sensuous delight.<sup>9</sup>

The Gospels and Pauline Epistles give no direct support to this belief in an earthly kingdom,<sup>10</sup> though they accept as axiomatic a Second Coming to be preceded by the appearance of one or many false Christs.<sup>11</sup> 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 Papias<sup>12</sup> and by 'Barnabas';<sup>13</sup> Justin<sup>14</sup> regarded Chiliasm as an orthodox belief, though one not universally held. Cerinthus, according to Eusebius,<sup>15</sup> taught

<sup>1</sup> Exactly as does the *Testament in Galilee* (ed. Guerrier, § 62; Schmidt, *Gespräche Jesu*, § 51).

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

<sup>3</sup> See *Apoc. of Baruch* (trans. Charles) xxix, 5 ff., and cp. Papias *ap. Irenaeus* v, 33, §§ 3–4.

<sup>4</sup> *Daniel* vii, 13 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Psalms* xc, 4 (cp. ii *Peter* iii, 18): the argument is set forth in the *Epistle of Barnabas* xv.

<sup>6</sup> Doubtless through the medium of Jewish converts.

<sup>7</sup> So in *Apoc. of Elias* (ed. Steindorff), p. 105.

<sup>8</sup> e.g. Cerinthus, Irenaeus and Nepos (see below).

<sup>9</sup> 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 *fellah* 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).

<sup>10</sup> 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* xxii, 30, if literally understood, can mean only that the Kingdom is to be a period of feasting.

<sup>11</sup> e.g. *Matth.* xxiv, 5, 23–26; ii *Thess.* ii, 2–12.

<sup>12</sup> *ap. Irenaeus* v, 33, 3–4.

<sup>13</sup> *Epist.* xv.

<sup>14</sup> *Dial.* 80.

<sup>15</sup> *Hist. Eccl.* vii, 25.

## NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

that there was to be an earthly Kingdom of feasting and good cheer, as also did Irenaeus.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> Methodius of Tyre (early fourth century) and Apollinarius of Laodicea (c. 368 A.D.) were the latest exponents of Chiliasm in the Near East,<sup>5</sup> 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*,<sup>6</sup> 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<sup>ro</sup>),<sup>7</sup> the Coming of Christ in full view of the sinners<sup>8</sup> and the severance of the wicked from the just<sup>9</sup> (fol. 116<sup>ro-v0</sup>), and the introduction of Chorazin and Bethsaida<sup>10</sup> (fol. 117<sup>vo</sup>). 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<sup>ro</sup>) being a notable instance of the latter.<sup>11</sup> 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  $\kappa\omicron\lambda\tau-\kappa\epsilon\lambda\tau\omega\tau$  (fo. 117<sup>ro</sup> 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.<sup>12</sup> 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<sup>ro</sup> Bartholomew is introduced, but quite without significance; nor does the only other definite personal reference (to Mary, fo. 141<sup>vo</sup>) furnish any clue to the authorship.

1 I. 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 ἦν ἐπίσκοπος τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον, Ἰουδαϊκώτερον τὰς ἐπηγγελμένας τοῖς ἀγίοις... ἐπαγγελίας ἀποδοθήσεσθαι διδάσκων, καὶ τινα χιλιάδα ἐτῶν τρυφῆς σωματικῆς ἐπὶ τῆς ξηρᾶς ταύτης εἶσεσθαι ὑποτιθέμενος. δόξας γοῦν οὗτος ἐκ τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰωάννου τὴν ἰδίαν κρατύνειν ὑπόληψιν ἔλεγχον Ἀλληγοριστῶν, 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.* xi, 20 ff.; xiii, 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

Frag. 1 (Cairo, 7-8<sup>Add</sup>).

.]...ε κεεϛφ[μ]εϛι  
 πτααφε нем тахїх  
 ποτїнам птекхос хе  
 ϣμαρωотт ихе пай-  
 5 ωт етхеп пифнотї  
 х]е отнї ере отоп пїхе(п)  
 пахо]с хе апок п[ем]ах  
 апок] отаї пот-  
 ωт]  
 10 Хе п]фок пе псмот пте  
 та]мепотт пзarak-  
 ти]р пте таотсїа нем  
 та]хом нем отметот-  
 ро] потωт нем отмет-  
 15 ѿс] потωт нем отер-  
 ши]ши пот-  
 ωт]  
 Тот]е акшанρωλ ене[с]нт  
 ρїх]еп пїкарї птекер-  
 20 ши] нем пїакеос хе(п)  
 пш]о промш пте тек-  
 клн]ропомїа  
 Нсеп]нот шарок пхе пїат-  
 ге]лос нем пїишїт п-  
 25 хо]м пте пифнотї ет-  
 ...] птотереροοт пата-  
 фo]п птекотнoу ммoк  
 пе]м пн еоттад птак ρїхе(п)  
 пкaρ[г]

l. 20 ѿс] is an equally possible restoration.

ρ[г]ε~ιηс~⊗~[пхс~...]

Προ пте пїфн[отї па-  
 ρемсї еγот[пн] ере п[г]-  
 арафоп пнот [е]песнт  
 е пїкосмос [е]εολρε[п  
 5 пн етoсї хеχас ет[е-  
 χω ρарωот ппн еф[от-  
 ах пн ефпаотωм еб[о]λ п[ρн-  
 то]  
 Нсеемї хе етсапш[ωι ппн-  
 10 арафоп пте пїкарї [пхе  
 патаметотро пот[пнр  
 Отоρ менепса өре пайω[т  
 смот ерої сωтем [е пн-  
 рнїт е т(па)пнот м-  
 15 мoу  
 Πιχанλ нем габрїнλ [нем  
 рафанλ паерсапїг[пн ρ-  
 г]тгн ммoг ρїтеп [пїот-  
 аρсарпї пте пай-  
 20 ωт  
 Тоте тстратїа п[тфе  
 псеерстефанo[пн м-  
 мωот псеχω по[тгзм-  
 нос ρїтгн ммoг ет[хω м-  
 25 мoс  
 Хе пїатτελoс ρаши [нем  
 пїфнотї ершa[г] х[е  
 тметотро фaпoс  
 нем пегχс

l. 7 еотωп, MS.

\* "...Thou shalt remember My head and My right hand,<sup>1</sup> that Thou mayest say: "Blessed be My Father 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.

\* Recto

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.'

\* Verso

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.



# FRAGMENTS OF AN APOCALYPTIC GOSPEL

Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 8).

1 Οὐκ οὐτὸς ἄλλος ποτὶ-  
 2 πὶ ἡφρὶν† ἡγοῦνται να-  
 3 ψωνὶ δὲν ταμεν†  
 4 †μεθρῶμι τῆς ἐτο[ψ]  
 5 παεὺς εἰς πῖμα ἡ†-  
 6 ραν  
 7 Ἡὼτεν δὲ ἐρετεν ρίχε(π)  
 8 πετεπόροπος σαβοῦν  
 9 μπισοῦ† ἐρετενσεῖ-  
 10 τῶτ εἰ ραν πκесωχπ  
 11 δὲ ππῶμνι πν ἐτε πсе-  
 12 нащфог ап е пшш ἡ†ран  
 13 сепаремсὶ ρίχε† οὐτὸ-  
 14 λος ἡοτῶμνι ἡ[се]ερε-  
 15 ὀρπ ππн ет†ран нем  
 16 πн етот†ран еρω-  
 17 от  
 18 δὲν πῖεροот ἐтеммат  
 19 πιαρεῖλος ἡτε πхонт  
 20 †паөротрῶλ εἰσὸλ δέ(п)  
 21 πкосмос ἡсеμοτρ м-  
 22 πиптихрс нем πн еθ-  
 23 немаз псеепот εἶсот(п)  
 24 δὲν ρангалагс πхрῶм  
 25 {хрῶм}  
 26 δὲν †отнот <γ>нахонт  
 27 пхе пшатшпн гпа-  
 28 τῶпг ἡхе πпшш† ἡга-  
 29 аһоһос

1 ριζ                      ἡс  
 2 πτεροτοпг εἰсὸλ δὲν  
 3 πкосмос πтепгп π-  
 4 ρанметпһапос ἡтег-  
 5 ерпһапн ἡпшшш хе а-  
 6 нок пе †† мпн кеот-  
 7 аг еһнл ерог  
 8 Чпагῶλ εἶсрпн е папῶлс  
 9 πн ет агпг пһнтот ἡпа  
 10 хом отог мпотпаг†  
 11 ерог хоразп нем  
 12 һнт сагза гпапн еἰсὸλ  
 13 потмшш етотог псῶг  
 14 етῶш еἰсὸλ хе ἡθок пе  
 15 †† пепхрс отог  
 16 пепот-  
 17 ро  
 18 Тоте епῶх пахос пῶ-  
 19 от δὲν пгөроот ἐтеμ-  
 20 мат хе фат ап пе ††  
 21 ἡперпаг† ерог алла  
 22 фат пе пшпг п†пап-  
 23 ма  
 24 Фат пе пгагһоһос фн  
 25 етсөрем ἡпшрῶм  
 26 исхеп шорп саһоλ ἡпот-  
 27 шпһ ис пхс δὲν пка-  
 28 гп п†кһпгопмῶ ег-  
 29 па†ран

1. 1 οὐτὸς ἄλλος, MS. (and so in ll. 13-14).

"There shall be a Pillar of Light, like unto silver, in Amenti: all the multitudes of mankind shall be brought unto the Place of Judgment. But ye upon your thrones within the wall shall order<sup>1</sup> the judgment. But the rest of the righteous—they who shall not be able to attain unto the measure of the judgment<sup>2</sup>—shall sit upon a Pillar of Light, that they may behold them who do judgment and them who have judgment done upon them.

\*Recto

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 shall make the multitudes to err, (saying): 'I am God; there is none other save me.' He shall go up unto the<sup>3</sup> 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.'

\*Verso

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.<sup>4</sup> Lo, in the land of the Inheritance shall the Christ do judgment' . . ."

<sup>1</sup> Lit. 'prepare.'

<sup>2</sup> i.e. those whose virtues are not high enough to qualify them to act as judges.

<sup>3</sup> The Coptic has "my."

<sup>4</sup> Lit. 'out of their life.'



# FRAGMENTS OF AN APOCALYPTIC GOSPEL

Frag. 3 (Cairo, no. 7).

ἡνεπαίχθη εἰς ὅλην ἀνθρώπων  
 οὐρανὸν ἀνέβη πρὸς  
 ἐσχάτην αἰῶνος καὶ οὐρανὸν  
 αἰῶνος τῆς ἐκκλησίας  
 5 ἡν ἐπὶ αὐτῇ  
 φῶς  
 Οὐρανὸν ἐπὶ τῇ  
 ὡσὶς ἐπὶ τῇ  
 ἐσχάτῃ ἐπὶ τῇ  
 10 τῇ ἀνέβη εἰς ὅλην  
 ζῆν  
 Τῷ οὐρανῷ ἀνέβη  
 ἡνεπαίχθη εἰς  
 ὡσὶς ἐπὶ τῇ  
 15 αὐτῇ ἡν ἐπὶ τῇ  
 τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ  
 ἡνεπαίχθη εἰς  
 τῇ τῇ τῇ  
 20 Τῷ οὐρανῷ ἀνέβη  
 ἡνεπαίχθη εἰς  
 ὡσὶς ἐπὶ τῇ  
 τῇ τῇ τῇ  
 25 τῇ τῇ τῇ  
 αὐτῇ ἡν ἐπὶ τῇ  
 τῇ τῇ τῇ  
 ἡνεπαίχθη εἰς

l. 1 perhaps to be altered to ἡνεπαίχθη . . . ἀνθρώπων.

ἡν  
 ἐπὶ τῇ ἐπὶ τῇ  
 ὡσὶς ἐπὶ τῇ  
 Παῖς τῇ τῇ τῇ  
 5 ἐπὶ τῇ τῇ  
 ὡσὶς ἐπὶ τῇ  
 τῇ τῇ τῇ  
 10 τῇ τῇ τῇ  
 ἐπὶ τῇ τῇ  
 τῇ  
 Ἀνέβη εἰς τῇ  
 15 τῇ τῇ τῇ  
 ἐπὶ τῇ τῇ  
 τῇ τῇ τῇ  
 20 τῇ  
 Ἀνέβη εἰς τῇ  
 τῇ τῇ τῇ  
 25 τῇ τῇ τῇ  
 αὐτῇ ἡν ἐπὶ τῇ  
 τῇ τῇ τῇ

l. 1 In the upper margin is the invocation  
 + πατρὶς ἡν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνέβη.

l. 27 sc. ἡν ἐπὶ τῇ τῇ τῇ

“[ . . . spreading] \*forth our hands we prayed, and He<sup>1</sup> uttered a prayer. The earth quaked and the whole 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.”

\*Recto

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 \*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 Pentecost<sup>2</sup> is completed, and after that Thou wilt go up into the Heavens from among us.”

\*Verso

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,<sup>3</sup> 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.’



## NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Fo.  $\overline{\text{p}\Gamma\text{E}}^{\text{ro}}$

ll. 1-3. 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 ( $\chi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\tau\eta\rho$ ) 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  $\eta\tau\epsilon\kappa\omicron\sigma\tau\eta\kappa\omicron\varsigma$  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.)  $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$  ( $\tau\epsilon\kappa\alpha\rho\zeta$ )  $\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\delta\omicron\varsigma$   $\beta\epsilon\eta$   $\pi\epsilon\kappa\omega\mu\alpha$   $\psi\alpha$   $\pi\iota\epsilon\rho\omicron\sigma\tau$   $\eta\tau\epsilon$   $\pi\omega\mu\eta\eta\eta\eta$   $\eta\tau\epsilon$   $\pi\omega\psi\omicron$   $\eta\pi\omega\mu\eta$  ("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 Sûit (*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.  $\overline{\text{p}\Gamma\text{E}}^{\text{vo}}$

ll. 23 f. Perhaps *Rev.* xiv, 3 is here echoed.

ll. 28 f. Cp. *Rev.* xi, 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.  $\overline{\text{p}\Gamma\text{E}}^{\text{ro}}$

ll. 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' ( $\mu\eta\pi\epsilon\tau\omicron\sigma\alpha\alpha\delta\epsilon$   $\tau\eta\rho\omicron\tau$ ).

ll. 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; lxxviii (lxxix), 17.

ll. 15 ff. For the Assumption of the Righteous cp. i *Thess.* iv, 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.  $\overline{\text{p}\Gamma\text{E}}^{\text{vo}}$

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* II, 245 ff.

l. 24. The name Mistrael is quite clear but is probably an old-standing corruption of  $\mu\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\eta\lambda$  (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, lxxiii, 1. In the *Mysteries of S. John* (ed. Budge, *Copt. Apocr.*, pp. 65, 248) an anonymous 'Angel of Wrath' ( $\mu\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$   $\eta\tau\omicron\upsilon\rho\eta$ ) is introduced; elsewhere four 'Angels of Wrath' are mentioned (Budge, *Misc. Copt. Texts*, p. 1060  $\mu\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\tau$   $\mu\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$   $\eta\tau\epsilon$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon\rho\eta$ ), and the undefined plural occurs below in our own text (fo. 117<sup>ro</sup>, l. 19). They are doubtless equivalent to the  $\omicron\iota$   $\kappa\omicron\lambda\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\iota$  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

## FRAGMENTS OF AN APOCALYPTIC GOSPEL

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. pi7<sup>ro</sup>

ll. 1-6. In the *Apoc. of Elias* (ed. Steind. p. 100) Gabriel and Michael create a pillar of light (παρ-στῆλος πῶταϊ[νε]) 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* (ed. Geffcken) II, 238 ff.

ἤνικα δ' ἀνστήσῃ νέκυας μοῖραν καταλύσας  
καὶ καθίσῃ Σαβῶν' Ἀδωναιῖος ὑψικέρανος  
ἐς θρόνον οὐράνιον τε μέγαν δέ τε κίονα πύξῃ.

In the second (ll. 14 f.), the compiler has reproduced a Manichaeic 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*, II, p. 44 and note, and Epiphanius, *Panarium*, II, 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. **prζ<sup>vo</sup>**) 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.”

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

l. 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).

l. 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.* xix, 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, ll. 21 f.) here applied to the Devil are reserved for anti-Christ in the *Apoc. of Elias* (ed. cit., p. 92: ω πατουμε, ω πσυρε πταπομα); 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" (*ἀναιδής*) see further the Greek text of Ephraem Syrus (ed. Assemani, III, p. 142).

Fo. prz<sup>vo</sup>

ll. 1-6. Here and in ll. 19 ff. there is verbal correspondence with *Apoc. of Elias*, p. 86:  $\text{}\Psi\text{P}\alpha\text{O}\omega\text{P}\eta\text{Z}\ \alpha\beta\alpha\lambda\ \text{C}\epsilon\ \text{P}\psi\text{H}\text{P}\epsilon\ \text{P}\tau\alpha\text{P}\omega\text{M}\alpha,\ \epsilon\chi\theta\omega\ \dot{\mu}\mu\alpha\varsigma\ \chi\epsilon\ \alpha\text{N}\alpha\text{K}\text{P}\epsilon\ \text{P}\chi\text{C}\epsilon,\ \epsilon\text{N}\tau\alpha\text{C}\ \epsilon\text{N}\ \text{P}\epsilon\ \mu\dot{\eta}\text{P}-\text{P}\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\tau=\epsilon\text{P}\alpha\text{C}.$  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.* II, 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.* xi, 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.* I, pp. 98, Greek, 112 Latin), who affirms that anti-Christ is to be born in Chorazin and Bethsaida: οὗτος γεννᾶται ἐν Χωραζῇ (sic) . . . καὶ Βηθσαϊδά—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).

ll. 13 ff. Cp. *Ascension of Isaiah* IV, 8 (quoted above on ll. 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

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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 III, 142): Enoch and Elias cry out, *πλάνος ἐστίν, ὁ ἄνθρωπος· μηδεὶς αὐτῷ πιστεύσειεν*.

ll. 21 f. "The Son of Iniquity:" see note on fo. 117 *recto* 26 ff. The verbal expression is derived from ii *Thess.* II, 3, 8, where anti-Christ is alluded to as *ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀνομίας* (v.l. *ἀμαρτίας*), *ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας... ὁ ἄνομος*.

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

ll. 26 f. For the "Land of the Inheritance" compare the Coptic *Apocalypse of Paul* (ed. Budge, *Misc. Copt. Texts*, p. 562) *πᾶς ἡτεκληρονομία*.

Fo. *ρλδ*<sup>vo</sup>

l. 4. In the Genealogy of Christ (*Luke* III, 37) the Coptic (ed. Horner) has *μαλελεηλ*: an uncollated ms. seen by the Editor at Dêr es Sûriân (dated 1220 A.D.) has *μελελεηλ*.

ll. 24 ff. For the titles here used compare *Enoch* LXIII, 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. *ρλδ*<sup>vo</sup>

ll. 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 Isaiah* IX, 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. *σκη*), where a *psali* begins *ϣϣ ϣη ετϣορ ἡἐζοτσιατῆς-οτορ πιαττελος ἡτε πινιϣϣ ἡσοση*; and No. IX, E, Frag. I (fo. 2), ll. 4–5.

*Addendum.* The relatively early date of the Gospel suggested above (p. 18) is not unobjectionable. If in fo. *ρλζ* *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. *ρλδ* *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.

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. *ρλζ*<sup>vo</sup>, ll. 7 ff.

Fo. *ρμα*<sup>so</sup>

ll. 1–6. The speaker is presumably Mary (since in l. 3 of the *verso* the Apostles decline to hear her narrative). If the reading in l. 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*, §§ III–IV (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.* xi, 13.

ll. 10 f. The mention of Chorazin connects this leaf with fo. *ρλζ*. 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. *ρμα*<sup>vo</sup>

l. 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, § 62 = Schmidt, *Gespräche Jesu*, § 5).

ll. 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.

ll. 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."

## 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;<sup>1</sup> 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 + (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, ⲉ, 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: ̄ⲓⲃ (Ornament) ̄ⲓⲃ (Ornament) ̄ⲓⲃ, "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.<sup>2</sup>

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.,<sup>3</sup> 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 Guidi<sup>4</sup> and von Lemm;<sup>5</sup> but with the exception of the Vatican *Martyrdom of S. Luke*,<sup>6</sup> of possible fragments from the *Acts of Matthias* at Leipzig,<sup>7</sup> and the Cambridge leaf from our own ms.,<sup>8</sup> no portion of a Bohairic recension has hitherto emerged. From the Bohairic the *Acts* were translated into Arabic<sup>9</sup> and thence into Ethiopic.<sup>10</sup> A version of the *Martyrdom of S. Mark*, only very slightly abridged, is incorporated in the *History of the Patriarchs* by Severus of Ashmunên.<sup>11</sup>

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

1 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 ̄ⲓⲃ (18) is paged from p. ̄ⲓⲃⲉ to ̄ⲓⲃⲉ inclusive (*i.e.* it contained only 19 pp.). Doubtless a full-page 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.





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- \* 72    Δικυανοτωϣ ε ρωλ ητοτ φπαχα οται απ ηεν πεκμελος εγγοτοχ + οτορ ηε(η)παι τιροτ μπεγοτω-  
 ρем отънс ηξε ιωαννης  
 Ετασεμι δε ε τεγροπομοη + ηем τεγμετρεμрату асопу паррас + ηε οτiαωтис ηе + οτορ παссажи  
 немау + ηен отъинсажи еспауѣ + ессаѣтєп ёроу есхω μмос παу +  
 Ξе ми ηоок паѣок ап ѡ фа писмот еггоот + екхω μмос ηе от + ми керомологиη ηтекметѣок  
 ап + ариотѡ пни +  
 Ιωαννης δε πεχαу пас ηе ага апок ηеѣок апок етѣок + οτορ прохωρος ηе ηπηρεχитис +  
 \* (75)    Ρωμανна δε он он етсгогорт + ηе отон ηтас ηотуфнр + ε οτaφε ηе ηен \*πηρεѣтрап + ηен пη  
 ётогмотѣ ёроот ηе схолоастикос + асше пас шароу ассажи немау + есхω μмос  
 Ξе ѣок ѣ ηте παιοѣ ёт аѣхаѣ пни + (аѣфωт) исхен отмиш ηромпи + ηпот δε ётаѣ гароη сееромологиη  
 ηе апок ηеѣок + отон шжом μμοη он ε семη ηкепрасис ѣарωот  
 Псхолоастикос δε πεχαу пас + ηе аѣшапхос + ηе апок ηеѣок исхен пеоѣ + отон шжом μмо  
 еоретаго ηѣ μμεоре ёратот етѣрот + ηтесемηη ηен оттажро ηтогхпѣ ёѣол  
 \* 76    Ιωαννης δε асѣми ηен ηηпа + οτορ πεχαу пни ηе ариѣми пак пашири \*ηе ёре таη сгѣми отωш  
 еореперомологиη пас + ηе апок ηесѣок +  
 Λοηпоη мпенѣренер мкаг ηрит ηен παη ρωѣ + аλλα раши ηѣоу ηгоτѡ + οτορ марепѣри мпаη рнѣ + ηе  
 гпа ёѣолгитен παη ηте пепѡт ηтс ηхѣ таме таη сгѣми + ηе апок ρапмаѣнтис ηте ηим +  
 Ηαη δε ётаѣхотот ηξε ιωαννης + асѣ ёротη ηξε ρωμανна + ηен отпшѣ μметѣасгит + οτορ асершорп  
 ηамоηη ηιωαννης есхω μмос +  
 Ξе ѡ пѣѣок ηρεѣфωт + еѣѣе от мппаѣ ε шаре текѡт i ёротη + мпакѣ ёѣол ѣахос ηтекотωшт μмос +  
 One folio (two pages) missing.
- \* (78)    \*iωотηη [ηξε αιοςкоритис] παѣѣ ηρѣη[у ηе е пие]гоот ε шаре па[i шωпη] ηрнт[у + φαη α[е отон] ηтау  
 ммаѣ ηе ηотш[ри] егхη ηен ηη ηромпи + ηе отсаηе допѡ<sup>1</sup> ηе ηен пегсмот + ε пеграп ηе домпос  
 Отоρ паѣѣрег ёроу ηе ηпеггоот ёре пѣтако пащωпη ηрнтот + οτορ паѣхω ммоу ап ηе ε ρωλ ε ѣсеiωотηη  
 мпеггоот етеммат +

<sup>1</sup> = топѡ.

† (=B., p. 233)    thou canst not depart again out of my hand. If thou shouldest seek to escape from me, I will not leave †one  
 \* p. 304    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 Pro-  
 choros the bath-man."

\* p. 305    Now Romanna that accursed woman had a friend who was chief among \*the judges, among them who are  
 † (=L., p. 43)    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 comē (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."

\* p. 306    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."

† (=B., p. 234)    †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 Prochoros 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    \*(Now the owner of the) bath-house, Dioscorides, used to observe the day on which these things  
 † (=B., p. 235)    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



# THE APOCRYPHAL ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

Πενεσα θρεπίρι οτι ην ηδωτο ηεν φσειωσιν + α ψυρι ηδισκοριτισ ше пау ёроти ё φσειωσιν  
 ιματαу + ереуѡкем отор аше пни немау ёре пискетос ιтот + ешешши ιμοу + отор ηφотпот  
 ета[φершорп ёроу е]тауше ёроти α ηγε]μωп оху

× [тi]

[етатеми п]εφάλωσι де [ατι е]ηол етрим + етѡ μ[мо]с + же апаер от<sup>1</sup> + же а пенот<sup>2</sup> мот +  
 Этассотем де ηхе рωмаппа + ассит<sup>1</sup> мпесершоп ризеп пикари + отор ассолп ёηол ηса пирωι ηте  
 тесафе есѡ μмос +

Хе отои пни апок ѡа фталепωрос + апаер от исхеп пайпат + Хен аш ηго апажотшт ёηол хен пго  
 ηдискоритис + ιε апаеротω пау же от + апок ѡа фћин(п) + аλλα пкепθου ρωу + ашшансотем  
 же а пегшпир мот + гпамот ρωу + же отмопотенис пау пе паот<sup>2</sup> домнос +

\*Фпшф<sup>1</sup> ηртемиς αριθουηп + ηте отωпѡ шопι мпай хелшпир хен тежом теисωоти тар тпрот пирωи  
 пем пиріоми + пиремёфесос + же ηθο петергеми мптрп + фтѡѡр μмо ефретотпос пёѡк домнос +  
 отор пассолп ёηол пе ηса пирωι ηте тесафе исхеп ахп ѿ мпиреотот шѡ ахп ѿ + отор пе μмоп ωпѡ  
 шоп пе мпирелшпир +

× (тiа)

Не а отпшф<sup>1</sup> мшиш ѡотф еѡе пдлот + ранотоп меп патеррпн еѡе пдлот + рпкпехωоти де  
 патершфпир ηρωмаппа мпирпф етесои μмоу хен песперп +

Ιωαννης де етаφ<sup>1</sup> ёηолхен \*пима пѡк пезау пни +

× тiѡ

Хе пашпир прохωрос + от пе пай шѡортер етреп таи поліс мфотт ёηолзитен таисрпм +

Етаспат ёроу ηхе рωмаппа есѡѡи пемни + асѡѡи асѡмопι μмоу + пезас пау же ѡ пимагос +  
 ашшпм ηпекметрефегрпк + еѡпнтк тар а тапотф ренс саѡол μмои +

Отор асф пау ηотшпенкотр есѡ μмос + пёѡк етѡот + етак<sup>1</sup> фпот ё сѡѡи μмои + ёкрашп ёхеп фп  
 етаушшпι мпашпир + екѡ μмос же от ѡ пёѡк ηатшѡт +

Етаушотем ё пай ηхе ιѡѡ ηтотс ηρωмаппа + ашше ёроти ё φσειωσιν +

*Nine leaves (eighteen pages) missing.*

\*пѡот же ѡрк пни ηфпшф<sup>1</sup> ηртемиς же хен отмот пем отωпѡ тетеппдпир пемни + отор фпатамѡтп  
 ηѡот де аѡрк пау + же теппаѡри ёратеп немак хен ρѡѡ пѡеп + отор аштамѡт ё отпшф<sup>1</sup> мфот-  
 тос<sup>2</sup> ηпотѡ есѡ μмос +

× (тiа)

<sup>1</sup> апаарот, MS.

<sup>2</sup> sic: perhaps a corruption of φортос.

into the bath-house alone to bathe. And I went with him, having the utensils<sup>1</sup> in my hand and waiting on him. And straightway, when \*he had entered in before me, the demon strangled him.

× p. 310

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.

† (=L., p. 44)

× p. 311

†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 stoke-hole, 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?"

† (=B., p. 236)

× p. 312

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 swore unto him: "We will stand by thee in all things." And he showed them a great load<sup>2</sup> of gold, saying: "My comrades, do your utmost, and, lo, I these (monies) I have

× p. 331 (=B., p. 244; L., p. 48 f.)

<sup>1</sup> i.e. the appliances used in bathing.

<sup>2</sup> Eth. 'something which was like unto a large purse filled

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



# NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Хе пашфир ἀριότοιζεςοε οτορ ις παг агеѣтωтот нωтеп ђа петепѣисι +  
 Нѡωот де пехωот паг + же матамон ē пекрѡѣ + оτορ ἀριатρωотш пак +  
 Пезаг нωот же ἀпок ђа пѣѣнип + ἀпок отремтесариā нте траппаζοκiā нте †палестини<sup>1</sup> ἀпок  
 \*τλѣ отнѡѣος + ѡкоментарисιος \*ет ат† пни прѡми ѣ ѡματος ѣѡлѣен тлѣм + фпан ѡтаг ѡмωот пе  
 ѡаппис + оτορ фпан ѡпикеотат пе прохωрос +  
 Ἀпок де етагѣитот агитот е пиштеко + оτορ ђен пимар ђа нѣроот + ащшнѣ ѡсωот нже ппархωп +  
 оτορ же атогωпѣ ѣѡл + ѣатѣри нрапѣннотѣ етρωот + оτορ еттакнотт +  
 Отоρ ѣта ппархωп пат ѣ пашаѣ ѡпотпетρωот + паг ѣт атогωпѣ ѣѡл ацоторпот он ѣ пиштеко + жехас  
 гитен теуѣперѣзетази(п) ѡмωот + ѣеѣми ђен оттажро + еѡѣе потѣннотѣ етρωот етотѣри ѡмωот +  
 \*τλѣв Ётагѡлот отп же ѡтаритот \*ѣ пиштеко + атфѡт ѣѡлѣен пакѣз гитен отмагѣа есρωот + оτορ етагтаме  
 фн етхн гѣзѡи ѣ пѣрѡѣ +  
 Ётагшпенгнт ђарѡи пезаг пни + же рѡл ѡ пѣѣнип ѡтекнѡ† ѡсωот + ѣшѡп де ѡтекштемепот ђарѡи  
 хпанѡт ѡканѡс + оτορ ѣшѡп ѡтекштемѣемот ѡперкотѣ ђарѡи же +  
 †сѡотп гар ѡпѡпт ѡппархωп ѣѡтп ѣрог + оτορ пагтамо ѡмωот ѣ отѣисѣ ѡпотѣ ѡфпатсiā + егѣѡ  
 ѡмос +  
 Хе асѡтеп ѣѡлгитен отмиш пѣрѡми + же сехн ђен паг мѡит + оτορ еѡѣе фгаг аѣ ѣ таг полѣс + оτορ  
 \*τλѣδ<sup>2</sup> пагрѣми \*пе егѣѡ ѡмос + же тасѣми пем пашѣри + пем папанѣ аѣхат ѡсѡи + оτορ ις гнпне †пѡт  
 †сорем ђен паг кагѣ ѡшѣммо +  
 Ἀλλα †гѡнтен пашфир еѡпанет + шпенгнт ђа таметшѣммо + оτορ пехωот паг нже птагѣѡтис +  
 Хе ѡпершѡортер пепшфир ђара рѡ отон (п)магѡс ѡпаг ма + пезаг нωот же се + алла †ерро†  
 миѡс ѡтѡтфѡт ѣѡлѣен паг ма + гитен тогѣопн етρωот<sup>3</sup> ете †метмагѡс те +  
 \*τлѣ<sup>4</sup> Ἀλλα фгаг аѣгтѣ пашфир еѡпанет + гитот ѣѡтп ѣ отма + ѡперха рѡми ѣми ѡтетепѣѡѣѡт ѡсѣотѣ +  
 ѡтетепѣи ѡпаг хрѣма + ѣт \*агепот пемнѣ еѡл  
 Нѡωот де пехωот паг + же серпѡгѣри пак ѡгѡтѡ атшпанѣгѡот + ѡтекѣитот ѣ текпатѣис + ѣпан  
 атшпанѡт екпашѣгѡл ѣ текполѣс ѡаш пѣрн†

<sup>1</sup> Both Arabic and Eth. have 'Palestine' alone. траппаζοκiā is probably a gloss added by way of hopeful suggestion and subsequently admitted into the text.

<sup>2</sup> Heading (for end of the seventeenth quire) τλѣδ ιѣ (Ornament) хѣ ιѣ.

<sup>3</sup> Added (first hand) above the line.

<sup>4</sup> Heading (for beginning of the eighteenth quire) ιѣ τс (Ornament) ѡт τлѣ.

prepared for you in return for your pains." And they said unto him: "Show us thy business and be not  
 \* p. 332 anxious." He said unto them: "I, poor wretch, am a man of Caesarea in Cappadocia in Palestine (*sic*). I am  
 † (=B., p. 245) 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.  
 \* p. 333 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  
 \* p. 334 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  
 † (=B., p. 246) and receive these †monies \*which I have brought away with me."  
 \* 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





## THE APOCRYPHAL ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

\*εβρηι ρеп ρ[α]πκεχ[ω]тнι ρеп отиш† ꙗлос [не] еґотыш еґротѡ е ап†рап ёроу же каматикн + \* (тпс)  
ёте пирешеприци не + 1

Отор ёжен паг тирот еѡпнот ёхон + теи†ѡот мѣиот + нем пшри + нем пшпа еѡтаѡ + шѡ епер  
ѡте пшпер + амн

†апапатсис отор †апоτѡтеѡ ёѡл ѡте пшгис ꙗпостолос отор мменрит ѡте пхс  
ппарѡепос отор петаггелистис + отор ꙗѡеологос ѡаннис пшри ꙗзеѡеѡс +  
етасшони ρеп ёфесос ꙗсот ѡ мпиѡот тѡѡи  
ρеп отгирни ѡте †† амн

\*Асшони де мепенса оре пепѡт инс пхс жѡк ёѡл ꙗѡикѡномѡ + ѡте потѡѡи мпикѡсмос тирѡ + \* тпс<sup>2</sup>  
ѡтешѡ паг ёпшѡи ё тѡе ρеп отѡот + ашшони ꙗже пшгис ꙗпостолос егѡишѡ + пшѡѡи пшѡѡи ρеп  
тегѡѡѡ ет а пѡт ѡѡс паг +

Астаге пшгис ѡаннис пшри ꙗзеѡеѡс е гѡишѡ ρеп †ѡсѡ +

Ётаѡи отп ёѡтп ё ёфесос + ёте ѡѡи те †мнтрополис ѡте †ѡсѡ + пагѡишѡ мпипар† ёѡтп ё пепѡт инс  
пхс + †† етѡп + ρеп от\*пш† ꙗѡѡи + нем гѡпгѡгѡеж + нем гѡпшфѡи ёпѡшѡот + \* тпс<sup>3</sup>

Мепенса ѡрегѡгѡпѡмени(п) де ё гѡппѡсмос етѡш ёѡлгѡтѡт пѡпѡма ётеммѡт + еѡѡе же пѡтѡѡи  
не ρеп †метшѡмѡе гѡѡѡи + ёгѡте пкеисепи мѡфрн† гѡу ётагѡтѡпг + †ѡи пап ёѡл + ꙗже пѡграммѡтѡс  
ѡте таг полис ꙗѡѡт ёфесос +

Фн ёт аѡсѡѡп ёроу ρеп пѡѡи ппипѡгѡс ѡте ꙗпостолос + егѡшѡшѡт мѡѡу ё фѡнѡт + егѡгѡнѡгѡрин  
егѡѡ мѡс +

Же пѡѡи пѡремѡфесос пѡм не ёте пѡсѡѡп ап ѡтполис ппиремѡфесос \*же сѡи п(п)ѡѡкерѡс + ꙗрегѡшѡшѡи \* тпс  
ѡте пѡрѡѡи ѡте †пш† ꙗѡтемѡс +

Мепенса оре ѡаннис от(п) фн ёѡтаѡи петаггелистис + кѡрѡ мпѡрѡѡи етѡѡѡем ётеммѡт гѡтѡп пегѡишѡ +

<sup>1</sup> ете ... не: not in Ar. or Eth.: this again is an interpolated gloss.

<sup>2</sup> Full heading тпс тѡ (Ornament) хс ин (last p. of quire 18). For the script of the opening lines of the text see Plate XVII b.

<sup>3</sup> Full heading тѡ тѡ (Ornament) хс тпс (first p. of quire 19).

[... are written] \*down in other (works) in an exceeding great discourse which we call *Kamatike*,<sup>1</sup> 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*.<sup>2</sup>

†*The Repose and the Passing-away of the holy Apostle and beloved of Christ, the Virgin and Evangelist and Divine, John the Son of Zebedee; the which took place at Ephesus<sup>3</sup> on the fourth day of the Month Tōbi. In the Peace of God! Amen.* † (= L., p. 54; B., p. 253)

\*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. \* p. 354

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 Apostles*<sup>4</sup> 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 \*is minister and worshiper of the temple of the great Artemis?” So after that John the holy Evangelist had overthrown that abominable temple through his preaching, and had wrought signs and \* p. 355

<sup>1</sup> i.e. *Καματική (βίβλος)*. The Eth. has “*Kāmādagi*” (the Ar. fails at this point).

<sup>2</sup> For a Sahidic recension of this narrative see Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha*, pp. 51 ff.; 233 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Both Arabic and Eth. have Patmos.

<sup>4</sup> *Acts* xix, 27 ff.



# THE APOCRYPHAL ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

\*те҃хѣхѣ + а҃уто҃гноссѣ ѿбо҃л҃хѣн пи҃ртоп ѿте пѣс҃хѣхѣ + ѣа҃кѣресѣпи҃а҃тс<sup>1</sup> ѿфн ѣте҃м҃а҃т + е҃ура҃ѣт са҃песнт \* то҃н  
пѣс҃са҃ла҃а҃тхѣ +

Фн ѣѿота҃ѣ ѿм҃а҃т҃а҃т҃у + о҃тор еѿмотеп ѿмоу҃ хѣн пн ѣѿота҃ѣ ѿнс пх҃с паотро + пире҃л҃же ѿм҃а҃т҃а҃т҃у +  
Фра҃шѣ ппн е҃трѣн пѣфно҃тѣ + фре҃д҃аре҃р ппн е҃трѣхѣн пика҃рѣ + трѣѣ ппн е҃тса҃песнт ѿпка҃рѣ + по҃тпоу҃  
ппн ѣте по҃тк тирѣт +

Фн е҃тρω҃с ѣ пн е҃тсо҃т҃ωн хѣ(п) по҃т҃рнт тирѣу + фн е҃тшωн ѣроу҃ хѣн о҃тѿот ппн е҃тѿпш҃а ѿмоу҃ + шопт  
ѣрок хѣ [к]а҃та пекса҃хѣ + нем пек[ш]орп пѿωш е҃тхн пн ѣ҃рнѣ + рѣпа ѿта҃ѿтоп ѿмоу҃ +

*Two leaves (four pages) missing.*

\*Наѣ ѣта҃псоѿмо҃т + а҃по҃тшѣт ппег҃хѣхѣ п҃рѣмѣ хѣн о҃трѣмѣ е҃епш҃а҃шѣ + о҃тор е҃та҃псоѿп҃у хѣн пш҃и҃к + \*(то҃з)  
а҃пшѣ пап ѣ ф҃а҃кѣ + а҃пта҃ме пѣспно҃т ѣ рѿѣ пѣхѣн +

Пѿωот хѣ са҃то҃то҃т а҃тѣ ѣѿо҃л҃ немап + ѣ пѣма ѣте҃м҃а҃т о҃тор пѿоу҃ мен пѣа҃г҃нос пѣта҃г҃гѣлѣстѣс ѿпеп-  
хѣмѣу + а҃пхѣмѣ хѣ ппег҃рѣхѣс нем пег҃ѿωотѣ + нем о҃тка҃рѣ е҃рѣхѣн ѣпшѣи + е҃рѣо҃хѣс ѣѿо҃л҃ ѣхѣн пш҃и҃к ѣт  
а҃пхѣу҃ п҃рнтѣу + пѣма ѣт а҃ушѣ ѣпеснт ѣроу҃ + о҃тор а҃перш҃фѣрѣ ѿфн е҃та҃ушѣпн + ѿпепш҃со҃теп ф҃ма  
ѿпш҃и҃к хѣ ѣте пег҃сωма ѿомс п҃рнтѣу рѣтеп па҃ш҃аѣ ѿпка҃рѣ + ѣта҃хѣрѣхѣр ѣпшѣи + о҃тор ѣта҃хѣрѣхѣс ѣѿо҃л҃  
ѣхѣн пѣма тирѣу +

\*О҃тор паѣ рѣѣ а҃пта҃со҃п ѣ ф҃а҃кѣ е҃пѣωот ѿпх҃с пепно҃тѣ фн е҃терѣмо҃т пп҃а҃г҃мо҃т ѿтаѣ маѣн ппн \* то҃н  
е҃терѿпш҃а ѿмωот + фн ѣта҃уѣωот ѿпетег҃меѣ ѿмоу҃ + пѣа҃по҃сто҃лос еѿота҃ѣ + о҃тор пѣта҃г҃гѣлѣстѣс ѿωа +  
хѣн таѣ хѣпмо҃т пш҃фѣрѣ + па҃ра пкесепн ппѣа҃по҃сто҃лос тирѣт +

Ѣхѣн паѣ хѣ па҃г҃ωс + о҃тор папѣѿωот + ѿпепно҃тѣ пѣа҃г҃аѿос + пепѿс ѿнс пх҃с + пепотро ѿмнѣ + хѣн  
рапѣѿа҃лмо҃с нем рапсмо҃т + нем рапрѣωа҃н ѿпп҃а҃тѣкоп +

Хѣ пѿоу҃ е҃ре пѿωот е҃рп҃репн пау + пѣм пег҃ѿωт пѣа҃г҃аѿос + нем пппѣа ѣѿота҃ѣ п҃рег҃та(п)ѿо + о҃тор  
пѿмоотсѣос немау + фпѣт нем пснѣт пѣхѣн + нем ш҃а ѣпег ѿте пѣпег тирѣт + ѿмн(п)

+ . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> sic, for -ф҃а҃тс.

up from the fall caused by her enemy, making her to guard (?) against<sup>1</sup> †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.<sup>2</sup> \* p. 377 (= L. p. 59; B., p. 262)

\*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. \* p. 378

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.

<sup>1</sup> Literally 'drew (her) attention to.'

<sup>2</sup> 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

time of Justinian. Remains of these buildings have lately been uncovered at Ayassoluk (ὁ ἅγιος Θεολόγος), near Ephesus (*Morning Post*, Oct. 13, 1921; *Journ. Hell. Stud.* xli, 276).



# THE APOCRYPHAL ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

\*Отъоу ден ѿотъот асі ёһрни ꙗже ꙗпълн нем пикестълоу етхн рѣхас + отъоу асшопи ꙗкѡт ѡпемѡо \* †тѣд<sup>1</sup>  
 ѡпимнш тирѣ + отъоу ѡпотѡтем ё Һрѡот ꙗтас ё птирѣ +  
 Фѣлѣппос де аѣкотѣ ё пимнш пѣхас ꙗѡот же рнпѣ тѣппакѡт ѡпни ѡпѡт + маре пѣѡлѡотѣ ѡпарѡенос  
 ѣ ꙗтотѣрѡѡ ё пни ѡпѡт + менѣпѡс ѡтѣперѡѡ тирѡт +  
 Отъоу пимнш тирѣ + пѣрѡотт + нем пѣрѣѡми + пѣтѣнѡт тирѡт пѣ етѣрѡѡ ё пни ѡпѡт +  
 Нѣѡпѡстѡлоу де пѣшѡп пѣ Һѣп пни ꙗкаррѡп + пѣрхѡп ѡтѣ ꙗѡѡ етѣрѡѡ ёрѣни ёжеп пѣѡрѣ ꙗѡтѣ \* †тѣе<sup>2</sup>  
 пимнш т[н]рѣ + тѡтѣ а пѣѡтѣр ер ѡфрѣт ꙗѡтѣрѡми ꙗѡтѣпни + аѣтѣ рѣрѡот пѣхас ꙗѡот +  
 Же жеѣре пѣтрѡс нем фѣлѣппос + пѣѡпѡстѡлоу етѣѡнѡт + тѣтѣппѡт аѡ ё пимнш ётѣѡѡрѣт ꙗѡт ѡтѣ  
 маѣе пѡтѣп ёѡѡ рѣрѡот + ѡтѣтѣпѣѡ пѡт ѡпѣсѡѡи ѡтѣ пѡпѣ + мѡпѡп ѡпѣрѣрѡмѣлѣс + фн  
 ётѣтѣппѣсѣтѣп ѡмѡѣ + ѡтѡт ꙗпѡтѣп пѡтѣп + тѣѣрѣпни есѣшѡпни немѡтѣп ꙗѡтѣп пѣѡт пѣѡп +  
 Ётѣѣже пѣѡ де пѡот ꙗже ꙗѡт ѡфрѣт ꙗѡтѣрѡми ꙗѡтѣпни + аѣѣе пѣѣ ё пѣѣѡи ё пѣѣѡтѣ + Һѣп ѡѣѡт  
 Тѡтѣ пѣтрѡс нем фѣлѣппос \*пѣѡпѡстѡл[ѡс] ёѡѡѡѡ + ѡ пѡѣѣ ерѡтѣпни Һѣп пѡот ꙗѡт ѡтѣѣѡтѣѣ ѣрѡт + †тѣѣ  
 Нѡѡт де ётѡѣ ёѡѡ + ѡ пимнш тирѣ рѣтѡт ёһрни Һѡ рѡтѡт ꙗпѣѡпѡстѡлоу аѡтѡѡтѣ ѡмѡот +  
 Нѣѡпѡстѡлоу де аѡтѡѡѡсѡт аѡтѣѡ пѡот ѡтѡт етѡѡѡ ѡмѡот ё пѣѡрѣт ѡтѣ пѡт ꙗѡт пѣѣ + ѡтѡт  
 ꙗѡтѣѣѡт сѡѡѡ ꙗѡтѣѡѡи ѡтѣ ѡѡѡ +  
 Нимнш де тирѡт пѡѡѡѡ пѣ рѡ пѣѡпѡстѡлоу + етѡѡѡѡ ё ѡѣсѡѡт ꙗѡтѡт + мѡѣѣѡт де етѡѡт ё пѡот  
 ѡпѣѡт ꙗѡт пѣѣ + еѣѡѡт ѣрѡт +  
 Отѣѡѡи де ѡп ёѡѡѡ ѡѡѡѡ(п) немѡѣ + еѣѡѡт ёѡѡ Һѣѡтѡѡѡ ꙗѡтѣ ꙗѡт + еѣѡѡ ѡѡѡ + †(†тѣѣ)  
 Же ꙗѡт ѣрѡтѣп пѣѡпѡстѡлоу ёѡѡѡѡ ѡтѣ пѣѣ ѡпѣрѣѣѣѣ пни + ꙗпѡт ёѡѡ ꙗѡтѣ +  
 Тѡтѣ пѣѡѡѡп аѣѣтѣ ѡпѣѡѡи ё пѣѡѡѡ + менѣпѡс аѣтѣ ёѡѡ ꙗѡтѣ + пѣтрѡс де нем фѣлѣппос +  
 аѡтѡѡѡѡѡѡ ѡпѣѡѡѡп ё ѡтѣѡѡѡт ѣрѡѣ же ѡѡ ѣѣѣ +  
 Тѡтѣ пѣѡѡи ётѡѡѡѡѡп аѣѣтѣ ѣрѣни Һѡ пѣѡѡѡѡѡ ꙗпѣѡпѡстѡлоу аѣѡѡѡп еѣтѣѣ ѣрѡт +  
 Фѣлѣппос де нем пѣтрѡс аѡѡѡ ѡпимнш ёжеп пѣѡѡт + аѡтѡѡѡ пѡот Һѣ(п) фѣѡп ѡфѡѡт нем пѣѡѡѡ  
 нем пѣѡѡ ѣѡѡѡѡ + ѡтѡт пѣѣ пѣѡпѡстѡлоу ѡпимнш \*же рнпѣ ѡ пѡт ѣѡ пѡтѣ(п) ёѡѡ ꙗѡтѣѡѡѡи \* †(†тѣѣ)н

<sup>1</sup> Heading †тѣд †т (Ornament) †т ѡ (last p. of quire 20).

<sup>2</sup> Heading [†т] †т (Ornament) †т †тѣе (first p. of quire 21).

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,<sup>1</sup> 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 \* p. 396  
 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

<sup>1</sup> Arabic has ‘Marwân’; the Eth. ‘Kêrôn.’



## NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

ēt aretenaitot ʒep oʒmetatēmi + āriotī mīpeʔanepu on + satʒn + ʒina iʔete(n)ʒi iʔiāraʔon +  
 iʔte ʔmetotro iʔiʔnotī +  
 ʔəwot ʒe tīrot aʔuʃi ēʔol eʔaʃ mmos + ʒe tepʔwot nak ʔʔ mpetros nem ʔilīnos + ʒe akʃe(n)ʒnt  
 ʒaron + aknai pan  
 ʔiāpostolos ʒe aʔerāraʒin ʔwot iʔʔekklesiā + oʒor ʔare ʔimnu tīru ʔotnt ēros ʔe + ʒep oʒniʃʔ  
 iʔraʃi nem oʒotʔou + eʔcʃtem ē ʔisaʒi iʔte ʔʔ +  
 ʔre ʔilīnos uʃi ērwot ʒe(n) ʔinomos<sup>1</sup> + ēre petros ʒuʒi ʔwā mmos ērwot + ʒep[[iʔiā...]

*One folio (two pages) missing.*

- \* (ʔa) \*ēt aʔaʔis ʃaron ʒep [ʔi(n)]ərotʃe iʔʒe ʒanmiʃ mʔ[o]ʔis eʔrotʃtem ērou [eʔ]riʃu ʔwot mʔai ʔnt  
 mʔran mʔx̄c + ʒe iʔou ʔ[e] ʔʔ iʔaʔʔe nem ʔanʔa[ʒi +]  
 Aʔerotʃ iʔʒe ʔiʔwmi ʔn [e]teʔiʔnaʒʔ ē ʔeʔriʃu ēʔotaʔ + alla eʃʃemʃi iʔiāemʃn + ʔeʔwot ʔaʒ  
 ʒe ʔim ʒuʒi ʔe ʔx̄c iʔc mʔe(n)ʃtem ē ʔai ran ēʔer + aʔerotʃ iʔʒe ʔiāpostolos eʔotaʔ oʒor ʔeʔaʒ  
 ʒe ʃtem ērou ō ʔiʔwmi ētəʔnt<sup>2</sup> + ʔai eʔotʃu ē ermeʔeʃin iʔʔaʔis mʔx̄c ʔʔ mmi +  
 \* (ʔb) ʔʔ ē ʔriʃu mʔou + iʔou ʔe ʔʔ etonʔ + oʒor on eʔʔ mʔwʔ ʔoton ʔiʔep eʔ[ʔa]ʒʔ ērou + ʃʃni ʔe  
 etʃon ʒep ʔiʔt + oʒor ʔiʔt eʃʃon ʒep ʃʃni + ēre ʔiʔiā ēʔotaʔ oi ʔotaʔ ʔotʔt nemwot iʔnot  
 ʔiʔep + [ʔ]ou ʔe ʔiāʔatos + iʔou ʔetaʔaʔmio mʔtīru ʒe(n) teʔʃoʔiā +  
 ʔou ʔetaʔaʔmio mʔiʔom nem ʔiāʔwot + nem ʔiāʔmʔi nem ʔi eteʔntot tīrot +  
 ʔou ʔetaʔe eʔʃaʔi ʔiʔe(n) ʃʃni + ʔi etʔn nem ʔi eʔototʔ ēʔol +  
 ʔou ʔetaʔʒi ʔotʔaʒi ēʔolʒep ʔkaʒi + aʔerʔaʒin ʔotʔwmi + kaʔa ʔeʔini nem teʔriʔon +  
 \* (ʔc) ʔou on ʔe ētaʔsmot ē ʔeʔiʔt āʔam + eʔaʃ mmos ʔaʒ mʔʔai ʔnt ʒe aʔai oʒor [...?] maʒ ʔkaʒi +  
 aʔiʔc ērou +]

<sup>1</sup> Doubtless nem ʔiʔroʔitʃc should be added: both Arabic and Eth. read "the Law and the Prophets."

<sup>2</sup> The ms. has ēʔotaʔ which is inappropriate (though

supported by the Arabic "blessed"): the Eth. reads "who are assembled," pointing to a Coptic reading etəʔnt which might easily be corrupted to ēʔotaʔ.

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).

† (=B., p. 155)

[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 Africa<sup>1</sup> and there preaches the faith.]

\* p. 401 (= L. 66; B., p. 156)

(He preached the faith of Christ and the mercy) \*which He showed towards us. And as multitudes of the 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,<sup>2</sup> †ye 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 \*believeth on Him. It is the Son Who is in the Father, and the Father Who is in the Son,<sup>3</sup> 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.'<sup>4</sup>..."

† (=B., p. 157)  
 \* p. 402

\* p. 403

<sup>1</sup> So in both Arabic and Eth.  
<sup>2</sup> See note on Coptic text.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. John x, 30.  
<sup>4</sup> Genesis 1, 28.



# NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

- \* (77) Οτορ παρ ρητ̄ ατ̄ωοτ̄τ̄ η̄χε \*οτορ πιθεν ετοιν[ιςτ̄] нем пн̄ ете̄ λποτη[αρτ̄ ε] πριωις̄ ε̄θοτᾱ η̄[τε φι-]  
 λιπποс π̄λποστολ[οс +]  
 Ατ̄ωοτ̄τ̄ οτη̄ ε̄μᾱ η̄[ρωπ +] ατ̄σᾱχῑ нем̄ ποτ̄ερ̄но̄т̄ [η̄]ρᾱпса̄χῑ λ̄ηο̄τ̄ ε̄τ̄ω [λ̄μοс +]  
 Хе̄ τωοτη̄ т̄ιρο̄т̄ нем̄ η̄ω[τεп]̄ε̄ρ̄но̄т̄ ρ̄ӣ ο̄т̄соп̄ + η̄τεп̄α[мо]̄п̄ӣ λ̄п̄а̄ӣ π̄ӣςτ̄ λ̄μᾱгос̄ φ[η̄] ε̄το̄т̄μο̄т̄т̄ е̄ρο̄ч̄ хе̄  
 λ̄п̄[οс]̄го̄лос̄ + η̄τεп̄ε̄п̄т̄ο̄т̄εп̄ ε̄ρ̄нӣ ε̄х̄ω̄ч̄ + η̄τεп̄с̄ω̄п̄ε̄ λ̄мо̄ч̄ η̄τεп̄ε̄о̄ε̄η̄е̄ч̄ + хе̄ η̄п̄ε̄п̄х̄а̄ч̄ е̄γ̄οп̄η̄ η̄те̄  
 φ̄πο̄лис̄ та̄ко̄ х̄е̄п̄ т̄ε̄ᾱфо̄р̄м̄ӣ +  
 Οτορ̄ οп̄ ο̄т̄ρ̄но̄т̄ на̄п̄ пе̄ φ̄а̄ӣ хе̄ η̄п̄е̄ πο̄т̄ро̄ с̄ω̄те̄м̄ хе̄ λ̄ ρ̄ω̄м̄ӣ η̄ш̄е̄м̄мо̄ ī ε̄ρ̄ο̄т̄ӣ ε̄ те̄(п̄)πο̄лис̄ + ᾱγ̄φ̄ω̄п̄х̄  
 λ̄п̄ο̄ӣт̄ η̄\*π̄ӣρ̄ω̄μ̄ӣ т̄ӣρο̄т̄ е̄те̄ п̄η̄ӣт̄с̄ п̄те̄]γ̄ο̄т̄ω̄п̄ӣ η̄те̄ε̄ρ̄ω̄[те̄η̄ λ̄]мо̄п̄ + хе̄ ε̄о̄η̄е̄ ο̄т̄ + λ̄ρε̄[теп̄ε̄]ρᾱп̄ε̄х̄ε̄с̄о̄е̄  
 па̄ч̄ + ш̄а̄[те̄ч̄]та̄ко̄ λ̄п̄ӣм̄ӣш̄ т̄ӣρ̄ч̄ [η̄те̄] φ̄а̄а̄кӣ + η̄то̄т̄ε̄ρ̄ε̄п̄ο̄т̄ [ε̄]η̄ο̄λ̄ λ̄п̄а̄з̄ӣа̄та̄г̄ма̄ +  
 [Ο̄т̄]ο̄ρ̄ а̄т̄ε̄ӣ η̄ο̄т̄ε̄п̄ω̄м̄ӣ η̄ο̄т̄[ω̄]т̄ η̄хе̄ π̄ӣӣςτ̄ η̄те̄ φ̄[п̄]ο̄лис̄ + нем̄ πο̄т̄ερ̄но̄т̄ а̄γ̄[ε̄]п̄т̄ο̄т̄ο̄т̄ ε̄х̄е̄п̄ π̄̄λποστολ̄οс̄  
 ε̄θο̄та̄η̄ + φ̄ӣλ̄ӣп̄пос̄ а̄т̄а̄мо̄п̄ӣ λ̄мо̄ч̄ + ο̄т̄ο̄ρ̄ а̄т̄с̄ο̄п̄ε̄ч̄ + х̄ω̄р̄ис̄ ρ̄а̄п̄ε̄с̄а̄х̄ӣ η̄хе̄ο̄т̄а̄ ε̄т̄ а̄т̄х̄ο̄т̄ο̄т̄ ε̄ρ̄ο̄т̄ӣ х̄е̄п̄  
 п̄ε̄ρ̄ο̄ +  
 Οτορ̄ κ̄ᾱτε̄ρ̄ π̄ε̄ш̄ω̄ш̄ λ̄мо̄ч̄ пе̄ + х̄е̄п̄ ρ̄а̄п̄ӣӣςτ̄ λ̄μ̄ε̄т̄ре̄ч̄х̄ε̄ο̄т̄а̄ +  
 Π̄̄λποστολ̄οс̄ х̄е̄ ε̄θο̄та̄η̄ па̄γ̄ο̄ӣ η̄ρε̄м̄а̄т̄ӣш̄ пе̄ ε̄  
 One leaf (two pages) missing.
- \* (78) \*т̄ӣро̄т̄ + ε̄т̄ω̄ λ̄[мос̄ хе̄ т̄ω]ο̄т̄ӣ п̄теп̄ε̄ро̄ η̄[х̄ρ̄ω̄м̄] η̄τεп̄с̄ӣτ̄ λ̄п̄е̄ч̄[с̄ω̄ма̄ ε̄]ρ̄ο̄т̄ӣ ε̄ро̄ч̄ + хе̄ η̄т̄[ο̄т̄(ш̄те̄м̄)-  
 х̄е̄м̄] п̄е̄ч̄ка̄с̄ η̄т̄ε̄соп̄ +  
 Х̄е̄п̄ п̄х̄ӣε̄ро̄т̄ε̄ро̄ [μ̄п̄ӣ]х̄ρ̄ω̄м̄ + хе̄ ε̄т̄п̄а̄с̄ӣτ̄ [λ̄п̄е̄ч̄]с̄ω̄ма̄ ε̄ρ̄ο̄т̄ӣ ε̄ро̄ч̄ + iс̄ η̄[ε̄т̄]̄ η̄ӣс̄ п̄х̄с̄ + φ̄ӣ е̄т̄ е̄γ̄ш̄ω̄[п̄  
 п̄]п̄а̄ӣ ρ̄ӣс̄ӣ т̄ӣро̄т̄ ε̄х̄е̄п̄ [п̄е̄ч̄]ра̄п̄ ε̄θο̄та̄η̄ + ᾱγ̄ο̄т̄ω̄п̄ӣ [λ̄]п̄е̄ч̄а̄т̄т̄ε̄лос̄ + ᾱγ̄ω̄λ̄ӣ λ̄[п̄е̄ч̄]с̄ω̄ма̄ ε̄η̄ο̄λ̄х̄е̄п̄  
 то̄т̄ӣη̄[τ̄] нем̄ ε̄η̄ο̄λ̄х̄е̄п̄ πο̄т̄х̄ӣх̄ х̄е̄п̄ т̄φ̄а̄ш̄ӣ λ̄п̄ӣε̄ρο̄ο̄т̄  
 Ε̄ρε̄ φ̄πο̄лис̄ т̄ӣρ̄с̄ нем̄ п̄ε̄с̄о̄о̄ш̄ х̄ο̄т̄ш̄т̄ η̄с̄ω̄ч̄ + е̄γ̄η̄ӣλ̄ ε̄ п̄с̄ӣс̄ӣ + х̄е̄п̄ ο̄т̄ω̄ο̄т̄ нем̄ ο̄т̄а̄ӣο̄ + ᾱγ̄ρ̄ο̄п̄ч̄ х̄е̄п̄  
 ο̄т̄п̄ε̄т̄ра̄<sup>1</sup> х̄е̄п̄ iλ̄η̄μ̄ +  
 \* (79) Х̄е̄п̄ п̄х̄ӣε̄ре̄ π̄̄ӣӣςτ̄ т̄ӣρ̄ч̄ \* [п̄а̄т̄ ε̄ φ̄ӣ]ӣςτ̄ η̄ш̄φ̄ӣρ̄ӣ е̄т̄а̄с̄[ш̄ω̄п̄ӣ +] нем̄ π̄ӣӣςτ̄ η̄х̄ο̄м̄ [ε̄т̄ο̄ш̄ η̄те̄ п̄]а̄ӣ ρ̄ω̄м̄ӣ  
 λ̄φ̄т̄ + [а̄т̄ε̄ӣс̄ӣ η̄]то̄т̄с̄м̄ӣ ε̄ п̄ш̄ω̄ӣ [λ̄φ̄т̄] ε̄т̄ε̄ρ̄ω̄ο̄т̄ η̄ο̄т̄ω̄т̄ η̄[ε̄ρ̄ω̄]т̄ т̄ӣро̄т̄ + ε̄т̄ω̄ λ̄мос̄ [х̄е̄ ο̄т̄а̄ӣ] пе̄ φ̄т̄  
 λ̄п̄̄λποστολ̄[οс̄] ε̄θο̄та̄η̄ φ̄ӣλ̄ӣп̄пос̄ [п̄]η̄ο̄κ̄ е̄те̄п̄ε̄ро̄т̄ + η̄те̄ η̄ӣс̄ [п̄]ε̄т̄ η̄п̄а̄т̄ε̄ + нем̄ [п̄]а̄п̄ка̄ρ̄ӣ + π̄ӣӣςτ̄  
 η̄п̄ο̄т̄т̄ [ε̄т̄]ε̄ο̄с̄ӣ ο̄т̄ο̄[ε̄<sup>2</sup>ε̄т̄]с̄ма̄ρ̄но̄т̄т̄ + х̄е̄п̄ т̄φ̄е̄ [п̄е̄]λ̄ ρ̄ӣх̄е̄п̄ п̄ӣка̄ρ̄ӣ +

<sup>1</sup> The versions suggest a variant reading *персеа* (persea-tree).

<sup>2</sup> [ε̄т̄]ε̄ο̄с̄ӣ ο̄т̄ο̄[ε̄]: 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?'"<sup>1</sup>

\* p. 408

† (=B., p. 160)

And the great men of the city took one resolve together, and laid hands upon the holy Apostle Philip, and seized him, and bound him, †adding<sup>2</sup> 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.]

\* p. 411 (= L., p. 68)

(And they) \*all (took counsel together) saying: "Let us kindle a fire and cast his body into it, that his 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 †hands in the middle of the day, the whole city and the 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 rock<sup>3</sup> at Jerusalem.<sup>4</sup>

\* p. 412

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."

<sup>1</sup> This passage is corrupt in *Ar.* and *Eth.*

<sup>2</sup> Literally 'besides' (х̄ω̄р̄ис̄).

<sup>3</sup> Both *Ar.* and *Eth.* have "in a tree:" see note on text.

<sup>4</sup> Jerusalem is probably a mistaken identification of *ιε̄ρᾱ πό̄λιс̄* (Hierapolis) with which Philip is ordinarily associated.





## THE APOCRYPHAL ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

Αγρίμι δε ἦγε πιαρχῶν ἐγὼ ἄμος + κε οὐ πετε(π)πασιγ + ἀμοι πτεῖνωσι ἄματ' αὐτοῦ πε + ἀλλὰ  
ἀνοπ ρωπ τ[ε]ππαμοῦ δὲν παί ψαρε δὲν πῖβι +

Τότε ἡαρθολομεὸς ἀγρίμι ρωγ + οὐτορ ἐπαρψῆλη πε δὲν περρητ ἐγὼψ ἐβόλ ἀπ + κε πποτῆμι κε οὐάποσ-  
τολὸς πε +

*One hundred and forty-eight leaves (two hundred and ninety-six pages) missing.*

\*οὐτορ οπ ἡτεππαί πωτε(π) δὲν περοοῦ ἡτε πετεπχιπῖ ἐβόλδὲν σῶμα +

\* (Ψκζ)

Ἠρωμι δε ἡτε ἡπολις + δὲν πχιπῶροτσωτεμ ἔ παί + ἐρε πῖάποστολὸς ἐβόταῖ μαθῖαῖ χῶ ἄμωοῦ + ἀ  
πῖαῖδ' ἄλοῖ ψε ἐβότι ἔ ποτρητ + ρῖτεπ περμετῖ ἐτρωοῦ + πεμ περμετσαπκοῦς ἐτ' αῖρεμ + πεμ περψι(π)-  
ερῶῖ τηροῦ εῶμερ ἡχροῦ + παί ἐτε ἄμοπ ρηοῦ ἡρητοῦ +

Πεχωοῦ ἡποτῆρηοῦ + κε ἀλνῶς παί ρωμι + οὔαι πε ἐβόλδὲν πῖῖ ἄματοῖ ἡτε ἡνς + παί ἐτκωῖ κατα  
πολις δὲν πικοςμοῖ τηρῖ + ἐτ' φωρῖ ἡπριόμι \*ἐ ποτρητ + τεπῶνηποῦ μαροπ + ἡτεππατ κε ἀππαερ οὐ  
παγ + μοποπ<sup>1</sup> ἀψα(π)χαγ δὲν ται πολις + χηατακοῖ τηρς ἡτοτεπ +

\* Ψκη

Αἰτωοῦ δε τηροῦ + ἀτερ οὔσοβι πεμ ποτῆρηοῦ + εῶροτταρο ἡπῖάποστολὸς ἐβόταῖ μαθῖαῖ +

Οὐτορ παί ρηῖ ἀῖαμοπ ἄμοῦ + ἀτσορηγ + ἀτταλοῦ ρῖτεπ οὔσλοχ ἡηενπῖ ἀτσαρῖ δαροῦ + ρῶστε  
ἡτε πῖσαρ ἡτε περσωμα ὅις + δὲν οὔμετροῦ οὐτορ ἡτε οὔοπ πῖῖεπ εῶπατ ἐρψφηρι +

Κε ἀ πῖσαρ ὅις σα πῖῖωι ἡπῖσλοχ ἡτε ἄμαρῖ + οὐτορ πεχε πῖμῖψ ἐτε μπερκωῖ + κε ἐψωπ οὔφαρ-  
[ματοῖ ...

*Fifteen leaves (thirty pages) missing.*

<sup>1</sup> ἄμοπ, MS.

him and have not found him profitable." And the *archon* wept, saying: "What shall we do? Not only the beasts,<sup>1</sup> but we ourselves †will perish of thirst in this wilderness."

† (=B., p. 96)

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 Church<sup>2</sup> is built on the vineyard where the miracle took place.]

### F. The Martyrdom of Matthias.<sup>3</sup>

[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.,  
p. 138; B., p.  
291)

But when the men of the city heard these things which the holy Apostle Matthias spake unto them, the 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 \*from their 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 †fifteen cubits. And the multitude which was round about him said: "If (this man is) a sorcerer..."

\* p. 728

† (=B., p. 292)

[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.]

<sup>1</sup> Literally 'give the beasts alone.'

<sup>2</sup> There was a Church of Bartholomew at Behnesa (see Abū Salih, *Churches and Monasteries*, fo. 75<sup>a</sup>) and his body was preserved in the Church of Karbil there. It is clear that the Oasis in question is that of Behnesa.

<sup>3</sup> 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.



## THE APOCRYPHAL ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

Πάλιν ον ἀφῴωτ ἀφῡ[ε] παρ ε̅ τ̅η̅ν̅ε̅ν̅τ̅α̅π̅ο̅λ̅ι̅ς̅ ο̅τ̅ο̅ρ̅ ε̅τ̅α̅ρ̅ε̅ρ̅ ρ̅ο̅μ̅ν̅ι̅ ἢ̅ ἡ̅μ̅α̅τ̅ + ἀφῴωσεν ἡ̅ρ̅[α̅ν̅]κ̅ε̅ε̅ν̅ι̅ς̅κ̅ο̅π̅ο̅ς̅  
ἡ̅μ̅α̅τ̅ + ἡ̅[ε̅μ̅] ρ̅α̅ν̅κ̅λ̅η̅ρ̅ι̅κ̅ο̅ς̅ κ̅α̅τ̅α̅ [π̅ι̅χ̅ω̅]ρ̅α̅ + Ο̅τ̅ο̅ρ̅ π̅α̅λ̅ι̅ν̅ ο̅[π̅ι̅] ἀφῴωλ̅] ε̅ ρ̅α̅κ̅ο̅τ̅ +

Ἀτ̅α̅ψ̅α̅ι̅ δ̅ε̅ ἥ̅ε̅ν̅ π̅ι̅ρ̅[μ̅ο̅τ̅] π̅ε̅μ̅ τ̅ε̅ν̅ι̅ς̅τ̅η̅μ̅ν̅ ἡ̅[φ̅τ̅]

\*Ο̅τ̅ο̅ρ̅ ἀφ̅ε̅μ̅ν̅ι̅<sup>1</sup> π̅ω̅τ̅ ἡ̅ο̅τ̅ε̅κ̅κ̅λ̅η̅ς̅ι̅α̅ + ἥ̅ε̅ν̅ π̅ι̅μ̅α̅ ε̅τ̅ο̅τ̅μ̅ο̅τ̅†̅ ε̅ρ̅ω̅τ̅ + χ̅ε̅ τ̅α̅ ἡ̅ο̅τ̅κ̅ο̅λ̅ο̅τ̅ + ἥ̅ε̅ν̅ π̅ι̅μ̅α̅ ε̅τ̅ρ̅ι̅ξ̅ε̅ν̅ \* (Ψ70)  
φ̅ι̅ο̅μ̅ + ἥ̅ε̅ν̅ ο̅τ̅π̅ι̅ψ̅†̅ ἡ̅μ̅α̅ ἡ̅χ̅α̅χ̅ῶ̅ν̅ + σ̅α̅ρ̅ρ̅η̅ι̅ ἡ̅ο̅τ̅π̅ε̅τ̅ρ̅α̅ +

Ε̅ρ̅α̅ψ̅ι̅ ἡ̅μ̅α̅ψ̅ω̅ ἡ̅χ̅ε̅ π̅ι̅ο̅μ̅ν̅ι̅ ο̅τ̅ο̅ρ̅ ε̅τ̅α̅ρ̅κ̅ω̅λ̅α̅ ἡ̅π̅ε̅ρ̅κ̅ε̅λ̅ι̅ ἀφ̅τ̅ῶ̅τ̅ ἡ̅φ̅†̅

Ε̅τ̅α̅ρ̅α̅ψ̅ω̅κ̅ δ̅ε̅ ε̅ἡ̅ο̅λ̅ ἡ̅χ̅ε̅ ο̅τ̅σ̅η̅ο̅τ̅ ε̅ρ̅ω̅ψ̅ + ο̅τ̅ο̅ρ̅ ε̅τ̅α̅τ̅α̅ψ̅α̅ι̅ ἡ̅χ̅ε̅ π̅ι̅χ̅ρ̅η̅ς̅τ̅ι̅α̅ν̅ο̅ς̅ + ἀτ̅σ̅ω̅ḡ̅ι̅ ἡ̅ς̅α̅ π̅ι̅τ̅α̅ω̅λ̅ο̅ν̅ +  
ο̅τ̅ο̅ρ̅ ἀτ̅ε̅λ̅ψ̅α̅ι̅ ἡ̅ς̅α̅ π̅ι̅ε̅λ̅λ̅η̅ν̅ο̅ς̅ +

Ἀτ̅ε̅μ̅ι̅ δ̅ε̅ ἡ̅χ̅ε̅ π̅ι̅ε̅λ̅λ̅η̅ν̅ο̅ς̅ χ̅ε̅ ἀφ̅ι̅ ε̅ μ̅α̅τ̅ + ἀτ̅μ̅ο̅ρ̅ ἡ̅χ̅ο̅ρ̅ ε̅ῶ̅ḡ̅ε̅ χ̅ε̅ ἀτ̅σ̅ω̅τ̅ε̅μ̅ ε̅ῶ̅ḡ̅ε̅ π̅ι̅ψ̅φ̅ι̅ρ̅ι̅ + ε̅ πα̅ρ̅ι̅ρ̅ι̅  
ἡ̅μ̅ω̅τ̅ + π̅η̅ ε̅τ̅ψ̅ω̅ν̅ι̅ ἀφ̅ε̅ρ̅\*φ̅α̅ρ̅ρ̅ι̅ ε̅ρ̅ω̅τ̅ + π̅ι̅κ̅α̅κ̅ε̅ρ̅τ̅<sup>2</sup> ἀφ̅ο̅τ̅ḡ̅ḡ̅ω̅τ̅ + π̅ι̅κ̅ο̅τ̅ρ̅ ἀφ̅ο̅ρ̅ο̅τ̅σ̅ω̅τ̅ε̅μ̅ + ο̅τ̅μ̅ν̅ψ̅ \* Ψ70  
ἡ̅ḡ̅ε̅λ̅λ̅ε̅ ἀφ̅ε̅ρ̅ε̅μ̅ο̅τ̅ π̅ω̅τ̅ ἡ̅π̅ι̅π̅α̅τ̅ ἡ̅ḡ̅ο̅λ̅ +

Ο̅τ̅ο̅ρ̅ ἀφ̅ρ̅ι̅ξ̅ε̅ν̅π̅ο̅τ̅ϣ̅ι̅ π̅ω̅τ̅ ἡ̅π̅ι̅τ̅α̅λ̅ḡ̅ο̅ + π̅ε̅μ̅ π̅ι̅ρ̅μ̅ο̅τ̅ (. . .) π̅ι̅<sup>3</sup> ε̅ἡ̅ο̅λ̅ρ̅ι̅τ̅ε̅ν̅ π̅ε̅ν̅ḡ̅ε̅ ἡ̅ς̅ π̅χ̅ς̅ + ο̅τ̅ο̅ρ̅ πα̅τ̅κ̅ω̅†̅ π̅ε̅  
ἡ̅ς̅α̅ ε̅ τα̅ρ̅ο̅ϣ̅ + πα̅τ̅α̅ι̅μ̅ι̅ ἡ̅μ̅ο̅ϣ̅ ἀπ̅ π̅ε̅ +

Ο̅τ̅ο̅ρ̅ πα̅τ̅ḡ̅ρα̅α̅ρ̅ε̅χ̅ ἡ̅π̅ο̅τ̅πα̅α̅ρ̅ε̅ι̅ π̅ε̅ + ο̅τ̅ο̅ρ̅ ἡ̅ḡ̅ρ̅η̅ι̅ ἥ̅ε̅ν̅ π̅ο̅τ̅ḡ̅ε̅α̅τ̅ρ̅ο̅ν̅ + π̅ε̅μ̅ π̅ο̅τ̅σ̅τ̅η̅π̅ο̅α̅ι̅ο̅ν̅ ἡ̅τ̅ε̅ π̅ο̅τ̅ι̅δ̅ω̅-  
λ̅ο̅ν̅ + πα̅τ̅ω̅ψ̅ ε̅ἡ̅ο̅λ̅ ε̅τ̅†̅φ̅ω̅π̅ε̅ ε̅χ̅ω̅ϣ̅ π̅ε̅ + ε̅τ̅α̅ω̅ ἡ̅μ̅ο̅ς̅ + χ̅ε̅ ρ̅α̅π̅π̅ι̅ψ̅†̅ π̅ε̅ π̅ι̅σ̅ι̅ ἡ̅χ̅ο̅π̅ε̅ ἡ̅τ̅ε̅ πα̅ι̅ ἄ̅χ̅ω̅ +  
Ἀφ̅ψ̅ω̅ν̅ι̅ δ̅ε̅ ἡ̅χ̅ε̅ π̅ι̅π̅α̅i̅a̅t̅ϣ̅

*Five leaves (ten pages) missing.*

\*π̅ε̅τ̅ρ̅ο̅ς̅ + ε̅ο̅ρ̅ε̅ρ̅α̅ψ̅ω̅κ̅ ε̅ἡ̅ο̅λ̅ ἥ̅ε̅ν̅ ρ̅ω̅μ̅η̅ + πα̅ρ̅α̅ρ̅α̅ ἡ̅π̅η̅ρ̅ω̅ν̅ π̅ο̅τ̅ρ̅ο̅ +

Ο̅τ̅ο̅ρ̅ π̅σ̅ω̅α̅π̅ ἀτ̅ε̅ρ̅α̅π̅α̅χ̅ω̅ρ̅η̅ν̅ + ἀτ̅ψ̅ε̅ π̅ω̅τ̅ ε̅ ρ̅ι̅ω̅ι̅ψ̅ ἡ̅π̅ι̅ε̅α̅ρ̅τ̅τ̅ε̅λ̅ι̅ο̅(π̅) + ἡ̅τ̅ε̅ π̅χ̅ς̅ ἡ̅ς̅ ἥ̅ε̅ν̅ †π̅ε̅ρ̅ι̅χ̅ω̅ρ̅ο̅ς̅  
τ̅η̅ρ̅ε̅ ε̅τ̅ε̅μ̅μ̅α̅τ̅ + \* (Ψπα)

### Variant readings of *Cod. Vat. Copt.* LXVIII.

ll. 17-19 π̅ε̅τ̅ρ̅ο̅ς̅—ε̅τ̅ε̅μ̅μ̅α̅τ̅: *V* omits.

<sup>1</sup> ἀτ̅σ̅ε̅μ̅ν̅ι̅, *MS.*

<sup>3</sup> Apparently something has here dropped out of the

<sup>2</sup> ε̅ added above the line by second (?) hand. Below text.  
(fo. Ψπḡ) κ̅α̅κ̅ε̅ρ̅τ̅ 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 regions called The Cattle-Pastures (τὰ Βουκόλου) 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.

\* p. 769

†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."

† (= B., p. 314)

Now the hallowed (Feast of the Passover) took place. . .

\* p. 770

[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.*<sup>1</sup>

[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.

\* p. 781 (= L., p. 152; B., p. 137)

<sup>1</sup> Another Bohairic recension (also from Dêr Abû Makâr) is published by Balestri in *Bessarione* ix (1905) 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.).







# NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

\* (Ψπζ)

\*Λαγερотῶ ἵξε πῖνιш тирц + ἔπ отхрωот ἡотωт же оташ ἡри† не ἵξε паг рал же ἡнс + отор же ацтωпц ёхолъен пн еомωотт +

Асшопи де ётатхе фра(п) ἡнс + мпемео ἡпипот† аргеи тирот + ἵξε пѳωлон + аѳомъем мфрн† пранѳелх +

Ётатпат де ἵξε пютиѳ + ё птако ἡпотнот† + аѳхонт ἔп отліѳ еѳош ммашω +

\* Ψππ

Отор аѳфωѳ ἡпотрѳωс асωлп ёхол ἡса пцωи ἡте тотѳе + аѳше пωот де + га потро пирω(п) ёрри ё рωми + аѳωш ёхол еѳхω ммос + же \*ω<sup>1</sup> пем пиматіѳ ἡте па[і] рωми же ἡнс +

Потро де аѳеротῶ пѳац пωот + же рωми пѳен еѳпаг† ё паг рал ἔп таѳхωра + аѳоѳѳот + шате потаг же лоткас + аѳѳот ёхолъен пазіх +

Аѳеротῶ ἵξε пῖнш еѳхω ммос + же рнпѳе іс паг рωми етеммаѳ ѳѳсѳω ἔп тенхωра ἔп паг рал + же ἡнс отор іс ѳаг ѳхн ἔп ѳполіс + прокопнсіос +

Запмш мῖнпн аѳытот ἔп пн еѳшопи + потео ἡри† +

Аѳхонт де ммашω ἵξε потро + отор аѳѳрах-[рѳх ...

## Variant readings of *Cod. Vat. Copt. LXVIII*.

I. 1 аѳерωот...пῖнш, *V* (omitting тирц) || ἡотωт: *V* omits, but adds еѳершѳири.

II. 1 f. оташ...ацтωпц: оташ ἡри† пѳоц не же ацтωпц, *V*.

I. 3 мпемео ἡпипот†: *V* omits.

I. 5 пютиѳ: пшамшѳеѳωлон, *V* || ммашω: *V* omits.

I. 6 Отор: *V* omits.

II. 6-7 аѳше пωот ё рωми пѳωот мпѳотро же (the complaint following is entirely different), *V*.

I. 8 кесар пирωп пѳац пωот, *V* || еѳрїωш мпаг рал, *V*.

I. 10 аѳ...пῖнш, *V* || же ѳаг рω не пирωми есѳрем ἡтенхωра, *V*.

II. 10-11 ἔп...ἡнс, *V* omits.

I. 11 отор рнпѳе ѳѳен...прокопнсон, *V*.

I. 12 *V* substitutes a wholly different passage.

I. 13 ётаѳсωтем де ё паг ἵξε потро аѳхонт аѳѳрахѳрѳх, *V*.

<sup>1</sup> Apparently a lacuna: add (пметрік).

\* p. 787

\*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.<sup>1</sup> Many miracles hath he performed on those who are sick in divers wise." Then the king was exceeding angry and gnashed his teeth.

\* p. 788

† = B., p. 140

[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,<sup>2</sup> where it is preserved.]

<sup>1</sup> 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 con-

fusion between Old and New Rome (Constantinople)? On such a supposition the introduction of Proconnesus (in the Propontis) is less surprising.

<sup>2</sup> 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 *u*, *z*, *v*, *z*, *q*) 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.<sup>1</sup> The fragment corresponds to the lower part of p. 70 in that edition and to parts of pp. ٨٥-٨٨ in the Sahidic ms.

... ]πιοτ[αδ μπκαρι οτ]ορ  
 πτ]οτ̣α̣ψα̣ι̣  
 Ε̣ψω̣π] η̣πε τ[ε]α̣λ̣π̣ι̣ν̣ζ̣ μο̣τ̣ϕ̣  
 ψ̣α̣ρε] ο̣τ̣σ̣μ̣η̣ ψ̣ω̣π̣ι̣ η̣τε̣ π̣ι̣-  
 μο̣τ̣η̣[ρ̣ω̣ο̣τ̣ ε̣ξ̣ε̣π̣ π̣ι̣κα̣[ρ̣ι̣  
 Ε]ρε̣ π̣ι̣ο̣τ̣τ̣[α̣]ρ̣ α̣ϊ̣α̣ι̣-ε[ρε̣ π̣ι̣-  
 μο̣τ̣η̣ρ̣ω̣ο̣τ̣ ψ̣α̣ϕ̣ο̣ρ̣[τ̣ τη̣ρο̣τ̣  
 ε̣] α̣ψ̣α̣ι̣-π̣η̣ρα̣ρ̣[̣̣α̣ι̣ ρ̣ω̣ο̣τ̣ ε̣τε̣  
 ψ̣α̣]ρε̣ π̣ι̣ρ̣[ω̣μ̣ι̣] ε̣[ρ̣ε̣ο̣τ̣ η̣ρ̣η̣ο̣τ̣

\* \* \*

Ė[ ]..[  
а[...ē п]ш[ы ĩ] п[и]фот[і  
Зиппе а[ітам[ок] е п[и]м[т[стирюп  
тирот ĩте п[и]фн[от[і ѡ іѡап-  
пис-  
Пе[р]ни ĩп[и]херот[и]н ѡ[е]па-  
ст[ѣ] ѣ[от]ш[ы ē ēм[і] ѡ[т] пет[р]а[и  
ер[ни] ѡа тре ēса[ш[і  
От[о]з п[е]ѡ[е] ĩѡ[е] п[и]х[ерот[и]н  
\* \* \*

\*[The dew cometh upon the earth and causeth to grow] the fruits of the earth, and to increase. If the trumpet<sup>2</sup> 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. . .

<sup>x</sup>*Recto*

\*[“ . . . the waters which are] above the Heavens. Lo, I have declared unto thee all the mysteries of the Heavens, O John.”

<sup>x</sup>*Verso*

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<sup>Add</sup>) from one manuscript<sup>8</sup> of which the second is numbered 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.<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> 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.

<sup>1</sup> *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.

## NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 25).

[illegible][illegible]

<sup>1</sup> fac. MS.

\**Recto*      \*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 her<sup>1</sup> 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"<sup>2</sup>—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.]

\**Verso* . . . (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:<sup>3</sup> "Joseph her husband

<sup>1</sup> 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 *Math.* 1, 19. This parenthesis shows that the work was a Discourse or Homily.



## NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

### B. SAINTS PETER AND JOHN

#### *The Death and Assumption of the Virgin.*

Parchment. A complete leaf and six fragments from a single ms.<sup>1</sup>

Frag. 1 (*Cod. Tisch.* xxiv, 49<sup>2</sup>) 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  $\overline{\text{p}\overline{\text{o}\text{s}}}$ , 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  $\overline{\text{x}\overline{\text{i}\text{s}}}$ , the second numeral (?) being exceedingly doubtful; the second reads  $\overline{\text{n}\overline{\text{t}\text{e}\text{m}}}$ ; the third  $\overline{\text{t}\overline{\text{o}\text{e}}}$ ; 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  $\overline{\text{n}\overline{\text{t}\text{e}}}$   $\overline{\text{m}\overline{\text{p}}}$  “of the Martyrs.” Both dates (if the first is rightly read) answer to 985/6 A.D., the presumed date of the ms.

Frag. 2–5 (*Cod. Tisch.* xxv, 22, 31, 30, 23<sup>3</sup>) 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.<sup>4</sup>

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.<sup>5</sup> Narratives of the Death and Assumption attributed to Saint John are extant in Greek, Latin, Sahidic-Coptic, Syriac and Arabic,<sup>6</sup> 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;<sup>7</sup> 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 Revillout<sup>8</sup> 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.

<sup>1</sup> This is shown (a) by the contents, (b) by the identity of script and page-dimensions.

<sup>2</sup> See Leipoldt, *l.c.*, p. 399.

<sup>3</sup> 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.)

<sup>4</sup> 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.

<sup>5</sup> For these see Lagarde, *Aegyptiaca*, pp. 38 ff. and Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 44 ff., 90 ff.

<sup>6</sup> For these see Tischendorf, *Apoc. Apocr.*, pp. xxxv ff. and references.

<sup>7</sup> 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.

<sup>8</sup> *Les Apocryphes Coptes*, pp. 58 ff. (= *P.O.* II, 174).





## NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 2 (*Cod. Tisch.* xxv, 22).

..... пѣх[а]у нн[і] хе  
.....].  
..... ѡ пам[і]єнр[і]т ѡсон ѡ[р]і-  
фметі є нн тн[р]ѡт єт ахѡ-  
тѡт ѡхе пѡт[с] Оѡѡ ѡри-  
фметі хе ѡпѡѡк пе етѡкѡтк  
єхєп тєѡм[і]єстєнрѡт аѡѡт-  
ѡпѡ пѡк ѡпєѡѡтєстѡрѡп тн-  
рѡт ѡт[с] хє мѡп ѡл[і] сѡѡтп мѡѡ-  
ѡт[с] єѡнл єрѡк пєѡѡѡ х[є] ѡ-  
ѡѡк пе пєѡпѡрѡєнѡс єтс[ѡт]п  
ѡѡѡ ѡпѡк ѡѡ мпєѡхѡт ѡ[р]і[т] п-  
ємѡѡѡѡт  
Хєп пѡѡѡѡѡѡѡс п[а]ѡ хє пѡѡт[с]  
ѡѡѡ пѡпѡт[с] [ѡѡп єѡл ѡ]пн  
єт ѡѡѡѡѡт пѡѡпнѡс [пєѡ-  
мєпѡт

Frag. 3 (*Cod. Tisch.* xxv, 31).

Отор асшфнри емашѡ етас-  
 сѡтем е писѡ]тп [еѳоѡ] ѿппар-  
 ѡенос . . ото]ѳ пѣхас пѡ[о]ѳ  
 же мароп от]п ѿтепшлнѡ етат-  
 шлнѡ де . . п]аѳсакѡ ѿпи-  
 парѡенос еѳ-]  
 немас]  
 Ети де етсакѡ нем по]ѳернот  
 ис ѳеп ѳотнот] аѳї  
 пже пѡт ѿнс пѣхс] а ѳ-  
 парѡенос пѣхас же п]ашн-  
 ри . . .

..[...]. [  
 maria нем ꙗ[па]роѣнос еѡне-  
 мас  
 О[т]ор пехе ꙗ[па]роѣнос еѡтаѡ  
 пѡотъ же пашу [ѡ]риѣ пе паз  
 пишѣ ꙗ[ск]илмос ете[те]паиѡ е-  
 рои ѡѡотъ  
 Пехѡотъ пасъ же ѡ [те]пмаѡ еѡтаѡ  
 етапѡ е паз ма ап еѡ[л]  
 Алла ѡеп паз еѡроѡ апсѡ[те]м е ѡт-  
 ѡроѡтъ пѡтпишѣ псаѡп[и]ѡ  
 есѡш еѡл есѡ ѡмос  
 Же [т]ѡтпѡт ѡѡѡи е ѡлнм ѡа maria  
 ѡмаѡ ѡп[х]съ же аѡѡ ѡе пснѡтъ  
 пте псѡ[и]ѡтѡтеѡ еѡл еѡ-  
 ѡе ф[а]и апѡ ѡ[а]ро тѡреп ѡѡотъ  
 ѡ [те]п[м]аѡ

оу не пѣоуши ѿна[  
 тоту мпетрос [   
 сѡотѣи мѡѡ[оу ѡа-  
 рои  
 Пѣаѡу пни же ф..[  
 текаѡи те ф[  
 ѡапи е[  
 таѡ[  
 ри[  
 †м[  
 е[

<sup>x</sup>Frag. 2 *recto*

... he said unto me:<sup>1</sup> "... O my beloved brother, remember all those things which the Lord spake. And remember that it was thou who didst rest upon His bosom:<sup>2</sup> He revealed unto thee all His mysteries;<sup>3</sup> 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:<sup>4</sup> "My Lord and my God, [show unto me ?] those things which Thou hast spoken to John thy Beloved. . ."

<sup>x</sup>*Verso*

... 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."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>x</sup>Frag. 3 *recto*<sup>6</sup>

\*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.<sup>7</sup> [And while they conversed] together, [lo, the Lord Jesus the Christ] came. [And] the [Virgin said unto Him]: "My Son . . .

<sup>x</sup>*Verso*

...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.

2 Cp. *John* XIII, 23.

3 The reference may be to the Coptic *Mysterios of S. John* (ed. Budge, *Copt. Apocrypha*, pp. 59 ff., 241 ff.), or (loosely) to the *Revelation*.

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.

# TEXTS RELATING TO THE VIRGIN

Frag. 4 (*Cod. Tisch.* xxv, 30).

Хе фок не п[ω]от нем нек-  
 иот п[α]ρ[α]θ[ος] нем п[ι]π[α] ε[ο]οτ-  
 α[ς] ш[α] еп[ε]р[ε] йте м[ε]п[ε]р[ε] [тирот  
 амнм  
 5 Δ[ε]ρ[ω]τ[ω] й[ε] п[ε]п[ω]τ[ε] ι[η]ς [π[χ]ς ε[ρ]-  
 ω[ω] μ[ω]ς хе ω[ω] тама[τ] [мпар-  
 θ[ε]п[ω]ς ρ[ω]η[η] п[ι]η[ε]п[ε] ет (ε[ρ]ε)ε[ρ]αп[ε]-  
 т[ι]п[ι] μ[ω]ω[τ] с[ε]п[α]ш[ω]п[ι]  
 не  
 10 Τ[ω]ω[ω] μ[ω]ς не хе ма[ι] п[ι]η[ε]п[ε] ет[ο]τ-  
 πα[ρ]ι[ω]ш[ω] м[п]арап[ι] η[ρ]ι[τ]η[ι] η[ρ]εп[ι]  
 π[ι]κ[ω]с[ω]м[ω]с т[ι]р[ε] ε[τ]ς[ο]η[τ]η[ι]  
 [п]и[ε]κκ[λ]η[ς]ι[α] η[ε]п[ι] п[ε]рап[ι]  
 Φ[ι]η[η] ε[τ]п[α]с[ω] μ[φ]η[η] ет . [  
 \* \* \*

Φ[ι]η[η] ε[ο]п[α]ρ[ι] φ[ρ]ω[ω]τ[ω]ш[ω] η[ε]п[ι] п[ε]ρ-  
 ρ[ι]т[ι] п[ι]т[ε]ρ[ι] п[ο]т[п]ε[ο]п[α]п[ε]ρ[ε]  
 п[ι]т[ε]ρ[ε]с[α]ι μ[п]ε[ι]ο[ς] ε[ο]οτ-  
 α[ς]  
 5 Τ[η]α[ς]η[α]ι μ[п]οτ[ρ]αп[ι] е п[α]ωμ[ι] μ-  
 п[ω]η[ς] ο[το]ρ[ε] п[ο]η[ι] п[ι]η[ε]п[ε] ε-  
 τ[α] ρ[α]ι[το]τ[ε] ε[ι]ε[χ]α[τ] п[ω]οτ[ε] ε[η]ο[λ]  
 α[п]οκ[α] не п[ω]τ[ε]  
 Φ[ι]η[η] ε[ο]п[α]ρ[ι] φ[ρ]ω[ω]τ[ω]ш[ω] й[п]α[ε]т[α]т-  
 10 ρ[ε]λ[ι]οп[ι] ε[ο]οτ[α]η[η] ι[ε] π[ι]с[α]х[ι] й[т]е  
 η[α]δ[α]п[ο]с[το]λ[ο]с[ω]с нем п[α]с[ω]т[ι] μ-  
 п[р]ο[φ]η[т]и[ς]  
 Ι[ε]η[ω]μ[ι] й[т]е п[ι]г[ρ]α[φ]η[η] ε[ο]οτ[α]η[η]  
 η[η]α[ς]т[ι]т[ο]т[ε] ε[ρ]ο[т]η[η] е η[ε]κ[κ]η[λ]η-  
 с[ι]α μ[п]ι[ω]ω[τ]η[η] . . . . .

Frag. 5 (*Cod. Tisch.* xxv, 23).

\* \* \*  
 α[ . . . ] . [  
 λα[χ]μ[ι] η[ε]п[ι] п[ε]рап[ι] ε[ο]οτ[α]η[η] η[η]α[ς]  
 ш[ε]β[ι]ω[ω] [п[α]ρ[α] η[ρ] η[κ]ω[η] η[с]οп[ι] η[ε]п[ι] та-  
 м[ε]т[ο]τ[ρ]ο[ς]  
 5 Φ[ι]η[η] ε[ο]п[α]ρ[ι] μ[φ]ρ[ω]ω[τ]ш[ω] η[α] η[ρ]ο[ς]-  
 φ[ο]ра[ς] ι[ε]  
 с[κ]ε[τ]ο[ς]  
 Ι[ε] ο[τ]η[η]  
 ρ[α]ι μ[η]α[ς]  
 10 ρ[ι] μ[п]οτ[ρ]  
 ш[α] . . . ]φ[ι]  
 μ[μ]  
 ш[η]  
 \* \* \*

\* \* \*  
 . . . ] . ρ  
 . . . ]ω[τ  
 . . . ]η[ρ-  
 . . . ]η[ η[тес[α]фе  
 5 ε[ο]οτ[α]η[η] ε[ρ]η[ι] е п[α]м[η]р[ι] μ[п]ε[с]η[η]-  
 ρ[ι] α[с]м[ο]т[ι] μ[ω]ς η[с]ο[τ] η[α] μ[п]-  
 α[η]ο[т] т[ω]η[ι] η[ε]п[ι] ο[τ]η[α]η[η] μ[φ]η[η] ε[ο]п[α]-  
 п[ι]ο[т] η[ε]п[ι] ο[τ]ω[ω]т[ε] η[ε]п[ο]τ[ρ]-  
 α[п]οп[ι]  
 10 Π[ε]п[ε]с[α] п[α]ι[ς] η[ε] т[ι]ρ[ω]т[ε] п[ε]х[α]ρ[ι] η-  
 хе п[ε]п[с]ω[т]η[ρ] п[α]п[ι] хе ]η[ω]δ[ε]м  
 μ[ω]т[ε]п . . . . . ε[η]ο[λ]  
 . . . . . ] . ε  
 . . . . . ]μ

“... \*For the glory belongeth unto Thee with Thy good Father and the Holy Spirit for ever and ever. Amen.”<sup>1</sup> \*Frag. 4 recto

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 (?)] . . . \*Verso

. . . [Whosoever shall give] \*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,<sup>2</sup> or a . . .” \*Frag. 5 recto

\*. . . (l. 4) [she bowed ?] her head down into the bosom of her Son and fell asleep on the twenty-first day of the month Tōbi, according to the good pleasure of Him Who shall come in heavenly glory. Now after all these things Our Savior said: “Haste ye. . .”<sup>3</sup> \*Verso

<sup>1</sup> 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.).

<sup>2</sup> *sc.* the Eucharist and the eucharistic vessels.

<sup>3</sup> The passage is parallel to the Theodosian narrative (Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 110).

# NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 6 (Cairo, no. 48. i).

\*           \*           \*  
... ] απρωс βαω[υ ποτ-  
ρωαν μππατικον  
Нрнл де еѡл е пм̄рат[  
пасρωл еѡтн е прн[т йпнар-  
хнеретс пехωот йп[отернот  
хе марон йтепρωте[й йпн  
етѡл мпесσωма Ото[р йтеп-  
ρωкρ мпесσωма рен от-  
хрwm  
Нѡωот де пипарапомос ет[ем-  
мат аѡωхи псωп аноп [де  
анхω мпесσωма еѡрнн нем [пи-  
σλοх Ото[р апфωт  
Нѡωот де δ πѡт ѡагг еρωот р[ен  
отметѡелле ѡате нѡгай еѡ[ол  
йрнтот рипа йтегермеѡре  
п[пн еѡнаѡωпн

Frag. 7 (Cairo, no. 48. ii).

хен ете пп[  
аѡхемѡ рен[  
ωт еѡг мп[  
ѡа еѡрнн е пикерх[ωотнн е-  
ѡл  
Аноп ρωп апѡм[  
етаѡѡωпн [  
... ]е . [  
\*           \*           \*

\*           \*           \*  
] . х[  
... о]тор аѡѡрѡѡер ф[мнш  
тирѡ] еѡтн е пма пепкот  
пте пс]ωма пѡгагга мпарѡенос  
пе]  
Нпапос]толос де етатп[а]ѡ хе  
а пп[отгаг ер̄апахωрпн пωот  
ат]ωотнот ат̄ еѡлр̄ен пн(ма)  
ете] патхнп йрнтѡ аѡѡг е-  
рат]от ѡате псωма йѡпарѡе-  
п]ос еѡотгаѡ марга  
Фга] де ет а пѡѡпаѡ сωлп еѡл  
ммоѡ етаѡпаѡ ē ппапосто-  
лос а пѡѡнт̄ ī еѡѡг отор  
аѡѡѡ еѡωот еѡѡω ммоѡ  
Хе ѡ паѡт пай ѡа таметаѡпаѡѡ  
отор аѡѡ ѡа петрос еѡрпн еѡ-

пѡѡѡ ѡар пѡт̄ йпнр]ελλнпос еѡ-  
соп нем пнхрнст]г̄апос тн-  
рот]  
Фга ете фѡѡ ппа]мари нем ѡѡом  
нем пгаг̄ ]нем пѡωот пх̄с  
фпѡт̄ мпнн йпнх]рнстг̄апос  
ѡа епѡѡ йте ппн]ѡѡ тнрот̄  
ампн]

\* 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.<sup>1</sup> 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 fire<sup>2</sup>) 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) ...<sup>3</sup>

\* Frag. 7 recto

... \*every [one] whom the ... He was found in ... Who is ... unto the rest. We also knew [...] which was come to pass ...<sup>4</sup>

\* Verso

For He is the Lord of the \*Greeks together with all the Christians;<sup>5</sup> He unto Whom belongeth might and power and honor and glory, Christ, the Very God of the Christians, for ever and ever. Amen.

<sup>1</sup> The chief-priests are mentioned in this context in a Sahidic fragment (Robinson, *Copt. Apocr. Gosp.*, pp. 78 f.).

<sup>2</sup> The Jews are smitten with fire in the narrative of the Assumption of Theodosius (*op. cit.*, pp. 118 f.).

<sup>3</sup> 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.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps parallel to Revillout's text, *op. cit.*, p. 66, l. 14.

<sup>5</sup> 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<sup>Add</sup> i and ii) derived from two copies of the *Death of the Virgin* ascribed to Evodius of Rome.<sup>1</sup>

Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 31<sup>Add</sup> i), 21.5 × 21.5 cm., is the upper part of a leaf numbered — $\overline{\alpha\alpha}$ , the last in quire  $\overline{\epsilon}$ :<sup>2</sup> the inner edge and lower part have been torn away. The hand (which is identical with the hand of No. ix, 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 ∴ (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.,<sup>3</sup> 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<sup>Add</sup> ii), 26.5 × 19 cm.,<sup>4</sup> has a written column of 31 lines measuring 23.5 × 13 cm. The stop -∴ 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<sup>15-25</sup> τωσση το ω τασρομη.)

l. 1 τ]ωσσησ : L. 48<sup>15</sup> τωσση.

Frag. 1 *verso*.

(= L. p. 48<sup>30-49</sup> 8ε αιερω† το μφοσρ βεν πι.)

ll. 1-2 αιερω† εβολ μμωσ + α[...]πυ εβολ μμωσ + : L. 48<sup>30</sup> αισι ερω† ε. μ. (omitting the last three words).

l. 8 καη αρετ[... : L. 49<sup>2</sup> καε.

l. 11 πα[ρ]μα : L. 49<sup>3</sup> παρμα.

l. 12 ητασι μμ[ος : L. 49<sup>4</sup> ητασ†.

Frag. 2 *recto*.

(= L. p. 50<sup>3-11</sup> λοπηον μπερριμι το εορε θα μοτ ψα επερ<sup>5</sup>.)

ll. 7 f. †παχας αν ε. штемс[онс ерω]теп : L. 50<sup>4</sup> †παχας αν ποτεшен еорефотонс ерωтеп.

ll. 9-10 ερω[теп ан η]χωλεμ + тамаτ παροпс ер[ωтеп] ан : L. 50<sup>5</sup> ерωтеп ан отае такемаτ μпар-  
оенос παροпс ерωтеп ан.

ll. 12-14 επα ηтесөөлнл ηε тетенψυχн : L. 50<sup>7-8</sup> επα ηтетеннат ерос ηтесөөлнл &c.

ll. 19 f. ми μμον шхом μмок + ε штеморе θα μοτ [ψα] επερ : L. 50<sup>10</sup> ми μμον шхом еоре θα μοτ ψа επερ. (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<sup>14-25</sup> отор пащри то е теџмаτ мпароенос.)

l. 1 пащри μμεпρι† : L. 51<sup>14</sup> omits the latter word.

ll. 2-3 отор пт[αϣ]δρομ εισωтеп : L. 51<sup>14</sup> отор птащпи βен отμκαρ ηент аисωтеп.

l. 4 ерок екхω ммос : L. 51<sup>15</sup> omits the two latter words.

1 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  $\overline{\alpha\epsilon}$  ιϛ (Ornament) πχϛ ε̄.

3 The complete width of the page.

4 The upper and outer margins have been cropped: the heading ιη[ϛ πχϛ] (sq. ornament) παλ πηι is mutilated: the page (or folio) and quire numbers are lost.

5 The indefinite beginnings of four preceding lines in our fragment are ignored.

## NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

- II. 8-10  $\epsilon\gamma\tau$   $\rho\theta\tau$   $\dot{\eta}\eta\iota$   $\epsilon\tau$   $\epsilon\gamma\eta\eta\theta\tau$ : L. 51<sup>17</sup>  $\epsilon\gamma\tau$   $\rho\theta\tau$   $\eta\epsilon\mu$   $\delta\iota\varsigma$   $\dot{\eta}\eta\iota$   $\epsilon\tau$   $\epsilon\gamma\eta\eta\iota$ .  
 I. 13  $\mu\pi\alpha\iota$   $\rho\eta\tau$   $\iota\epsilon$   $\eta[\alpha\psi]$   $\rho\eta\eta$ : L. 51<sup>18</sup>  $\mu\pi\alpha\iota\eta\eta\tau$   $\eta\omega\varsigma$ .  
 II. 15 f.  $\mu\eta\eta\omega\varsigma$   $\dot{\eta}\tau[\eta\alpha\chi\epsilon]$   $\mu\chi\omicron\mu$   $\alpha\eta$   $\dot{\eta}\epsilon\rho\alpha$ : L. 51<sup>19</sup>  $\dot{\eta}\alpha\psi$   $\dot{\eta}\rho\eta\tau$   $\tau\eta\alpha\psi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\omega\rho\eta\eta$ .  
 I. 18  $\eta\theta\epsilon$   $\alpha$   $\epsilon$   $\eta\epsilon\chi\alpha\gamma$  (the lacuna admits no more): L. 51<sup>20</sup>  $\eta\epsilon\eta\theta\epsilon$   $\alpha\epsilon$   $\dot{\eta}\eta\varsigma$   $\eta\epsilon\chi\alpha\gamma$ .  
 I. 20  $\epsilon\rho\rho\theta\tau$   $\rho\omega\iota$ : L. 51<sup>21</sup> omits  $\rho\omega\iota$ .  
 I. 22  $\dot{\eta}\tau\chi\omicron\mu$   $\mu\phi\mu\theta\tau$ : L. 51<sup>22</sup>  $\dot{\eta}\tau\chi\omicron\mu$   $\eta\dot{\eta}\epsilon\eta$   $\eta\tau\epsilon$   $\phi\mu\theta\tau$ .  
 I. 23 f.  $\delta\alpha\tau\theta\tau$   $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$   $\alpha\eta\omicron\kappa$   $\eta\epsilon$   $\dot{\eta}\alpha\psi$   $\dot{\eta}\rho\eta\tau$   $\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\epsilon\rho\rho\theta\tau$ : L. 51<sup>22-23</sup>  $\delta\alpha\tau\theta\tau$   $\eta\omega\varsigma$   $\tau\epsilon\epsilon\rho\rho\theta\tau$ .  
 II. 24 f.  $\delta\alpha\tau\eta\eta$   $\mu\phi\mu\theta\tau$   $\eta\epsilon\mu$   $\eta\epsilon\gamma\mu\omicron\rho\phi\eta$ : L. 51<sup>23</sup>  $\delta\alpha\tau\eta\eta$   $\eta\epsilon\gamma\mu\omicron\rho\phi\eta$ .  
 I. 28  $\psi\epsilon\eta\rho\eta\tau$   $\dot{\eta}\rho\eta\eta$   $\eta[\delta\eta\eta\tau\varsigma]$   $\dot{\eta}\chi\epsilon$   $\dot{\eta}\eta\varsigma$ : L. 51<sup>25-6</sup>  $\psi\epsilon\eta\rho\eta\tau$   $\dot{\eta}\chi\epsilon$   $\eta\theta\epsilon$   $\dot{\eta}\rho\eta\eta$   $\eta\delta\eta\eta\tau\gamma$  (*sic*).  
 Frag. 3 *verso*.  
 (= L. 51<sup>26-52</sup>  $\alpha\gamma\gamma\omega\tau$   $\epsilon\theta\omicron\lambda$  *to*  $\epsilon\rho\psi\phi\eta\eta\tau$   $\epsilon\mu\alpha[\psi]\omega$ .)  
 I. 7  $\dot{\eta}\tau\eta\eta\epsilon\eta$   $\omicron\theta\omicron\rho$ : L. 51<sup>28</sup>  $\tau\eta\eta\theta\tau$  (only).  
 I. 16  $\epsilon\eta\pi\alpha\kappa\omega\varsigma$   $\mu\eta\psi\omega\mu[\alpha]$ : L. 51<sup>32</sup>  $\eta\tau\alpha\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\rho\eta\alpha$   $\mu\mu\alpha\tau$ .  
 II. 20-23  $\omicron\theta\omicron\rho$   $\delta\epsilon\eta$   $\eta\psi\omega\mu\alpha$   $\dot{\eta}\tau\alpha[\mu\alpha\tau]$   $\dot{\eta}[\tau\alpha\psi\omega\eta\eta]$   $\eta\eta\iota$   $\mu\mu\alpha\eta$   $\dot{\eta}\theta$   $\dot{\eta}\alpha\theta\theta$ : L. 51<sup>33</sup>  $\omicron\theta\omicron\rho$   $\epsilon\chi\epsilon\eta$   $\eta\psi\omega\mu\alpha$   $\eta\tau\alpha\mu\epsilon\eta\eta\tau$   $\mu\mu\alpha\tau$  (only).  
 I. 24  $\eta\epsilon\tau\rho\omicron\varsigma$   $\alpha\gamma\psi\epsilon$   $\eta[\alpha]$   $\gamma$   $\rho\eta\chi\epsilon\eta$   $\eta\mu\alpha\eta\epsilon\rho\psi\omega\theta\psi\eta$ : L. 52<sup>1</sup> omits all after  $\eta\epsilon\tau\rho\omicron\varsigma$ .

## D. THEODOSIUS

### *The Death and Assumption of the Virgin.*

Parchment. Five leaves — $\bar{\epsilon}$ , — $\bar{\mu}$ , — $\bar{\mu}\alpha$ , — $\bar{\eta}$ , — $\bar{\xi}$  (Cairo, no. 9, 9<sup>Add</sup> i-iii) from one ms. of the Theodosian *Dormitio Mariae*, to which also belong two leaves at Manchester (Rylands Lib., Coptic no. 441) numbered — $\bar{\eta}\bar{\epsilon}$ , — $\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}$ , and two leaves at Leipzig (*Cod. Tisch.* xxvi, 1; xxvii, 9), the latter unfoliated, the former numbered — $\bar{\xi}\bar{\epsilon}$ .<sup>1</sup> These were recovered (from Dêr Abû Makâr) by Tattam and Tischendorf respectively. The numeration is by pages, so that — $\bar{\eta}$ , — $\bar{\eta}\bar{\epsilon}$  and — $\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}$ ,  $\bar{\xi}$ , — $\bar{\xi}\bar{\epsilon}$  are adjacent leaves. Since — $\bar{\eta}$ , — $\bar{\xi}$  form a single sheet, the quire must have contained at least six leaves (12 pp.).

The leaves — $\bar{\eta}$ , — $\bar{\xi}$  measure 29.2 × 22 cm.; — $\bar{\epsilon}$  (slightly cropped) is 28.4 × 21 cm.; the other two leaves having been robbed of their margins,<sup>2</sup> measure 25.4 × 15 and 24.3 × 15 cm. The written column is 22.5 × 12.5-13 cm. For the hand,<sup>3</sup> which is rough and uneven, compare Plate XII, Hyv. *Album*, Plate xxxii, XLII, 4.

The narrative portion of the work has been edited by Forbes Robinson<sup>4</sup> 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. — $\bar{\epsilon}$ , containing the exordium of the homiletic introduction<sup>5</sup> (omitted by Robinson). A collation of the remaining leaves with Robinson's text is added.

<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. No. xxix. Margins were cut away to supply 'ties' and other material for binding new books (see Introduction, § 4).

<sup>3</sup> *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels*, pp. 90 ff.

<sup>4</sup> No. xiv (Mart. of James the Persian) is by the same hand and probably formed part of the same volume.

<sup>5</sup> To this part of the work *Cod. Tisch.* xxvii, 9 also seems to belong.

# TEXTS RELATING TO THE VIRGIN

οὐλογοῦς εἰς τὸν ἥμε-  
 πεντρίμ]ακαρίος ἦν  
 ἀββὰ θεο]δοσίος παρ-  
 χη]ν[ισκο]πος ἡγε ρακοῦ  
 οὐτορ π[ομολογί]της ε[ε]ρ-  
 φορίη μ[π]χς  
 εἰς τὰ οὐτορ γε ε ταπαλμ-  
 ψίς ἡτεπὸς τ[ρ]ην ἡ[θεο-]  
 δοκος εὐοῦαῖ μαρία ε-  
 τε<sup>1</sup> σοτ ἡς μ[π]αῖαδот м[есω-]  
 ρη πε  
 εἰς ἐρῆντς ἰς χεν [ἡ]κο-  
 νομ[α] ἡτε π[χ]ς ἡα [π]αωκ ε-  
 ἡολ π[α]ι αἡα μ[π]α[ρ]οε[ν]ος  
 нем тесаπαλμψίς εὐοῦαῖ  
 εἰς τὰ οὐτορ γε μ[π]αῖαδот  
 ἡεν τ[ρ]αν ἡρομ[π]и ε[т] ε[п]α-  
 ἡтоп м[м]оу ἡ[ρ]нτς ἡен  
 οὐ[ρ]и[п]и ἡте ἡ[ρ] α[μ]и[и]

ΠΦΟΟΥ ΛΑΧΩ[Κ]  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΗΧΕ ΤΠΡΟ-  
 ΦΗΤΙΑ ΗΤΕ ΠΙ-  
 ΣΤΗΝΩΔΟΣ ΔΑΥ-  
 ΙΑ ΘΗ ΕΤΧΩ Π-  
 ΠΟΣ

Χε εἰς τὴν εὐοῦαῖ μ[π]-

<sup>1</sup> ετε : ἡ, Robinson

ἡ  
 οὐτο ἡραππα[ρ]οε[ν]ος ρι  
 φαροῦ ἡμος ε[ε]τεπ[ι]  
 παρ εὐοῦαῖ ἡπеск[е-]  
 шфери т[и]роу  
 Ἀλνῶς ὡ πεπ[ι]ωτ μ[π]ρο-  
 φηтς οὐтоп о[т]м[е]с-  
 т[и]роп ἡен πα[и]сахи  
 Ηχω ἡμος γε εἰς τὴν ε-  
 ροῦαῖ μ[π]и[ο]ро ἡραп-  
 παρ[ο]ε[н]ος ρωс ρ[и]χεν  
 οὐμ[и]ш ρи φαροῦ ἡ-  
 ἡμος ρωс ρ[и]χεν οὐ  
 γε εἰς τὴν παс εὐοῦαῖ  
 π[и]пескешфери т[и]-  
 роу  
 Λοп[и]он п[е]жаρ γε μο[и]  
 π[и]и м[п]етеп[и]о[т]с ε[е]-  
 о[у] нем п[е]т[е]п[к]аῖ  
 ε[е]т[о]т[х]н[о]т[т] ρ[и]на п-  
 те п[и]сахи мо[у]и а[т]о[п]е  
 та[р]по  
 Πφοοῦ γαρ αἰ[ν]ι εὐοῦαῖ(π)  
 μ[π]и[ο]ро ἡραпπαρ[ο]е-  
 нос е[т]е φα[ι] пе π[и]-  
 с[ω]ма μ[п]α[ρ]ο[е]п[и]коп ἡ-  
 те ἡ[п]α[ρ]ο[е]п[и]ос нем  
 тесψ[т]х[и] ἡαλн[о]т[и]и  
 е[т]о[и] ἡ[о]та[и] нем πο[т]ε-  
 ρноу.

\*A Discourse which our thrice-blessed Father Abba Theodosius, the Archbishop of Rakoti and the Confessor<sup>1</sup> \* (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:<sup>2</sup> "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 he<sup>3</sup> 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."

<sup>1</sup> 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.).

<sup>2</sup> Ps. XLV, 15.

<sup>3</sup> ? Theodosius.

## NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

- (1) Pp. (ΛΘ), λ (= Robinson, p. 102<sup>9-28</sup> ρίνα πταοτωνρ to τωοτηι μα).  
*Recto* l. 9 πепер τηροτ: R. 102<sup>12</sup> omits τηροτ.  
*Verso* l. 4 ηρδπρεγ-: R. 102<sup>20-21</sup> ηοτρεγ—.  
 l. 24 παροπος: R. 102<sup>26</sup> adds ητε παωот.
- (2) Pp. (ΜΤ), μτ (= Robinson, p. 104<sup>18-106</sup><sup>10</sup> χινше шарωот to етаретен).  
*Recto* l. 12 ηπиреγμωот: R. 104<sup>21</sup> ηπиреγμωотт.  
 l. 21 ηшашш: R. 104<sup>25</sup> ешшашш.  
*Verso* l. 8 тетепт: R. 106<sup>3</sup> птетепт.  
 l. 9 ми срнотс sic: R. 106<sup>4</sup> ми ссрнотт.  
 ll. 17-21 пснот пиен [та]р пашнри отор [пш]нри ѿфт рен отмеѿ[мн]: R. 106<sup>7</sup> omits all after пиен.
- (3) Pp. (ΜΘ), μ (= Robinson, p. 108<sup>20-110</sup><sup>13</sup> ε|θοταδ to асепкот).  
*Recto* l. 5 παλιν: R. 108<sup>22</sup> omits.  
 l. 9 ηρδπρδρως: R. 108<sup>24</sup> omits superfluous δ.  
 l. 21 ма ηкот: R. 110<sup>1</sup> ма пенкот.  
*Verso* ll. 3 f. πιοτпог: R. 110<sup>4</sup> omits πi-.  
 l. 4 ηēпер: R. 110<sup>4</sup> ēпер.  
 ll. 7 f. просетхн мпαι рнт: R. 110<sup>6</sup> omits мпαι рнт.  
 l. 9 саѿѿаωѿ (one ѿ added above the line): R. 110<sup>6</sup> саѿаωт.  
 l. 11 еммапотнѿ: R. 110<sup>7</sup> емапотнѿ.  
 l. 14 маротωп: R. 110<sup>8</sup> марототωп.  
 l. 16 ηте тек: R. 110<sup>9</sup> ηте пек.  
 l. 28 асн(кот): R. 110<sup>13</sup> асепкот.
- (4) Pp. (ΠΘ), π (= Robinson, p. 116<sup>6-25</sup> рен отсемпи to ηотхрωμ).  
*Recto* l. 1 семпи: R. 116<sup>6</sup> семпи.  
 l. 2 ηωλι: R. 116<sup>7</sup> епωλι.  
 l. 5 отѿωоттес: R. 116<sup>8</sup> отѿωоттс.  
*Verso* l. 2 ιωακιμ: R. 116<sup>16</sup> ιωακιμ.  
 l. 8 ηпетепηѿλλет: R. 116<sup>19</sup> ηпетепηѿλ.  
 l. 20 тєппааиγ: R. 116<sup>22</sup> ēтєппааиγ.

### E. *An Encomium on the Virgin.*

Parchment. Three fragments (Cairo, no. 10, 10<sup>Add</sup>) 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* λ, 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 ✥ (red) is ordinarily used, but ✥ and ✥ occur once each. The hand, a large, regular, square uncial (see Plate IV B), resembles the hand of Hyvernāt, *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).

Отпрофѣт[ис ѿмни отор от-  
реѣтсѣω [отор отмарт-  
рос он не .[  
ратен пѣхадѣ]  
5 ммоу тпоѡ[ис  
Отѡатматотр[ос не етаѣ-  
тотнос пшн[ри ѿѣхнра  
ѣхолден пи еф[мωотт  
Отреѣшаншо п[е пте  
10 пторфанос не [ден писнос ѿ-  
пгѣωп  
Отреѣшот ехол [пснѣ етаѣ-  
ротѣ ѿпѣхаж [пте пѡт  
Отреѣшоршер п[е ѿпи]ма [п]ер-  
15 шωотши ѿте ѣааѡ<sup>1</sup>  
Ѣпаѡс же от еѡе отрѡм  
еѣен хрѡм ѣхолден тѣе  
ѡпинаѡ ѣтеѣот-  
ωш  
20 Отор он пимѡт ѡпинаѡ ѣтеѣ-  
отш [па]т тнрот ѣре паи рѡ-  
ми ѿнтс<sup>2</sup> семпша ѿтептеп-  
ротт [же паѣ]пѡт е ѣѣ  
ѡмѡт ѡп[он мѣ]ѡт + ѿтекер-  
25 меѡре мп. [. . . ѿн]тѣ + же паи  
котѣ ѿш[нри ѡма]риѡ масѣ  
ѡѡт + п[ . . . . ]етсаѣи пе-  
маѣ ѿпаѡ пиѣен пе ѡтаи паи  
ѡтаи пе Отор п. т  
30 пе  
Ѣтаѣѡш ап ѡтѡе етаѣшѣѣ ѡ(п)  
ѡтаѣѡш гѡр пе + отор ѡт-  
<sup>1</sup> sic. <sup>2</sup> ѡнтс, MS.

[ . . . . . ]к [ . . . . ] ро  
[ . . . . . ]ерѡѣ + отор  
[ . . . . . ]. ѣ. к ѡпаѡ он  
[ . . . . . ].  
5 [ . . . . . ] маѡнтис ѡпаи  
[ . . . . . ]ѡѣ мпѣмѡт пѣс  
[ . . . . . ]м]арѣ ѡѣри ма  
[ . . . . . ]ѡс таи котѣи  
[ . . . . . ]ѡтѡѡтѡт ѡѣ-  
10 [ . . . . . ]ѣрни ѣ пимѡт е-  
[ . . . . . ]ѣте пѣѡс пе еѡ-  
[ . . . . . ]ѣен пшѡш ѿѣмет-  
[ѡпаѣѣ п]ѣм пѡѡѣѣ ѿпѡ-  
ѣ[и]  
15 Отор пимѡт мен еѡемѡт  
ѡтѡѡѡ ѡѡ еѡтѡи ѣ ѡѡт  
Ѣметрѡми ѡе ѡсѡшис ѣен паи  
мѡт еѡѡѡѡ ѡпаѣѣ тн-  
рот е еѡмаѡѡѡѡ + Отор сеѡи  
20 ѡпѡтѡс нем ѡтшнри ѡѡ ѣ-  
ѡтѡи ѣ ѣпаѡ п[е]м ѡѡ еѡѣ ѿ-  
те пѡѡѡ  
ѡми ѡѡ ѡ ѡѡѡѡ [ . . . . . ]. ѿте сн-  
ѣи ѣен пѡпѡ ѡ[н етаѣ]ѡѡи ѿнтс  
25 пѡѡѣ п[те ѡѡѡѡ]пѡс + ѡми ѿ-  
тепаѡ е ѡ[н етаѣ]ѡѡи ѡѡѡѡ-  
ѡѡѡс ѣѣ[ѡѡѣ]п пѡѡ-  
ѡи  
Ѣѡ ѡѡ + ѡѡ[ѡѡ] пѡѡѣ ѡѡѡѡ-  
30 ми ѡѡѡт отор ѡѡѡѡ ѡѡѡ-  
ѡт пе ѣт ѡѡѡѡѡѡ  
ѡми ѣѡѡ ѿтепаѡ е маѡѡ ес-

\*A prophet<sup>1</sup> [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.

\* Recto

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,<sup>2</sup> Christ. [Come, to behold the ?] new Mary . . . this little . . . purified, he [cast . . . ] into the waters which [were bitter<sup>3</sup> . . . ], 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.

\* Verso

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 . . .

<sup>1</sup> The presence of Elijah, as of other Old Testament worthies (see below), is here invoked.

<sup>2</sup> sic.

<sup>3</sup> Presumably the reference is to *Exodus* xv, 23 ff., and the personage invoked is Moses.





TEXTS RELATING TO THE VIRGIN

Frag. 3 (Cairo, no. 10<sup>Add</sup>).

ρω.[.]ε εϋρηνι ē [Ϸ]τασιν πιθεν  
 ε[τш]ото ѿμωот εϋρηνι  
 асѣ ѿпесотоу ē пепμελος м-  
 пизаѣолос асѣ Ϸпim [ε] пегѣал  
 5 сром ппегѣотϷи шатесѡ(мк?)  
 мпегкои кп.[.....] ѿ-  
 моу фн ет[ . . . . .]  
 аши ёроу...[ . . . . .] ρω-  
 ми пибен пϷн[тϷ]  
 10 ОтоϷ παι ρηѣ ас[ωλι] птафе м-  
 пизаκωп χω[pиc] снϷи Ϸи  
 мерез  
 отоϷ асѣ ѿпior[о . . . . .]  
 тпϷу маллон де ас..[  
 15 ОтоϷ фн етаϷѣ нас ѿп[тамаϷи]  
 шатесоро ic Ϸппе [мφοот]  
 Ϸталноот ѣхеп несor[о е фн ета-?  
 Ϸсωhi еϷотп ѣхωс к[ . . . . .]  
 Ϸωс есѣфи ē ρωϷ от[ор] ес-  
 20 отωшт ѿмоу же пѣс[к] пшпρι м-  
 фѣ  
 Ic фкема[pиa] асini ѿпe[с...  
 пем п.[...]..[...].[...]  
 отор е.[ . . . . .]  
 25 мос...[ . . . . .]  
 отѡот[  
 ОϷо + пем[ . . . . .]  
 ѡωрот[ . . . . .]  
 ѣос м.[ . . . . .]  
 30 жωи аϷ[ . . . . .] ма-  
 pиa  
 Φαι пе папотѣ фк[ . . . . .]

[illegible]

<sup>1</sup> *sic*, apparently.

\* . . . down to all pleasures which vaunt themselves. She advanced against the members of the Devil, she 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. . .

× *Recto*

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.

× *Verso*

O Jeremias, Who is He who laid waste Jerusalem and spoiled Babylon ?<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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* I, 14.

## NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

## 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  $36 \times 29.5$  cm.) forming the central sheet in a quire. These are numbered —[ā], —ī respectively.<sup>1</sup> 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,<sup>2</sup> where the paragraphs are differently arranged, and is far nearer related to the Sahidic.<sup>3</sup> Hence it appears that there were at least two Bohairic recensions of this work.

Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 32<sup>Add i</sup>) is a paper leaf, numbered — $\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$ , and measuring  $25 \times 15$  cm. (column,  $19 \times 10.7$  cm.). No stops are used. For the hand (Plate XXIV A) cp. Zoëga's Class VIII n., xxxi,<sup>4</sup> or better Brit. Mus. *Or.* no. 7021.<sup>5</sup> The text, which is in the Sahidic dialect, corresponds generally but not exactly with the published Sahidic version.<sup>6</sup>

Frag. 3 (Cairo, no. 32<sup>Add ii</sup>), 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,<sup>7</sup> though here again the relation to the Sahidic is closer.<sup>8</sup>

Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 32).

[.....]ετ[.....]αενπι...οc  
ετμορ[†] . . . ]ελη[...]εθο...  
ετιρι η[ . . . ]τη [εθ]οταδ εα...  
[.]ηωοτ ηωοτ . ж.[...]..ε. арах....ε-  
5 [Α]ολ ммωοτ мфет[.]сї алла [.]ζ....<sup>1</sup>  
[μ]ωοτ  
Φη ετοι ηααηι ε φη εταυθαμιοу ε[ε-  
θε φαι же †ηοτ еперша; ε ηαρχη[αг-  
гелос миχανλ же ηοοу'а тир[....]αу-  
10 ορο αφθεηδ μπισασι σ[.....]ρω†  
ηοηωλεμ οτορ ηеп ηηηορεу-  
αιу ηαωδ ауриту еβολ . ηρ.... ρη  
ερεζοτс[ia...] εβοηη εβοηη... η  
[εβολ] зиген [ηот] ау; епесит.  
15 ачамаз; [ероу] аусоп[зу] ηеп запраднсїс  
ена[тѣω]λ еβολ οτхе [зωу] мпеч-  
хад [еусоп]з зиген ηηαζ; . рет  
Αλλα с[снот]† εωηнту же ауриту ε †-  
λτμηη θα; εомор б[ε]η οτхρωμ...  
20 οτο[з] сеарер ероу [ш]а ηιεροот ητε  
ηηηу† [ηρα]η...[...].ε. етас...

<sup>1</sup> Read ? μην ετ[αφερ]διαβαλλιν ᾠ-.

1 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.'

[H]

[illegible]

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. 43<sup>23</sup>-44<sup>2</sup>, 44<sup>13-21</sup>.

8 *id.*, *Misc. Copt. Texts*, pp. 390 f.

# ENCOMIUM ON THE ARCHANGEL MICHAEL

25 ῥιζην πι[κα]ρι .. ε[...]. . . ῥλι̇ ἡσαρ̇  
 παερ εῃολ̇ ἀν̇ περ[...]. . . . † ετρω-  
 οτ  
 25 Ἀλλὰ χπαχος̇ ἡνι̇ ω̇ [πα]ψφ̇ρ̇ же̇ ис̇е̇  
 π̇α̇ι̇δ̇ολ̇ος̇ ρω̇[η̇] πε̇ ε̇θε̇ οτ̇ μ̇π̇ι̇να̇τ̇  
 ет̇ а̇ π̇α̇г̇г̇ε̇λ̇ος̇ η̇[т̇]ε̇ φ̇†̇ а̇το̇ρι̇ е̇ра̇-  
 то̇т̇ м̇п̇ε̇μ̇ε̇ο̇ м̇η̇[σ̇]с̇ .. ка̇та̇ φ̇ρ̇η̇†̇ е̇т̇-  
 с̇η̇[ο̇т̇]†̇ ἥ̇π̇ η̇[χ̇]ω̇μ̇ η̇ι̇ω̇η̇  
 30 Наш̇ π̇ρ̇η̇†̇ а̇η̇[...]. . . . е̇то̇т̇π̇и̇ш̇†̇  
 ο̇το̇ρ̇ χ̇[...]. . . . а̇]ϋ̇еп̇ . а̇ м̇п̇ε̇т̇ρ̇ω̇т̇ [п̇-  
 ι̇ω̇η̇ ο̇[. е̇γ̇с̇ο̇]η̇ρ̇  
 Ч̇х̇ω̇ м̇μ̇ος̇ е̇μ̇ι̇. т̇γ̇α̇ι̇ε̇υ̇а̇ . . . π̇т̇[ε̇  
 а̇г̇г̇ε̇λ̇ος̇ [ . . . . . ] ο̇т̇ . . . . . а̇ο̇т̇ο̇.  
 а̇п̇ п̇ε̇

25 Ἀπο̇ν̇ δ̇ε̇ ρ̇ω̇п̇ ω̇ π̇[α̇μ̇]ε̇п̇ρα̇†̇ ρ̇ω̇с̇ е̇п̇ε̇μ̇ι̇ же̇  
 ο̇т̇π̇и̇ш̇†̇ п̇ε̇ π̇α̇[ρ̇χ̇]ω̇п̇ π̇и̇и̇ш̇†̇ п̇α̇ρ̇χ̇η̇-  
 а̇г̇г̇ε̇λ̇ος̇ ма̇ре̇[п̇р̇]а̇ш̇ι̇ ρ̇ω̇п̇ п̇ε̇м̇ φ̇η̇ е̇т̇ а̇  
 25 φ̇†̇ †̇ω̇ο̇т̇ п̇а̇η̇ [ . . . ] х̇ρ̇а̇ е̇п̇ο̇т̇ω̇м̇ ε̇η̇ο̇λ̇  
 ἥ̇еп̇ π̇α̇г̇α̇θ̇ος̇ е̇[т̇ η̇с̇]ε̇с̇ε̇η̇т̇ω̇т̇ο̇т̇ п̇а̇а̇η̇ [η̇-  
 же̇ π̇α̇ρ̇χ̇η̇а̇г̇г̇ε̇λ̇ο̇с̇] ε̇θ̇ο̇т̇а̇η̇ м̇ι̇χ̇а̇η̇λ̇  
 а̇л̇λ̇а̇ п̇ε̇χ̇а̇η̇ же̇ ис̇е̇ [ο̇т̇]а̇ρ̇χ̇ω̇п̇<sup>1</sup> м̇η̇α̇с̇ι̇λ̇ι̇-  
 ко̇п̇ п̇ε̇ п̇ε̇т̇ο̇υ̇е̇ [ε̇р̇]ο̇п̇ п̇ε̇ ε̇ο̇ρ̇ε̇п̇ε̇р̇ка̇-  
 30 т̇а̇с̇η̇ι̇п̇ ш̇а̇т̇ο̇т̇ω̇ρ̇ε̇[м̇] π̇п̇и̇ш̇ο̇р̇п̇ е̇р̇ο̇п̇  
 На̇ι̇ е̇т̇ο̇ι̇ η̇п̇и̇ш̇†̇ ε̇η̇ο̇λ̇ἥ̇еп̇ т̇а̇т̇λ̇η̇ м̇п̇ο̇т̇-  
 ро̇ п̇ε̇м̇ п̇ε̇γ̇α̇ρ̇χ̇η̇с̇[т̇]р̇а̇т̇η̇ко̇с̇ м̇ι̇χ̇а̇-  
 η̇λ̇ м̇ε̇п̇ε̇п̇с̇ω̇с̇ π̇т̇ε̇п̇ο̇т̇а̇г̇т̇е̇п̇ η̇с̇ω̇-  
 ο̇т̇ ка̇та̇ φ̇ρ̇η̇†̇ е̇т̇а̇т̇ε̇ρ̇ш̇ο̇р̇п̇ η̇χ̇ος̇<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> sic, for ἀριστον (cp. the Sahidic).

<sup>2</sup> 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 written<sup>1</sup> 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...

\* Recto = Sah. p. 327; Boh. p. 10

† 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,<sup>2</sup> (and) in what manner did he... and how did he bring evil upon Job, since he was bound?" He saith...

† = Sah. p. 328

\* Harken and I [will inform thee... ] Paul the... Apostle saith<sup>3</sup> "The servant of Satan buffeteth me..." Our good Savior spake (?) unto him saying: "Get thee behind me, Satan."<sup>4</sup>

\* Verso

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.

† = Sah. p. 329

† 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,

† = Sah. p. 330; Boh. p. 11

<sup>1</sup> See Rev. xx, 1 ff., 10.

<sup>2</sup> See Job 1, 6.

<sup>3</sup> See ii Cor. xii, 7.

<sup>4</sup> Matth. iv, 10 (confused with Mark viii, 33).

# NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

ω παμ]επρα† ψ[α]ρε πνοε̅νιο γαρ ο̅ις  
οτο̅]ε ψα̅ςωοτ̅τεп аλλα̅ а̅.επ̅ι ο̅-  
α̅ρθ̅]η̅п̅ο̅т̅ п̅с̅ω̅ι̅ ι̅с̅ π̅ι̅μ̅ι̅ψ̅† а̅т̅к̅η̅п̅ ē̅ ш̅е̅  
ε] π̅ι̅α̅ρ̅ι̅с̅т̅ο̅п̅ π̅т̅е̅ м̅ι̅χ̅а̅η̅λ̅ а̅. . . . . с̅е̅  
5 .]ο̅т̅  
На]ι̅ п̅е̅ π̅ι̅ψ̅† е̅т̅α̅т̅е̅ρ̅ш̅ο̅р̅ι̅ п̅ρ̅ω̅т̅е̅й̅  
с̅ω̅т̅[ε]̅м̅ ρ̅ε̅п̅ ο̅т̅†̅п̅ρ̅ο̅н̅ι̅ а̅п̅ο̅κ̅ †̅п̅α̅т̅а̅-  
м̅ω̅т̅е̅п̅  
а̅а̅а̅м̅ п̅е̅м̅ а̅β̅е̅λ̅  
10 п̅е̅м̅ с̅η̅θ̅ п̅ε̅υ̅ш̅η̅ρ̅ι̅  
п̅е̅м̅ е̅п̅ω̅χ̅  
п̅е̅м̅ м̅α̅θ̅ο̅т̅с̅α̅λ̅а̅  
п̅е̅м̅ п̅ω̅е̅  
п̅е̅м̅ а̅β̅ร̅а̅а̅м̅  
15 п̅е̅м̅ ι̅с̅а̅κ̅  
п̅е̅м̅ ι̅α̅κ̅ω̅β̅  
п̅е̅м̅ ι̅ω̅с̅η̅ф̅ п̅ε̅υ̅ш̅η̅ρ̅ι̅  
п̅е̅м̅ м̅ω̅т̅с̅η̅с̅  
п̅е̅м̅ а̅ρ̅ω̅п̅  
20 п̅е̅м̅ ι̅ο̅с̅ο̅т̅ †̅т̅е̅ п̅α̅т̅η̅  
г̅ε̅δ̅ε̅ω̅п̅ β̅α̅ρ̅α̅κ̅ [с̅а̅м̅]†̅ψ̅ω̅п̅  
ι̅ε̅[φ̅]̅а̅ι̅ε̅ δ̅α̅т̅ι̅а̅ п̅ο̅[т̅]ρ̅ο̅ п̅е̅м̅ с̅ο̅λ̅ω̅-  
м̅[ω̅п̅] п̅ε̅υ̅ш̅η̅ρ̅ι̅ п̅[ε]̅м̅ е̅с̅ε̅κ̅ι̅а̅с̅<sup>1</sup> π̅ι̅ο̅т̅-  
ρ̅ω̅т̅ п̅ο̅м̅η̅  
25 Η̅с̅α̅ι̅а̅с̅ п̅е̅м̅ ι̅ε̅ρε̅[м̅ι̅а̅]с̅ п̅е̅м̅ е̅с̅ε̅κ̅ι̅-  
η̅λ̅ п̅е̅м̅ δ̅α̅п̅ι̅λ̅ п̅[ι̅п̅]ρ̅ο̅ф̅η̅т̅η̅с̅ п̅е̅м̅  
п̅ι̅†̅ п̅α̅т̅η̅с̅ п̅е̅м̅ [η̅]λ̅ι̅а̅с̅ п̅е̅м̅ ε̅λ̅ι̅с̅е̅ο̅с̅  
п̅ι̅п̅ι̅ψ̅† м̅п̅ρ̅ο̅ф̅[η̅]т̅η̅с̅  
З̅α̅χ̅α̅ρ̅ι̅а̅с̅ π̅ι̅ο̅т̅η̅ п̅е̅м̅ ι̅ω̅α̅п̅п̅ι̅с̅ п̅ε̅υ̅ш̅η̅ρ̅ι̅  
30 ρ̅ι̅ п̅е̅м̅ π̅ι̅†̅ п̅α̅п̅ο̅с̅т̅ο̅λ̅ο̅с̅ п̅е̅м̅ с̅т̅е̅-  
ф̅а̅п̅ο̅с̅ π̅ι̅α̅ρ̅χ̅η̅δ̅α̅κ̅ω̅п̅ п̅е̅м̅ с̅т̅м̅ε̅ω̅п̅  
п̅ι̅β̅ε̅λ̅λ̅ο̅ π̅ο̅т̅η̅ п̅ο̅м̅η̅ п̅е̅м̅ π̅ι̅α̅ρ̅-  
т̅η̅ρ̅ο̅с̅ т̅η̅ρ̅ο̅т̅  
Α̅ρ̅ο̅ι̅ а̅п̅ο̅κ̅ а̅ι̅с̅α̅η̅ ē̅ п̅α̅п̅ι̅α̅ρ̅ι̅ м̅α̅т̅α̅т̅ο̅т̅  
35 а̅λ̅λ̅а̅ ε̅ϋ̅μ̅μ̅α̅т̅ п̅х̅е̅ π̅ο̅†̅ с̅α̅β̅α̅ω̅ п̅е̅м̅

<sup>1</sup> есекінл, MS.

†  
та̅г̅ма̅ т̅η̅ρ̅υ̅ π̅т̅е̅ π̅ι̅φ̅η̅ο̅т̅ι̅ . . [̅  
ο̅т̅ω̅ш̅υ̅ ε̅ο̅ρ̅ι̅κ̅ο̅т̅ π̅κ̅ε̅с̅ο̅п̅ ē̅ †̅α̅т̅-  
λ̅η̅ π̅т̅е̅ π̅ι̅α̅ρ̅χ̅η̅[α̅т̅]γ̅ε̅λ̅[ο̅с̅] ε̅ο̅ο̅т̅α̅β̅ м̅ι̅χ̅а̅-  
η̅λ̅ ш̅а̅ п̅α̅п̅ι̅ψ̅† [̅. . . . .]ο̅. ε̅ο̅ο̅т̅α̅β̅ π̅ρ̅[ω̅м̅ι̅] м̅-  
5 π̅κ̅α̅ρ̅ι̅ . ε̅ο̅ρ̅[̅. . . . .]α̅ш̅ε̅п̅ο̅т̅ ε̅ο̅β̅е̅ п̅α̅[ι̅  
п̅ι̅ψ̅[†̅] †̅ш̅α̅ι̅ е̅т̅α̅т̅]ф̅[ω̅]ρ̅ш̅ п̅α̅п̅ ε̅β̅ο̅λ̅ м̅ф̅[ο̅-  
ο̅т̅ π̅т̅α̅ε̅ . . ε̅ρ̅ο̅υ̅  
Х̅ε̅ ρ̅ι̅п̅α̅ π̅т̅α̅ρ̅α̅ш̅ι̅ ρ̅ω̅ι̅ м̅ф̅[ο̅]ο̅т̅ п̅е̅м̅ π̅η̅  
ε̅т̅ρ̅α̅ш̅ι̅ к̅α̅т̅а̅ π̅с̅α̅η̅ι̅ м̅п̅с̅ο̅ф̅ο̅с̅ с̅ο̅λ̅ο̅-  
10 м̅ω̅п̅<sup>1</sup>  
Π̅λ̅η̅п̅ †̅п̅α̅ε̅ρ̅ш̅[ο̅]ρ̅п̅ м̅ф̅ι̅ρ̅ι̅ ε̅х̅ε̅п̅ ф̅ι̅ω̅т̅  
п̅†̅м̅ε̅т̅ρ̅ω̅м̅ι̅ т̅η̅ρ̅с̅ ф̅η̅ ē̅т̅ (α̅) †̅†̅ θ̅α̅μ̅ι̅-  
ο̅υ̅ к̅α̅т̅а̅ п̅ε̅ϋ̅п̅ι̅ п̅е̅м̅ т̅ε̅ϋ̅ρ̅ι̅κ̅ω̅п̅  
п̅ε̅п̅ι̅ω̅т̅ а̅а̅а̅м̅ п̅θ̅ο̅υ̅ γ̅α̅ρ̅ ε̅т̅ο̅ι̅ π̅ρ̅ο̅т̅ι̅т̅  
15 ē̅ †̅п̅α̅т̅ ε̅ρ̅ο̅υ̅ [β̅]ε̅п̅ π̅ι̅α̅ п̅ρ̅ω̅т̅ε̅й̅ ε̅ϋ̅-  
ο̅ι̅ †̅ш̅ο̅ρ̅п̅ ρ̅ε̅п̅ π̅ι̅ρ̅ε̅м̅π̅κ̅α̅ρ̅ι̅ π̅т̅α̅ш̅ε̅п̅υ̅  
м̅φ̅ο̅ο̅т̅  
Κ̅α̅п̅ ι̅с̅х̅ε̅ а̅п̅ο̅κ̅ ο̅т̅ρ̅ε̅ϋ̅ε̅ρ̅η̅ο̅β̅ι̅ а̅λ̅λ̅а̅ †̅п̅α̅-  
†̅ м̅п̅α̅ι̅ο̅ м̅п̅α̅λ̅а̅с̅ п̅α̅ϋ̅ π̅т̅α̅χ̅ο̅с̅ п̅α̅ϋ̅  
20 х̅ε̅ χ̅ε̅ρ̅ε̅ п̅α̅ι̅ω̅[т̅] ε̅ο̅ο̅т̅α̅β̅ χ̅ε̅ρ̅ε̅ ф̅ι̅-  
ω̅т̅ п̅†̅м̅ε̅т̅ρ̅ω̅[м̅]ι̅ т̅η̅ρ̅с̅ п̅е̅м̅ п̅[α̅ι̅]ο̅†̅  
ε̅ο̅ο̅т̅α̅β̅ π̅η̅ ε̅[т̅]α̅т̅ш̅ω̅п̅ι̅ п̅е̅м̅ [π̅η̅] ε̅т̅-  
п̅α̅ш̅ω̅п̅ι̅  
Δ̅ι̅ш̅α̅п̅†̅ п̅α̅ϋ̅ м̅п̅α̅ι̅ †̅ [п̅]ρ̅α̅ш̅ι̅ ε̅т̅т̅ο̅ι̅ ē̅ п̅ε̅ϋ̅-  
25 ω̅ο̅т̅ ρ̅ε̅п̅ п̅α̅ι̅ ш̅а̅[̅. . .] п̅α̅п̅т̅ω̅с̅ ϋ̅п̅α̅ω̅ш̅  
ε̅β̅ο̅λ̅ м̅ф̅ρ̅ι̅†̅ п̅ο̅[т̅ι̅]ω̅т̅ †̅α̅γ̅α̅θ̅ο̅с̅ ē̅ п̅ε̅ϋ̅-  
ш̅η̅ρ̅ι̅ δ̅μ̅ο̅т̅ π̅т̅ε̅п̅ρ̅α̅ш̅ι̅ п̅ε̅м̅α̅κ̅ ρ̅ω̅κ̅  
ρ̅ε̅п̅ п̅α̅ι̅ π̅ι̅ψ̅† †̅ш̅α̅ι̅ [м̅]φ̅ο̅ο̅т̅  
Β̅ε̅п̅ π̅α̅п̅θ̅ρ̅ι̅χ̅ι̅м̅ι̅ п̅ο̅[т̅]п̅α̅ρ̅η̅η̅с̅ι̅δ̅ п̅α̅ρ̅α̅ϋ̅  
30 †̅п̅α̅ο̅п̅ο̅υ̅ х̅ε̅ п̅α̅δ̅ε̅ †̅η̅ω̅т̅ м̅η̅ †̅-  
θ̅ο̅κ̅ а̅п̅ п̅е̅ ē̅т̅ а̅ †̅†̅ ε̅ρ̅п̅λ̅α̅ζ̅ι̅п̅ м̅μ̅ο̅υ̅  
ρ̅ε̅п̅ п̅ε̅ϋ̅α̅ι̅χ̅ м̅μ̅ι̅п̅ м̅μ̅ο̅υ̅ . . ο̅т̅ο̅з̅ α̅ϋ̅-  
м̅α̅ρ̅ϋ̅ ε̅β̅ο̅λ̅ ρ̅ε̅п̅ п̅ε̅ϋ̅п̅ι̅ п̅е̅м̅ т̅ε̅ϋ̅ρ̅ι̅-  
κ̅ω̅п̅ м̅η̅ †̅θ̅ο̅κ̅ а̅п̅ п̅е̅ ē̅т̅ а̅ †̅†̅ ο̅т̅α̅ρ̅-  
35 с̅α̅ρ̅η̅ι̅ п̅α̅κ̅ х̅ε̅ ο̅т̅ω̅м̅ ε̅β̅ο̅λ̅ρ̅ε̅п̅ π̅ι̅ш̅η̅п̅

<sup>1</sup> sic (in error for πα̅т̅λ̅ο̅с̅).

\* Recto † = Sah.  
p. 331 = Boh. p. 6  
† = Boh. p. 8

\*O my beloved, humility exalteth and guideth (aright). But arise (?) and follow †me. 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.

\* Verso

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).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> i.e. S. Paul (Rom. xii, 15).

# 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 . . .'"

† Boh. p. 8

Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 32<sup>Add</sup>).

2008 αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπων  
 μὴ παρχαγγέλος μιχα-  
 νὰ εἰ[ι]τα περὶ δorothe-  
 ος ἡεοπεστιν καὶ ταςω-  
 5 πε εἰς πνοῦτε αὐτω-  
 ψ ἡ<sup>1</sup> μαρὶ παρὺν ῥα παρ<sup>2</sup>-  
 χων καὶ αὖ παρὺν ψω-  
 πε ἀπατοῦν καὶ εὐ-  
 σεπαζῖς αὐτῶ ἀπαρὺν  
 10 ἀπερὶ πακοῦν(π)  
 προσ παεῖο ἀπαρὺν(π)  
 αὐτῶ ἀπὸ εὐραὶ ἡπετ-  
 ραπεζα ππεσπὶ κα-  
 τα τεσπινῶτα εὐλετο-  
 15 φορεῖ 2008 ῥῖ οὐρῆς ε-  
 πρῶτον ἀπὸ καὶ εὐ-  
 παζῖς ῥῖ οὐπὸς παρῆ  
 αὐτῶ ἡπερὶ καὶ εὐ(π)  
 εὐ πτοπὸς ἀπαρχαγγε-  
 20 λος μιχανὰ ἀπαρὺν  
 εὐμ περὶ εὐετῆς-

<sup>1</sup> Supply ῥῖ καὶ π.μ.

<sup>2</sup> p added above the line by a later hand.

κε  
 ρῖστον ἀνθρώπων εὐτω  
 μμος καὶ περὶ πνοῦ  
 ποῦτῆς καὶ πνοῦ πνοῦ τε(π-)  
 φεοῦν καὶ πῖνοεῖς μὴ  
 5 παρχαγγέλος εὐτοααῖ  
 μιχανὰ καὶ ἀπερὶ-  
 ρων ἀπερὶ αὐτῶ ἀ-  
 περὶ καὶ εὐ περὶ αὐτῶ  
 ἀλλὰ ἀκχοῦν παρ ἡ-  
 10 περὶ πῖνοεῖς  
 ῥῖ οὐπὸς εἰτα μὴ-  
 σαπαὶ αὐτῶ πῖρππ  
 ἀπὸ καὶ ῥῖ οὐπὸς αὐ-  
 οῦν ἀπρὸ ἀπερὶ  
 15 ῥῖ ππεσπὶ ἀπρὸς-  
 καρτῆρῖ ῥαχὺ ἀ-  
 παρὺν ῥῖ οὐπὸς ἡ-  
 ποῦν ἡπερὶ ππ καὶ  
 Ποῦ παρῆ αὐτῶ ἀπρὸ  
 20 ἡπρὸς ἀπαρὺν  
 ἀπαρὺν εὐ  
 ῥῖ οὐπὸς ἡπρὸς ῥῖ-  
 ρῖα

<sup>1</sup> ρ 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 . . .

\* *Recto*  
= Boh. p. 41<sup>25f.</sup>;  
Sah. p. 388 f.

\* *Verso*



## ENCOMIA ON GABRIEL AND ELIAS

### X. ENCOMIUM ON THE ARCHANGEL GABRIEL

Parchment. Single leaf (Cairo, no. 39), 26.2 × 20 cm., numbered —κζ. 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, 2<sup>1</sup>), paged ιζ, ιη, belonged to the same ms.

The following passages may lead to the identification of the fragment.

*Recto* 1-8:

οτορ πεατωω μμοc δε αλφωc οτηνυ† τε τχομ μπαρχηαγγελοc εφοταη γαηρ[ι]ηλ οτορ α φ†  
ιρι ηοηc[οα]† ηεμαη ριτεη πεγαρχηαγγελοc εφοταη.

*Verso* 1-6:

αcυωηι δε οη ηεν [ηx]η[οp]οηκωτ μποη† ητε ηεκκληcια εφοταη ηεμ ηε[cαc]ηοη ηοηcι]αcηηηοη  
αηηηοη[οη] ε ταρο ... (14-17.) αηι εηοηη ηηε οη ηεληηηηη ηαφοαρτοc αηοηι εραηη αηηοηηη ερωοη ...

<sup>1</sup> 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 Library<sup>1</sup> also dealing with Elias and doubtless brought by Tattam from Dêr Abû Makâr.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup>

Our leaf contains the peroration and conclusion of the Encomium published by Budge<sup>4</sup> 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 Suriân<sup>5</sup>) 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.<sup>6</sup> 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.

<sup>1</sup> Crum, *Cat.*, no. 438.

<sup>2</sup> See *Introduction*, § 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Cod. Tisch.* xxviii, 2-4 (see Leipoldt, *ap. Vollers, Kat.*, p. 418).

<sup>4</sup> *T.S.B.A.* ix, Pt. ii.

<sup>5</sup> See Curzon, *Visits to Monasteries of the Levant* (2nd edn.), pp. 82 f.

<sup>6</sup> See the Coptic *Mart. of Isaac of Tiphre*, ed. Budge

(*T.S.B.A.* ix, 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.* iv, v, § 2.





## MIRACLES OF SAINT GEORGE

## XII. ENCOMIUM ON THE THREE CHILDREN

Parchment. Two leaves (Cairo, nos. 18, 18<sup>Add</sup>) from one ms., measuring  $29 \times 21$  and  $29.5 \times 21$  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.<sup>1</sup> The first leaf begins: ⲡⲟⲟⲕ ⲁⲉ ⲁⲣⲉⲗ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ [ . . . . . ]  
ⲡⲉⲕⲙⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲣⲏⲡ [ . . . ] ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲡ ⲉ ⲡⲏⲧⲣⲉ] - ⲁⲉ ⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧ [ⲁⲕ]ⲡⲁⲟⲩⲧⲟⲩ ⲡⲱⲟⲩ - ⲉ[ⲉⲡ ⲟⲩ]ⲙⲟⲩ ⲭⲡⲁⲙⲟⲩ  
ⲡⲟⲟⲕ. "And thus Nebuchadnezzar took them to Babylon, put them in his treasury and sealed them with his  
seal (ⲱⲟⲟⲩⲣ). So he took Joakim and Jekonias to Babylon.<sup>2</sup> And when the King had regained his calm  
(ⲉⲣⲡⲏⲑⲏ), he bade ⲙⲁⲛⲏ, his chief eunuch (cp. *Dan.* 1, 11), to bring him chosen royal youths from the  
Judaeian 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. . . ."<sup>3</sup> In the second leaf (numbered on the *verso* ⲗ) the Devil

urges the King to fashion his image (ⲧⲉⲕⲣⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲡⲉⲙ ⲧⲉⲕⲧⲉⲗⲏ) and set it up in the ⲕⲟⲓⲡⲏⲣⲁ (? = ⲕⲟⲓ ⲓⲡⲏⲣⲁ  
 "the field of Ur")<sup>4</sup> in the land of Babylon and command all men to worship it. The leaf ends: ⲡⲁⲣⲏⲧⲁ ⲁ  
ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲧⲁⲃⲟ. (2) Two leaves at Leipzig (*Cod. Tisch.* xxvii, 5, 6)<sup>5</sup> 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—*περὼν τετραποικὴ ἐβόλ ἄν*, and ends—*τοτε παβ[ο]ρχοζονοσορ ἀφοταρ[α]ζνι ἡζαπρωμι ἡζαπρι [π]ῖρεμ ἡπομτ̄ πεμ ε[ . . . μα]ψω εοροτ̄ . . . . . ]ς σεζαρκ [ . . . . . ἀδεζ]ῖαρω. This leaf must have been directly followed by *Cod. Tisch.* xxvii, 6, which begins *εοροτ̄εῖτορ ε̄ ὀμντ̄ ἡ[τ̄]ζρω ἡχρωμ εομορ*. The following gloss incorporated in the text (*verso* ll. 16 ff.) may be quoted: *πῖζαζι ὀωλ̄ ἔτε φαῑ πε πῖτορ εοπνοτ̄ ἐβόλ̄ε(π) πῖμαρι*.*

Frag. 2 deals with the death of the Three (Pashons 10) after receiving promise from God of the honors to be paid them after death. The text begins—(l. 8)  $\sigma\theta\sigma\eta\ \mu\eta\epsilon\eta\ \epsilon\phi\alpha\sigma\psi\omega\mu\epsilon\iota\ \delta\epsilon\eta\ \alpha\lambda\alpha\kappa\eta\eta\ [\iota\tau\omicron\tau]\chi\omicron\varsigma\ [\chi\epsilon]\ \Phi\ddagger\ \dots$ , and ends (*verso*)  $[\iota\tau\omicron]\tau\epsilon\ \nu\omicron\sigma\tau\omicron\ \alpha\gamma\iota\omega\gamma\ \delta\epsilon[\eta]\ \sigma\tau\iota\omega\varsigma\ \mu\epsilon\mu\ \mu\epsilon\gamma[\mu\eta\psi]\ddagger\ \tau\eta\rho\sigma\ \alpha\gamma\iota\ \epsilon\ [\mu\iota\mu\alpha\ \epsilon]\mu\epsilon\ \mu\epsilon\omega\mu\alpha$ , followed by slight fragments of four further lines. This leaf was immediately preceded by *Cod. Tisch.* xxviii, 5, which ends:  $\iota\epsilon\ \mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\mu\alpha\tau\ \delta\epsilon\eta\ \mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\mu\alpha\tau$ .

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 —π, the last of quire ξ (*sic*), and measuring  $29 \times 24$  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 π and μ 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.<sup>6</sup>

The Bohairic texts relating to Saint George all appear to be derived from the Monasteries of Wadi 'n Natrûn: the Bodleian ms. (dated 1293)<sup>7</sup> belonged to "the Church of the Virgin in the Monastery of Baramûs," and may have been brought thence by Huntington;<sup>8</sup> the Rylands ms. was formerly in Tattam's possession<sup>9</sup> 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, 29<sup>10</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>5</sup> See Leipoldt, *l.c.*, p. 414.

6 *S. George of Cappadocia*, pp. 44 ff.

7 *op. cit.*, pp. x, xi and Hyvernât, *Album*, p. 18.

8 See *Introduction*, § 5.

9 See Crum, *Catalogue*, no. 443.

10 See Leipoldt, *l.c.*, p. 414.

# NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

(Cairo, no. 26.)

... πες παγιος [δε] γεωρ-  
[γιος . . . ]ε ποτρο  
[ . . . ]ερχω μμος  
[χε . . . ]παι οικο-  
5 [πομος] φαι γε οτηι γαρ  
[ . . . ]ειο πε  
ΙC οτηι περοον φοτωш  
[ε ε]п отхонт ехωш аλ-  
[λα . . . ]ωστηριгт еоће тмет-  
10 [шам]ше гзωлон пте фок-  
леттапос  
Тпот де ахшантωпк йто-  
οτηι аλιοуи ппишощт  
птотч  
15 Ппгтот пкеотат фп ете  
пйлаос пасотпч  
Потро де етагтωпч асї  
еђотп е птотпос е шлнл  
ахшмй мпйлаос тпгч  
20 ехжотшт ебол хажωч  
хен отра-  
ш  
Хе ахшмй пот[ο]τρο й-  
омнй ехжнй [еб]ολ ка-  
25 та фт мфрнф йзавта  
пем солотωп  
Отот е[т]ахшлнл ахрем-  
сї<sup>1</sup> ахтамоч тпгт

<sup>1</sup> ахремсї, MS.

РН ІНС ⦿ ПХС ̅̅̅

ахсемї паг еоће ппокопо-  
помос йте гзавтїа<sup>1</sup> ет-  
тамо ммоу еоће тмет-  
аонай еђотп е пгжнй пем  
5 пжωн =  
Ехжω ммос хе тенемї ерїе  
гжн пйен ете фай ірї йрнф  
пхот шх фот аλλα [мпен-]  
шсаш ап еоће тметшам-  
10 шх гзωлон етфорх ебол  
гжхен пкагї  
тпгч  
Тпот де пепот а фт оторпк  
шарон йотреушф  
15 аrioтї мпйфнеон ката тек-  
метсаше  
Потро де ахтаме пймш  
тпгч йпн ет а пйагїос  
геωргїос жотот паг  
20 еоће [п]покопомос хе(п)  
ахасот-  
ї  
Отот ахотωрп сатотч  
ахфот[ш]ωн мпечнї пем  
25 пезапоеннй отот ах-  
гїч еболхен птотпос  
отот ашхен хен фпо-  
лї[с] тпгс ахшмй потрω-

††[ο] а-  
рпа-  
метї [а-  
пок  
пжωн  
етасх-  
аї пшн-  
рї . ме .  
х . ахф  
пте .  
пап . .  
а ~

<sup>1</sup> sic, for гзавтїа (?). Or is this a corruption of йтаптїохїа?

\* Recto

... \*But the holy George [appeared] to the King<sup>1</sup>... saying: "...this steward<sup>2</sup>...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.<sup>3</sup> 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...<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps Constantine.

<sup>2</sup> 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).

<sup>3</sup> The meaning seems to be, "we do not accuse him

for his idolatry, since that was universal, but for his harshness."

<sup>4</sup> 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  $28 \times 21$  cm. Frag. 1 is the outermost sheet of quire  $\bar{\epsilon}$ , comprising two leaves paged respectively  $\bar{\lambda}\bar{\epsilon}$ ,  $\bar{\lambda}\bar{\alpha}$  and  $(\bar{\mu}\bar{\zeta})$ ,  $\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}$ . The initial and final quire-headings are:  $\bar{\epsilon}$ — $\bar{\pi}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}$ —(Ornament)— $\bar{\pi}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\pi}$ — $\bar{\lambda}\bar{\epsilon}$ , and  $\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}$ — $\bar{\iota}\bar{\eta}\bar{\varsigma}$ —(Ornament)— $\bar{\pi}\bar{\chi}\bar{\varsigma}$ — $\bar{\epsilon}$ . The first two quires therefore contained eight leaves each; the third, only six. Frag. 2 is paged — $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}$  without other heading. The hand in all three leaves (see Plate XII 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 — $\bar{\kappa}\bar{\eta}$ ); xxvi, 16 (paged — $\bar{\mu}\bar{\epsilon}$ , and therefore immediately preceding the new-found leaf  $(\bar{\mu}\bar{\zeta})$ ,  $\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}$ );<sup>1</sup> and xxvi, 2 (*verso* headed  $\bar{\pi}$ — $\bar{\iota}\bar{\eta}\bar{\varsigma}$ —(Ornament)— $\bar{\pi}\bar{\chi}\bar{\varsigma}$ — $(\bar{\eta})$ ).<sup>2</sup> *Cod. Tisch.* xxv, 4<sup>3</sup> (*recto* headed  $\bar{\epsilon}$ — $\bar{\pi}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}$ —(Ornament)— $\bar{\pi}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\pi}$ — $\bar{\lambda}\bar{\epsilon}$ ), 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) Pr. — $\bar{\kappa}\bar{\eta}$ ,  $\bar{\pi}\bar{\iota}\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\varsigma}$   $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\chi}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\rho}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\iota}\bar{\pi}$  ...  $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\theta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{\chi}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{\varsigma}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\varsigma}\bar{\omega}\bar{\tau}\bar{\iota}\bar{\pi}$  = *Vat.* pp.  $\bar{\rho}\bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}$  l. 14— $\bar{\rho}\bar{\zeta}\bar{\theta}$  l. 19.
- (2) Pr. — $\bar{\lambda}\bar{\epsilon}$ , — $\bar{\lambda}\bar{\alpha}$ , — $\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\chi}$   $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\phi}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{\iota}\bar{\tau}\bar{\varsigma}\bar{\eta}\bar{\chi}\bar{\iota}$  ...  $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\chi}\bar{\omega}\bar{\tau}\bar{\iota}\bar{\tau}$   $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{\pi}\bar{\iota}\bar{\mu}\bar{\alpha}$   $\bar{\pi}$ — = *Vat.* pp.  $\bar{\rho}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\alpha}$  l. 20— $(\bar{\rho}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\epsilon})$  l. 23.
- (3) Pr. — $\bar{\mu}\bar{\epsilon}$ :  $\bar{\pi}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\chi}\bar{\omega}\bar{\tau}$   $\bar{\pi}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\chi}$   $\bar{\chi}\bar{\epsilon}$  ...  $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\theta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\omega}\bar{\iota}\bar{\tau}$   $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\rho}[\bar{\omega}\bar{\tau}]\bar{\pi}$   $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\rho}\bar{\omega}\bar{\chi}$  = *Vat.*  $\bar{\rho}\bar{\pi}$  l. 13— $(\bar{\rho}\bar{\pi}\bar{\alpha})$  l. 18.
- (4) Pr. — $\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}$ :  $\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{\varsigma}\bar{\omega}\bar{\tau}$   $\bar{\iota}\bar{\pi}\bar{\iota}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\bar{\delta}$  ...  $\bar{\tau}\bar{\iota}\bar{\rho}\bar{\omega}\bar{\tau}$   $\bar{\chi}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}\bar{\kappa}$   $\bar{\rho}\bar{\omega}$   $\bar{\tau}\bar{\chi}\bar{\varsigma}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\pi}$  = *Vat.*  $\bar{\rho}\bar{\pi}\bar{\alpha}$  l. 18— $\bar{\rho}\bar{\pi}\bar{\eta}$  l. 20.
- (5) Pr. — $\bar{\lambda}\bar{\epsilon}$  (*Cod. Tisch.* xxv, 4):  $\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{\tau}\bar{\mu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omega}\bar{\tau}\bar{\rho}$   $\bar{\iota}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{\pi}\bar{\iota}\bar{\phi}\bar{\eta}\bar{\omega}\bar{\iota}$  ... (end of text illegible) = *Vat.*  $\bar{\rho}\bar{\pi}\bar{\alpha}$  l. 27— $\bar{\rho}\bar{\pi}\bar{\epsilon}$  l. 21.
- (6) Pr. — $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}$ :  $\bar{\varsigma}\bar{\omega}\bar{\tau}$   $\bar{\mu}\bar{\pi}\bar{\iota}\bar{\varsigma}\bar{\chi}\bar{\eta}\bar{\pi}$  ...  $\bar{\sigma}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omega}\bar{\zeta}$   $\bar{\tau}\bar{\iota}\bar{\pi}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\rho}\bar{\psi}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\iota}\bar{\pi}$   $\bar{\epsilon}$  = *Vat.*  $\bar{\rho}\bar{\pi}\bar{\eta}$  l. 33— $\bar{\rho}\bar{\chi}$  l. 3.
- (7) Pr. — $\bar{\pi}$ :  $\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{\varsigma}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}$  ...  $\bar{\kappa}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\rho}\bar{\mu}\bar{\iota}$   $\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{\pi}\bar{\iota}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\bar{\chi}$  ...  $\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{\pi}\bar{\chi}\bar{\eta}\bar{\iota}$   $\bar{\pi}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{\iota}\bar{\pi}\bar{\iota}\bar{\omega}\bar{\tau}\bar{\rho}\bar{\omega}\bar{\tau}$   $\bar{\iota}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{\pi}\bar{\iota}\bar{\theta}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\rho}\bar{\sigma}$   $\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\bar{\iota}\bar{\chi}$   $\bar{\epsilon}$  ...  $\bar{\sigma}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omega}$   $\bar{\mu}\bar{\pi}\bar{\iota}\bar{\omega}\bar{\tau}[\bar{\rho}\bar{\sigma}]$  = *Vat.*  $\bar{\rho}\bar{\chi}\bar{\theta}$ — $\bar{\varsigma}$ .

### 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  $6 \times 12.5$  cm. and  $10 \times 20.5$  cm. A fourth fragment,  $6.5 \times 22$  cm., is the top of a leaf numbered on the *verso*  $\bar{\kappa}\bar{\alpha}$ , 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. Hyvernât, *Album*, Plate xx) is identical with the script of certain leaves at Leipzig, *Cod. Tisch.* xxvi, 28, 33, 34:<sup>4</sup> all certainly belonged to one ms., in which (be it noted) Frag. 1 immediately preceded *Cod. Tisch.* xxvi, 28, which begins,  $\bar{\mu}\bar{\phi}\bar{\rho}\bar{\iota}\bar{\tau}$   $\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}$   $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\chi}\bar{\omega}\bar{\iota}$   $\bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\bar{\delta}\bar{\epsilon}$ — $\bar{\mu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}\bar{\chi}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\varsigma}$   $\bar{\rho}\bar{\iota}\bar{\chi}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\pi}$   $\bar{\pi}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}\bar{\iota}$ .

As Winstedt has pointed out,<sup>5</sup> 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 Turin<sup>6</sup> (acquired by Drovetti almost certainly from the Monastery of Saint Macarius<sup>7</sup>), 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.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On the two Leipzig fragments see Leipoldt, *l.c.*, p. 411.

<sup>2</sup> *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.).

<sup>3</sup> Leipoldt, *l.c.*, p. 401 (but not there identified).

<sup>4</sup> These have been published by Winstedt, *Copt. Texts on S. Theodore*, pp. 161 ff. <sup>5</sup> *op. cit.*, pp. xxix f.

<sup>6</sup> Published by de Rossi, *Mem. della Accad. delle Scienze di Torino*, Ser. II, t. XLIII (1893), pp. 318 ff.

<sup>7</sup> See *Introduction*, § 5.

<sup>8</sup> Published in *Acta Mart. Copt.*, pp. 182 ff.

# NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 49).

.. ..<sup>1</sup>  
 αἱ ἀγπαὶ εἰ ποτὶ ἰησοῦς πνεύματι  
 πεγαγγελοῦ εὐοταῖς ἐνδ-  
 ρι ἐρατοῦ = ἐρε πима тирч  
 ои потωпи = асерроѣ ѿма-  
 5 шω = асер ѿфритъ потрег-  
 мωотъ  
 Πισωτιρ δε асеротωп тег-  
 хиз εἰκολ = асерсфрѣгиз(п)  
 ѿпегсωма тирч ден  
 10 франи ѿфитъ = нем пшири  
 нем пиппа εὐοταῖς = асѡли  
 ѿѣроѣ εἰκολ зароч пеза-  
 па-  
 Хе жемпомѣ ѡ пасωти ѳе-  
 15 ѡωрос ѿперерроѣ =  
 тωпк ѿ пшѡи ѿтасахи не-  
 мах = ѿтатамок е ни тиротъ  
 еѡпашѡпи ѿмок = зина ѿ-  
 текшѡпи ѿре пекрѣт  
 20 тахрноѣт = ѿтекерѣтѡ-  
 пизесѡе ден пѣтѡп еѡ-  
 папег = шатекѡи ѿпихломъ  
 ѿте пѡро = птекерклн-  
 ропоми ѿпѣгѣѡп пте  
 25 ѳметотро ѿпѣн-  
 отъ  
 паѣ ет асѣтѡтѡт ппи еѡ-  
 паменрит = птотѣри ѿпаѡт-  
 ѡш

<sup>1</sup> Traces of a heading.

Тотѣ асеротѡ пхе фи е-  
 ѳотаῖ ѳеѡωрос = хе ѿ-  
 ѳок пим паѡт = хе ѣпатъ ѿ-  
 рок ѿре паѣ пшѣѣ ѿѡт  
 5 кѡѣ ѿрокъ  
 Пехе писωтир паѣ хе ѡпокъ  
 не ἰηс некотро = ѡпокъ не  
 пихломъ ѿте пи еѡпаѡмо-  
 пи ѿтотѡт = птотѣрѣтѡ-  
 10 пизесѡе ѿрни зѣхен па-  
 рап  
 Пи кѣри [м]фметѣ ап ѿпѣгѡотъ  
 ѣташѡпи пхитѣ = ахха  
 тотк εἰκολ ѿ фмотъ = ѣакъ  
 15 хос пагрен пи еткѡѣ ѿрокъ  
 хе ѡмоѣ неѣтермартѡросъ  
 зѡ не = ѿтамотъ ѣхен франи  
 ѿпхс  
 ѡрноѣт ѣпашѡми зѡ поткотъ  
 20 хѣ ѿпаѣ ѿгѣпн = ден пегѣн-  
 ма ѣтоѣ ѿроѣ  
 ѣпѡт хе ѡ пасωти ѳеѡω-  
 рос = сѣтѡтк зина ѿтек-  
 ерѣтѡпизесѡе ѣхен па-  
 25 рап  
 Аххѣ ѿ соѣѣ пак ѿпекма п-  
 шѡпи ѿрни ден пѣфнотѣ  
 асѣѣѣ ѿпекран зѣ пѣѡм ѿ-  
 пѡпѣ

\* *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:<sup>1</sup> '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 judgment-seat.' 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."

<sup>1</sup> See Frag. 2 verso (ll. 15 ff.), which should precede this leaf.

## THE MARTYRDOM OF THEODORE THE STRATELATES

Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 49).

]пн  
 пн]нен  
 ]пн  
 ]. м̃  
 5 ]ром  
 ]  
 отарса]рп еѳ-  
 ]тротп  
 ]. парра  
 10 ]  
 ]ау м̃ф̃†  
 ]парω-  
 ]тем.  
 ]  
 15 ]анас  
 ]г...  
 ]п  
 еѳо]ѳад[ ... ]ри  
 ]аваш  
 20 ]с  
 стра]тилатис  
 ]ммок ѱ  
 ]поісоѳ  
 ]рина ѱтек-  
 25 ]еѣ мпенноѳ†  
 ]ощи квору  
 ]ѳеоѳωрос  
 κ]αλως δ̃ тете(п)  
 жос

x[  
 2ω[  
 aт[  
 Пин[  
 5 п̄т[  
 п̄еѡ[  
 Плин м[  
 тєп т[  
 кωп [  
 10 пaдѣ ин[с п̄х̄с пармет е-  
 ѡл̄ п̄т[амоу ехєп пек-  
 рап̄ ѣѡ[отаѣ мпем-  
 ѡ̄ п̄о[топ̄ п̄хєп ет̄хєп  
 пaи ма  
 15 Ниниѡ† [дє п̄архωп̄ птє т̄по-  
 л̄ис̄ е[кω† м̄моу . . .  
 п[  
 м[ . . . ]єѣ[  
 к[ . . . ] п[  
 20 Нaт̄хω м[мос пє пєм потєрн-  
 оу = хє о[т̄ пє пaи рап̄  
 фaи пa. [  
 ш̄хємx[ом  
 м̄пaи п̄иѡ† п[  
 25 Стaт̄фoз̄ дє. [  
 ѣѡл̄ = аѣпaт̄[  
 ф̄н̄ еѡотаѣ ѣ[  
 пєѡѡиѡш̄ о[о[

[Theodore in his sickness cries out] “... (l. 10) my Lord Jesus the Christ, deliver me that I may die for 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).

[illegible]

\* \* \*

]...χι  
]. ψη  
]  
5 Στα το[οτι δε ψηπι αq-  
ερκελ]ετιπ εοροθα-  
ψq πεп οστ]ροχοc αq-  
]. ανιτοε  
]ηθε-

\* \* \*

\* . . . he said: "O mighty martyr, . . . to thee the Cross of the true Son of God, Jesus the Christ, Who came  
into the world to save sinners.<sup>1</sup> I am the . . . my soul . . ." \* . . . (l. 4) But when it was day, he (the  
Governor) ordered that they should fix him (Theodore) upon a wheel. He . . .

# NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Fo. 2	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
	π[					]	μενσεχι
	βολδ[εν					φι	εταφωρα]τιπ̄ η̄πρωωτ̄ πεμ
	ποπ =					π[	μοχλοτс̄ μ̄θενπι μ̄
	Δαυδα[ δε η̄νεῡη̄λ̄ ε̄ π̄ωω					.....	η̄τε αμεν̄ ετ̄-
5	ε̄ τφε̄ Οτορ̄ πς[			5	.....	π	μμωωτ̄ ε-
	ρᾱ φη̄ ε̄ταφωρ̄ πε̄πᾱπε[γ				.....	πε ..	η̄ραν-
	παγ̄ Οτορ̄ παγ̄ω̄ μ̄μο̄ς					]η̄	
	πε̄ γε̄ παπο̄ν̄τ̄ πᾱτ̄ψ̄ε[ᾱχι					]ο̄τ̄(π)	
	φη̄ ετ̄[αγ̄...				*	*	*
10	κο[						
	*	*	*				

\* *Recto* \* ... (l. 4) He lifted up his eyes to heaven and his (?) ... unto Him Who had done good unto him. And  
 \* *Verso* he was saying: "My God, the Ineffable, Thou Who didst ...; \* Thou Who didst break the gates and the iron bars<sup>2</sup> of [the house?] of Amenti ..."

Frag. 4 (Cairo, no. 49).

η̄πα[ ταλσο̄ ε̄τασσωτε[μ	κ̄α
ε̄ φαῑ ᾱσρε[ῑ ε̄ρη̄νῑ η̄τ̄ο̄τ̄-	μ̄]μο̄ς γε̄ ᾱμοῑ ε̄παρε̄ πετεπ̄ιω̄τ̄
πο̄τ̄ ᾱσερ̄ μ̄φρη̄τ̄ η̄π̄ρ̄εγ̄-	ο̄]εο̄ω̄ρο̄ς μ̄πα[ πε̄ η̄τεγ̄πᾱτ̄
μω̄ο̄]τ̄τ̄ Οτορ̄[	ερ̄]ω̄τεπ̄ =
*	] .. μ̄πα[ = ρ̄ ... ε̄ ᾱγ̄-
*	*

\* *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* cvii, 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, 14<sup>1</sup>) is the upper half of an initial leaf, 21 × 25 cm., paged —Ē, containing the title (in the usual ornamented framing of cable-pattern) of the Martyrdoms of Justus, Apoli,<sup>2</sup> Theoclia, and Eusebius.<sup>3</sup> Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 52), a leaf from which the outer edge has been torn, measures 31.2 cm. (complete height) × 18.8 cm. (actual width): the column is 18.8 cm. wide. The verso is headed ⲙⲕⲥ (center), as in Frag. 1. In both the hand is a large well-shaped uncial, probably of the x century (see Plate X A). (2) Frags. 3-4 (*Cod. Tisch.* xxiv, 19, 20<sup>4</sup>) are two consecutive leaves, paged —ⲡⲛĒ, —ⲡⲛⲁ, now measuring 32 × 24 and 31 × 25 cm. respectively. The hand is a medium, rounded uncial (? late x or xi century): capital letters have dotted ornament (usually ) and flourishes: capital O and E frequently occur in the body of the column. Stops (red), + or ⲡ. In the right margin of Frag. 3 *recto* is a drawing of a bird on a conventional spray. (3) Frag. 5 (*Cod. Tisch.* xxvi, 36<sup>5</sup>), 28 × 17 cm., though probably contemporary with Frags. 3-4, can hardly belong to the same ms.,<sup>6</sup> differing as it does in size and style (e.g. stops have the form =): yet the use of capital O and E 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 consecutive<sup>7</sup> 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 commemorated<sup>8</sup> on Mechir (Amshir) 10. The saint was a magnate of Antioch,<sup>9</sup> 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.<sup>10</sup> 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).<sup>11</sup>

At Antinoë Arianus was with difficulty induced to torture so distinguished a person as Justus, but finally inflicted the usual series of torments (Frag. 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,'<sup>12</sup> to the south of Antinoë (Frag. 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.



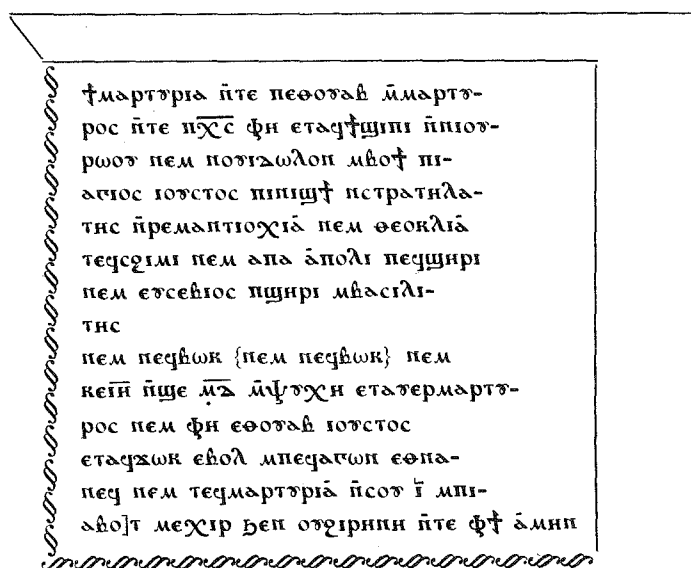
## NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

The personages named in the title are all figured in a large xvi century wall-painting on the S. side of the Chapel of S. Michael in the Kasr at Dêr Abû Makâr.<sup>1</sup> They are also grouped together on a small parchment leaf from a liturgical book (Cairo, no. 99), the relevant passage being as follows:

Ἀπολὶ πευшиρὶ + [нем ѿеок]λῖα τεуеуѣми + аѡѡѣ ератѡт ѡнемѡ ѡпотро Ἀуесахὶ немѡѡт ἵже πῖ-  
сеѣнс + потро Διοκλῆτιανος + же нѣм етеркоλῖн (*sic*) ѡмѡтѣн + е ер ѡѡѡѡ пара пенѡѡѡѡ +  
[ετ]αуеуѣаὶ ἵѡтѡт ἀναφᾶ[сис]<sup>2</sup> аѡѡѡѡѡѡт еѡрнѣ е тхѡѡра ἵхнѣмѣ + аѡѡѡѡѡѡт мпѣхѡм пᾶѡѡѡм + ἵѡте  
†метмартѡѡѡѡ + πῖαѡѡѡѡс Ἀсѣлῖтѣс + еѡѡѡѡѡѡс нем макаѡѡѡѡс + аѡѡѡѡѡѡт мпѣхѡм пᾶѡѡѡм [ἵѡте]  
†метмартѡѡѡѡ.

<sup>1</sup> Above пен- a contemporary (?) hand has written тен-.      <sup>2</sup> *sic*, for ἀποφᾶсис.

Frag. 1 (*Cod. Tisch.* xxiv, 14).



(Traces of one line)

\* \* \*

ἥ                      ἱνс  
ше ἑῆ[ο]λ ἑ πῖποлемѡс аѡѡѡѡѡ  
ἵпѣкомѣтѣс пшѣрѣ ѡпотро  
ἵпѣперсѣс аѡѡѡѡ ѡѡѡтѣ ἑ  
апѣѡѡѡѡ аѡѡѡѡѡ ѡѡѡѡ ἵѡтѡ-  
5    ромпѣ ἵѡѡѡѡѡ ѡѡѡѡѡѡ  
Πεπεсѡс аѡѡѡѡ ѡѡѡѡ ѡпѣ-  
архѣпѣсѡѡѡс ἵѡте †ѡаѡѡ  
еѡѡѡ ѡѡѡс  
Хе мо ἑ пᾶѡ ἑѡѡт пшѣрѣ пе ѡпот-  
10    ро ἵпѣперсѣс аѡѡѡ ѡѡѡ ѡпѣ  
ѡѡѡте пѣѡѡѡт шнѣ ἵсѡѡѡ  
Тѡте пᾶрхѣпѣсѡѡѡс аѡѡ-  
ѡѡ ѡпшѣрѣ ѡпотро ἵпѣпер-  
сѣс аѡѡѡѡ ѡѡѡѡ кᾶѡѡ фѡѡѡ-  
15    аѡѡѡѡ ѡпотро Διοκλῆτιᾶ-  
ѡѡс  
Πεπεсᾶ рᾶпѡѡѡѡѡ ѡѡ аѡѡѡѡѡ-  
ѡѡ ἵѡѡѡ потро ἵпѣперсѣс  
... х]е пᾶѡѡ[н]ѣс пѣѡѡѡѡѡ

\* \* \*

\* (p. 1)      \*The Martyrdom of the pure Martyr of Christ, who put to shame the Kings and their foul idols, the holy 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...

\* \* \* \* \*

<sup>1</sup> See *A.A.C.M.* II, iii, § 2.

# THE MARTYRDOM OF JUSTUS THE STRATELATES

Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 52).

..... ]ḥṛ ḥlōtkot[tiṇ  
 ..... ḥm]wot nem ḥf[...].  
 ... neq]xoi egerewt ḥen fi-  
 om ne o]oṛ psep ḥneqxrma  
 5 aqtnito]ṛ ḥḥol ḥpiṛki nem pi-  
 xira ḥem piopfanos etḥen  
 fḥoli]c  
 Παῖρνητ ἀ]φῃα εἰς παρ ḥen piērooṛ  
 ḥḥol]ḥen petentaq tirq  
 10 ..... ]wḥpi ne coṛ f  
 ..... ]. ne  
 Πενπενωc ḥen ḥ]xipore pie-  
 xwṛ e]ti etenkot  
 ic qnpe poṛ ḥnc ḥ]x̄c aqī wā-  
 15 rowt ḥen oṛwot ḥ]em raḥri-  
 nā nem miḥanā etoṛi ē]ratot  
 ca oṛnam nem caḥaon]  
 . . . . . ] piṣw-  
 tir . . . . . ]. eṛc ka-  
 20 . . . . . ḥ]em āpa a-  
 poli neqṣiri nem] ḥeokl[ia  
 teqsr̄mi pat]oṛi gar ne  
 nemaq]  
 Οτορ ḥen fōṛn]oṛ ā miḥanā  
 25 cwoṛten ḥḥ]ol ḥneqṣḥwt  
 aqṣwṛ ḥmwo]ṛ  
 Τοτε етаτ]ωoṛnoṛ ḥen  
 piḥiporoṛ]pat ē  
 nepoṛ ḥnc ḥ]x̄c nem neqat-  
 30 celos eo]raḥ eqṣon ḥen  
 oṛpiṣf ḥ]wot aṛerṛoṛ  
 emaṣw]  
 Πεχαq pxe piṣ]wtir pwoṛṛ

ḥnc  
 mpe]rerṛoṛ m]lloṛ ḥe er-  
 raṣi] ḥe āpok fṣon [nemaḥ  
 Eneḡaḡ gar aḥf ḥnekeṛ]parxon-  
 ta piṛnki nem tek[meoṛa-  
 5 maō ḥpiḥwḥ āpok [ṛw fpa-  
 siōnnoṛ ēḥoṛi ē ta[metot-  
 po ḥtaf exwten ḥ]piṣmoṛ  
 ḥte patot ḥtet]enoṛ mi  
 ḥpiḡaḡaon ḥte ḥ]aiot ḥen  
 10 tametotro ḥ]n et aiceḥ-  
 twot ḥpiḥ e]ḥmei ḥparaṇ  
 Twotṛi ēḥri] . . . .  
 ere piḡw]n . . . .  
 ḥol  
 15 Πперерε[oṛ fpaṣwpi nemaḥ  
 ḥen [ fḥwra ētemmaṛ et-  
 oṛn]aotoṛpiḥ ēḥoṛi ēroc  
 ḥaḥ[niṛ . . . .  
 Otoṛ eḥ] . . . .  
 20 ḥtoṛi [maṣe naḥ ēḥoṛi wā  
 ḥ]ai oṛo [ ḥpanomos aḥoc  
 naq  
 Ḥe cḥai piḥ ē ḥ]wteḥ mmoṛ(?)  
 ḥmaṛ eḥri] [eḥen fraṇ ḥpa-  
 25 oṛ ḥnc ḥ]x̄c x[e oṛni ḥpa-  
 ḥmei ḥpai ma [ere piṛw-  
 mi paṣaxi ne[mni ḥe mi p-  
 oḥk ne piṛiṣ]f ḥ]parxon p-  
 tai ḥaki  
 30 Teme ḥe potṛ]o . . . . ē-  
 xwḥ ḥoṛon]  
 w]aroq ḡi ḡoṛ  
 . ]. oṛ

... \* [He gave] a hundred gold pieces [unto each of] them, and twenty. . . his ship voyaging by sea.<sup>1</sup> 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. . .

\*Recto

(l. 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:<sup>2</sup> \* "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<sup>3</sup> 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. . ."

\*Verso

1 Cp. the Ethiopic *Acta Mart.* (ed. Pereira) p. 83 for Justus' distribution of his wealth: *ib.* p. 73<sup>27</sup> 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.

# NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 3 (Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 19).

Же отои пни мфотт ероте пнот-  
 ршот тирот нте пкари + ет а  
 потро жонт ерои + еротш  
 е ротеи птафрхи + ефе фат  
 5 аротрп шарои мпништ н[ст]ра-  
 тилатис птеури хршм е таф[а-  
 ки +  
 Тотт аттасео нже пмнш а[т]таме  
 ютстос е ршн пнхен ета[р]шш-  
 10 ни + етафштем де афр[ше  
 прит емашш +  
 Шейнс[ш]с де афротіни п[от-  
 харти нем отмела афр[ш]а  
 шароу ершм ммос  
 15 Же апок пе ютстос пнеини [п]ара  
 ршм пнхен + фрк пак нфхом  
 етшоси нте пабс инс пхс + же  
 ммоп рли мпетршот пашшп  
 ммо[к] ап + ешшп акшаніри  
 20 пн[і] ката ткелетсис ндиокли-  
 ти[анос] потро +  
 Атшлі о[р]н нфепистолн еткшф  
 ншш + атхемш ершн рен от-  
 ма намре + отор атф пау нф-  
 25 епистолн + етафшш де ммос  
 афхемномф поткотш + от-  
 ор афшшш аш е пма + е наре  
 пмакаріос ютстос нрнтш  
 Отор етафнат ероу рі фотт +  
 30 аффартш нже ари[п]ос арот-  
 шшт

рнх  
 ммоу ершм ммос +  
 Же от петафшшп ммоу ш пабс  
 ктри ютстос пстратилатис  
 же акі е паи ма +  
 5 Пеже пматіос ютстос пау + же  
 е[т]аторпн пак же нтекер-  
 х[ш]асанішп ммои мфрнф етер пак  
 м[ен]шсшс нтекшлі нтафе  
 Ефе] же апок нем паи мнш ерот-  
 10 нр п[ш]ш + апок рашхристіанос  
 мп[ар]рнсіа +  
 Етафшштем де е пак нже арианос  
 афхемномф емашш + отор  
 рен фотшот афрн[ел]етін[п-  
 15 п]икестшнаріос + еротшш-  
 теи мпмнш тирш +  
 Шейнса паи де пешаш мпмака-  
 ріос ютстос +  
 Же іс пекешіан тирот ашротш  
 20 мшш + фшш же ісше пек-  
 отшш пе + ариотсіа [ршн] + .  
 Пеже пмакаріос пау + же пот-  
 шот ап пе фшш ппафшк + алла  
 еташотршот ршрш ммои е пш-  
 25 ма ншелет нте пхс +  
 Пеже арианос пау же рш ерок  
 рен паи сахш + нтекеротсіа  
 же отни фшш рашшк + отше  
 он ммоп шшш ммои ершрша-  
 30 санішп м[ш]шк + отше он нфпа-  
 шшшш ап пткелетсис мпабс  
 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."

\* p. 152 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 \*to him, saying: "What hath befallen thee, O my Master, 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."

## THE MARTYRDOM OF JUSTUS THE STRATELATES

Frag. 4 (Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 20).

ПИМАКАРИОС ДЕ ПЕХАҢ ПАҢ + ЖЕ ЧОНҢ  
 ПИЖЕ ПАПАТШЕЛЕТ ММИ ИНС ПХС  
 ФАИ Е ППАЕРСТРАТИЛАТИС ПАҢ  
 ИЖЕП ППОТ + ЖЕ ХАСАПОС ПИЖЕ(П)  
 5 ЕТЕҢ ПАК + ПЕМ МОТ ПИЖЕП АПИТОТ  
 ЕЖРНИ ЕХАИ + ОТОҢ ПСЕИТОТ  
 Е ЧАИ ХАРМОТ ГИТЕП ФИ ЕТФХОМ  
 ПНИ ПАДОС ИНС ПХС + МОНОМ МПЕР-  
 ЕРЗОТ Е ППИРЧ +  
 10 АРИАПОС ДЕ ЕТАҢСОТЕМ Е ПАИ А ТЕҢ-  
 ПУТХИ ТАХРО Е ППОТОП ППИТЧ +  
 ОТОҢ ДЕН ПОТНОТ АЧЕРКЕДЕТ-  
 НИ ЕОРОТАШЧ Е ПЕРМИНТАРИОП  
 ПСЕДЖИ ММОЧ +  
 15 ОТОҢ АЧӨРОТЖЕШ ЛАМЖАПТ ЕЖЕП  
 ПИЖЕ ПЖИКИ ЕТАТНИТОТ ПАҢ  
 ПЕППСОС ЖЕ АЧӨРОТХАҢ Е ПЕСИТ  
 ГИ ПЕРМИНТАРИОП + ОТОҢ АЧӨРОТ-  
 ИНИ ПРАПСАҢ МБЕНИНИ + ЕТЛОИШ  
 20 ПХРХОМ + ПСЕГІТОТ ЕЖОТИ Е-  
 ПЕҢМАШЖ ШАТЕ ПИХРХОМ ПЕРСИ  
 ДЕН ТЕҢАФЕ ТИРС +  
 ОТОҢ ОП АЧӨРОТИНИ ЕХОЛ ППЕҢ[А-  
 ПАГКЕОП + АЧӨРОТЖЕШ ТАҢ[Т ЕҢ-  
 25 ХЕРБЕР ЕЖРНИ ЕХАМОТ +  
 ПИМАКАРИОС ДЕ АҢҢАИ ППЕҢ[АЛ Е-  
 ПШОИ Е ТФЕ + ОТОҢ ПЕ[ХАҢ  
 ЖЕ СОТЕМ ЕРОИ ПАДОС ИНС ПХ[С  
 АИЖИ[И] ША ЕР[Р]НИ Е ФМОТ  
 30 СОТЕМ ЕРО[И + ]ФИ ЕТДЕН [ПИХОТ  
 МПЕҢИОТ

рн 2

Же пѣок не паотвини нем патат-  
 хром + нем тахром + отворп ша-  
 рои мпекагелос еѳотаѳ + ѿтеу-  
 фхом пни ѡеп тај отпор ѱапат-  
 ки + же поро фок не падѳ инс  
 5 пхс + нем пеніѵт пататоос  
 нем пиппа еѳотаѳ шѳ енер  
 ампи +  
 Нај де етафхотот афхотшт са  
 10 отіпам ммюу + афпат е пис-  
 тир + ере миханл са отіпам ммюу  
 о[то]р гадринл са хаши ммюу  
 Отор пехе пот пау же пасотп  
 іотстос мперерроф + алла ма-  
 15 тахрок птекжемхом + а[і-  
 к[ни еі]соѳѳ пак мпе[к]ѳоропос  
 ѡеп піфноти + отор птаха[к]  
 .... ѡеп пма пте фотви-  
 пи  
 20 Отор аусоттпн теузіх еѳол  
 ежен пейсѵма тиру + афта-  
 соу мпецртѳ<sup>1</sup> + отор афтном-  
 ѳ [п]ау еухо ммос же мпер-  
 ер)роф + отже мперер[к]отзи  
 25 е п[т]иру + еѳѳе фмот ѿп[а]і кос-  
 мо]с же отмот ап пе + алла  
 отѵпѳ] ш[а е]нер  
 ..... ] .... тафе еі . т м-  
 патиѵт іске [а]керезорізіп  
 30 [м.]ок отор а[к]ѳі шѵш пак еѳ-  
 ант

<sup>1</sup> *sic.*

GHT

\*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."

<sup>x</sup> (p. 153)

Now when Arianus heard this his spirit grew strong within him exceedingly. And straightway he commanded that they should hang him upon the *bermetarion* 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 *bermetarion*, 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.”

<sup>x</sup> p. 154

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. . . ."

# NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 5 (Cod. Tisch. xxvi, 36).

πο[τ]ρο εο[φ]ητο[ρ] εο[ρ]ε[υ]-  
 ως π[ρ]ο[φ]η[τ]η[μα] ? ? ? ?  
 ε[φ]ο[λ]  
 Ο[τ]ο[ν] πο[τ]ρ[α] δ[ε] ο[ν] [π]τι[ν]  
 5 εο[ρ]ι[σ]σε[ν]κ[α] α[ν]τ[ι]α[πο]τ-  
 ω[ν] π[ε]μ[ν]ε[ν]ο[ν] τ[η]ρ[ο]ν[τ] α[λ]λ[α]  
 α[ν]τ[ι]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]  
 τ[η]μ[ε]το[ρ]ο[ν] π[ε]τ[η]ρ[ο]ν[τ]  
 ε[τ]α[ν]ο[ν]τ[η]ς π[η]ν[τ]  
 10 τ[η]μ[ε]το[ρ]ο[ν] π[ε]τ[η]ρ[ο]ν[τ] α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]  
 π[η]ν[τ] = μ[ε]τ[η]ρ[ο]ν[τ] α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]  
 τ[η]ρ[ο]ν[τ]  
 Α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]  
 π[η]ν[τ] α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]  
 15 α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]  
 τ[η]μ[ε]το[ρ]ο[ν] π[ε]τ[η]ρ[ο]ν[τ] α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]  
 Ο[τ]ο[ν] δ[ε]ν[τ] τ[η]μ[ε]το[ρ]ο[ν] α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]  
 π[η]ν[τ] α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]  
 α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]  
 20 ... ο[ν]τ[η]ς π[η]ν[τ] α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]  
 ... α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]  
 ... α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]  
 Ο[τ]ο[ν] δ[ε]ν[τ] τ[η]μ[ε]το[ρ]ο[ν] α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]  
 25 ε[τ]α[ν]ο[ν]τ[η]ς π[η]ν[τ] α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]  
 ε[τ]α[ν]ο[ν]τ[η]ς π[η]ν[τ] α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]  
 ε[τ]α[ν]ο[ν]τ[η]ς π[η]ν[τ] α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]  
 ε[τ]α[ν]ο[ν]τ[η]ς π[η]ν[τ] α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]

ο[ν]τ[η]ς π[η]ν[τ] α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]  
 α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]  
 π[η]ν[τ] α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]  
 Α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]  
 5 α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]  
 ε[τ]α[ν]ο[ν]τ[η]ς π[η]ν[τ] α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]  
 ω[ν] π[η]ν[τ] α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]  
 ε[τ]α[ν]ο[ν]τ[η]ς π[η]ν[τ] α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]  
 10 Α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]  
 π[η]ν[τ] α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]  
 π[η]ν[τ] α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]  
 π[η]ν[τ] α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]  
 15 Τ[η]μ[ε]το[ρ]ο[ν] π[η]ν[τ] α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]  
 α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]  
 ε[τ]α[ν]ο[ν]τ[η]ς π[η]ν[τ] α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]  
 Α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]  
 20 α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]  
 α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]  
 Ο[τ]ο[ν] δ[ε]ν[τ] τ[η]μ[ε]το[ρ]ο[ν] α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]  
 τ[η]μ[ε]το[ρ]ο[ν] π[η]ν[τ] α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]  
 25 ε[τ]α[ν]ο[ν]τ[η]ς π[η]ν[τ] α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]  
 ε[τ]α[ν]ο[ν]τ[η]ς π[η]ν[τ] α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]  
 ε[τ]α[ν]ο[ν]τ[η]ς π[η]ν[τ] α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]  
 ε[τ]α[ν]ο[ν]τ[η]ς π[η]ν[τ] α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]  
 30 ε[τ]α[ν]ο[ν]τ[η]ς π[η]ν[τ] α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]

<sup>1</sup> sic.

\* Recto " ... king because of them, that he should declare their value.<sup>1</sup> I had gold sufficient to buy thee,<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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-wheel<sup>4</sup> ...

(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:<sup>5</sup> "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.)

<sup>1</sup> Justus, the speaker, is refusing promises of wealth offered him by Arianus.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. "thy city."

<sup>3</sup> i.e. that he might be rid of him.

<sup>4</sup> For the word α[ν]α[ν]α[ν]α[ν] see Crum, *Rylands Catalogue*, p. 47 note (and refs.).

<sup>5</sup> 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).

5     $\text{ⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲧ}$   
        $\text{ⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲟⲛ ⲉⲁⲛⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲓ-}$   
        $\text{ⲡⲁⲣⲛⲥⲓⲁ}$   
        $\text{ⲁⲣⲓⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲡⲁⲧ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ}$   
 10  $\text{ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲉⲗ}^1 \text{ ⲡⲥⲁ ⲓⲟⲩⲥⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲉ-}$   
        $\text{ⲙⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲥⲉⲡⲁⲉⲣⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲁⲡ}$   
        $\text{ⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲧⲟⲩⲡⲟⲩ = ⲁⲩⲉⲣⲕⲉ-}$   
        $\text{ⲁⲉⲧⲓⲛ ⲉⲟⲣⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲓⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓ-}$   
        $\text{ⲟⲩ ⲓⲟⲩⲥⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ = ⲡⲉⲙ ⲡⲓ-}$   
 15  $\text{ⲙⲓⲩ ⲧⲓⲣⲩ ⲡⲥⲉⲱⲗⲓ ⲡⲧⲟⲩ-}$   
        $\text{ⲁⲫⲉ}$   
        $\text{ⲥⲁⲧⲟⲩⲩ ⲁⲉ = ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲟⲛⲩⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ}$   
        $\text{ⲡⲛⲛⲉ ⲡⲓⲥⲱⲧⲓⲣ = ⲉⲩⲛⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ}$   
        $\text{ⲡⲁⲩ} =$   
 20  $\text{ⲛⲓⲧⲩ =}$   
        $\text{ⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲙⲉⲡⲉⲡⲥⲁ ⲡⲉⲕⲙⲟⲩ}$   
        $\text{ⲧⲡⲁⲧⲓⲥ ⲉⲡⲣⲓⲧ ⲡⲟⲩ-}$   
        $\text{ⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲙⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲩ = ⲉⲛⲡⲓⲉ}$   
        $\text{ⲩⲟⲩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲩ ⲧⲡⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲙ}$   
 25  $\text{ⲟⲩⲙⲓⲩⲩⲩ ⲉⲟⲣⲉⲩⲩⲱⲥ ⲙⲡⲉⲕ-}$   
        $\text{ⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲓⲟ ⲡⲉⲙ}$   
        $\text{ⲡⲉⲕⲙⲓⲩⲁ}^2$   
        $\text{ⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲧⲡⲁⲉⲣⲟⲩⲧⲕⲱⲧ ⲡⲟⲩⲡⲓⲩⲩ-}$   
        $\text{ⲧⲓ ⲙⲙⲁⲣⲧⲣⲓⲟⲡ ⲡⲁⲕ ⲛⲉⲛ}$   
 30  $\text{ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲩⲩⲩ ⲡⲧⲙⲓⲩ ⲥⲁⲣⲓⲥ ⲡ-}$   
        $\text{ⲧⲁⲓ ⲁⲁⲕⲓⲩ ⲡⲥⲉⲩⲩⲱⲥ ⲙⲡⲉⲕ-}$

<sup>1</sup> sic.

<sup>2</sup> sic: for  $\text{ⲙⲡⲓⲩⲁ}$ .

$\text{ⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲡⲣⲓⲛⲧⲩ ⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲫⲣⲁⲛ}$   
        $\text{ⲙⲡⲓⲧⲓⲙⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲧⲥⲓⲛⲉⲣⲉⲗⲧ}$   
        $\text{ⲛⲉⲛ ⲡⲣⲁⲗⲉ =}$   
        $\text{ⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲧⲡⲁⲉⲣⲉ ⲉⲁⲡⲓⲛⲓⲩ ⲡⲛⲟⲙ}$   
 5  $\text{ⲩⲱⲡⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗⲣⲓⲧⲟⲧⲕ ⲛⲉⲛ}$   
        $\text{ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲡⲉⲙ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲙⲁⲓ}$   
        $\text{ⲡⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲡⲁⲫⲓⲣⲓ ⲙⲡⲉⲕ-}$   
        $\text{ⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲣⲓⲛⲧⲩ}$   
        $\text{ⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲡⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲩⲱⲡⲓ}$   
 10  $\text{ⲛⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲡⲩⲱⲡⲓ ⲡⲓⲃⲉⲛ = ⲡⲉⲙ}$   
        $\text{ⲁⲡⲁⲧⲕⲓ ⲡⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲡⲧⲟⲩ-}$   
        $\text{ⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲧⲓ = ⲛⲉ ⲫⲧⲓ ⲙ-}$   
        $\text{ⲡⲁⲧⲓⲟⲩ ⲓⲟⲩⲥⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲓⲃⲓⲟⲛ-}$   
        $\text{ⲟⲛ ⲉⲣⲟⲛ ⲧⲡⲁⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉ-}$   
 15  $\text{ⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲩⲱⲗⲓⲉⲙ}$   
        $\text{ⲡⲧⲁⲡⲁⲓ ⲡⲱ-}$   
        $\text{ⲟⲩ}$   
        $\text{ⲓⲧⲉ ⲡⲓ ⲉⲧⲩⲱⲡⲓ}$   
        $\text{ⲓⲧⲉ ⲡⲓ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲩⲧⲉⲕⲱⲟⲩ}$   
 20  $\text{ⲓⲧⲉ ⲡⲓ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲕⲧⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩ}$   
        $\text{ⲓⲧⲉ ⲡⲓ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲛ ⲫⲓⲟⲙ}$   
        $\text{ⲓⲧⲉ ⲡⲓ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲁⲣⲱⲟⲩ}$   
        $\text{ⲓⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲩⲱⲧⲉⲃ}$   
        $\text{ⲓⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲩⲱⲟⲩⲓ}$   
 25  $\text{ⲓⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲙⲁⲓ ⲡⲓⲃⲉⲛ}$   
        $\text{ⲓⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲁⲡⲁⲧⲕⲓ ⲡⲓⲃⲉⲛ}$   
        $\text{ⲧⲡⲁⲩⲱⲕ ⲡⲡⲟⲩⲉⲧⲛⲙⲁ ⲧⲓ-}$   
        $\text{ⲣⲟⲩ ⲡⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ}$   
        $\text{ⲟⲩⲥⲣⲓⲙⲓ ⲁⲥⲩⲱⲡⲓⲡⲓ ⲛⲉⲛ}$   
 30  $\text{ⲟⲩⲁⲡⲁⲩⲧⲕⲓⲩ ⲡⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲓⲡⲓⲥⲓⲩⲓ}$

(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.<sup>1</sup> And straightway he commanded that the blessed Justus and all the multitude should be led forth and their heads cut off.

\* Recto

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.<sup>2</sup> 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. . ."

\* Verso

(The missing folios contained the conclusion of the promises to Justus and the execution of the Saint and his companions.)

<sup>1</sup> The opening sentences are parallel with the concluding sentences of Frag. 5 but follow a slightly different recension.

<sup>2</sup> = Sahidic  $\text{ⲧⲥⲓⲛⲉⲣⲉⲗⲧ}$  (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.  $\text{ⲧⲉⲣⲱⲧ}$ ), N. of Assiût, referring to Crum, *Cat. Copt. MSS. in the Rylands Library*, p. 99, note 9, where  $\text{ⲧⲉⲣⲱⲧ-ⲉⲁⲗⲉ}$  is mentioned.

# NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 7 (Cairo, no. 4, fo. 2).

Πεπεσα παλ δε = αρι πχε  
 οτρωμι μπιστος κατα  
 φρητ ета ποτ хос παγ  
 αχως мπερωма εθот-  
 5 αη πκαλως αχολε [ε τει-  
 херεετ хен пра-  
 λε-  
 Ατκωτ ποτμαρττοριον ε-  
 хωγ ката περμша отор  
 10 ατχω мπερωма εθотαη  
 прнту-  
 Οτοп гар πιθεν етшони  
 хен хпшони πιθεν  
 ашпанотшшт ргхωγ-шаш-  
 15 шашни е питаλοο  
 Αποп δε ρωп ω παμεπρα†  
 παιο† отор паспнот  
 ρως он а ф† ерхαριгес-  
 ое пап п†αωρεα пте те[γ-  
 20 μαρττορια εθот-  
 αη-  
 Πεπεσα παλ πш† пснот  
 мареп†ωот μφ† фи-  
 ωт хен пероот мπεсер-  
 25 фмет† еттайнотт хе-  
 хас еуеσιгмот ерпн ехω(п)  
 пагρεп ф† птегха пеп-  
 поби пап εβολ πхе пмаи-

ρωμι = πεποτ ιηс πхс  
 Φαг ете εθολгитотг ере ω-  
 от πιθεν = пем тαιо πιθεν  
 п]ем проскѣписіс πιће(п)  
 5 ерп]репн μφιωт пемаг  
 пем πпπα εθотαη прег-  
 тапго  
 Тпот = пем снот πιθεν  
 пем шα епер пте ппегер  
 10 тпрот амин  
 + ..... +  
 + ..... +  
 † псмот мпачіос іотсгос пстратплатіс  
 шопи пемап тпрот шα епер амин<sup>1</sup>  
 + ..... +  
 αλιθω- ακσζανσατζи аρισофос ακσζανχα μασζтζ  
 аринои тζε оσοφο ενκατ ρη πασζηри аткωт  
 емпи емπτζ σμου еροι хω νηι εβολ арип-  
 меβι ενте патζ иη пхσ† ха να[νο]βι νηι εβολ анок  
 ха питζωп евреферνοβι пара ρωμι νιβев  
 етсζоп ριτζειν пикази оуог еон еτοι ватемсζа  
 емпирав етаυτηιφ ероф πιελ<sup>αх</sup> маркуρι υ φλ  
 ενте питζи<sup>σ2</sup> арипамеβι те питζσ ха νανοβι  
 [ν]ηι εβολ пη етна тζο<sup>σ</sup> тζε аμην ефетζи ρωф ката  
 πισμου аμην есесζωпи аμην γφ +<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 1st hand: small sloping, informal uncials.  
<sup>2</sup> 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.

\* Verso 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 thouarkenest, 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(іos), the son of Philotheos,<sup>1</sup> of Pidjis.<sup>2</sup> 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).*

<sup>1</sup> Probably the writer was an inmate of the Cell of Philotheos, a unit in the Laura of S. Macarius (see *H.N.S.* IV, v, § 2).  
<sup>2</sup> πισіс or πισіс must be equivalent to the cell-name

given (in Arabic) as Bidjidj, Bidjibidj and the like (*op. et loc. cit.*).  
<sup>3</sup> 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 — $\overline{\text{I}\epsilon}$ , 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 — $\overline{\text{I}\alpha^1}$ ) forming one sheet with Frag. 3; Frag. 3, numbered — $\overline{\text{K}\Delta}$ , measures 35.2 × 27 cm. and is a nearly complete leaf. Frag. 4, a much-decayed leaf (to be identified as — $\overline{\text{K}\epsilon^2}$ ), 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.<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> Frag. 5 (*Cod. Tisch.* xxiv, 27), paged — $\overline{\text{K}\epsilon}$ , 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.<sup>5</sup> Neither this nor the following fragment can have belonged to the Vatican ms., which in its present state begins with pp. — $\overline{\text{A}}$  and contains a large part of the text of Frag. 5. Frag. 6 (*Cod. Tisch.* xxiv, 4), 33 × 23 cm., unpaginated, likewise belongs to the second copy and duplicates a part of the Vatican text.

Since the Vatican ms. has already been published,<sup>6</sup> 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,<sup>7</sup> the son of Justus the Stratelates, is commemorated on Mesore 1.<sup>8</sup> After separation from his father and mother,<sup>9</sup> 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 Ischyriion, 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 (Frag. 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 Ischyriion of Pouasti.<sup>10</sup>

References to Pereira's translation of the Ethiopic version of the Martyrdom are given (with the symbol P.) in the margin of my version.

1 The narrative (Ethiopic version) shows that Frags. 1 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 × 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. III, Tom. I, 242 ff.

7 The fragments give sometimes  $\Delta\text{P}\alpha\ \Delta\text{P}\alpha\text{O}\lambda\iota$ , sometimes  $\Delta\text{P}\alpha\text{P}\alpha\text{O}\lambda\iota$ : the latter is merely by apocope, the name (without title) being  $\Delta\text{P}\alpha\text{O}\lambda\iota$  (so Frag. 1, verso, l. 5). In Arabic the name is transcribed ابالي, and is to be distinguished from Apollo (ابولو).

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. Eth.* Nahase 1 (P.O. ix, pp. 239 ff.).

10 See *Acta Mart.* (Coptic Text), p. 247.



# NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 11<sup>A</sup>).

пхе птоломеос пепархос пте  
 потасѣ = еоротеи мпачиос а-  
 па аполи ричеп пибма<sup>1</sup> - пау де(п)  
 иѣ тар промпи пе Оторз етат-  
 5 епу ехеп пибма + пехе птоло-  
 меос пау + хе пим пе етагерма-  
 та ерок + Оторз аутаке мпек-  
 рнт = е ште[м]еротсиа ппи-  
 потѣ +  
 10 Пидиос де апа аполи пехад мпе-  
 пархос + хе апок + мпостерма-  
 та ерои епер = аλλα пекιωτ πιγ-  
 αβολος + п[е ета]γ[с]ω[р]ε[м] мпек-  
 рнт сабо[л] мписоотеп е]акершот-  
 15 шшотш[и] ппай потѣ е]тсоу =  
 Ото[р] пехе п[епар]хос пау + хе  
 епе етасо ерок ап пе = хе п-  
 оок оталот + панаולי птека-  
 фе птсиги пе  
 20 П]ехе пидиос апа аполи<sup>2</sup> пау хе  
 ариемі пак + хе етагї е пай ма = хе  
 пта]мот ерри ехеп фран мпа-  
 от инс пхс пши]ри мфѣ етопѣ  
 отор хе птаѣши]пи пак нем пек-  
 25 иот псатанас]  
 Агеротω пхе пепар]хос + пе[ха]γ

\* \* \*

<sup>1</sup> The Ethiopic shows that there is a lacuna here.

<sup>2</sup> Accent and breathings as shown.

\* (p. 15) = P.,  
 90<sup>4-21</sup>

[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);<sup>1</sup> 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<sup>24-91</sup><sup>5</sup>

[The *eparch* commanded them to bring a bed] \*and lay him upon it. And they brake an hundred green palm-sticks 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 . . .

\* \* \* \* \*

<sup>1</sup> Supplied from the Ethiopic.

иѣ  
 афототшоту ехеп рнтѣ + отор  
 аѣкωш пр мбай етлнк ехωγ  
 Пехад де пау пхе пидпархос  
 хе + акхемтпи ппидасапос  
 5 ω аполи +  
 Пидиос де пехад пау + хе пѣок  
 отхωѣ + нем пекпотѣ етсрот-  
 орт + папотѣ де пѣоу инс пхс  
 пѣоу еппаѣом ппи + еоригай  
 10 ра пекбасапос + Отор пте  
 паот инс пхс + ерпечпай пот-  
 пшѣ ерри ехωи +  
 Пто[ло]ме[ос] де [пид]пархос + аѣ-  
 х[ωит] емашω + О]тор аѣерке-  
 15 летип де[п] фотпо]т псегω[лем] м-  
 пшар мпе[γс]ω[ма] Отор псета-  
 лот ехеп пекѣфот + псеерпе-  
 ридтпи ммоу деп потасѣ тирγ  
 Ниматот де атири пау мпай рнтѣ [ет-  
 20 ωш ебол етхω ммос + хе [мпер-  
 пай мфай + хе мпечерш[отшω-  
 отш]и + ппипотѣ пте пи[отрω-  
 от +  
 Етагипи м[  
 25 апа]п[ω]  
 . ]. пте[

\* \* \*

# THE MARTYRDOM OF APA APOLI

Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 11<sup>B</sup>).

Οτο[ρ  
 τφ[ε  
 λο.[  
 εχε[η  
 5 μοο[  
 μεμ[  
 φη[  
 с.[  
 [  
 10 [  
 [  
 О[  
 [  
 [  
 15 [  
 [  
 [  
 о[  
 λ. α. [  
 20 ψλ[ηλ ψα.[  
 μπερερ[οτ[р + отор ден фотп[от а  
 п[от инс і шар[оу нем п[архнагге-  
 лос е[отта[η [миханλ нем га-  
 ринаλ:~  
 25 Πεχα[у па[у + [п[хе писωтир же хере  
 апо[ι π[ом[ηи μ[μαρτ[ρος φ[на-  
 шоп нема[к + π[αг[ιος δε апа апо-  
 λ[ι + πεχα[у [хе п[θок п[и[м пе па-  
 σ[ε е[κш[οп ден па[ι пиш[φ п[ωот  
 30 Отор п[е[хе [писωтир па[у же  
 апок пе ф[φ [ε[та[φ[ι шарок екей-  
 кот е[рот[и де[η  
 он а[са[αи нем п[ε[κ[и[ωт ю[στ[ος нем  
 текма[т = + е[ι[αω [μ[μος

[IN]

. ]отоп  
 ]ετα  
 ]ηπ[ι + нем  
 ]  
 5 ]ден от  
 ]η + же  
 о]с де  
 п]α[σ[ε  
 ]τε  
 10 ]  
 ]α[ι  
 ]φ  
 ]от  
 ]  
 15 ]ε[η  
 ]α[ρ  
 ]  
 ]. от  
 п]τατωμι мпек-  
 20 шар мпекσωма п]кесон + Отор  
 ден фотп[от а п]σ[ε шена[у е пиш[ω  
 е п[и[φ[и[от[и де]η от-  
 пиш[φ п[ωот]  
 Отор ет а то]от[ι шоп[и + пеот-  
 25 он отρωми ден п]отас[φ + ет-  
 мот[φ еро[у же ιс]χ[ι]ρωп-φαι де  
 отоп отрамао ема]ш[ω ден пе-  
 ч[х]р[и]ма пе Отор] пеотоп п[та[у  
 р[а]п[ш]и[ρ[и] μ[μα]ρ ]η Отор ф[а[ι  
 30 па[у]рем[с[и пе] нем п[ε]παρχ[ος μ-  
 п[ε]ч[и]н[и] п[и]с[от] п[и]θεν + е[ш]α[ρ]от[ωμ  
 [ρ[ι] отсон]  
 [ ]отωμ шоп[и ден п[и-

\*(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! 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. . ."

\* (p. 17) = P.,  
 91<sup>13</sup>

\*(ll. 20 ff.) " . . . I will heal the flesh of thy body again." And straightway the Lord went up into the Heavens in great glory.

\* [p. 18] = P.,  
 91<sup>25</sup>

And when morning was come—there was a man in Pouasti named Iskhiron (Ischyryion). 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 Ischyryion 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.]

# NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 3 (Cairo, no. 11<sup>B</sup>).

πᾶσιος ἀπ(α) ἀπολι αὐτῶν μπά  
 ρητ̄ εὐχῶ μμος  
 10 Χε + παστ̄ ἰη̄ς π̄χ̄ς + πασωτιρ + σω-  
 тем ἐροι εἰτῶν + φη̄ ἐταῦσω-  
 5 тем ε̄ πτω̄ν μπιρῶτ̄ ἰρωμι  
 Οτορ αὐτασῶν ε̄ τεταρῶν ἰ-  
 κесон  
 Φη̄ + ἐταῦσωтем ε̄ ἀεὶ πᾶσιν  
 αὐτ̄ ποτ̄ ἰμ̄ωιш ρеп кай  
 10 Φη̄ + ἐταῦσιν ε̄θολ̄ παβραам = + αῦ-  
 ὀρεῦσιν ρеп откар̄ ἰשמ-  
 мо + Οτορ αὐπαρμεγ + пем сара  
 теуер̄ми =  
 Φη̄ ἐταῦσῶтем ἰσαак ρеп ὀμν̄τ̄  
 15 ἰπ̄φ̄λ̄ισ̄тим = + φη̄ ἐταῦ-  
 ποрем ἰακωβ̄ + ε̄θολ̄ ρеп пеп-  
 ж̄х̄ ἰнса̄т̄ пегсон = + φη̄ ἐταῦ-  
 ποрем ἰωσηφ̄ ε̄θολ̄ ρеп пе(п-)  
 ж̄х̄ ἰт̄рем̄х̄[ми]  
 20 Φη̄ ἐταῦτ̄хом π̄[ιот̄]ᾱ + шатес-  
 ὶλι πтафе̄ ἰο̄λο̄фер̄нис = +  
 φη̄ + ἐταῦσῶтем π̄ωпас̄ ε̄θολ̄-  
 ρе[п] ὀнеж̄ ἰμ̄п̄[н]тос  
 Φη̄ + ἐταῦσῶтем ε̄ сот̄саппа1-ε-  
 25 ὀλ̄ ρеп пепж̄х̄ [п]π̄прес̄х̄те-  
 рос =  
 Φη̄ + ἐταῦσῶтем ἰπ̄τ̄ ἰᾱσιος ε̄-  
 ὀλ̄ ρеп] ὀμν̄τ̄ π̄т̄ρω̄ ἰχ̄ρω̄  
 ρеп̄ ἁβ̄θ̄ων] φη̄ ἐταῦσῶтем ἰα-  
 30 π̄н̄л̄ ε̄θολ̄ ρеп π̄[α]κ̄κος̄ ἰте̄ π̄μο-  
 τ̄ῑ ἀρῑβон̄н̄] еро[ῑ] μ̄]φοот̄ ρ̄на̄  
 [ . . . ] . кер[ . . . ] а̄жес  
 [ . . . ] ]екко[ . . . ] ἰη̄ς ποτ̄ро  
 πте̄ π̄ιот̄]ρω̄т̄ [ш̄а̄] епер̄ πте̄  
 1 Supply οτορ̄ ἐταῦπαρ̄мс.

κ̄α

π̄ε̄пер̄ тирот̄ + οτορ̄ ἐταῦχε  
 φᾱῑ ἰ̄ π̄χ̄ρω̄μ̄ ἰ̄ ε̄θολ̄ + αῦρω̄κ̄  
 π̄π̄οτ̄н̄ ἰте̄ π̄απολλων̄  
 Πᾶσιος δε̄ ἀπ(α) ἀπολι + αῦρ̄ο̄ῑ ἐрат̄у  
 5 ἰ̄п̄ε̄μο̄ ἰ̄п̄μ̄н̄ш̄ тир̄у + ἰ̄мон̄  
 ρ̄лӣ ἰ̄тако̄ шоп̄ ἰ̄мо̄у + Οτορ̄ ᾱ-  
 ω̄ш̄ ε̄θολ̄ тирот̄ е̄т̄х̄ω̄ μμος + же̄  
 от̄а̄ӣ п̄е̄ φ̄т̄ + ἰ̄π̄ᾶσιος̄ ἀπ(α) ἀπολι  
 οτορ̄ ἰ̄мон̄ кер̄от̄т̄ е̄н̄л̄ ε̄  
 10 ро̄у-  
 Οτορ̄ ρеп̄ т̄от̄пот̄ + а̄т̄ӯжот̄ ε̄ ὀ-  
 м̄н̄т̄ + п̄же̄ ἰ̄ π̄ρω̄μ̄ + п̄ем̄ π̄п̄с̄г̄и-  
 мӣ + п̄ем̄ ἰ̄н̄ π̄к̄от̄х̄ӣ ἰ̄ᾱлот̄ + а̄т̄ω̄ш̄  
 ε̄θολ̄ + же̄ ἰ̄п̄он̄ ρ̄а̄п̄х̄ρ̄н̄с̄т̄ӣа̄п̄ос̄  
 15 ἰ̄п̄ар̄н̄с̄ӣа̄ + Οτορ̄ αῦ̄ж̄он̄т̄ ἰ̄же̄  
 π̄то̄ло̄ме̄ос̄ π̄ε̄πᾱρ̄х̄ос̄ + οτορ̄  
 αῦ̄от̄а̄ρ̄с̄а̄ρ̄н̄ӣ ε̄ο̄рот̄х̄ο̄θ̄от̄ т̄и-  
 рот̄ ἰ̄т̄с̄н̄ӣ + Οτορ̄ а̄т̄х̄ω̄к̄ π̄т̄от̄-  
 ма̄рт̄о̄р̄ӣа̄ ε̄θολ̄ ἰ̄с̄от̄ ἰ̄т̄ ἰ̄п̄ᾱθ̄от̄  
 20 ἐ̄п̄ӣφ̄ӣ + ρеп̄ от̄х̄ӣр̄н̄ӣ ἰ̄те̄ φ̄т̄  
 ἰ̄м̄н̄:—  
 Ᾱс̄ш̄ω̄ӣ де̄ м̄е̄п̄са̄ п̄а̄ῑ ἰ̄ π̄ᾶσιος̄  
 ἰ̄па̄ ἀπολι + ὀ̄ρ̄ӣ е̄рат̄ӯ ἰ̄п̄ε̄μο̄ ἰ̄-  
 π̄ε̄πᾱρ̄х̄ос̄ + Οτορ̄ п̄е̄жа̄ӯ п̄а̄ӯ  
 25 Χε̄ ᾱκ̄ο̄ῑш̄ӣ п̄ем̄ п̄ек̄п̄от̄т̄ е̄т̄-  
 с̄о̄т̄от̄т̄ + ἰ̄ παστ̄ ἰη̄ς π̄χ̄ς = ο̄т̄ω̄р̄н̄  
 ἰ̄п̄е̄ᾱт̄т̄ε̄л̄ос̄ ἰ̄ᾱг̄а̄θ̄ос̄ + αῦ̄πᾱρ̄-  
 мет̄ ε̄θολ̄ ρеп̄ ὀμν̄т̄ [ἰ̄п̄ῑχ̄ρω̄μ̄ ε̄ο̄-  
 мо̄  
 30 Πτο̄λο̄ме̄ос̄ δε̄ + π̄[ε̄πᾱρ̄х̄ос̄ αῦ̄ερ̄-  
 ке̄л̄ε̄т̄ӣ . . . ] с̄а̄т̄[  
 ἰ̄п̄πᾱλ̄ла̄т̄[ӣ] + Ο[τορ̄  
 ε̄θολ̄ ρеп̄ т̄п̄[о̄л̄]ӣ + Ο[τορ̄ ε̄ο̄рот̄ма̄ш̄-  
 φ̄ам̄ π̄п̄ε̄ρ̄ω̄т̄ π̄те̄ [п̄от̄а̄с̄т̄

\* (p. 23) = P.,  
 93<sup>5</sup>

\* 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."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>c</sup>).

Λεματάρχε. [...].  
[.....] ρ[....] νπεχελ[....] τ  
[.....] ρο[....] + πατιος δε απα  
απολι] αφο[ρ]ι] ερατ[υ] + αφωρ[υ]  
5 ηπερ]χιζ ε[βολ] ε ψληλ εφωω м-  
мос]  
Хε па]στ[ε] ιηс π[χ]с + εε[ε]р[ε]α[α]η[η]и[и]  
εροι] Οτορ [π]εκ[τ]χομ πни  
Ο[τ]ορ πτεκ[τ] μп[и]р[и]т[и] н[и] + εο[ρ]и[ρ]-  
10 ωλ ша πα[ι] ε[п]αρχ[ος] + οτορ πта-  
τ[υ]π[и] па[υ] π[ε]м п[ε]ч[е]н[о]т[и]  
хе т[х]ом п[е]м] п[ω]т[и] ф[ω]к п[е]  
п[е]м п[е]к[и]от[и] п[а]т[а]р[х]ос + п[е]м п[и]-  
п[и]а εοο[α]η ша еп[ε]р[и] η[и]ε π[и]-  
15 περ].  
На[ι] ета[υ]χο[т]ο[т] а π[и]с[ω]т[и]р οτ-  
ω[ρ] па[υ] ε[б]ο[λ] + е[р]е м[и]х[а]н[а] п[е]м  
та[х]и[и]н[а] са от[и]п[а]м + п[е]м са х[а]-  
с[и]н[и] м[о]у + Οτορ πεχε π[и]с[ω]т[и]р  
20 па[υ]  
Х[ε]ре] а[п]α] а[п]ο[λ]и п[а]с[ω]т[и] + е[п]и[σ]т[и]н[и] аκ-  
χ[ω] π[с]ωк π[и]х[и]р[и]ма п[т]е па[ι] к[ос]-  
м[ос] е[п]α[т]а[κ]ο[с] + Οτορ аκ[т]а[λ]ο[с]  
π[и]п[а]θ[ос] е[р]ο[κ] аκ[ο]т[а]р[х] п[с]ω[ι]  
25 ω πα[θ]μ[и] т[п]а[ε]р[х]а[ρ]и[ζ]ε[с]ε[с]е па[κ]  
т[и] η[χ]λ[ο]м от[а]и [ε]ο[η]е т[ε]к[м]а[ρ]т[т]-  
р[и]а е[т]е[κ]п[а]х[о]к[с] ε[б]ο[λ] + Οτορ  
οп[и] к[е] οτ[α]и ε[ο]η[е] т[ε]к[м]ε[т]п[а]ρ[о]е[н]ο[с]  
Οτο[ρ] к[е] οτ[а]и ε[ο]η[е] [п]ε[κ]х[и]р[и]ма  
30 е[т]а[х]х[а]т[и] п[с]ω[к] + т[и]п[о]т[и] х[е] = м[и]-  
п[е]р[е]р[о]т[и] + т[и]п[о]т[и] п[е]м[а]к п[с]н[о]т[и]  
п[и]а[и]е[п]  
Οτο[ρ] а п[о]т[и] οτα[ρ]са[ρ]и[и] м[и]и-  
х[а]н[а]:—

<sup>1</sup> sic.

[κτ]  
Хε[... ]οτ[... ] οπ[и] [... ]ο  
[.....] Οτο[ρ] . πε[... ]εο-  
ρ[ο]τερ м[φ]р[и]т[и] η[и]п[и]ре[υ]μω-  
οτ[и]  
5 Οτο[ρ] а π[и]с[ω]т[и]η[р] с[о]т[и]т[и]π[и]  
те[υ]χιζ а[υ] [ο]τ[и]ωп[и] π[т]η[и]п[и]  
п[е] а [п]и[а]т[и]о[с] [и] ε[б]ο[λ]η[и] [ε] πο[т]ас-  
т[и] Οτο[ρ] а π[и]с[ω]т[и]р т[и] [ε]п[и]-  
п[и] па[υ] = а[υ]ше па[υ] ε[и] п[и]ω[и] ε  
10 п[и]ф[и]е[т]и р[е]п[и] οτω-  
οτ[и]  
Πατιος δε απα [απολι] αφωω  
ша πτο[λ]ομ[е]ο[с] π[ε]п[а]ρχ[ος] а[υ]-  
ωш ε[б]ο[λ] [ε]φωω м[о]с х[е]  
15 б[и]ш[и]п[и] па[κ] [п[о]о[к] п[е]м п[е]к-  
п[о]т[и]т[и] + ε[ο]η[е] е[т]а[κ]и[т] ε[б]ο[λ]  
п[т]п[о]л[и]с Οτο[ρ] аκ[м]аш[о]а[и] п[и]п[и]-  
р[о]т[и] = а п[о]т[и] ιηс η[χ]с η[и]т[и]  
[ω]п[и] π[и]п[и]т[и] п[и]м =  
20 Π[ε]п[а]ρχ[ος] δε = а[υ]ш[о]р[т]е[р] п[е]-  
х[а]у п[п]а[т]а[з]и[с] = х[е] а[п]п[а]е[р] οτ  
μ[п]а[и] к[о]т[и] η[а]л[о]т[и] е[υ]т[и]с[и] па[и]  
οτο[ρ] г[и]а[о]р[е] р[о]м[и] п[и]а[и] е[т]р[е]п[и]  
та[и] η[а]к[и] е[р]ομ[о]л[о]т[и]п[и] м[п]е[υ]-  
25 п[о]т[и]т[и] οτο[ρ] η[и] . . . .  
р[и]и[и] е[х]ωп[и] η[о] [ . . . .  
На[т]а[з]и[с] δε п[е]х[о]т[и] [х[е] ма[р]е[п]-  
р[и]т[и] е[и] п[и]ш[т]е[к]о ш[а]т[и] . . . .  
... м[о] [ . . . ] + х[е] а[п]п[а]е[р]с[о]п[и]  
30 Π[α]τιος δε а[п]α] а[п]ο[λ]и а[υ]ο[ι]  
..... ]т[и] ε[б]ο[λ]η[и] . . . .  
..... ]р[и] а[п] ш[и] . . . .  
О[т]а[ρ]е р[и]и[и] п[о]т[и]п[и] . . . .

(ll. 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., 93<sup>31</sup>

\* p. 26=P., 93<sup>39</sup>

# NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 5 (*Cod. Tisch.* xxiv, 27).

†паіни потрѡми пѣѣіо 2а  
 ē хнми=нем отѣок птач  
 отор фат не отмаіпорт п[е  
 отор чнакѡт поткѡтх[і  
 5 пхепро птаіо пак отор  
 чнакѡт потекклнсіа пт[а-  
 іо мпекрап Отор чнахѡ  
 мпексѡма еѡотаѣ п-  
 ѣнтс

10 Отор пѣми паеротпшѣ е[тна-  
 мотѣ ероу хе псепетай  
 отор †нахѡ ммиханд еге-  
 діаконн ē пма етотпахѡ  
 мпексѡма пѣнтс  
 15 Отор е пѣаē пте писнѡт с[е-  
 паѡли мпексѡма ē отѣм[і  
 етмотѣ ероу хе псѡѣт<sup>1</sup> [мп-  
 20

<sup>1</sup> мп-]20: so Crum. The margin is cut away just beyond τ.

<sup>x</sup> = P., 95<sup>5</sup>

"I will bring a dumb man unto Egypt with his servant—and this was a devout man<sup>1</sup>—and he shall build a little *shubra*<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> And I will cause Michael to minister unto the place wherein thy body shall be laid. And in after times<sup>4</sup> they shall remove thy body to a village called Psobt-m-p-hoi."<sup>5</sup>

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).

l. 3 хеп пѣми етеммаѡ

Recto ll. 19–21 хеп пѣпос ет аѡнакѡт [п]ак хеп пма  
 етеммаѡ

ll. 5–7 †паіри потѡи . . . птенеѣ

ll. 25–30 †паіри мпшш [м]мѡу отор †паіни поткѡк  
 псерт ерри ехѡу нем пѣшшри ша ѣѣ нем  
 ѡ птенеѣ ē отмнни ша епер.

l. 7 етнаѣ

l. 31 еѡпаѣ

l. 8 етнакѡс

Verso l. 1 еѡнакѡс

l. 9 ѡпѡк 2ѡ †паѣ

l. 2 †паѣ (only)

l. 10 †паѡѡсѣ

l. 4 †паѡѡсѣ

l. 12 отор пн еѡпаѣ мѣрѡѡтш

l. 7 [п]рѡми іе †сѣіми еѡпаѣѣрѡѡтш

l. 13 птѡтсѣнтс . . . пак .

ll. 8–10 отѡ[2] ісхеп ппаѡ етѡпаѡш пѣнтс хеп  
 †екклнсіа

l. 14 отор птасѡаі

l. 12 †паѡѡаі

l. 14 f. ē пѡѡм

l. 13 2і пѡѡм

l. 17 птнѣ

l. 18 етн[іѣ]

l. 17 f. отор †паѡрѣшѡни хеп отѣмонн ерош

l. 19 f. птаѡѡ мпѣсѡма хеп отѣмонн

l. 21 ѡпаѡли

l. 26 ѡпа ѡпаѡли

l. 21 †паѡрѣсѡни

ll. 27 f. †паѡрѣсміс

l. 23 ѡѡлѡсѡ

l. 31 ѡѡлѡсѡ

l. 24 пма мѡѡш

l. 33 пма пѡѡш

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps an interpolation.

<sup>2</sup> хепро is frequently found in Coptic place-names (e.g. хепроменесіп, *A.M.G.* xxv, 301) and = the Arabic شبرا. W. E. Crum observes that here alone does the word occur in isolation, and that in C. H. Becker's *Papyri Schott Reinhardt* 'shubra' = ἐποίκιον, though such a sense is unlikely here unless in reference to a farm or out-buildings of which the *martyrium* was the center. (The хепро of l. 5, however, seems to be equivalent to пѣми, 'village,' in l. 10.)

<sup>3</sup> = Seneta or Sanada near Pharbait (Amélineau, *Géogr.*, p. 378).

<sup>4</sup> Ll. 15–18 do not occur in the Ethiopic, and were

obviously interpolated after the Translation had taken place.

<sup>5</sup> "The Wall of the Moat," identified by Crum (*P.S.B.A.* xxix, 291) with El Khandak. This is confirmed by entries in the Arabic Calendar, s.d. Misra 1: "Aboli at El Khandak" (*P.O.* x, 277). This translation took place before the days of Cyril II (c. 1078 A.D.), as is apparent from Renaudot, *Hist. Patr. Alex.*, p. 465. El Khandak was on the north of Cairo (and, as its Coptic name implies, adjacent to the city wall): see Amélineau, *Géogr.*, p. 220. Vansleb (Wansleben) speaks of it as "an old suburb of Cairo, but now ruined," 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 ἀποκ σμα|τος ἀπ  
 l. 2 ιε ἐρε ... πῆς  
 l. 3 ἐροκ  
 l. 5 ἐτι εἰσαξι  
 l. 6 εἰρωον  
 l. 6 After εἰολ  
 l. 8 ἀπαπολι  
 l. 14 χατ  
 l. 15 ριπα ἡτερεμι  
  
 l. 17 ὦ πιδαμων  
 l. 19 μενεσα παμωνι εἰολ  
 l. 20 ἡνς πῆς οτορ ἐνε  
 l. 23 ἡνς  
 l. 23 πιδαεῖνς ἀλλα ... περωωω  
 l. 26 πτολομεος  
 l. 27 ἀπαπολι  
 l. 29 εἰρωωω  
 p. 245 l. 1 εἰθε φαι εκψωω  
 l. 1 κηπ ἡμοκ  
 ll. 2 f. ἡτεκῆ ... ἡμοκ  
  
 l. 4 ἀπαπολι  
 l. 5 πακ  
 l. 6 οτορ

Frag. 6 (*Cod. Tisch.* xxiv, 4).

- Recto* l. 1 ... | ωω  
 l. 4 ερε παδς ἡνς  
 l. 5 ἐροκ ἡτερεμι ἡμοκ (added by a second hand)  
 l. 9 ἐτερεμι  
 l. 11 εἰρωον  
 ll. 13 f. οτορ ἡτερεμι εἰρωον εἰολ  
 l. 16 ἀπα ἀπολι  
 l. 28 χατ ἐροκ  
 l. 30 ψατερεμι  
  
*Verso* l. 1 [πθ]οκ [ππ]ῆα  
 l. 4 Omitted  
 ll. 6 f. ἡφραπ ἡπενδς ἡνς πῆς ἐνε  
 l. 11 ἡνς πῆς  
 l. 12 πιδαμοκ πεπαρχος  
 l. 15 π. πεπαρχος  
 l. 16 ἀπα ἀπολι  
 l. 20 εἰρωωω  
 ll. 21 f. εκψ ἡπαι μιν ψ ἡωω  
 l. 23 μαψε πακ  
 ll. 24 ff. ἡτεκῆτοπ εἰολ ραροι οτορ ἀποκ ρω ἡταμ-  
 топ εἰο[λ] ρарок  
 l. 29 ἀπα ἀπολι  
 l. 30 πακ ἀπ  
 l. 33 φαι

## XVIII. THE MARTYRDOM OF THOMAS OF SHENTALET

Parchment. Seven leaves from a single ms., paged — $\bar{\epsilon}$ —, — $\bar{\iota}\bar{\epsilon}$ —, — $\bar{\kappa}\bar{\epsilon}$ —, — $\bar{\kappa}\bar{\eta}$ —, — $\bar{\lambda}$ —, — $\bar{\lambda}\bar{\epsilon}$ —, — $\bar{\lambda}\bar{\alpha}$ —: 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 Leipzig<sup>1</sup> (*Cod. Tisch.* xxiv, 43, 46, 47, 45, 48). Frag. 3 is completed by a fragment in the Rylands Library,<sup>2</sup> doubtless part of Tattam's find.

The ms. was in quires 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  $34.2 \times 27.5$  cm., and the written column (33 ll.),  $27.4 \times 17$ –18 cm. The central page-headings are  $\bar{\epsilon}$  (*recto*) and  $\bar{\iota}\bar{\epsilon}$  (*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 Crum<sup>3</sup> 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 + and ~ (the latter at the end of a paragraph): occasionally an x 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  $\alpha\epsilon\epsilon\pi\omega$ ,  $\sigma\tau\omega\pi$ .

Thomas is commemorated on Payni 27 = June 20 (Crum),<sup>4</sup> or on Abib 27 (July 22).<sup>5</sup>

The following outline of the history of Thomas is given in the Arabic *Synaxarium*.<sup>6</sup> Thomas, a lad eleven years old, while keeping swine at Shindalôt,<sup>7</sup> 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,<sup>8</sup> 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.<sup>9</sup> Next he, with Paphnuti of Bandara (*sic*) and Moses (*sic*) of Belkîm,<sup>10</sup> 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,<sup>11</sup> Governor of Antinoë, took him to Tammah and beheaded him there.

Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 16).

$\bar{\epsilon}$

π]αϥ οτ]ε μπερ]αος παϥ] γε χερ]ε  
 γε] φη ε]να]αος παϥ] γε χερ]ε ϣο]ι [π-  
 οτ]ψφ]ιρ ε] πεϣρ]ηνοτ]ι ετ]ρωωτ  
 Δϣ]έρωωτ]ω π]ε π]ρ]ητεμ]ωπ γε [ακ]αος  
 5 α]ε ά]ποκ ο]τα]θα]ρτ] ά-  
 πο]κ  
 Δϣ]ε]ρωωτ]ω π]ε π]α]τιος θ]ωμ]ας [πε-

$\bar{\epsilon}$                        $\bar{\iota}\bar{\epsilon}$

τ]ε]λ]η]πο]ν]το]ρωτ] + πεμ] ά]πα σ]ι-  
 πο]σι π]τε πε]λ]χ]ημ]ι + ο]το]ρ πα[τ-  
 ϣ]μοτ] ε] π]οτ]ε φ]τ] π]η]α]ν]το]κρα-  
 τ]ωρ ~  
 5 Π]ι]ε]χωρ]ε γ]αρ ε]τεμ]ματ] + πε] τ]κ]τ-  
 ρ]ι]α]κ]η τε + α]τα]ι]ε ε]ρω]ωε ε] π]οτ]ε ψ]α-  
 τ]ε π]οτ]ω]ν]ι ψ]α]ι + ο]το]ρ α]τ]ε]ρ-

<sup>1</sup> See Leipoldt, pp. 398 f.; Crum, *P.S.B.A.*, xxix, 307.

<sup>2</sup> No. 448 [43<sup>b</sup>]: see Crum, *Cat.*, p. 222.                      <sup>3</sup> *ib.*

<sup>4</sup> *ib.*: Malan, however, gives the date Baŋneh 28 (*Cal. of the Copt. Church*, p. 33).

<sup>5</sup> Amélineau, *Actes des Martyres*, pp. 105 ff. The *Calendar of Abu'l Barakāt* (P.O. x, 276) commemorates a Thomas of Alexandria (*sic*) on Abib 28.

<sup>6</sup> Assummarised by Amélineau, *loc. cit.* But Amélineau's Arabic source differs from the Coptic fragments both in the order of events and in details.

<sup>7</sup> Coptic ψεντε]ετ. For this place (in the province of Gharbiyeh) see Amélineau, *Géogr.*, p. 453.

<sup>8</sup> According to Amélineau's source, Armenius: the

Coptic, however, has Kulkianus (Frag. 2, etc.), who is a historical personage, being *hegemon* in 303 A.D. (see *Ox. Pap.*, I, 71).

<sup>9</sup> This episode was regarded with suspicion, and in our Frag. 3 is marked with the marginal ψα, indicating that the passage was to be omitted.

<sup>10</sup> *i.e.* Paphnuti of Telpontouro and Ginousi of Pelkhêmi (see Frags. 1 and 6). In our Frag. 6 Paphnuti is beheaded.

<sup>11</sup> Perhaps = Satrius Arrianus, Governor in 307 (Grenfell and Hunt, *Gk. Pap.*, II, 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 пау же не ꙗѡк ѡѡѡпаз[ѣ  
 ѡѡ]е хпахаѡ ѡѡѡл ап ꙗнеко[ѣѣ  
 10 фн] етаѡѡѡѡ ꙗѣ не ꙗ ꙗка-  
 зи] фѡ ере ꙗнеꙗи хн ѡеп ꙗе[ѣ-  
 хѡ]  
 ѡѡѡѡѡѡѡ ѡ ꙗѡ ꙗѡ ꙗне ꙗнеꙗѡ[ѡ ꙗѣ-  
 ѡѡѡѡѡѡѡ ѡѡѡѡѡѡѡ ѡѡѡѡ  
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<sup>1</sup> sic: = Lat. *compes*?      <sup>2</sup> sic.

Verso

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("... do not receive) \*him, neither say unto him 'hail'; for he who shall say unto him 'hail' is a partaker in his evil deeds."<sup>1</sup> 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."<sup>2</sup> 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,<sup>3</sup> and Apa Ginousi of Pelkhêmi.<sup>4</sup> And they were praising the Lord God the Almighty.

\* (p. 5)

\* p. 6

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: ". . .

<sup>1</sup> ii *John*, vv. 10–11.

<sup>2</sup> See *Matth.* v, 39; xxvi, 67.

<sup>3</sup> 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.).

<sup>4</sup> For Pelkhêmi (Balkîm) see preceding note. For the story of Ginousi (or Shinousi) see the Arabic *Synax.* Abib 25 (ed. Forget, II, 244), and the Ethiopic, Sanê 4 (ed. Guidi, *P.O.*, I, 540 ff.): see also No. XIX, below.



## NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 2 (*Cod. Tisch.* XXIV, 43).

етхалнотъ ѣ пїгѡλонъ + хе  
 ѡмон паѡѣ + алла ѡнок еѡпаѡ-  
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 5 { Аѡ ѣротѡ ѡхе пїгѡтос ѡѡмас  
 пѡхѡѡ ѡпапѡλλωνъ + хе ѣѡтаѡ-  
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 { Неп фѡпа ѡпаѡѣ ѡнс пѡѡс + пїгѡλѡ-  
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 10 ма ~  
 → пѡтѡкѡшт ѡпсѡн ѡпїгѡλонъ  
 тїротъ + паѡ ѡн ѡѡѡтъ + ет ѡ  
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<sup>1</sup> ? for σποῦδαιον.

[illegible]

\* (p. 15) “[. . . I 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.”<sup>1</sup> 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.

# THE MARTYRDOM OF THOMAS OF SHENTALET

Frag. 3 (Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 46 + Rylands, no. 448<sup>1</sup>).

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<sup>1</sup> \*\*\* marks the line of junction between the two fragments.

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<sup>2</sup> Informal uncials: ? second hand.

[When they saw him] \*with his face shining like the rays of the sun, they marveled greatly and said unto 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."

\* (p. 21)

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. . .]."

\* p. 22

## NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 4 (Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 47 + Cairo, no. 54. i).<sup>1</sup>

[illegible]

1 x x x marks the line of junction between the two fragments.

<sup>2</sup> Informal uncials by a later (?) hand.

<sup>3</sup> Above the line a later hand has added  $\pi\theta\epsilon\gamma \pi\alpha\tau\rho\iota\varsigma$ .

KH

[illegible]

x (p. 27)

“...if I speak one word to thee, thou speakest two to me.” He commanded that they should hang him on the *bermetarion* 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."

<sup>x</sup> 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

# THE MARTYRDOM OF THOMAS OF SHENTALET

Frag. 5 (Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 45).

5      φινωτὶ ἀγί εἰ πεσντ ἐβολ[η]εν τφε  
       αγορῇ ἐρατῇ ῥιζην πιχαλ[κ]ιον εϋ-  
       φερφερ αϋμαρ τεϋχιχ [ε]βοληεν  
       πιχαλκιον αϋσατς ἐβωπн ден  
 10    про мпигнемωп ден фотпот а  
       печѣал халла е песнт ги-  
       ωтѣ ~  
       Нимш де етапнат е фи етаϋш-  
       пи аτωш ебол етхω ммос хе  
 10    отаи пе ф† мпiагiос оωмас  
       Аριάνос де пигнемωп iте марис  
       пачхи ден рако† ρωϋ пе батен  
       котλκiанос пигнемωп iте ра-  
       ко† ~  
 15    ➤ Αϋτωпϋ αγί ша пiагiос оωмас  
       еϋден пiχαλκiон пexаϋ мпiма-  
       кариос хе ариотпαι нем пай тале-  
       пwрос iтекталооϋ де[п] пай ха-  
       сапос ~  
 20    Ден фотпот αγί е пшwi ебол[η]ден  
       пiχαλκiон iхе пiагiос оωм[ас]  
       αγί ша котλκiанос пигнем[ωп]  
       αϋсахи пемаϋ еϋхω ммос хе  
       кемпша ап ω пiапомос е ер[с-  
 25    φραγiζип ммок ден фpан мпа-  
       от̄ iнс пх̄с пiаλн̄инос i-  
       пот† ~  
       Αλλα εοhe пай мш εонаρ† е пот̄  
       iнс пх̄с ере паотро пх̄с ппот†  
 30    iаλн̄инос † мпiотхai пак ша-  
       текi еhриг е пexиx × ден фот-  
       пот αϋпат мбол iхе котλκiа-  
       нос пигнемωп αϋше пач е пи-

[λ]      iнс  
       арист[о]п пoоϋ [пe]м аrianос [пи-  
       ригe[μωп] iте аπτιпωот ден  
       пieroот етеммаот × αϋотаρ-  
       саρпи еоротωли мпiагiос оω-  
 5    мас е пштеко + еϋсoпe ден  
       ραпρaλтсiс мhени-  
       пи ~  
       Πexе пи еоотаh пач + хе оро  
       φи етаϋоро + отор хемхoм  
 10    φи етаϋхемхoм + оро ммок  
       пoт̄ пемак + шатек† шпи мкотλ-  
       κiанос пигнемωп мпapaпо-  
       мос ~  
 15    ➤ Αϋ еротω iхе пiхωpi ммарт-  
       рос iте пх̄с + пiагiос оωмас  
       пexаϋ iпiагiос етхи ден пи-  
       штеко + хе тωhρ еорпи ехωи  
       ω пaio† етсмарωот + ден  
       пe[т]пeтхи еоотаh + ρипа i-  
 20    те п]aот̄ iнс пх̄с † хом  
       пhи  
       Ατepотω iхе пiагiос ммарт-  
       рос хе ере паот̄ iнс пх̄с + еϋе†  
       хом пак + шатекхωк мпекd-  
 25    т]ωп ебол ~  
       Ετι етрeмci iхе пи еоотаh +  
       αγί еhотп iхе отpωми + ере  
       отоп отппа пaкаθapтoп пe-  
       маϋ + а пiппa мпoпиpон + ρи†  
 30    ммоϋ ден пштеко + а пи еоот-  
       аh ммартpос iте пх̄с + а-  
       тpо е пiагiос оωмас + ρипа i-  
       тeϋтaλoоϋ + ~

the powers of the \*Heavens, came down from Heaven and stood upon the boiling caldron: he took a-handful 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!"

\* (p. 29)

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.

\* p. 30

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



## THE MARTYRDOM OF THOMAS OF SHENTALET

Frag. 7 (*Cod. Tisch.* xxiv, 48).

. ρ . ē περ̄χ̄ῑχ̄ + нем пер̄сала̄т̄х̄  
 ат̄соп̄р̄у ē п̄ер̄м̄нт̄ар̄ӣон + ат̄-  
 с̄ωк̄ м̄моу + ш̄ате пер̄кас̄ пот̄р̄<sup>1</sup>  
 ē̄һол̄ ~  
 5 **Б**еп̄ ф̄от̄п̄от̄ + з̄н̄ппе а̄ц̄і п̄хе м̄-  
 х̄ан̄л̄ п̄і̄ар̄х̄н̄ат̄т̄ел̄ос̄ + а̄ц̄с̄ω̄л̄п̄  
 п̄п̄с̄п̄ат̄р̄ е̄ом̄н̄р̄ м̄моу + м̄пе  
 п̄м̄ат̄о̄ е̄т̄с̄ωк̄ п̄п̄і̄ма̄ п̄ка̄п̄он̄  
 ē̄м̄і̄ ~  
 10 **П**і̄ а̄г̄і̄ос̄ х̄е а̄па̄ θ̄ω̄мас̄ а̄ц̄ер̄ от̄-  
 п̄ӣш̄т̄ п̄̄р̄ω̄от̄ ē̄һол̄ + е̄у[х̄ω] м̄-  
 мос̄ + х̄е σ̄ӣш̄п̄і̄ пак̄ ω̄ а̄р̄[і̄ап̄]е̄  
 п̄і̄р̄н̄г̄ем̄ω̄п̄ + а̄п̄ок̄ а̄і̄ор̄о̄ е̄рок̄  
 нем̄ п̄ек̄һ̄ас̄а̄п̄ос̄ нем̄ п̄ек̄п̄от̄т̄  
 15 е̄т̄с̄оу [і̄с] з̄н̄ппе а̄ц̄і̄ ш̄ар̄о̄і̄ п̄хе  
 п̄і̄ат̄т̄[е̄л̄ос̄] п̄те̄ п̄[а̄б̄т̄ і̄н̄]с̄ п̄х̄с̄  
 п̄а̄л̄л̄і̄[θ̄п̄о̄]с̄ п̄п̄о̄[т̄т̄ а̄ц̄п̄]а̄р̄мет̄  
 е̄һол̄̄б̄еп̄ п̄п̄ек̄]һ̄ас̄[а̄п̄ос̄ з̄]і̄ т̄х̄ом̄  
 м̄па̄б̄т̄ і̄н̄с̄ п̄х̄с̄ ~]  
 20 **Е**та̄с̄с̄ω̄тем̄ ē̄ па̄і̄ п̄хе а̄рі̄]а̄п̄е̄  
 п̄і̄р̄н̄г̄ем̄ω̄п̄ а̄ц̄ер̄к̄ел̄ет̄і̄п̄ е̄]̄ер̄от̄-  
 та̄го̄ м̄п̄і̄а̄г̄і̄ос̄ θ̄ω̄мас̄ ē̄̄ор̄о̄]та̄ш̄ӯ ē̄  
 п̄ш̄ω̄і̄ . . . е̄]̄һол̄ п̄т̄-  
 25 м̄от̄т̄ б̄еп̄ п̄тар̄ п̄о̄]т̄ш̄ш̄п̄і̄ + от̄ор̄  
 е̄̄ор̄от̄і̄ш̄і̄ п̄от̄п̄ӣш̄т̄ ]̄п̄ω̄п̄і̄ е̄ п̄е̄у-  
 ф̄ат̄ м̄п̄і̄а̄г̄і̄ос̄ е̄у]а̄ш̄і̄ е̄ п̄ш̄ω̄і̄ + ш̄а-  
 те̄ п̄е̄ц̄кас̄ т̄н̄рот̄ с̄ω]л̄п̄ ē̄һол̄ б̄еп̄  
 т̄е̄ӯм̄от̄т̄]  
**А**ц̄і̄ п̄хе м̄і̄х̄ан̄]л̄ п̄і̄̄ар̄х̄н̄ат̄т̄ел̄ос̄  
 30 п̄п̄і̄п̄ӣш̄т̄ п̄х̄]ом̄ п̄п̄і̄ф̄н̄от̄і̄ +  
 а̄ц̄ор̄і̄ з̄і̄х̄еп̄ ]̄ п̄тар̄ п̄те̄ п̄ш̄ш̄п̄(п̄)  
 нем̄ п̄і̄ω̄п̄і̄ е̄т̄]а̄т̄]а̄ш̄і̄ ē̄роӯ + а̄ц̄-  
 с̄ω̄л̄п̄ ē̄һол̄]л̄ п̄п̄і̄с̄п̄ат̄р̄ е̄ом̄н̄р̄ м̄-  
 мос̄

<sup>1</sup>  $\tau$  is added by a later hand.

[illegible]

\* (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."

x (p. 33)

When Arianus the Governor heard this, he commanded them to seize the holy Thomas and hang him up . . . by his neck upon 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.

<sup>x</sup> p. 34

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.]

XIX. THE MARTYRDOM OF ASTRATOLE<sup>1</sup>

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 (= Hyvernât, *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.<sup>2</sup> Possibly the former leaf dealt with the passion of the little-known saint Ginousi (or Shenousi)<sup>3</sup> 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. Astratole<sup>4</sup> seems to be otherwise unknown as a martyr; but he is certainly identical with Astratole the Magician, mentioned in the *Martyrdom of Epime*,<sup>5</sup> 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."

Fo. 1.

Recto

Ε ς[...]

(four lines wholly lost)

Π[...]

(two lines lost)

ΑϚ[...]

(slight traces of seven or more lines)

...[...]

ρσ[...]

Αϡερ[σῶ]

μω[...]

5 παϡ[...]

ϡαν[...]

†

παερ[σῶς] αη η̄πεκποτ† ϡα ε-

περ

Αϡερκελ[εῖν ε̄ροσῶς]

10 η̄περσῶς[ε]

πορ ε̄κολ[

μμοϡ η̄[ε]η [

πα-

ληη οη ᾱρε[

Περε η̄ρηγε[μωη μ̄πατος] κε

15 ε̄ρσῶς[σῶς] η̄ηποτ† αη-

ϡαν μ̄μοη[

κε σεπαϡ[

Verso

(slight traces of a few preceding lines)

]. η̄ηπε

]λελε η̄εν

]σῶ

]. σαρ. ση

]. η̄εν σῶ-

] ταῖ ἁαῖ ες-

<sup>1</sup> Or perhaps "The Martyrdom of Ginousi and Astratole."

<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>3</sup> For Ginousi see No. xviii, Frag. 1, and refs. there given.

<sup>4</sup> The name occurs elsewhere on an ostrakon (Crum,

*Short Texts from Copt. Ostraca*, no. 52, l. 5). I have been unable to find it in the *Synaxarium* or in the Calendars.

<sup>5</sup> Balestri-Hyvernât, *Acta Mart.*, Text, p. 138; Version, p. 88. No allusion is there made to the Martyrdom of Astratole.

# THE MARTYRDOM OF ASTRATOLE

Fo. 2.

\* \*  
[. . .]... xω[  
....]ε [ . м]отѣ ероу е  
 . ] . ѱε [ . ] εϑεϑεϑ αϑερϑμ[ενї ε  
π]αϑιос ἀπα σινотси [отор  
5 пѣх]αϑ ρеп пѣϑ-  
ϑ[нт]  
Хε ἀπατ ε σινотси πѣωκ  
пте ιηс пхс еϑашї е пѣр-  
ми]тарїон ере ιηс пѣϑ-  
10 потѣ порем ммоу  
ϑωωп пте фѣ мпιαϑїос σї-  
п]отси пармет евољрен  
таї пишѣ папакнї е фп-  
рнтс апок ϑω фпапϑѣ  
15 ероу отор фпаѣ мпа-  
споу еϑωϑ ρеп пѣнма  
пте пѣрнче-  
мωп  
Отор αϑωш евољ ρеп отпшѣ  
20 пс.м[н] еϑωω ммос хε фѣ  
мп[ιαϑї]ос σινотси αριθo-  
нoп ерої отор фпап[αϑѣ  
ерок отор фпамете ϑ[ωї  
ежен пекрап еϑотаѣ

\* \* \*  
хεϑ еϑїкот ρеп [ . . ]ε  
ρеп тѣашї мпѣхωр[ε ιс  
ми]ханл пїархнатте[л-  
ос αϑотонρ ероу [αϑса-  
5 хї немаϑ еϑωω м-  
мос  
Хε астратолн пѣхαϑ хε ϑ[нп-  
пѣ апок паѣт пѣок пїм м-  
паї рнѣ пѣхαϑ паϑ хε а-  
10 пок пѣ ми]ханл пїархнат-  
телос апок пѣ етаїї е  
песнт евољрен тѣε аї-  
пармек евољрен пѣнхїх  
ппѣемωп  
15 Наї пѣ пн ет еϑωω ммоωт п-  
хε пѣт хε фѣαϑнкнї е-  
т аксемпнтс пѣмнї α-  
рер ероκ мперфонρс  
αλλα маще пак ежен пїнн-  
20 ма птекеромољотн м-  
парαп ϑїхеп пѣαїкастн-  
р]їон мпемоо мпѣрнче-  
м]ωп

... (l. 3) \*because of him. He<sup>1</sup> remembered the holy Apa Ginousi, and said in his heart: "I saw Ginousi, the servant of Jesus the Christ, hanging on the *bermetarion*; 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."

\* Recto

... \*sleeping in... In the middle of the night, Io, 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.<sup>2</sup> 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.'"

\* Verso

<sup>1</sup> sc. Astratole (who is down in Hell at the mercy of the demons).

<sup>2</sup> See Introductory Note.



## XX. THE MARTYRDOMS OF APA KRADJÔN AND APA AMOUN

Parchment. Seven leaves and two fragments from one ms.

Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 19), 34.2 × 28 cm., paged —Ē, contains the title (framed in the usual cable-pattern border of red and yellow) and opening of the story of Kradjôn.<sup>1</sup> In Frag. 2 (*Cod. Tisch.* xxiv, 25), 33 × 21 cm.,<sup>2</sup> paged —Ē, the conversion of Kradjôn and his comrade Amoun from their life of robbery is described. Frag. 3 (Cairo, no. 19<sup>Add</sup>), 17.2 × 9.5 cm., is a fragment from the upper part of a leaf (probably from pp. —ī), and narrates how Kradjôn resolved to become a martyr. Frag. 4 (*Cod. Tisch.* xxiv, 26),<sup>3</sup> 33 × 22 cm., paged —īĒ, describes the saint's departure (from Shiêt) and his arrival at Pshati (Ibshadi, Nikiu).<sup>4</sup> Frag. 5 (*Cod. Tisch.* xxiv, 7), 32 × 21 cm., paged —īĒ (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., unpaginated, 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<sup>Add</sup> + *Cod. Tisch.* xxiv, 30),<sup>5</sup> unpaginated, 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., unpaginated, 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).<sup>6</sup> 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 ĪĒ: for the heading at the end of a quire see the text of Frag. 5.

Apa Kradjôn of Pineban<sup>7</sup> is commemorated on Epêp (Abib) 25. He was a famous robber and went on one occasion with two<sup>8</sup> 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 Terenuthis<sup>9</sup> 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 Athûr 27.<sup>10</sup>

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 ΠΙΝΕΒΑΝ and in the *Cheretismos* from a xiv cent. copy of the Theotokia from Dêr Abû Makâr as ΠΙΝΑΒΑΝ); see also Hyvernât, *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).

ѿмартѣрія ѿте пачеос апа к-  
ражон пмопажос отор пмартѣрос  
еотав ѿте пхс отор прѣмннѣан  
ет аѿжос ебол ѿеп отметченнос нсот  
не мпаѿот еппи ѿеп отѣринни ѿте  
ѿѿ амин

АС[Щ]ШП[І] ЫЕН ПСНОУ

пге пг[х]ѡтмос нем п[х]х-  
мѡп ѣт[а]ѡшпн ѣжен пге-  
нос пп[х]христѡнос нем ф-  
парабасис етасшпн еѡл-  
гитен отрѡмн нѡт-  
ѡт пе

6[raçi] æe ēroṭn ē rakot̃ p̃æ  
 [pnp]rostatm[a] pte p̃ot̃roṭ  
 IO [mparan]omoc p[n] et̃at̃er̃p̃aw̃  
 m̃f̃t̃ et̃op̃t̃ ot̃oç at̃š̃ñ  
 p̃sa p̃x̃r̃ñet̃iãnoç

0009 et[a]rcwtem ꝑꝑce ꝑꝑ eð-  
 otað aꝑꝑwot ē ꝑꝑꝑꝑꝑꝑ  
 ꝑꝑ ꝑꝑꝑꝑ ꝑꝑ[ē] ꝑꝑꝑꝑ-  
 ꝑꝑ

Не оѡп оѡархнепископос  
хн ѡ[п] ракоѣ ѡеп писноѡ  
етеммаѡ еѡмоѣ ероѡ

20 же ѿсѣпа не отрече рзотъ  
не ѡтѣри мѣѣ емащю

Отъз не отъз отъшири ѿсхн-  
ма птаѣ є псѣрап не ѡеопем-  
тос

25 Φαι δε [ἀ]γοι ἡσυχαστικός ποτ-

15

.оу еѡѡе ѡхѡм ѡе ѡте  
ѡѡ еѡнемаѡу неѡ ѡсоѡѡѡ  
ѡт аѡтѡс паѡ аѡрапаѡу ѡ-  
неѡѡѡт ѡѡѡѡѡс паѡѡѡѡ аѡ-

5 αἰ[η] ἐπεπίσκοπος ἐ οὐδὲν  
 η]τ καθολ ἡ πόλις ἐμμοτ[η]  
 ἐρ[ος] γε τα τῶν πατ[ρ]  
 ρων<sup>1</sup> οὐδὲ παρ[ε] πη ἐ[τ]  
 ρεν π[ι]αδ[η]ν ἐτεμ[μ]ατ ἱρι

10  $\overline{\chi}$  ἡμοναχος πε

Бен пхлоредсѡтем де пхе  
патис нѣпископос е пшн  
мпаѡтмос асфот нем  
ни тирот еопемаѡ е пш[а]ѡ  
пте шнт

[illegible]

25 **Хѣ** отни гар неати ерр[н]і ехωу  
не рен овѣзаниа мпеч-  
жем пирн† мфωт

Ταὶ παρθένος ἀσε[ρ] η[θ]υ-  
 σιὰ ηπιῶλον παρὰ πεσοῦ-

30 ωψ ηεν πεθοτοη  
 Θεη γε ψαρε πᾶπομος ορε  
 φᾶκι τηρε ταλε οτς[ι]α ε

<sup>1</sup> = τὰ τῶν πατέρων.

<sup>2</sup> *sic* in copy.

<sup>3</sup> 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 accomplished nobly on the xxv day of the month Epêp. In the Peace of God! Amen.*

<sup>x</sup> (p. 1)

[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 man<sup>1</sup>—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:<sup>2</sup> he feared God greatly. And there was with him a son of the habit,<sup>3</sup> 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 Father<sup>4</sup> well. So he made him bishop in a monastery, outside the city, which was called The Monastery of the Fathers<sup>5</sup>; and they who were in that monastery were six hundred monks.

x p. 2

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.<sup>6</sup> 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. xvi, Frag. 1.

2 But Theonas (282-300 A.D.) died before the outbreak of the Persecution.

3 *i.e.* a monk.

4 *i.e.* Theonas.

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.

## NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 2 (*Cod. Tisch.* XXIV, 25).

[illegible][illegible]

[Kradjôn and Amoun approach the cell of the Bishop intending to plunder it. They are confronted by the old man.]

\* (p. 5) . . . \*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.'<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> And the other, named Apa Kradjôn, was by birth a man of Neban: he also had been taught to paint a picture<sup>3</sup> 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 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<sup>Add</sup>).

..... ка]λως οτορ πα[τερψφн-  
 ри ḡмоу] ḡже писпнот т[нрот  
 Πενεπса] πατ δε α φ̄т пим[αи-  
 ρωμι σωρ]п ēhoλ мпенпωт  
 5 ..... ]та еѡе а[п]ак[рахωп  
 ѡеп от]хорама ѡеп пѣ[хωρ  
 отор а]ѡереѡиѡисѡе ḡ[моу ḡпиаг-  
 иос ḡе]писко-  
 пос]  
 10 Аѡерψ]φнри де ḡмоу ēм[ашω  
 пже п]иρελλο пѡау х[е ѡсма-  
 ρω]отт ḡже п̄с̄ φ̄т [п̄аѡраам  
 нем и]саак нем иакω[ѡ етаѡот-  
 орп м]пиаггелос ḡт[  
 15 Ста]п̄пат ē ḡпа крах[ωп аѡ-  
 ем] же отхом ḡ[те φ̄т ес-  
 саалнот]т ēроу [

\* \* \*

[ī]                      īнс  
 ро]м̄п̄и ф̄пат ē пек[ḡиос.... ет-  
 акаи]ѡ отор ммоп [ ḡли ḡреλп̄ис ḡ-  
 ѡнт]ѡ отде сотр̄и[  
 .. ]же исхе керреλп̄ис ē σ̄и ēрок ḡп-  
 5 ωп̄ѡ] ḡпепер ie φн е[ѡотаѡ па-  
 хω ē]hoλ ḡѡоу еѡпа[... с̄и-  
 пω]от̄и ḡащ ḡриѡ  
 Тоте п]еже ḡпа крахωп паѡ  
 же паи]ωт щлнλ ēхωи ѡ[еп пек-  
 10 щлнλ] еѡот-  
 аѡ]  
 Хе от]ни ф̄патωнт пта[т̄ни ḡмои еhoλ  
 ē то]тот ḡпаи аѡп̄от[ѡ ḡот-  
 ρωот] отор птаотωп̄е е-  
 15 hoλ м]ф̄рап ḡпап̄от̄т [īнс п-  
 х̄с̄ нем] теѡхом ет[  
 ..... ] ф̄хом п̄и[  
 ..... ] еѡ[

\* \* \*

[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.

\* (p. 9 ?)

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 ledest, and there is no hope therein nor any star (*sic*)... 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. 10 ?

## NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 4 (*Cod. Tisch.* xxiv, 26).<sup>1</sup>

[illegible]

1 x x x marks the junction of the new fragment.

\* (p. 11) [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 course<sup>1</sup> through the power of Christ. And when he came to the ferry of Pshati he found a numerous army with the idolatrous kings resting beyond<sup>2</sup> 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."

\* p. 12

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).

<u>IH</u>	<u>IHC</u>
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Нѡѡѣ пѣхѡѡ пѡѡѡ ѡѣ мѡѡѡ  
 ѡѣпѡпѡѡ рѡ ѣ ѣмѣ ѣ пѡмѡѡѡ  
 алла ꙗꙗꙗ ѣрѡтѣп ꙗпа ꙗтѣ  
 тѣпѡѡѡ мѡѡѡт ѡѣп ꙑн ѣт ал-  
 ѡѣпѡпѡѡ ѣроѡ  
 5 Пѣѡѡѡ пѡѡ ѡѣ ѣѡѣ ѡпѡѡѡѡ ал(п)  
 ѡѣ ѡѡѡѡ ꙑѡѡѡ ꙗѣ ѣꙑѡѡ ꙗ-  
 ѡ ѡѡ ѡѡѡ ѡпѡѡ ѡѡп тѣпѡѡ-  
 ѡѡѡѡ ал ѣ ꙑн ѣтѣꙑѡѡ ꙗ-  
 10 ѡѡѡ  
 Тѡтѣ ѡѡѡѡ ꙑ ꙗѣроѡѡ ѣꙑѣмѣ ꙗ-  
 ѡѣп пѡѡѡѡѡ мѡѡѡѡ ѣ мѡѡ  
 ѣѡѣ ѡѣ ѡѡ пѡѡѡѡѡѡ ѣꙑѣ-  
 ѡѡѡ ѣ ѡѡѡѡѡ ѡѡ ѣ ꙗ ꙗ мѡѡ  
 15 пѡ ꙑн ꙑ[ѡѡ]ѣꙑѡѡѡ(ѡ)п ꙗпѡѡ ꙗѡѡѡ-  
 ѡѡ пѣмѡ[пѡ. ]ѡꙑѡѡ ѡѡтѣ пѡѡѡ-  
 ѡѡ ꙑп ꙑ[п]н ѣтѡѡѡѡѡѡѡѡ  
 ꙗпѡѡѡѡ[ѡѡ]  
 ѡѡѡѡ ꙗтѡ[ѣ ꙑ]пѡѡѡ тѡѡѡ мѡѡ ꙗ-  
 20 ѡѡѡѡѡ[. . ]ѣꙑ пн ѣтѡѡѡѡѡ  
 мѡѡѡѡ ѡ[ꙗп]н пѣм пѡѡѡ ѣтѣ мѡ-  
 пѣ. . ѡѡ[  
 ѡѡѡ ѣ[пѡ]ѡѡпѡѡѡ ꙗѡѣ ѡѡѡѡ-  
 ѡѡѡ[ѡ ꙗтѣ] пѡѡѡ ѣтѡѡѡѡѡ  
 25 ѣроѡѡ[ ꙗ ꙑ]мѡ пѣхѡѡѡ ꙗѡѡ  
 ѡѡѡ[ ꙗѡ. ꙗп ѣроѡ ѡѣ  
 ꙑѡѡ[ ꙗ]пѡѡѡ[ѡѡ]ѡ ꙑѡ  
 ѡѡѡ[  
 Пѣѡѡ[ѡѡ пѡѡѡ ]ѡѣ ѣѣ ꙑѣꙑѡ[ѣ  
 30 [ . . . . ] ꙗтѣ. . . .  
 [ . . . . ]ѡѡѡп[  
 [ . . . . ] ѡѡ ѡѡѡ. [ .  
 [ . . . . ] ѣ ѡѣ ѣꙑѡп

2 *i.e.* on the further (eastern) bank.

## THE MARTYRDOMS OF APA KRADJÔN AND APA AMOUN

Frag. 5 (*Cod. Tisch.* xxiv, 7).

5 Ста҃смос е҃һотн е҃рел апа к-  
 рахѡи ꙗ҃хе потро а҃с҃ершфн-  
 ри ѿмоу нем не҃кешфнр п-  
 отроѡт тнрот еѡе те҃-  
 10 жом нем те҃метса-  
 је  
 Наре не҃сѡѡѡш отси не са п-  
 шѡи ꙗ҃нматѡи тнрот отор  
 па҃сѡш еѡол не е҃сѡ ѿмос  
 15 Же калѡс акѡ потро ꙗ҃пѡѡѡлон  
 фн е҃ре пшѡшт ꙗ҃те ꙗ҃пара-  
 ѡсѡс хн ꙗ҃тѡтѡ отор ꙗ҃гем[ѡ  
 е҃рѡѡт ап  
 Пѡнѡс ꙗ҃те пѡхакн фн е҃ре тек-  
 20 метатрѡт сѡк ꙗ҃отмнш ꙗ҃-  
 ре҃с҃ерпѡи е҃һотн е фѣт  
 Тотѡш отп еѡрекѡи е фѡи ѡ  
 потро же ис ѡтмнш ꙗ҃сѡп  
 фсѡѣт ѿмои е ꙗ҃рарѡк алл[ѡ] ф-  
 25 пот ѡ пѡѣ сѡѣт мѡѡамѡит а[҃сѡит  
 шарѡк  
 Епѡгн фсѡѡтн же ѡеп ф[ѡ]ѡ-  
 ѡш ꙗ҃те фѣт нем фѡѡѡ ꙗ҃-  
 тетепметѡѡнѡрѣт фѡѡше  
 30 пнн е ꙗ҃мѡит е҃ре ꙗ҃патшеле[т  
 хн ѿмоу  
 Фсѡѡтн ѡпѡк же е҃ре ꙗ҃тѡѡѡ  
 ꙗ҃те таѡѡѡхн нем ꙗ҃сѡѡѡ  
 нем ꙗ҃сѡѣ ꙗ҃те ꙗ҃пѡѡи ꙗ҃нѡт  
 35 еѡѡлѡтѡт[ѡ] епѡгн ѡлѡр ѡт-  
 м[н]ш ꙗ҃пѡѡи ѡеп тархн еѡ-  
 мошн ѡеп [ѡ]ѡметѡѡелѡс нем ѡѡп-  
 мнш ꙗ҃ѡнѡѡѡс еѡѡѡи нем

[illegible]

\*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."

× (p. 15)

\* p. 16

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 venturdest 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. . ."

# NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 6 (Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 33).

ετα[ω] μμος θε οτιψυτ πε  
 φτ̄ π̄νιχρησταςος φαι ετ̄  
 жом м̄паирит̄ п̄ни еонарт̄ е-  
 роу  
 5 Π̄ρ̄ν̄τ̄εμ̄ων̄ δε ᾱγ̄ερω̄ν̄ πε̄χᾱς  
 μ̄πᾱτιος̄ θε̄ ᾱλ̄ν̄ως̄ ᾱῑρῑσι  
 ᾱῑχᾱτο̄т̄ е̄χο̄λ̄ πᾱρ̄ρᾱκ̄ φ̄νω̄т̄ о̄т̄(п̄)  
 с̄ω̄те̄м̄ п̄с̄ω̄ῑ а̄ρῑο̄т̄с̄ӣа̄ μ̄π̄-  
 ӣψ̄ῡт̄̄ п̄п̄ο̄т̄̄ ш̄а̄п̄ο̄λ̄λ̄ων̄ п̄-  
 10 те̄κο̄ῑ п̄ρ̄а̄п̄ӣψ̄ῡт̄̄ п̄т̄а̄ӣо̄ е̄χο̄λ̄-  
 ρ̄ῑте̄п̄ т̄п̄ρο̄п̄ο̄ӣа̄ п̄п̄ӣп̄ο̄т̄̄ п̄ρ̄ε̄γ̄-  
 о̄ро̄  
 О̄то̄ς̄ п̄т̄а̄а̄ῑκ̄ п̄ε̄κᾱто̄п̄т̄ᾱρ̄χο̄ς̄  
 п̄т̄ε̄κ̄ῡω̄п̄ӣ п̄п̄ӣψ̄ῡт̄̄ μ̄п̄а̄ῑμ̄θ̄о̄  
 15 м̄о̄п̄о̄п̄ с̄ω̄те̄м̄ п̄с̄ω̄ῑ п̄т̄е̄к̄е̄р̄  
 е̄χο̄λ̄ е̄ п̄ӣβ̄а̄с̄а̄п̄ос̄ е̄ т̄μ̄ε̄т̄ӣ ē̄ е̄-  
 п̄ο̄т̄ е̄ж̄ω̄к̄ о̄то̄ς̄ п̄т̄е̄κο̄ῑ п̄ρ̄а̄п̄-  
 ӣψ̄ῡт̄̄ п̄т̄а̄ӣо̄ е̄χο̄λ̄ρ̄ӣте̄п̄ т̄п̄ро̄п̄-  
 ӣа̄ п̄п̄ӣп̄ο̄т̄̄ п̄ρ̄ε̄γ̄о̄ро̄ п̄т̄е̄к̄-  
 20 ж̄е̄м̄ ρ̄ӣο̄т̄ μ̄п̄ӣω̄п̄̄ п̄е̄м̄ п̄а̄ῑ  
 а̄ӣр̄ е̄т̄ο̄ӣт̄ п̄к̄а̄λ̄ω̄с̄  
 Π̄ῑᾱτιος̄ δε̄ ᾱγ̄ερω̄ν̄ πε̄χᾱς̄ πᾱς̄  
 θε̄ а̄κ̄ῡᾱп̄т̄̄ п̄ӣӣ μ̄п̄а̄ῑκ̄ο̄с̄м̄ο̄с̄  
 т̄ӣр̄ӯ п̄е̄м̄ п̄ε̄γ̄ω̄т̄̄ т̄п̄а̄о̄п̄ο̄т̄̄  
 25 ρ̄ω̄с̄ ρ̄λ̄ӣ т̄μ̄е̄т̄ г̄а̄р̄ а̄п̄ μ̄п̄а̄ῑ ω̄п̄̄  
 μ̄п̄ро̄с̄ о̄т̄[с̄н̄о̄]т̄̄  
 Ἀ̄λ̄λ̄ᾱ т̄[о̄]т̄[ω̄]ψ̄ е̄ ] ī̄ е̄χο̄λ̄ п̄ρ̄ӣт̄ӯ п̄-  
 χ̄ω̄ [е̄χο̄λ̄ μ̄м̄ο̄ӯ е̄ж̄е̄п̄ φ̄ρᾱп̄] μ̄п̄а̄о̄т̄̄  
 ӣн̄с̄ [п̄χ̄с̄ ] ī̄ . [ī̄]к̄  
 30 η̄[  
 .[  
 Π̄ῑρ̄ν̄τ̄εμ̄ων̄ δε̄

Ᾱγ̄ε̄ρ̄κε̄λε̄τῑп̄ ε̄ο̄ρο̄т̄ᾱλ̄[о̄]ӯ ē̄-  
 ж̄е̄п̄ о̄т̄ο̄λ̄ο̄ж̄ п̄̄е̄п̄ӣп̄ӣ п̄с̄е̄с̄а̄ρ̄-  
 †̄ ρ̄а̄ро̄ӯ ρ̄е̄п̄ о̄т̄μ̄ε̄т̄с̄ο̄т̄о̄ ш̄а̄-  
 те̄ п̄ε̄γ̄с̄а̄ρ̄з̄ м̄ο̄т̄ӣк̄ ρ̄ӣте̄п̄ п̄ӣ-  
 5 χ̄ρ̄ω̄м̄  
 Π̄ῑᾱτιος̄ δε̄ πε̄χᾱς̄ πᾱς̄ θε̄ ω̄ π̄ῑᾱ-  
 πο̄ῑт̄ος̄ п̄ρ̄н̄τ̄εμ̄ων̄ е̄ο̄β̄е̄ о̄т̄  
 κ̄т̄̄ӣс̄ӣ п̄а̄к̄ а̄п̄ο̄к̄ г̄а̄р̄ т̄е̄р̄е̄с̄-  
 θ̄а̄п̄е̄с̄θ̄е̄ а̄п̄ ē̄ п̄ӣχ̄ρ̄ω̄м̄ о̄т̄δε̄ п̄ӣ-  
 10 т̄е̄ρ̄ρ̄ο̄т̄ а̄п̄ ρ̄а̄т̄η̄ п̄п̄ε̄κ̄β̄а̄с̄а̄-  
 п̄ос̄ ρ̄ӣте̄п̄ т̄ж̄ом̄ п̄т̄е̄ п̄а̄о̄т̄̄ ӣн̄с̄  
 е̄т̄е̄ρ̄θ̄о̄ӣ̄п̄ е̄ро̄ӣ о̄ӣψ̄ӣп̄ӣ о̄т̄(п̄)  
 п̄а̄к̄ т̄п̄ο̄т̄ п̄е̄м̄ п̄е̄к̄п̄ο̄т̄̄ е̄т̄-  
 ш̄ο̄т̄ӣт̄  
 15 Ε̄τᾱε̄μ̄ӣ δε̄ п̄̄ж̄е̄ п̄ρ̄н̄τ̄εμ̄ων̄ θε̄  
 γ̄ῡψ̄ε̄μ̄ж̄ом̄ е̄ро̄ӯ а̄п̄ ρ̄е̄п̄ п̄ӣβ̄а̄-  
 с̄а̄п̄ос̄ т̄ο̄т̄е̄ а̄γ̄ο̄т̄а̄ρ̄с̄а̄ρ̄з̄п̄ӣ е̄ο̄-  
 ρ̄ο̄т̄с̄ω̄п̄̄ μ̄φ̄ӣ е̄ο̄ο̄т̄а̄h̄ ρ̄е̄п̄  
 ρ̄а̄п̄п̄ε̄ρ̄а̄с̄ п̄̄е̄п̄ӣп̄ӣ п̄т̄ο̄т̄ο̄λ̄ӯ  
 20 е̄ ρ̄а̄к̄ο̄т̄̄ е̄ φ̄μ̄а̄ п̄κ̄ο̄т̄λ̄κ̄ӣа̄п̄ос̄  
 п̄ρ̄н̄τ̄εμ̄ων̄ ρ̄ӣп̄а̄ п̄т̄е̄γ̄с̄ω̄-  
 те̄м̄ е̄ро̄ӯ ᾱӣμ̄ο̄с̄ӣа̄  
 Ε̄т̄а̄т̄ο̄λ̄ӯ е̄ о̄т̄ж̄ο̄ӣ п̄̄ж̄е̄ п̄ӣм̄а̄т̄ο̄ӣ  
 а̄т̄ш̄ο̄ӣр̄ п̄е̄м̄а̄γ̄ е̄ρ̄ο̄т̄ӣ е̄а̄т̄-  
 25 φ̄ο̄ρ̄ е̄ ρ̄а̄к̄ο̄т̄̄ ρ̄е̄п̄ φ̄μ̄а̄ρ̄̄ п̄ п̄е̄-  
 ρ̄ο̄ο̄т̄̄  
 Τ̄ο̄т̄е̄ п̄ӣм̄а̄т̄[ο̄ӣ ] . е̄ .  
 ο̄т̄а̄ . [ ]п̄  
 . ] . . [ κ̄]ο̄т̄λ̄  
 30 κ̄[ӣа̄п̄ос̄

\* \* \*

\* *Recto* [The multitude cried out,] \*saying: "Great is the God of the Christians, Who giveth strength after this sort to them who believe on him."

But the Governor answered and said to the holy one: "Verily I 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 KRADJON AND APA AMOUN

Frag. 7 (Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 30 + Cairo, no. 37<sup>Add</sup>).<sup>1</sup>

Κουλιανος πριη[ρε]μων πτε [ρα-  
κοτ φη ετοπρ ден т[про-  
поїа кинопотт арианос пи[рн-  
темων ите шебаїс хере  
5 Επιαν а пепотт потро аїт п\*м-  
пша мпечсгаї еттаїно[т]\*... ε  
ре рωμι пишен ден ма п[і]\*ден  
ите ρωотт ите сгїм[і]  
Απλωс тагма пишен е\*[φ]роттjem-  
10 ши ппинопотт еттаїно\*т ете  
пай не  
πιαπολλων нем ф\*ртемїс  
нем псωшп ппинопотт\*ф  
Αпхїмї мпай рωмї х\*е апамотп ег-  
15 шωшц пїта[гм]\*а ите пїат-  
тократор [пеп]\*отт потро дїок-  
лїтїанос  
апок де аїт п\*раппїшф пфасапос  
наг мпечо\*тωш е еротсїа ка-  
20 та ткеλ[ε]тс[і]\*с мпенотт потро  
аλλα ег[ер]\*омологїп же апок  
отхрїс[тї]\*анос фпотт отп аїот-  
орп[г] е]\*рок еорексωтем е-  
рог  
25 Σταг[ω]\*ш де мпїсгаї агеркелет-  
п [еорот]\*гїтг е пштеко ша  
п[еграотт]  
Πα[тїос апа]\*мотп хгаг [ . . ] б[ε]п  
пштеко . . . ]. пгмот от  
30 σ[т]с ιηс πхс [ . . ]  
]. же . пап[

(Slight traces of one more line.)

<sup>1</sup> \* \* \* marks the junction of the two fragments.

“(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 . . . òn of Smoun, and . . . n, and Sarapion. And the holy Apa Amoun was . . .

\*

\*

\*

О[т]о\*г наре фт ф хом наг пе де(п)  
гω)\*а пишен етотїпї ммωот  
ε)\*дрнї егωг

О[т]о\*г наре псахи мф\*т хн ден  
5 ρω\*г пе нем пгмот ите пї-  
п[а] \*еотта\*а пе нагсахи ирїтг  
еге\*ротп ден пштеко ег-  
ф по[мф]\*потп пишен етден  
п[і]штек\*о етсомс ебол батгн  
10 мпїхлом \*фн ете потт патнїг  
гїхен то\*тафе

Наггω мм\*ос пωот же отпш-  
ф пе пїта\*їо фай ет а потт аїг  
немап ісхе\*п тепметкоттї

15 Βαγερρмот па\*п поттхом еоре(п-)  
сеїтωтеп е т\*аї отпот

Πперер ρотт от\* . . . ап ісхе те(п-)  
пашен ганкот\*аї ирїсї аλλα  
менпсωс те\*[п]паθελїл ша ē-  
20 пер ирїнї ден о\*метотро м-  
пенотт ιηс πхс

Не отп ганкеспно\*т пе м-  
маїнопотт етпротп [де]\*п пш-  
теко еоће фомоло[гїа] \*и́те  
25 φραп мпхс агнат е о\*ггїа[к-  
ωп егота\*а епег[рап п]\*е апа  
п[отсї]<sup>1</sup>-нем кеп[ресхтте]\*рос  
ег[отт]\*а е пег[рап пе . . . ]\* . .  
.ωп псмотп п[ем] ]\*п

30 нем са[рапїωп]  
О[т]о\*г па[р]е пїат[тїос апамотп

(Slight traces of one more line.)

<sup>1</sup> Suggested by Crum: the initial must have been π, μ or ν.

\* Recto

\* Verso



# NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 8 (Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 3).

Ачеротѡ ѿже пѣтѡ[с апамотн  
же ссѣнотѣ ѡп н[играфи  
же ппотоѣ тирот [пте птео-  
пос ранадемѡн пе  
5 Бтепн ммоѡт ѿже [пн тирот  
еѡпазѣ ерѡот [ѣпѡт де ѡ пи-  
апомос ѿргнемѡн[ . . .  
пи е птако нем [п]екп[отѣ] нем  
пекнеотро ѿатрѣт м[паи  
10 рнѣ  
Апож гар ѣпаерѡтсѣа ап п[пек-  
потоѣ] ммоѡтн ѿхѣх пет[ер  
пак отн ариѣ пнѣ ѿхѡле[м  
Пргнемѡн де пезаѣ паѣ ѿ[е  
15 акотѡш е мѡт ѿпакѡс ѡ а-  
мотн пѣрѣсѣ еѣтасѡ ерок  
хѡ же ѿѡж ѿтаѣ пѣлпн пт[ек-  
ѣ мпекотѡи ѿтекерѡтсѣа ѿ-  
ѿпипотоѣ  
20 Отоѡ апок ѣпаерхариѣ[есѡе  
пак ѿрапмнш ѿтаѡ ѿ[тааѣн  
ѿотнѣ е папѡтѣ тирѡ[ѣ  
Тотѡш отн ѣпѡт еѡ[рекѣ] м-  
топ мпаѣнт ѿтеѣ[шѡпн  
25 ѿшѣфр нем па[ . . .  
Етаѣсѡтем де е [паѣ пхе пѣтѡ-  
ѡ[с] апамотн а[черотѡ паѣ еѣ-  
сѡ]ѣ пезаѣ [же ѡ пргне-  
мѡн] ісхе паѣ рнѣ [пе апиѡтн  
30 ппекп[отѣ] е паѣ [ма птаерѡт-  
сѣа] пѡот пргн[немѡн де е-  
таѣсѡтем е паѣ ѿ[тотѣ]

аѣрашн] ѣмашѡ ѡс же аѣпа-  
ерѡтсѣа] ппекп[отѣ]  
Сатотѣ аѣ[ркелетн еѡротѣпн  
еѡотн пѣа]пѡлѡп е пѡеатро(п)  
5 еѡре пнѣрѣз ѡш еѡл ѡп ѣ-  
ѣакн тирс] же ѡѡотѣ тирот  
е пѡеат[роп] ѿтетепнат е а-  
мотн п[і]христѣанос еѣпаер-  
ѡтсѣа] ппипотоѣ ѿте пот-  
10 ро]  
Тот[е] пѣмнш тирѣ аѡѡотѣ ѣ  
пѡ[еатроп] еѡѡѡ тирот  
е п[аѣ] е ѣѡѡрѣа пргнемѡ(п)  
отн пезаѣ мпѣтѡс же амот  
15 пасѡтн амотн ариѡтсѣа гѣ-  
па ѿтепше пап е пѣрѣс-  
топ  
Ѧ]н еѡѡѡѡ де апамотн еѡѡ-  
ѡѡт е пѡѡотѣ аѣѣ ѿѡ-  
20 шеп]ѣат паѣ еѣѡ ммос же  
ѡп] ѣѡм ѿнѣс паѡтро ма-  
ше паѣ] е пѣснт е ѣпѡтн ѡѡ  
пѣѡѡѡ ѿте пѣрап  
Ѧеп ѣѡтпѡѡ а пѣѡѡѡ отѡп прѡѡ  
25 аѣѡмн м]пѡѡотѣ еѣ а пѣ-  
мнш паѡ е т]ѡѡѡѡ еѡѡѡѡ-  
пн аѡѡш еѡл п[сѣа] пргнемѡн  
еѡѡш ммос]  
Ѧе . . . ]е пекп[отѣ] еѣ[ . . .]  
30 . . . ]ѣ паѡерѡѡѡѡ(п)  
мпѣтѡ[с] апамотн еѡѡѡ  
ммос же] ѡѡѡ пе ѣѣ ѿпѣхрис-  
тѣанос еѣе ѣѣ пѣпамотн

\* Recto

\*Then answered the holy Apa Amoun: "It is written in the Scriptures, 'All the gods of the heathen are demons:<sup>1</sup> like unto them are all they who trust in them.'<sup>2</sup> 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 . . ."

\* Verso

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. xcvi, 5.

2 Ps. cxv, 8.

## THE MARTYRDOMS OF APA KRADJÔN AND APA AMOUN

Frag. 9 (Cairo, no. 37).

Ἀπολ. αρ. [...]. ωο[ . . .  
 ποτ[ . . . ] παδ[ε] ι[ης] . . .  
 τ[η]ρτ[η] ε[κ]ο[λ]  
 Πιατος δε ἀπαμο[ν] α[μ]ω[ν] ρ[ε]ν  
 5 ο[υ]π[η]στ[η]τ[η] ἡ[ς]μ[η]ν ε[κ]α[ν]ω[ν] μ[ο]ς γε  
 τ[η]τ[η]ρ[η] ε[κ]ροκ[η] ε[κ] πα[ρ]η[ς] π[η]ν . . .  
 Ετα[ρ]α[ν]ω[ν] π[η]ν[η]ς τ[η]ς ε[κ]ο[λ] ε[κ] π[η]ν[η]ς  
 πα[ρ]α[ν]ω[ν] ε[κ]α[ν]ω[ν] μ[ο]ς  
 Χε παδ[ε] ι[ης] [π]α[ρ]η[ς] π[η]ν[η]ς  
 10 ο[υ]τοκ[η] π[η]ν[η]ς ε[κ] τ[η]ς π[η]ν[η]ς ε[κ]  
 ἡ[ς]μ[η]ν  
 Ηοοκ[η] ο[υ]π[η]στ[η]τ[η] . . .  
 γε . . .  
 ρ[ε]ν  
 15 Φη[ς] ετα[ρ]α[ν]ω[ν] μ[ο]ς ἡ[ς]μ[η]ν π[η]ν[η]ς ε[κ]  
 ρ[ε]ν π[η]ν[η]ς π[η]ν[η]ς ρ[ε]ν τ[η]ς  
 Φη[ς] ετα[ρ]α[ν]ω[ν] μ[ο]ς ε[κ] π[η]ν[η]ς ἡ[ς]μ[η]ν  
 τ[η]ς ρ[ε]ν τ[η]ς π[η]ν[η]ς ε[κ] μ[ο]ς  
 εκε[κ]ω[ν] τ[η]ς . . .  
 20 ἡ[ς]μ[η]ν . . .  
 . π[η]ν[η]ς . . .  
 \* \* \*

. . . ]δε φ[η]ς ε[κ]ο[λ]  
 ἀπαμο[ν] α[μ]ω[ν] ε[κ] ρ[ε]ν π[η]ν[η]ς  
 . . . ] . α[μ]ω[ν] ρ[ε]ν π[η]ν[η]ς  
 κο]  
 5 Η[ς]μ[η]ν δε ε[κ] α[μ]ω[ν] [ε] τ[η]ς π[η]ν[η]ς  
 ετα[ρ]α[ν]ω[ν] ] α[μ]ω[ν] ε[κ] ρ[ε]ν  
 μ[ο]ς γε μ[ο]ς π[η]ν[η]ς ποτ[η] ρ[ε]ν  
 τ[η]ς π[η]ν[η]ς ρ[ε]ν π[η]ν[η]ς ε[κ]  
 ε[κ] τ[η]ς μ[ο]ς α[μ]ω[ν] α[μ]ω[ν]  
 10 Ετα[ρ]α[ν]ω[ν] μ[ο]ς ε[κ] πα[ρ]η[ς] π[η]ν[η]ς  
 μ[ο]ς α[μ]ω[ν] ε[κ] μ[ο]ς ε[κ]  
 πα[ρ]η[ς] τ[η]ς ε[κ] α[μ]ω[ν] π[η]ν[η]ς  
 μ[ο]ς  
 ]τ[η]ς ποτ[η]  
 15 ]π[η]ν[η]ς α[μ]ω[ν]  
 ]ι[η]ς π[η]ν[η]ς  
 ] . τ[η]ς π[η]ν[η]ς  
 ] . π[η]ν[η]ς π[η]ν[η]ς  
 α[μ]ω[ν] π[η]ν[η]ς  
 20 ]α[μ]ω[ν]  
 ]π[η]ν[η]ς  
 ]ο[λ]  
 \* \* \*

\* . . . (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,<sup>1</sup> Thou wilt hear (?) . . ."

\* *Recto*

\* . . . that holy one Apa Amoun stood up. There was not . . . ; [but he was] without any hurt.<sup>2</sup>

\* *Verso*

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 PAËSI AND THEKLA

Parchment. Three leaves and two fragments derived from two (?) mss.<sup>3</sup> 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 Hyvernath, *Album*, Pl. xxix.

Frag. 1 (*Cod. Tisch.* xxiv, 18),<sup>4</sup> 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 τ, φ, γ, etc. Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 17<sup>A</sup>), 17.5 × 25 cm., paged —κΔ, 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<sup>B</sup>), 32 × 25 cm., is an almost complete leaf: no page-number can be distinguished. Frag. 4 (*Cod. Tisch.* xxiv, 37), 32 × 22 cm., paged —ο,

<sup>1</sup> Cp. the Prayer of Apa Apoli (No. xv, Frag. 3, *recto*).

<sup>2</sup> See *id.*, *verso*. (The situation is evidently the same.)

<sup>3</sup> Frags. 1 and 5 may be restorations to supply the place of lost or damaged pages in the original volume.

<sup>4</sup> For the Leipzig fragments see Leipoldt, *l.c.*, pp. 392, 397.

## NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

is a complete leaf, but the *recto* is practically illegible.<sup>1</sup> Frag. 5 (*Cod. Tisch.* xxiv, 39), 32 × 21 cm., another complete leaf, page 114, 115, is by the same hand as Frag. 1.

Frag. 1 can be attributed to the story of Paësi 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 Paësi and Thekla are at least possible claimants. Certain Sahidic fragments of the Martyrdom of Paësi and Thekla are extant,<sup>2</sup> but are not available for comparison. Paësi and his sister Thekla,<sup>3</sup> 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 Paësi, 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 Paësi declared himself a Christian before the Governor and suffered various tortures. Paul and his servants weep over Paësi, 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 Paësi 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).

\*                      \*                      \*

πινολις = ρινα ἡσεωψ ἡρα(π-)  
 ραι = τοτε αἰνι ἡπισραι ἡ-  
 τε πιτρο εωροτο-  
 ψοτ  
 5 Οτορ αἰ ρωψ ἡξε εἰτ[ι]χιαπος  
 πικомнс ἡτε οεῖαις = αἰ  
 тирот аωψ ἡписραι ἡτε  
 потро етхω ммос хе ма-  
 ре фхωра тирс отωшт ἡ-  
 10 панотф = малиста пипол-  
 лωп пипшф ἡпотф = отор  
 мене(п)са те ἡεροот еххн де(п)  
 ракоф = а пискотитор  
 хат ехол ρина ἡте пират  
 15 пират ше пау ē тефхак

\*                      \*                      \*

ден петепрап е. [  
 пос = фпаоротсрай ἡпеч-  
 рап е пхωм ἡпωпн = Отоρ ἡ-  
 сеωψ ἡмоу ē пн еωотах тирот  
 5 ката κτριάκн ден фекκλнсіа  
 ἡте пшорп ἡмисі = отор ф-  
 паф ἡтотшеῖω пау ἡз ἡκωῃ  
 ἡсон ρххен пикари = фпахω  
 ἡпасмоу ден птими етем-  
 мау  
 10 Фпахω ἡсотринл ппатчелос ех-  
 ерзаконпн ден петептопос  
 отор ден піεροот ē фпаотωпг  
 ἡпетепрап ехол = фпаорот-  
 15 і исхен тими = ē тими = нем исхе(п)  
 ооу ē ооу ἡсеіпн ἡранзωро(п)

\**Recto* ... \*the cities,<sup>4</sup> 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.

\**Verso* "... \*in your name<sup>5</sup> ... 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 Suriël 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 ..."

1 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. Joh.*, pp. xcvi 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 Paësi and Thekla of their coming martyrdom.

# THE MARTYRDOM OF PAËSI AND THEKLA

Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 17<sup>A</sup> + *Cod. Tisch.* xxiv, 38).

1    θεκλα] текσωνι - Οτορ πεχε  
       панси] паг же екмос† ѿ μοι па-  
       τλε] же аї еѡтн ē пиклнрос  
       пе]м пн еѡотаѡ φαι тар пе па-  
 5    р]аши ē †раши ѿмоу - же а φ† сω†  
       ѿмои ēѡолѡеп напѡи  
       Οτορ аѡсеѡѡлѡ - нем пн еѡот-  
       аѡ аѡше паг ē пегни ѡеп от-  
       зирни - аѡикот ѿпеготѡм  
 10   отѡе ѿпегсѡ п̄т̄ п̄ѡроот  
       Ѣтаѡи ѡе ѿхе паѡле же ѿтеѡшпи  
       п̄са [па]п̄си - а п̄ѡлѡот̄ ѿте паѡ-  
       ле ѡѡ ѿпап̄си - же еѡшп ѿте  
       паѡле † ѡарок ѿѡот - ариѡпат-  
 15   казип ѿмоу ѿтеѡотѡм неман  
       же †с̄ п̄ѡроот - ѿпеготѡм  
       отѡе ѿпегсѡ  
       † . . . . . ] . с . [                      ] . а . . . . [ †  
       . . . ] паѡле с̄итек ѿѡос з̄ипа ѿ  
 20   тепѡтѡ[м] п̄ѡтѡик - нем пн ē-  
       ѡотаѡ  
       Аѡраш[и] п̄хе] п[аѡ]ле аѡше паг п̄ѡ-  
       ле[м] аѡсѡ†† ѡтаристѡп аѡ-  
       зѡл ē п[и]штек[ѡ] аѡт[ѡм] аѡ-  
 25   сѡ ] нем пн ē[ѡ]отаѡ тн[рот]  
       Аѡшп[и] ѡе еѡтѡм[

(The eight lines following are illegible.)

† . . . † marks the junction of the Cairo and Leipzig fragments.

1    κ̄α  
       реѡан п̄ѡт̄ отѡрсѡни †[па-  
       зѡси ѡапте п̄ѡт̄ епс пап  
       еѡшп ѡе он ѡотѡш ē φѡ[рх  
       еѡол ѿпеп̄ѡрноѡ пеготѡ[ш  
 5    мареѡшпи  
       Ѣеп п̄ѡѡрѡ ѡе ēтеммат - аѡот-  
       ѡнѡ ѡроу ѿхе таѡринѡ п̄ѡрѡи-  
       аѡтелѡс п̄ѡѡѡ паг же ѡере  
       п̄ѡѡм ѿѡотменп̄итѡ з̄итен  
 10   φ† нем п̄ѡѡм  
       Аѡшп[и] ѡе ēтаѡнат ѿхе пап̄си ē  
       п̄ѡаттелѡс ѿте п̄ѡт̄ - аѡре† з̄и-  
       хеп пегѡ аѡерѡ† емаѡш  
       же а п̄штекѡ тнѡ ѡротѡи  
 15   ѿф̄ри† ѿпегѡот - а пн еѡот-  
       аѡ паѡ ē п̄ѡтѡи аѡѡе[рт]ер  
       аѡре† з̄ихеп п̄ѡѡ  
       † Аѡсѡ[ѡт]теп те[ѡ]ѡѡ ēѡол ѿхе п̄ѡат-†  
       телѡс аѡѡмоп м̄ѡѡт аѡот-  
 20   посѡт - п̄ѡѡѡ п̄ѡѡт же ѡро м-  
       ѡѡтеп ēре †ѡом ѿте п̄ѡѡс-  
       ѡѡлѡс ѡшп немѡтеп п[тетеп-  
       † шп м̄п̄ѡ аѡѡѡс ѿ[т]е[ѡт]  
       ѡѡт ѿхе φ† нем п̄ѡаттелѡс  
 25   еѡотаѡ  
       П̄ѡѡ пап̄си м̄п̄ѡаттелѡс же па[ѡт̄ †-  
       ѡѡш ē паѡ ē ѡекла та[с]ѡи м[па†-  
       ѡѡт  
       П̄ѡѡ п̄ѡаттелѡс ѿте п̄ѡт̄ паг же [па-  
 30   п̄си - ке †̄ п̄ѡроот пе ѡате[текп̄ат  
       ē ѡекла текσѡни отѡр еке[шпн пе-  
       м̄ас ѡеп †ѡом ѿте п̄ѡт̄ ѡт[ѡе текѡ†-  
       ѡи ѿпегѡѡрѡ п̄ѡѡс ѡт[ѡе п̄ек-  
       сѡма п̄пегѡѡрѡ еѡѡл̄ п̄ѡѡс  
 35   †с̄хе ѡотѡш . . . [

\*Thekla thy sister." And Paësi (?) 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 Paësi, the servants of Paul said to Paësi: "If Paul cometh unto thee today, compel him to eat with thee. For lo, for three days he hath not eaten nor drunk." . . . (l. 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 . . .

\* (p. 23)

[Paësi and Paul are arrested and kept in prison: Paësi 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 Paësi 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."

\* p. 24

Paësi said unto the Angel: "I desire to see Thekla my sister before I die." The Angel of the Lord said unto him: "Paësi, 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 . . ."



## THE MARTYRDOM OF PAËSI 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, Paësi 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).

. . . . . ο]τορ ατριτορ  
εβρηι ε οτα... [.. α]τσαρ†  
ερωι υπαπτε [..] εφ. [... ] ερωιςι ε π-  
υωι εμλπω

(The remainder of the *recto*, which is very dim,  
has not been deciphered.)

ὁ πατρ̄ς ἰη̄ς π̄χ̄ς καὶ π̄νι  
εβρηῑ εὐωπ̄ι πεχωτ̄ παρ̄ γε  
ἀ πεκ̄αζανος οὐπ̄ιπ̄ι - ρ̄ν̄π̄ε  
ις πεπ̄λας μεμ̄ πεπ̄λαλ̄ το...  
οτορ̄ πεπ̄ωμα οτορ̄  
5 Εὐτ̄ ᾱ π̄μ̄ν̄ω γε πατ̄ ε̄ π̄ν̄ εὐωτᾱ ε̄ρε  
ποτ̄ωμα οτορ̄ ατ̄ωῡ εβ̄ολ̄  
ετ̄ω̄ μ̄μος γε οτ̄π̄ιπ̄† πε φ̄†  
μ̄πᾱτιος παν̄σι μεμ̄ θεκ̄λα τεγ̄-  
σωπ̄ι  
10 Λῡψε παρ̄ ἡ̄γε π̄ᾱτιος πᾱν̄σι  
μεμ̄ θεκ̄λα τεγ̄σωπ̄ι ε̄ π̄υτε-  
κο οτορ̄ ᾱῡψε παρ̄ ε̄ πεγ̄ν̄ι π̄-  
γε π̄ᾱτορ̄ - μ̄πεγ̄οτ̄ωμ̄  
οτ̄γε μ̄πεγ̄ω εγ̄χοπ̄τ̄ εὐ̄θε  
15 π̄υπ̄ι ετ̄ ᾱ π̄ν̄ εὐωτᾱ τ̄ν̄ιτορ̄  
παρ̄  
Οτορ̄ δ̄ωρ̄ωεα τεγ̄ς̄ριμ̄ι ᾱσι ε̄-  
β̄οπ̄ι ε̄ π̄ᾱρικ̄λ̄ιπος πεχ̄ας παρ̄  
γε εὐ̄θε οτ̄ κο[τωμ̄] μ̄φοοτ̄ απ̄  
20 οτ̄γε κ̄ω απ̄[ - τα]χᾱ ε̄τα π̄ιχ̄ρις-  
τῑανος † ἡ̄ρᾱν[κ]οτ̄χι π̄υπ̄ι  
πακ̄ οπ̄  
Λῡχωπ̄τ̄ ἡ̄γε π̄ᾱτορ̄ζ̄ πεχαρ̄ παρ̄  
γε κακ̄ι - κεφαλ̄ι οτ̄κ̄ οτ̄(π̄) ἀρε-  
25 σ̄εμ̄ωι μ̄πᾱι ρᾱν̄ γε ἰη̄ς εὐ̄θε  
φᾱι ἀρεσᾱχι ε̄χεπ̄ πᾱι φαρ̄ματος̄  
σ̄εποτ̄χᾱι μ̄π̄ᾱπολλ̄ωπ̄ π̄ν̄ιπ̄ι†  
ἡ̄ποτ̄† γε †πα† μ̄πεμοτ̄ τ̄ιρ̄  
εὐ̄θ̄ν̄ιτορ̄ - πεχ̄ας παρ̄ γε ἀμο̄ι  
30 ρ̄ω ἡ̄ταμ̄ωα μ̄πᾱι τᾱῑο -  
Πεχ̄ας παρ̄ οπ̄ γε ᾱῑβ̄ιςι ε̄ι†ρο̄ ε̄ρον̄  
γε ρ̄επ̄κ̄ σᾱλολ̄ ἡ̄π̄ιχ̄ριςτῑανος̄  
μ̄μο̄ν γ† εβ̄ρηῑ ε̄χωτ̄ ἡ̄γε ποτ̄-  
ποτ̄† οτοπ̄ σ̄υχομ̄ μ̄μο̄γ̄ ε̄ρο-  
35 τε πεκᾱπολλ̄ωπ̄ ἡ̄ωπ̄ι ἡ̄ποτ̄ρ̄

\*...they said unto him: "Thy torments are derided. Lo, our tongues and our eyes... and our bodies are whole." When the multitude beheld the holy ones with their bodies whole, they cried out, saying: "Great is the God of the holy Paësi and Thekla his sister."

\* p. 70

The holy Paësi 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."







### XXIII. TEXTS RELATING TO SAINT MACARIUS

#### A. *Four Odes on Saint Macarius.*

Odes I–II. Paper. Two leaves, numbered —π, —πα 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.<sup>1</sup> For the general style and script compare Plate XXIII A.

The first Ode is based on a passage in the Coptic *Life of Macarius*<sup>2</sup> 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. ̅̅̅̅ verso—̅̅̅̅ recto). The more important variants of the Vatican text are noted below.<sup>3</sup> The first six stanzas deal with the four-headed Cherubim<sup>4</sup> who guarded Macarius and who is interpreted as symbolizing the Founders of the Four Monasteries of Shiêt.<sup>5</sup> The last four stanzas (which in the Curzon *Theotokia*<sup>6</sup> 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 πα, πα̅, 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: ⲥⲟⲩ ⲓⲃ̅ ⲙⲙⲉⲥⲱⲣⲏ — ⲡⲁⲓⲛⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲩⲛ ⲡⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲧⲙ—ⲫⲁⲛⲟⲡ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲃⲃⲁ ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓ (red) ⲉⲃⲟⲩⲛ ⲉ̅ ⲱⲓⲛⲧ + ⲉⲧⲱⲱ ⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩⲃⲁⲥⲓ + Ⲥ ⲡⲓⲁⲕⲁⲣⲱⲛ (black) ⲫⲱⲗⲓ ⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲁⲧⲟⲥ— (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.

<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> *A.M.G.* xxv, p. 93.

<sup>3</sup> I am indebted to Dr De Lacy O’Leary for a copy of the Vatican text.

<sup>4</sup> 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.

<sup>5</sup> On the Four Monasteries see *H.N.S.* i, § vii.

<sup>6</sup> Curzon mss., no. 131, fo. 112<sup>a</sup> (I owe this reference to W. E. Crum).

TEXTS RELATING TO SAINT MACARIUS

Ode I.

[illegible]

<sup>1</sup> Page-heading:      на  пошт

Апат е пекшшип макари • же цопт  
 и(ни)карпос • љперѡа пиралаѣ п-  
 те тфе • є сѡк љперѡттаг  
 25 Апат є пекѡро макари • же цмер  
 иѡгаѡон • љперѡѡ иписипѡоти •  
 є зшѡтс єроу ꝥ—  
 Апат є пекѡи макари • же цопт  
 пхрима нѡтро • љперѡѡ ппи-  
 30 зѡми ите фром • є ѡмсу є песнт •  
 Апат є пекрнѣ макари • ет акѡт-  
 аз тотк єѡѡ • љперѡотшт е1... •  
 тарешѡпи еркѡлѡ:—  
 Етаѡсѡтем є паи • иже аѡѡ  
 35 макари • аѡѡ ѡѡ еѡѡ еѡѡи •  
 љпаи риф еѡѡ ѡмос ꝥ—  
 Хје аѡ пе пасѡси нѡнт • ѡпок ѡа  
 пиреѡерпѡи • ет а ниѡпа етѡѡт  
 тако иѡѡѡѡѡ ꝥ—  
 40 Аѡ пе пасѡси нѡнт • ѡпок ѡа пи-  
 реѡерпѡи • ѡпиѡеп ѡси ѡ-  
 пок • нем ѡѡѡн єпер • и —  
 Етаѡсѡтем є паи • иже пихе-  
 роѡѡи • аѡѡѡѡѡт єѡѡѡ

<sup>1</sup> € 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:<sup>1</sup> let not mischievous foxes destroy its fruit.      \* fo. 80  
“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 (þ)  
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 brother<sup>2</sup> at any time.”

When the Cherubim heard this, he commended him...

\* \* \* \* \*

1 Or (less probably) 'it is nigh to ending (perishing).'

2 *i.e.* 'I have never spent pains over a brother.'

# NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Ode II.

αββα μακαρι νημ περσινρι βατ(ος)<sup>1</sup>

ΠΙΧΕΡΟΤΗΜ ΕΘΜΙΝ ΕΡΟΚ •  
ΠΑΟΤ ΠΩΤ ΑΒΒΑ ΜΑΚΑΡΙ •  
ΨΑΤΕΥΕΝ Ε ΠΑΙ ΨΑΥΕΤ •  
ΕΥΟΙ ΠΑ ΜΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΝ •

5 ΟΥΡΟ ΜΜΟΤ ΝΕΜ ΟΥΡΟ ΜΜΑΣΙ •  
ΟΥΡΟ ΠΡΩΜΙ ΝΕΜ ΟΥΡΟ ΠΠΑΝΤΟΣ •  
ΦΑΙ ΝΕ ΠΤΗΝΟΣ ΜΠΙΧΕΡΟΤΗΜ •  
ΚΑΤΑ ΠΣΑΧΙ ΠΤΤΡΑΦΗ •

ΕΠΑΙΝΙ ΜΠΙΡΟ ΜΜΟΤΙ • ΕΧΕΠ

10 ΠΕΠΩΤ ΑΒΒΑ ΜΑΚΑΡΙ • ΧΕ ΑΥ-  
ΨΩΠΙ ΠΟΤΜΟΤΙ ΠΧΩΡΙ<sup>2</sup> • ΟΥΗΕ  
ΠΠΠΑ ΜΠΟΝΗΡΟΝ • \*

ΕΠΑΙΝΙ ΜΠΙΡΟ ΜΜΑΣΙ • ΕΧΕΠ ΠΕ(Π-)

ΙΩΤ ΑΒΒΑ ΙΩΑΝΝΙΝΣ • ΧΕ ΠΘΟΥ

15 ΑΥΣΟ ΜΠΙΨΕ Ε ΠΨΟΤΩΟΤ • ΨΑ(Π-)<sup>3</sup>  
ΤΕΥΡΩΤ<sup>4</sup> ΑΥΤ ΚΑΡΠΟΣ • \*

ΕΠΑΙΝΙ ΜΠΙΡΟ ΠΡΩΜΙ • ΕΧΕΠ

ΠΕΠΩΤ ΑΒΒΑ ΠΨΟΙ • ΧΕ ΠΘΟΥ

ΑΥΣΑΧΙ ΝΕΜ ΠΧΣ • ΜΦΡΗΤ Μ-

20 ΜΩΤΣΗΣ ΠΠΟΜΟΘΕΤΗΣ • \*

<sup>1</sup> red. νημ πη εθ(οταβ), *Vat.* <sup>2</sup> εφρεμρεμ, *Vat.*

<sup>3</sup> p. pα begins. <sup>4</sup> ετψοτωοτ αυφρι εβολ, *Vat.*

ΕΠΑΙΝΙ ΜΠΙΡΟ ΠΠΑΝΤΟΣ • ΕΧΕ(Π)

ΠΕΠΩΤ ΠΡΩΜΕΟΣ • ΧΕ ΠΘΩΟΤ

ΑΥΣΙ ΠΡΑΠΤΕΡ ΠΧΡΩΜ • ΑΥΕΡ

ΣΑΒΟΤΗ Ε ΠΑΙ ΨΑΥΕΤ •

25 ΙΣ ΜΩΤΣΗ ΠΙΧΑΜΗ ΡΩΥ • ΑΥΙ ΕΒΟΤ(Π)

Ε ΠΑΙ ΨΑΥΕΤ • ΑΥΕΡΦΟΡΙ Π-

ΠΙΧΛΟΜ ΠΑΘΛΩΜ ΠΤΕ ΤΜΕΤΡ

ΠΙΜΕ ΜΦ • ΠΙΣΕΛΛΟΙ ΠΤΕ

ΠΨΑΥΕΤ • ΑΥΦΩΠ ΜΠΟΤ-

30 ΣΠΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ<sup>1</sup> • ΡΙΧΕΠ ΤΠΕΤΡΑ Π-

ΤΕ ΠΑΜΟΤΗ • \*

ΤΑΥΙΑ ΕΛΛΑΡΙΑ ΤΑΥΙΑ ΑΝΑΣΤΑ-

ΣΙΑ • ΤΑΥΙΑ ΑΡΙΨΙΜΑ • ΠΨΕ-

ΛΕΤ ΠΤΕ ΠΧΣ • \*

35 ΠΙΤΟΠΟΣ ΕΤ ΑΚΣΕΜΠΤΟΣ • ΠΑ-

ΟΤ ΠΩΤ ΑΒΒΑ ΜΑΚΑΡΙ • ΣΕΠΑΝ(Π) ΑΠ

[ΕΥΤ ΟΥΤΑΥ • ΨΑ ΤΣΠΤΕΛΙΑ ΠΤΕ

ΠΑΙ ΕΠΕΡ •

ΤΩΕΡ ΜΠΟΤ ΕΥΡΙ ΕΧΩΠ • ΠΑΟΤ

40 ΠΩΤ ΑΒΒΑ ΜΑΚΑΡΙ • ΝΕΜ ΠΕΚ-

ΨΙΡΙ ΠΣΑΥΡΟΦΟΡΟΣ • ΤΕΥΧ(Ω)]

<sup>1</sup> α πιβάρβαρος βωτεβ μμωοτ, *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,<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

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.<sup>3</sup>

I will liken the face of a man unto our Father Abba Pishoi; for he spake with Christ,<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup>

Lo, Moses the Black also came into these deserts: he wore the unfading crown of martyrdom.<sup>6</sup>

The Forty-nine Martyrs, the old men of the deserts—they poured forth their blood upon the Rock of Piamoun.<sup>7</sup>

The holy Ellaria (Hilaria), the holy Anastasia, the holy Aripsima, the brides of Christ.<sup>8</sup>

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).

<sup>1</sup> See *Life of Macarius* (A.M.G. xxv, 72 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> *Ezekiel* 1, 10 (cp. Macarius, *Hom.* 1, 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. 1, iv, § 5.)

<sup>3</sup> Cp. No. xxiv, 2, and see H.N.S. 1, vii, § 5.

<sup>4</sup> See H.N.S. 1, vii, § 6.

<sup>5</sup> 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.

<sup>6</sup> See H.N.S. 1, x, § 4.

<sup>7</sup> *id.*, 1, x, § 7, and references there given.

<sup>8</sup> *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) ?



## NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

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.<sup>1</sup>

Phamenôth was the month wherein thou didst fall asleep, on the seven and twentieth day . . .<sup>2</sup>

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 ٢٧ (first page of quire ٢) and ٢٨.<sup>3</sup> Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 58), 29.6 × 21.7 cm., is paged (on the *verso*) ٢١٨. The written column measures 20.3 × 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 Hyvernât, *Album*, Pl. XLIII (late twelfth to early thirteenth century).

The fragments belong to an excerpt from the Coptic version of the *Lausiac History*<sup>4</sup> relating to Macarius (whereof the complete text is extant in *Cod. Vat. Copt.* LIX, 8),<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup>

Butler rejects the anecdote of the encounter with the Hieracite who denied the Resurrection, but admits the healing of the demoniac boy.<sup>7</sup> Apart from the extracts given by Zoëga, the Vatican text has not been published.

<sup>1</sup> What follows is either a distinct hymn or an addition.

<sup>2</sup> A line appears to have dropped out of this stanza.

<sup>3</sup> See Leipoldt, *l.c.*, p. 409.

<sup>4</sup> See Zoëga, *Cat.*, no. LXX (p. 127).

<sup>5</sup> I am indebted to W. E. Crum for the loan of photographs of this ms.

<sup>6</sup> *Palladius u. Ruffinus*, pp. 124 ff. Our fragments correspond to pp. 126, ll. 6 ff., and 129, l. 23 to p. 130 respectively.

<sup>7</sup> *Hist. Laus.* (ed. Butler), ch. xvii.

## TEXTS RELATING TO SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 1 (*Cod. Tisch.* XXVI, 3).

ζ ιης ηςc ης  
 αις η[εν]ωτ = तेनेरचरि-  
 ा पोतोय पितोर् एबो-  
 ह्येन प्योक पिपेण्य  
 म्मोन सखि पाय्खेमखोम  
 5 Εταγμοϋ† οτι εροϋ αϋι  
 ψαρωοτ =  
 अ पिरेल्लो सख एख्य हेन  
 ओसक प्ते ओम्रेम-  
 राय् अघेरापाजेसो  
 10 म्मोय =  
 पेखे पिάνιος παγ = खे [ए-  
 हे ओ य्वा फोओ अ]पे[क-  
 पाओ एरोओ ओओ न]पे[क-  
 रोओ ओओओ एरोओ  
 15 पेखाय म्पιανιος [खे म्पि-  
 रोओ कोओ एरोओ]न खे पेतेप-  
 पाओओ ओओओ ओ  
 पेखे पिρωμι η[τε φ†] παγ  
 खे पेकपाओ† [ओओओओ प-  
 20 ओओ = पेखाय [पाय खे ओओ-  
 ओओओ ओओओओ [ओओ-  
 ओओ =  
 पेखे पेपिओओ ओओओओ ओओओ-  
 रोओओ पाय = खे ओओ पे पिपेट-  
 25 रोओओ ओओओओ ओओओओ  
 पेपिओओओ ओओओओ  
 पेखे पिρωμι एओओओ पाय

҃җн                      ҃җ ҃җн  
 же петепнарѣ соутѡн а(п)  
 же тетепѡ ммос = же  
 таі сарз, нем паікас па-  
 тѡотпот  
 5    Фай ммаатѡ ап пе ёрете(п-)  
      ѡ ммос = аλλα тетеп  
      ѡ ммос = же а пѡири м-  
      фѣ си сарз, нем кас п-  
      рѡми мпепрнѣ  
 10    Отоз а пѣрелло ёѡотаѣ  
      еротѡ паѡ ѡеп отсем-  
      ни еѡѡ ммос - же ісхе  
      апоп етѡ ппай ёѡол-  
      зитотеп - је аѡѡотот  
 15    ёѡолѡеп пепкаѣ - је  
      пе калѡс пекѡемѡріки  
      ероп  
      Ісхе ѣтрафн ёѡотаѣ пе  
      етастнитот етотеп =  
 20    је калѡс тепіри ммос =  
      ісхе отп а тмеѡмни пте  
      фѣ отѡѡ ё ѡѡпи мпай  
      рнѣ =  
      пѡок пім пѡок екѣ ёѡот(п)  
 25    ёзрег пѡѡѡѡ пте фѣ  
      Зіпа птаѡтемѡѡл ёѡол

<sup>1</sup> 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,<sup>1</sup> who art thou to withstand the ordinance of God? But that I may not proceed [to much discussion with thee, I will tell thee of our belief]."

<sup>x</sup> (p. 97)  
(= Preuschen,  
p. 126, l. 6)

<sup>x</sup> p. 98

1 Lit. 'wishes to become of this sort.'

## NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 58).

5       $\Theta\varsigma$       +      κοττος  
 εβολρα пирн = εφθα<sup>1</sup>  
 μμου ριτεп пεφактн(п)  
 οτορ πτερсомс ριxen  
 пμωот пн ет εφρω-  
 μι εxωот  
 Пн φναxωλκ ап = xe аφω-  
 λι йтеpхин(п)аτ εβολρα  
 пирн етφαι μμου εβολ-  
 ριτεп (п)εφактн = от  
 10 пе етнаxωпн μμου  
 xe аφер атсωтеμ пса  
 пирн =  
 Φн етxω μмос παφ xe μ-  
 перxω псωк птаxин-  
 паτ птексомс ρixε(п)  
 15 пμωот xe отнн н-  
 фок ап етφαι μмок -  
 алла паактнп  
 пе  
 20 Οηпαι рн† ρωφ пе пирω-  
 ми ёре теpхинпаτ<sup>2</sup> то-  
 ми ё ф† εφкω† пса  
 пωот μф† псноτ пи-  
 хен шадкω† пса  
 25 месте мωот йпирωми  
 Εωпн птеpуrиkι хен пω-  
 от

рѣ инс ѿ пхс  
 ппиромѣ шадзеѣ ёһол  
 га пѡот ѿфѣт пем теу-  
 хиппаѣ-шадсѡрѣм  
 5 зѣтеп отмыш мпаѡос  
 е пѣаѣе шадсѡлк мпег-  
 аотп е пѣирѣ  
 Ѿ пѣѣпѣскопос тѡмт-  
 еѡи пшфнри ѣтеуѣип-  
 10 сазѣ-пем пѣчкаѣт ет-  
 шом  
 отор аѣше паѣ е теѣпо-  
 лѣс еѣт ѡот ѿфѣт-пем  
 пѣѣѣѡк аһѣа мака-  
 ри  
 15 Ѿ отѣѣлѡ пѣрѣмѣ і гѡроѣ  
 пѡтсѡп-асѣпѣ мпес-  
 шѣри шѡроѣ еѣсѡпѣ  
 пѣѣпѣпѣ-етѡмопѣ ѿ-  
 моѣ зѣте(п) рѡмѣ ѣ-еѡи  
 20 пѣѣмѡп еѣѣѡѣ ѣма-  
 шѡ  
 Ёре теѣмаѣт моѣшѣ ѣсѡѣ  
 есрѣмѣ-пѣ ѡѣи гѡр те  
 теѣперѣгѣ мпѣѣѣмѡп ѣ-  
 25 теѣмѣмаѣт  
 Фѡѣ ете меѣпѣпѣса ѡреѣ-  
 отѡм ѣт мѣпѣт пѡѣк  
 отор пѣѣѣѡ ѣѡтѣмаѣт

†шнн ꙗса потѣаѣ ꙗпаменрѣт  
ꙗсон паѣот ѡанѣ ꙗꙗꙗ ꙗꙗꙗ  
теꙗ тамо еп<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> пещ-, MS.

<sup>2</sup> *sic exit.*

<sup>x</sup> (p. 111)  
= Preuschen,  
p. 129 f.

<sup>x</sup> p. 112

= *Hist. Laus.*,  
ch. xvii

["...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 . . . <sup>1</sup>

1 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.

## TEXTS RELATING TO SAINT MACARIUS

### C. AGATHOS THE PRIEST

#### *The Vision of Benjamin or The Consecration of the Church of Saint Macarius.*

Parchment. Two leaves and a fragment from one ms. Frag. 1 (*Cod. Tisch.* xxiv, 23), 33 × 24 cm., is the first leaf in the ms., the whole *recto* being occupied by a long but much-damaged descriptive title enclosed within a narrow border or frame of two-strand cable-pattern. In the upper margin is a 'rubric' in small, informal uncials ερωσϣ ηφαι ησοτ η ητωδϣ ε παικ ητε τςκνη ηδενιαμιν, directing that the work should be read on the anniversary of the dedication of the Sanctuary of Benjamin.<sup>1</sup> Frag. 2 (C.U.L. *Add.* 1885, 8<sup>a</sup>),<sup>2</sup> 34.5 × 10 cm., is the outer edge of a leaf numbered on the *verso* ιϛ. Frag. 3 (Cairo, no. 2) is a complete leaf, unnumbered, measuring 35 × 28 cm. The margins are intact.

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 × 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 place<sup>3</sup> 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 Tōbi 8, *circa* 655 A.D., and the visions seen by the Archbishop on that occasion.<sup>4</sup> After a eulogy on Benjamin (partly preserved in our Frag. 1), the author, Agathos,<sup>5</sup> the *syncellus* of the Patriarch, relates that the monks of Saint Macarius came to Alexandria and begged the Archbishop to come to Shiēt 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*.<sup>6</sup> 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:<sup>7</sup> the same copy may have been consulted by the compilers who wrote the summary of the above narrative which appears in the *Synaxarium*.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Concerning this Sanctuary see *H.N.S.* iii, ii, § 4; *A.A.C.M.* ii, iv, § 5.

<sup>2</sup> From the Tischendorf collection.

<sup>3</sup> See *Introduction*, § 7.

<sup>4</sup> See *H.N.S.*, l.c.; *Hist. of the Patr.* (ed. Evetts), pp. 239 ff.; *Synax.*, Tōbi 8 (ed. Basset, pp. 522 ff.).

<sup>5</sup> For the form of this name see p. 131, note 2.

<sup>6</sup> ed. Evetts, pp. 239 ff.

<sup>7</sup> 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.)

<sup>8</sup> Probably the compilers of the *Synax.* made considerable use of the Library in the Monastery of Saint Macarius.





# TEXTS RELATING TO SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 2 (C.U.L. Add. 1885, 8<sup>A</sup>).

..... аї]томт  
 ѿмоу еапаѳ еро]у ерхн  
 рен ѿмнѣ ппеч]шири ер-  
 ѳеднл емашѡ ] пем тсмн  
 5 проѣ пте фн еѳо]ѳаѳ ес-  
 сенсен рен нама]шх ес-  
 ѣрелі ммоі]  
 Наѣшѡ ммоє де пнз ]пе ѿже  
 пхероѳѣм]  
 10 Хе ешѡп арешап пе]шшири мо-  
 ши рен фма ѿмоши ]етсот-  
 тѡп . . . ка]та тапот-  
 ѳесіа ѳн ет аѣмо]ши ѿрнтс  
 пже абба мака]ри отор  
 15 ..... т]от  
 аѳпаѳѡл еѳот]п пемаѣ  
 еѳотп е фма ѿп]отро отор  
 ѿтототпоу ѿ]моѡт пемаѣ  
 рен пмѡит п]те фотѡи-  
 20 пи]  
 Алла пн етатш]темѡтем  
 е пегѳѡпреп ] ѿтотштеммо-  
 ши ката теѣеп]тодн ѿмоп-  
 тот клнрос пема]ѣ алла се[па-  
 25 ритот еѳолѣ]рен ѣтедн [отѡ]ѣ  
 . . . ]от паше [. ]ѣ  
 . . . клнро]по-  
 мѡа]  
 Тоте пезаѣ паѣ ѿ]ѣ [п]ѳмнѡ аб-  
 30 ба макари . . . ]етшан  
 . . . ]метмаі  
 . . . па]ѳѣ ѿмо(п)  
 . . . ]

іѣ  
 мпе[рсѳраѣгизп ѿпашн-  
 ри ѿпа[ісаѣи ѡ папнѣ  
 Алла ешѡп е отор отпаѳ-  
 ри рен отсмаѣ еѳотѡх  
 5 мпер[такоу же отор от-  
 смѡт] пте фѣ шѡп ѿрнтѣ  
 Апок га[р ѣпаѣѣ е пхс пмен-  
 рит ѿт[аѣѳѣхн же ешѡп  
 ѿтотѣ]іатирп ѿтотѡдн ѿ-  
 10 отѡт м[ . . . . . ѿже пашн-  
 ри [ . . .  
 ете ѣме[тмаісон ет . . .  
 е потерп]от рен отшан-  
 ѳпаѣт е[ . . . . .  
 15 і]е кеѡтп ѣ[ . . . . . еп-  
 тодн  
 Епѡѣ пс[еѣаі ппѡѣѡл е п-  
 шѡи е тѣ[е потсон ммнп е  
 пхс інс ѿ]тотшлнл ероу  
 20 теппаѣѣ е[роу . . . . .  
 же ѣпаерп]ѡѣш ммоѡт  
 ап  
 алла ѣпап[ѣрмоѣ еѳолрен  
 пикѡласіс п[те аменѣ  
 25 е]ре фѣ пм[ѣіѳѡмн шпн іса ѣ-  
 м]етапѡіа п[пиреѣерпѡѣи отѣ  
 ѣ[ѡ]ѡш ф[моѣ пте пиреѣ-  
 ерпѡѣи мѣ[п алла е тасѡѡт  
 етметапѡ]іа  
 30 Тоте рен пѣпнтасѡтем е паі  
 ѿтотѣ [мѣн еѳѡѣѡл абба  
 макари [ѣікаѣ птеѣметмаі-  
 шпн 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<sup>1</sup> 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 seal<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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.

<sup>1</sup> sc. the 'Cherubim.'

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Rev. xxii, 10.

<sup>3</sup> *Isaiah* lxxv, 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).

\* (p. 15)  
 = *Hist. Patr.*,  
 p. 244 f.

\* p. 16



## 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,<sup>1</sup> 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.

\* Verso

Then I called unto Agathos<sup>2</sup> 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 leaves<sup>3</sup> from a single ms., namely *Cod. Tisch.* xxiv, 22 (23 × 25 cm.),<sup>4</sup> xxiv, 32 (34 × 25 cm.), and xxiv, 24 (32 × 23 cm.):<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup>

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*,<sup>7</sup> where it is related that in the days of the Patriarch John,<sup>8</sup> 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.<sup>9</sup>

1 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 ⲁⲓⲁⲑⲟⲥ. (The Coptic Diptychs have the corresponding genitive ⲁⲓⲁⲑⲟⲥ.) In the *Hist. of the Patr.* the Arabic form is اغانثوا (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.*, ix, 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.



# TEXTS RELATING TO SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 2 (Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 32).

... ] φητρα ευφροσυνη παυ  
... ] κε χωκ εβολ μφοταρσα-  
ρ]ηι μιπιαντοκρα-  
τ]ωρ  
5 Εο]θε φαι μευλοχη ευ. [. .  
ερωυ шатеуоиту ерату  
м]пѡс ката пн етагисто-  
рпн ммωот пап пхе φн εφ-  
отаѭ аѭѭа сарапиωп фма-  
10 онтнс мпипиуѭ аѭѭа аптω-  
пиос  
Нен пхипоре[ . . . . . ]отп й-  
ооу пепѡеоф[орос] йиwt  
ет а ппѣ[тм]ѭ ε[φотаѭ жо]ушт  
15 εβολ ѡажωу й[снот пи-  
ѭен  
ете пегуип[ . . . . . ] п пе м-  
пгроуш [. ]у та[ . . . . . ].. е  
за пѡс φн ет[ . . . . . ]мѣи  
20 ммоч  
Атхω мпегсωма εѡотаѭ е-  
ѡотп ѡеп [от]спнлеоп ѡа  
ѡотω[с пѣк]клнсѭ ѡаи  
етагкѡтс [м]фрпѭ етсѡн-  
25 от ѡеп п[εφн]ѡс εѡот-  
аѭ  
Епиган отп . . . . . маѡ пкаѡи  
тирѭ пе п[отс]а.лпирѡ йте  
п]шфнри етеммѡт  
30 [не]м п[ . . . . . ] т. . . . . пи ммω-  
[от ере п]ѡс ерепегрпн м-  
[μωот εβολѡи]тотѭ

Εο]θε φαι παπпнот εβολѡен  
ма пѭен йте хнми ммѡт-  
атѭ ап аѭѭа пте пке-  
хωра εѡотн-  
5 о]т  
пхе галѡωотс мпнстос  
етшлнл ѡеп пегспнлеоп  
отот εтотωшт ежен пег-  
мнма отот пешатерѡпо-  
10 латпн пе йгантаѭѡ εβολ-  
гитотѭ йхе пн етшωпн  
потмнш йсмот  
Отот протѡ малѭста пнрем-  
пхѭѭ[н]р пѭми мпепиѡт й-  
15 ѡкеос  
Натпнот[т] ѡѡот пе спотѡе-  
ѡс [патот]ωшт ѣжωу  
отѡ[г] атпа]т е пимпнп мпа-  
раѡ[г]он] етшоп εβολѡи-  
20 теп пегсωма εѡотаѭ ме-  
менса пн ет атѡи пнра ммωот  
εβολгитотѭ исжен еухн  
ѡеп фсарѡ  
Атсемпнтс пе нем поте-  
25 рнот хе [г]пн псеѡлѭ йси-  
отн εβολѡен пшадѣт п-  
сеотѭ е пхѭѭнр потѭми  
отот фαι аѭшω-  
пи  
30 Отот ѡоипон мененса от-

\* . . . the Rock<sup>1</sup> rejoicing. He was . . . to fulfil the command of the Almighty. For this cause he<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup>

\* Recto

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,<sup>5</sup> 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

\* Verso

<sup>1</sup> 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).

<sup>2</sup> i.e. the 'Cherubim' who watched over Macarius.

<sup>3</sup> See *A.M.G.* xxv, 109 (Sarapion of Thmuis is the

reputed author of the *Life of Macarius*; but see *H.N.S.*, Appendix III).

<sup>4</sup> *op. cit.*, p. 111.

<sup>5</sup> The modern Shabshîr in the Province of Menûf: see Amélineau, *Géogr.*, pp. 187 f., s.v. Gigouir.

## NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 3 (*Cod. Tisch.* xxiv, 24).

[illegible]

..... ] ерри отор а-  
 ... ] отор пкепѣоу эуу  
 пхи] хѣнр не асуууу пе  
 ша] те поткотхи пѣаи де ап-  
 5 а] ѡс  
 От] ор еспѣт пѣе іѡснф пи-  
 филохрс пѣрхѡн пѣе елми  
 хе [с] ешуи мѣфрѡтѡу ап м-  
 10 пт] онос е пѣдїрнѣу пѣ-  
 хе псѡма мпепїѡт мпро-  
 фнтис ппишѣ аѣѣа ма-  
 карї  
 Паї рїѣ асуе пѣу еѡсеѣѡс  
 пем эапмїшу пѣклїрїкос ѣ-  
 15 олѣ ѣ елми отор пѣре эап-  
 кемїшу пѣфїлопонос мошї  
 пемѡѡт пе деп ѡтпїшѣ пѣ-  
 хамї деп ѣ[ма] э ф промпи  
 20 пт] е пѣѣтїос ммартѡ-  
 рос]  
 Паї рїѣ са] тѡтѣ асуѡт пот-  
 екклїста де] п пѣурап асу-  
 хѣу пѣнтс ] еѡѣе хе пе-  
 25 отѡп пѡтмї] шу ппѣѡѣ м-  
 . . . ] е фрѡмї  
 мѣфѣ пепїѡт аѣѣа] мака-  
 [рї  
 [ . . . ] . с  
 [ . . . ] п

\* *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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

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 years<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> And when Joseph, the Christ-loving *archon* of Elmi,<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup> 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. . .

<sup>1</sup> 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-djijbêr 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 Menûsieh (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.

## 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 × 17.4 cm.) of two leaves, numbered — $\overline{\lambda\epsilon}$ , — $\overline{\mu\epsilon}$ , and forming a single sheet. In upper margin of *rectos* —; of *versos*, (a)  $\overline{\lambda\epsilon}$   $\overline{\iota\sigma\epsilon}$  +  $\overline{\pi\chi\varsigma}$   $\overline{\kappa\alpha\iota}$   $\overline{\pi\eta\iota}$ ; (b)  $\overline{\mu\epsilon}$   $\overline{\phi\theta}$   $\overline{\chi\omega}$   $\overline{\pi\eta\iota}$  +  $\overline{\epsilon\theta\omicron\lambda}$   $\overline{\alpha\pi\omicron\kappa}$ .

The text corresponds to *A.M.G.* xxv, pp. 66<sup>8-10</sup>, 67<sup>4-6</sup>, 73<sup>1-2</sup>, 73<sup>10-12</sup>. The following variants occur:<sup>1</sup>  
A66<sup>9</sup>  $\overline{\mu\phi\rho\iota\theta}$  >  $\overline{\mu\pi\rho\iota\theta}$ ;  $\overline{\pi\theta\omicron\varsigma}$  >  $\overline{\mu\mu\omicron\varsigma}$ . A66<sup>9-10</sup>  $\overline{\rho\omicron\tau\mu\eta\iota\psi}$   $\overline{\pi\varsigma\omicron\pi}$  > omitted (as in *Cod. Vat.* LXIV). A66<sup>10</sup>  $\overline{\rho\omicron\mu\omega\varsigma}$  >  $\overline{\omicron\mu\omicron\iota\omega\varsigma}$ . A67<sup>4</sup>  $\overline{\epsilon\tau\alpha\psi\omicron\rho\iota}$   $\overline{\pi\chi\omicron\varsigma}$  >  $\overline{\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota\chi\omicron\varsigma}$ . A67<sup>5</sup>  $\overline{\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\pi\alpha\tau\alpha\iota}$  >  $\overline{\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho}$ -;  $\overline{\epsilon\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon\rho\eta\theta\omicron\varsigma}$  >  $\overline{\pi\epsilon}$  added;  $\overline{\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma}$   $\overline{\delta\epsilon\iota\kappa}$  >  $\overline{\pi\epsilon\mu}$ . A73<sup>1</sup>  $\overline{\chi\epsilon}$   $\overline{\alpha\kappa\epsilon\rho\epsilon\tau\omicron\pi\omicron}$ - >  $\overline{\alpha\kappa\epsilon\rho\epsilon\tau\omicron\pi\omicron}$ -. A73<sup>2</sup>  $\overline{\pi\tau\epsilon\kappa\varsigma\alpha\theta\omicron\kappa}$  >  $\overline{\epsilon\kappa\epsilon}$ [ $\overline{\tau\varsigma\alpha\theta\omicron\kappa}$ ], as *Cod. Vat.* LXIV. A73<sup>11</sup>  $\overline{\epsilon\iota\epsilon\iota}$  >  $\overline{\theta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota}$ ;  $\overline{\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota}$   $\overline{\epsilon\theta\omicron\lambda}$   $\overline{\delta\epsilon\iota\kappa}$   $\overline{\pi\tau\epsilon\chi\omega\rho\epsilon}$  >  $\overline{\epsilon\pi\epsilon\epsilon\pi\kappa}$   $\overline{\epsilon\theta\omicron\lambda}$ .

ii *Apophthegms of Saint Macarius* (Cairo, no. 55). Parchment. Fragment, 13 × 5 cm., from middle of a leaf. Stops, + and ~ (red) at end of paragraph. The text answers to *A.M.G.* xxv, 210<sup>11-17</sup>, 211<sup>5-9</sup>. The following variants occur:

A211<sup>5</sup>  $\overline{\omicron\tau\psi\alpha\varsigma}$   $\overline{\eta\chi\rho\omega\mu}$   $\overline{\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma}$   $\overline{\pi\alpha\gamma\eta\alpha}$ - >  $\overline{\omicron\tau\pi\omicron\varsigma}$  ...  $\overline{\epsilon\gamma\eta\alpha}$ -. A211<sup>6</sup>  $\overline{\alpha\pi\omicron\kappa}$   $\overline{\delta\epsilon}$   $\overline{\pi\alpha\iota\chi\omega}$  >  $\overline{\alpha\pi\omicron\kappa}$   $\overline{\delta\epsilon}$   $\overline{\rho\omega}$   $\overline{\alpha\iota\chi\omega}$ ;  $\overline{\alpha\pi\omicron\varsigma\omicron\theta\eta\tau\iota\varsigma}$  >  $\overline{\alpha\iota\omicron\iota}$   $\overline{\eta}$ [.....]  $\overline{\pi\epsilon\mu}$   $\overline{\pi\iota\mu\alpha}$   $\overline{\eta\omicron\pi\alpha\varsigma}$  +  $\overline{\alpha\iota\tau}$ [.....?].  $\overline{\tau\omicron\tau}$ , added. A211<sup>7</sup>  $\overline{\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma}$   $\overline{\epsilon\iota\pi\eta\theta\omicron\varsigma}$   $\overline{\epsilon\theta\omicron\lambda}$  >  $\overline{\epsilon\iota\pi\eta}$ [ $\overline{\omicron\tau}$ ]  $\overline{\delta\epsilon}$   $\overline{\epsilon\theta\omicron\lambda}$ - $\overline{\rho\iota\tau\omicron}$ [ $\overline{\tau}$ ;  $\overline{\epsilon\chi\omega\iota}$ ] > [ $\overline{\alpha}$ ]  $\overline{\rho\iota\pi\alpha\mu\epsilon\tau\iota}$  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<sup>2-193</sup><sup>11</sup>. The following variants occur:

A192<sup>3</sup>  $\overline{\mu\omicron\eta\iota}$  >  $\overline{\mu\omicron\psi}$ [ $\overline{\iota}$ ]. A192<sup>4</sup>  $\overline{-\psi\omega\chi\iota}$  >  $\overline{\psi\omicron\chi\tau\epsilon\pi}$ . A192<sup>5</sup>  $\overline{\pi\alpha\varsigma}$  >  $\overline{\mu\pi\iota\theta\eta\rho\iota\omicron}$ [ $\overline{\pi}$ ]. A192<sup>6</sup>  $\overline{\pi\alpha\theta}$   $\overline{\eta\tau\epsilon\kappa}$ - >  $\overline{\pi\alpha\theta}$   $\overline{\tau\epsilon\kappa}$ -. A192<sup>10</sup>  $\overline{\delta\iota\kappa\epsilon\omicron\varsigma}$  >  $\overline{\pi\epsilon}$  added. A193<sup>3</sup>  $\overline{\pi\alpha\iota\omega\tau}$  >  $\overline{\pi\epsilon\pi\iota\omega\tau}$  (and so in 193<sup>5</sup>);  $\overline{\epsilon\chi\epsilon\pi}$   $\overline{\phi\alpha\iota}$  >  $\overline{\epsilon\chi\epsilon}$ [ $\overline{\pi}$ ]  $\overline{\rho\omega\theta}$ . A193<sup>9</sup>  $\overline{\chi\epsilon}$   $\overline{\rho\eta\pi\pi\epsilon}$   $\overline{\omicron\tau\delta\epsilon}$  >  $\overline{\chi\epsilon}$   $\overline{\omicron\tau\delta\epsilon}$ .

## 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 ( $\overline{\psi\alpha}$ ,  $\overline{\psi\beta}$ ), 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 ( $\overline{\rho\eta\theta}$  and —) from the Dīfnâr (No. xxxviii F), with two imperfect Odes on John the Little (the Hegumen).

(3) Parchment. One leaf, C.U.L., *Add.* 1885, 9, ( $\overline{\kappa\tau}$ ), 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, ( $\overline{\rho\psi}$ ), with the conclusion of a first and beginning of a second Ode on the Forty-nine Martyrs.

(6) Paper. Two leaves ( $\overline{\psi\delta}$ ,  $\overline{\psi\epsilon}$ ) 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 Shiêt in the Heraclian persecution.

(7) Paper. Two leaves (unnumbered) from the same ms. as (2), with two fragmentary Odes on Abba John Khamé.

<sup>1</sup> The published reading is given first, indicated by A with page and line numbers: the variant, separated by >, follows.





ODES TO SAINTS OF SCETIS

Ode 2 (John the Little).

Сот ѣ мѣаѣот  
 \*паопи аѣа іѡ-  
 аппис пиколоѡс  
 ѱади ѣатос  
 5 іѡаппис пархнѡс  
 ѣте тепсѡѡаѣ +  
 Нѡсѡ онѡ[c] фн ѣтаѡ-  
 шѡп + ѣ[ѡ]аѡѡит ѣ-  
 пепѡѡхн + ѣп пи-  
 10 аромос ѣте ѣѡрети +  
 пем ѣметѡсѣнс ѡ-  
 соп +  
 Аѡкерѡс нап мѣмѡит  
 ѡтѡ + ѡа ппѡлн ѣте  
 15 тѡѡ + еппа<sup>1</sup> ѡ пѡѡ ѡ-  
 ѡолѡтѡтѡс + ѣтеп-  
 ѡѡѡт мѡѡит ѡт-

العشرين  
 بابه القديس  
 يوحنا القصير  
 محمد واطس

Ode 2<sup>A</sup> (the same; one leaf missing).

\* \* \*

Смѡт ѣрои пайѡт + іс зипп-  
пе пишшип + ёѡлѡри-  
теп пекшлнл + аѡфѡ-  
ри ёѡл +

5 Смѡт ѣрои пайѡт + іс зипп-  
пе пишшип + ёт аѡѡт-  
аѡсаѡри еѡннѡт + аѡ-  
ѡ ѡтѡѡ ёѡл +

$$1 = \epsilon \pi \mu \Delta ?$$

<sup>2</sup> No folio number.

10 **Α**γῶσι πῆκάρπος + ἦξε ἀβ-  
 ἡα παμμοι + ἀγῶλον εἰ  
 ἑκκλῆσιᾶ + ψα πῆβελ-  
 λοι εἶοταῖ +  
**Χ**ε σμοῦ ἐροῖ παλοῦ + ἰς ποτ-  
 ταρ ἄπῆσῃσι + ἐτ ἀγ-  
 15 **Ψ**επ ἥσι ἐροῦ + ἦξε ἰω-  
 ἀπῆσι πασῇσι +  
**Σ**μοῦ ἐροῖ παλοῦ + ἰς ποτ-  
 ταρ ἄπῆσῃσι + ποτ-  
 ταρ ἄπῆσῃσι + πεμ  
 20 **Π**θεῖο +  
**Ε**ταῖοι ἐροῦ + ἦξε πῆ-  
 βελλοι + ἀψοῖσι  
 ἐξω + ἀτῶ ὡς ἄφῃ  
**Ι**σχεπ πῆροοι ἐτεμμοῖ +  
 25 **Α**ρχαῦ πῶσι πῶσι + ἐγ-  
 σοῖσι ἄμμοι + ἑπ  
 οὔπαρμιῖ +  
**Σ**οῖσι πῶσι + ὡ ἀβῆα  
 ἰωἀπῆσι + ἡε ἄ φῃ πῆ-  
 30 **Τ**ε φε + φῃ πῶσι  
 ἦταῖο πακ +  
**Ο**τοῦ ἀκπαῖ ἐ πεκῇσι +  
 πεμ πεκῇσι<sup>1</sup> ἦτε πεκ-  
 ῇσι + ἐτοῖ πῶσι<sup>2</sup> ἐ-  
 35 **Ρ**οκ<sup>2</sup> + ἑπ ἐμετοῖο πῆ-  
 πῆσι<sup>3</sup> +  
**Ζ**ίτεπ πῆσι πῆτε ἀβῆα  
 ἰωἀπῆσι πῆσι<sup>3</sup> +  
 πῶσι ἀρ(ι) ἑμοῖ<sup>3</sup>  
 + ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ +

<sup>1</sup> пєкщнрї, *MS.*

<sup>2</sup> ἐρως, *MS.*

<sup>3</sup> α corrected from ε.

*The Twentieth day of the month \*Paopi: Abba John the Little.  
Psali: Melody, 'Batos.'*

× fo. 152

With an hallowed disposition let us make mention of the righteous one, our holy Father Abba John, the founder of our community.<sup>1</sup> 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 tree<sup>3</sup> hath blossomed through thy prayers. Bless me, my Father! Behold the tree, touching which thou didst command me, hath borne fruit.” Abba Pammoi<sup>4</sup> 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.

1 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.

2 Probably one leaf (containing the end of the preceding

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.* lxxv, 204); and *H.N.S.* vii, 1, § 5.

4 sc. Abba Amoi.

# NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Ode 3 (the same).

[Αἰψὼπι γὰρ ἡὐφωστίρ  
ἡερερωσὼπι εἰχεν πῖ-]<sup>1</sup>  
καρὶ - ω πεπμακαρίος πῖωτ  
παῶτ ἡῖωτ ἀβ[ή]α ἰωαννῆς  
Ὡστε εἰτεп π[ε]κ[ε]ῖο - πεм  
пек[ε]ῖος πατ[ε]ρ[ε]λ[ε]κ[ε]ν ἀκ-  
5 αὖ ψῖντ-τῖρ[ε] ἡ[ε]α πεκ-  
τῖν[ε] - мφρ[ε]ν[ε] [п]ο[ε]τελ[ε]τι-  
λι ἡμωσ[ε] Ὁσορ ἀκ-  
ωψι ἡпекωма[ε] ἡ[ε]п[ε]p[ε]-  
аск[ε]с[ε]с[ε] εἰс[ε] [о]с[ε] - ε[ε]p[ε]к[ε]-

10 ψῖντ ἡατ[ε]κ[ε]ῖος -  
ἡ[ε]п[ε]p[ε]о[о]т[ε] ἡ[ε]п[ε]т[ε] κ[ε]р[ε]с[ε]с[ε]  
Ὡс[ε]де[ε] о[п] п[е]т[е]р[е]п[е]м[п]ша -  
ἡ[ε]п[ε]п[е]п[е]т[ε] εἰс[ε]о[е]т[ε] ἀβ[ε]-  
ἡα ἰωανн[ε]с[ε] - εἰ[ε] εἰс[ε]и[ε] п[е]м  
15 π[α]п[о]с[т]о[л]о[с] ψ[α]п[т]ек[ε]-<sup>2</sup>  
† ε[ε]п[ε] εἰ[ε] т[ε]κ[ε]п[е]а[ε] - т[ω]ῡ[ε]<sup>4</sup>  
+ — . — . — . — +  
αλλ[η]λ[ο]υ[α] μαc[ε]м[а]т[о]ι  
+ — . — . — . — +

<sup>1</sup> For the two initial lines see the Cairo *Psalmody*, p. 354.

<sup>2</sup> ψαптe[ε], MS.

<sup>3</sup> тe[ε]п[ε], MS.

<sup>4</sup> A smaller fragment of the same ode gives the conclusion in full: т[ω]ῡ[ε] ἡп[ε]т[ε] εἰс[ε]p[ε]и[ε] εἰс[ε]п[ε] + παῶτ ἡῖωτ ἀβ[ε]α ἰωανн[ε]с[ε] + п[ε]p[ε]т[е]т[е]м[е]п[о]с[ε] εἰс[ε] + тe[ε]п[ε] (χ[ω] пeпп[о]и[ε] п[α]п[ε]ῖο[ε])

[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 Shiêt upon thy little finger like a drop of water;<sup>1</sup> and thou didst chastise thy body with toilsome discipline, that thou mightest be free from peril in the Day of Judgment;<sup>2</sup> so that also thou didst become worthy, O our holy Father Abba John, to sit with the Apostles to judge thy generation.<sup>3</sup>

Pray (&c.).

Alleluiah. Novice (*sic*).<sup>4</sup>

Ode 4 (Moses the Robber).

Сот[ε] κ[ε]α[ε] м[ε]п[ε]ω[п]и[ε] αβ[ε]α  
μο[ε]с[ε]н - ψ[α]λι[ε] ἡ[ε] α[ε]αμ<sup>1</sup>  
†ο[ε]т[ε]ψ[ε] ἡ[ε]α[ε]р[ε] ο[ε]т[ε]р[ε]м[ε]-  
п[и] + ἡ[ε]α[ε]ρ[ε]α[ε]и[ε] ἡ[ε]α[ε]ρ[ε]α[ε] +  
ψ[α] п[ε]т[ε]p[ε] εἰс[ε]о[е]с[ε]и[ε] + ἡ[ε]-  
т[ε] αβ[ε]а[ε] мо[ε]с[ε]н +  
5 ἡ[ε]α[ε]о[ε]т[ε]ψ[ε]т[ε] εἰс[ε]p[ε]и[ε] - εἰс[ε] (п[ε])  
пe[ε]λ[ε]т[ε]м[ε]ψ[α]п[о]и[ε] + ἡ[ε]п[ε]-

т[о]т[о]λ[ε] εἰс[ε]о[ε]л[ε] + ἡ[ε]п[ε] п[и]-  
с[и]п[и]лe[о]п[ε] + - ἡ[ε]п[ε]т[ε]p[ε]о[ε]  
εἰс[ε]о[е] + ἡ[ε]т[ε]т[ε]т[ε]р[ε] ἡ[ε]-  
10 п[о]т[ε] εἰс[ε]и[ε] + п[е]м[ε] εἰс[ε]p[ε]и[ε]  
εἰс[ε]п[ε] п[и]п[о]и[ε] + ἡ[ε]п[ε] т[а]-  
ψ[ε]т[ε]х[и] - + ἡ[ε]т[ε]т[ε]х[а]т[ε]  
п[и]и[ε] εἰс[ε]о[ε]л[ε] + ἡ[ε]п[ε] п[ε]х[ε]  
пeпп[о]т[ε]† + ἡ[ε]п[ε]т[ε]т[ε]-  
15 о[ε]л[ε]т[ε] εἰс[ε]о[ε]л[ε] + ἡ[ε]п[ε] п[а]-  
\* \* \*

<sup>1</sup> red.

## The Twenty-fourth day of Paōni: Abba Moses.<sup>5</sup>

*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;<sup>6</sup> 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 . . .

\* \* \* \* \*

<sup>1</sup> See *Apophth. Patr.*, Joh. Col. xxxvi (P.G. LXV, 216).

<sup>2</sup> See *A.M.G.* xxv, 354.

<sup>3</sup> *id.*, pp. 380 f.

<sup>4</sup> Probably an 'incipit.'

<sup>5</sup> On Abba Moses the Black or the Robber, see *H.N.S.*

i, x, § 4.

<sup>6</sup> 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).

πῖμϑ ἡμарттрос  
 πῶτ ἀριζμοτ παп  
 ἡπχω εἰολ ἦτε  
 πεпнои  
 + — — — — — +  
 πῶωот оп нхос батос  
 Амωппῖ μφοот  
 πῖла[ос] тпрот  
 εῶρε[п]ер[ε]тκω-  
 мазпн [п]епно-  
 5 † пстаτ[ρο]φορος  
 етеперщат пап ἡ-  
 φοот  
 Επῶотнт пем пῖ-  
 аттелос + пем  
 10 пхωρο[с] ἦτε пн

واهم ايضا  
 واطس

$\frac{S}{pq}$   $\frac{S}{17}$   $\frac{S}{17}$   $\frac{S}{17}$   $\frac{S}{17}$   
 εῶотаḥ + пем пе(п-)  
 10† пстаτροфо-  
 рос + πῖμϑ ἡμарттрос  
 Πῖροтнт ден пῖλгч-  
 5 ос аḥḥа ιωανппс  
 пе пегурап + агуоги ε-  
 ратг ден тотмн-  
 † агу[ш] εἰοл ег-  
 хω ἡμ[о]с] + —  
 10 Хе ιс п[ιḥа]ρḥарос ат-  
 ῖ + φп [ет]отωш ē  
 φωт мареуфωт +  
 пн εῶпаδoгῖ пемап  
 ἡпепοротщлаз ἦгнт  
 15 Отмерос ден пῖḥел-  
 логι атфωт . . . п

[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 (Ara Samuel).

\*πепиωт ἀπα самотηλ  
 Отщотгине егсωтп • отκαп-  
 нос псῶопотгῖ • отῶтсга  
 εсотаḥ • есрапаг μφ† + + —  
 Пе пекщлнл εῶотаḥ • пем пек-  
 5 полнтῖа • ω пепиωт ἡḡкеос •  
 аḥḥа самотηλ + + —  
 †паχарωι ап • ē пекполнтῖа •  
 пем пекаскесис • ет акаитот  
 ден щнт + + —  
 10 Παλῖста пῖḡсῖ • ет акгаῖ ḡарωот •  
 гитен пῖтῡраппос • ἡχакῖапос<sup>1</sup> + —  
 Ак† ἡтєкψтхп • εῶḥе †ῑмо-  
 логῖа • ἡте ппаг† етсотω(п)  
 ἡте †ῑриас εῶотаḥ + + —  
 15 Актажро ἡпекгнт • ἡφрп†  
 ἡотмарттрос • щаптексῖ  
 ἡпῖхлом • ἡте †гтпомони + —

\* qh

<sup>1</sup> For κολχιαпос.



## ODES TO SAINTS OF SCETIS

Ode 7 (John Kamé).

1    Ἀγῳπὶ ρωγ ἡγάζιαρ-  
       χнс + отор ἡγιάска-  
       λως + ἐжен ραπμнш м-  
       ψυχн + а҃гїи мμωот  
 5    ἡотшотшотшш м-  
       пѡт  
       Θη εѡотаѣ ет атопс пе-  
       маѣ + асшопи ρωс м-  
       маѣ мпїстн + ἐжен  
 10    ραпмнш мпарѡенос  
       асїри ἡραпжом п[ем  
       рапшфнри +  
       Ἀγ[...]. μποτῆιος [εѡотаѣ  
       ρε[п] οὔпшш† μм[ет-  
 15    геппeос + отор ашш-  
       пн нем пхс + фн ет а-  
       мепрїтѣ рен потрнт  
       тнрѣ +  
       Τωδρ S паѡт ἡωт ἡгке-  
 20    ос + πιάтїос τωα χαμε + п†  
       + — .. — .. — +

1    пѡсг он адам<sup>1</sup>    واه الصّٰ ادام

III пнм пе еѡпашсажн + ē пн-  
       ρμοт етош + ет а҃ггн-  
       тот неман + ἡже ф†  
       пїлоторс  
 5    Ἀγпaт ē пепѡеhїѡ + нем  
       пепѡλ ēhоλ + а҃гшотшт  
       ēhоλрєп псїсн + а҃гєр-  
       hоhєпн ēроп +  
       Ἀγтаотѡ пап ἡшорп + м-  
 10    пннш† аhѣа аптωпн +  
       нем аhѣа макари + еѡ-  
       ротсї]мωит р[а . . . . .  
       Отор ἡтотсaѣо[п] +  
       ē пхнше шa ф† рє(п)  
 15    рапполїтїа нем  
       рапаскнснс +  
       Ἀγмошн рєп (п)отмωит +  
       ἡже аhѣа іωaппнс +  
       фн ет а пє҃ро σїотω-  
       <sup>1</sup> red.

*Abba John Khamé.<sup>1</sup>*

\*       \*       \*       \*       \*       \*

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 him<sup>2</sup> 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 . . .

## 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*): [ . . — 17 ] (Ornament) 18 — 2. The script is a good-sized 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 generally<sup>3</sup> with part of the text published by F. de Rossi in *Mem. della Accad. delle Sc. di Torino*, Ser. II, tom. XLIII (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.<sup>4</sup>

The Turin ms. itself probably came from the Monastery of Saint Macarius, since it is one of five given by Drovetti to Peyon,<sup>5</sup> 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.

2 sc. the wife to whom John was nominally married.

3 The fragments are generally parallel to pp. 308 f. of

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 *Apophth. Patr.*, Apollo II (*P.G.* LXV, 133).

5 See de Rossi, *op. cit.*, p. 223.



# THE TRANSLATION OF EPHRAEM SYRUS TO SCETIS

## XXVII. THE TRANSLATION OF EPHRAEM SYRUS TO SCETIS

Cotton-paper. Leaf, 25 × 17 cm., numbered —κτ (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 Barakât<sup>1</sup> commemorates Ephraem the Syrian on Tōbi 7, and the Monastery of Anba Bishoi still claims to possess Ephraem's body.<sup>2</sup> 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.

εοοταh + ψα πιμονας-  
 тириоп етсмарωот +  
 нте пепиот аhба пи-  
 шой + hен пшадe нте  
 5 шинт +  
 Hен гaнpωс nem гaн-  
 гэмнос + nem гaн-  
 пишт нтимн + nem  
 гaнминш нтаго етсo-  
 10 ci + ката петтоми ē-  
 роу  
 Bote етaтфoг ē пи-  
 ма + ет ā фт сeнτωг  
 нау + аτσoχι aтi ēhoλ  
 15 hαxωу + нхе пимнш  
 тирг етшоп āмaт +  
 Hαтерψaλп hα тeу-  
 гн + hен гaнминш н-  
 етфoмa<sup>1</sup> + nem дaд  
 20 пiгэмнoзoс + мпaи

<sup>1</sup> = εὐφημία (cp. Crum, *Cat. Copt. MSS. in the John Rylands Lib.*, p. 210 note 1).

κτ  
 рн† етxω āмoс +  
 Xе пикас тирот нте пи-  
 oмни + пoт ф† пeпa-  
 pωic ēpωот + oтoг oт-  
 5 aи ēhoλ нhнтог + н-  
 ceпaλoγλεу ēhoλ  
 aп +  
 Oтoг aтxω нхе пикас  
 етсмарωот + hен  
 10 oтнeнωтoс нше eу-  
 cωтп + aтxαу nem  
 пicωмa εοοταh + нте  
 пeпiот aнба пишой +  
 Aушoпи нхе пaи шeпep-  
 15 фмeтi εοοταh + hен  
 coт z мпaнoт тoнi +  
 epe ф† ipи нгaппиш-  
 † āмнип + hен пeу-  
 етктириоп εοοтаh +  
 20 Tωhг S  
 + — — — — +

[They brought his] \*pure [body] to the blessed Monastery of our Father Abba Pishoi in the desert of Shiêt 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 hastened and came forth to meet him. They chanted before him in many praises with David the Psalmist, \*saying on this wise: "All the bones of the righteous the Lord God keepeth them, and not one of them shall perish."<sup>3</sup> And his blessed bones were laid in an ark of choice wood<sup>4</sup> with the pure body of our Father Abba Pishoi.

\* (fol. 23<sup>a</sup>)

\* fol. 23

This holy memorial took place upon the seventh day of the month Tōbi, while God wrought great miracles in his holy Oratory.

Pray, &c.

<sup>1</sup> 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).

<sup>2</sup> Professor F. C. Burkitt informs me that Edessa still claims to possess the relics of Ephraem. According to Thévenot, *Voyage au Levant*, II, 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.

<sup>3</sup> Psalm xxxiv, 20.

<sup>4</sup> 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. III, § 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  $\alpha$ .<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> Attention was drawn in ancient times to this duplication by a marginal note in informal uncials in the margin of Frag. 7, *verso*,  $\Pi\text{ΜΑΡ} \bar{\epsilon} \bar{\iota}\text{ΝΟΝ} \Pi\text{ΤΑΡ}$ , i.e. 'twice over,' 'repeated,' and by the sign  $\varsigma$  (? =  $\varsigma\epsilon\text{Π}$  'pass by')<sup>3</sup> which is placed in the margin against the line in which Frag. 7 begins to repeat Frag. 6, *recto*.<sup>4</sup> On the *verso* of the same fragment a marginal symbol  $\lambda$  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  $\diagup$  (at the end of a paragraph,  $\nearrow$ ). 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  $\omega\alpha$  'so far' and  $\omega\text{Ρ}$  '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  $\overline{\text{IC}}$  (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  $\varsigma$  οὗτος ὁ πόντος Εὐξείνως—900 Α τάφοι καὶ στήλαι.

The next three fragments are continuous, answering to the text of *op. cit.*, 909 Β τούτου χάριν ὁρμῇ τινι θειοτέρᾳ—915 Α ἐν ᾧ φανεροῦται. Of these, Frag. 2 combines *Cod. Tisch.* xxv, 24<sup>5</sup> (the upper half of the last leaf in Quire II, headed on the *verso*  $\overline{\text{ΛΕ}} \overline{\text{ΙΗ}} \overline{\text{C}}$   $\otimes$   $\overline{\text{Π}} \overline{\text{Χ}} \overline{\text{C}}$   $\bar{\epsilon}$ ) with Cairo, no. 24<sup>Add v</sup>, 21 × 21 cm., the decayed lower half of the same leaf; Frag. 3 (*Cod. Tisch.* xxiv, 6),<sup>6</sup> the first leaf of Quire III, is headed  $\overline{\text{C}}$   $\overline{\text{ΙΗ}} \overline{\text{C}}$   $\otimes$   $\overline{\text{Π}} \overline{\text{Χ}} \overline{\text{C}}$   $\text{ΠΑΙ ΠΗΙ}$  [ $\lambda\text{Υ}$ ] (*recto*), and  $\overline{\text{Λ}} \overline{\text{Α}}$   $\overline{\text{ΙΗ}} \overline{\text{C}}$  (*verso*); Frag. 4 (*Cod. Tisch.* xxiv, 28)<sup>7</sup> is a complete leaf paged ( $\overline{\text{ΛΕ}}$ ),  $\overline{\text{ΛΕ}}$ : the *verso* is headed  $\overline{\text{ΙΗ}} \overline{\text{C}}$ .

The six fragments following form a single group corresponding to the Greek of *P.G.* 917 Α εἰπόντος δὲ δι' ὀλίγων—921  $\varsigma$  τὴν χάριν προκατέρξαντι (or slightly further). Frag. 5 (*Cod. Tisch.* xxiv, 29),<sup>8</sup> a complete leaf, is paged ( $\overline{\text{ΜΕ}}$ ),  $\overline{\text{ΜΕ}}$ : the *verso* is headed  $\overline{\text{ΙΗ}} \overline{\text{C}}$ ; Frag. 6 (*Cod. Tisch.* xxv, 17)<sup>9</sup> is the inner half of the last leaf in Quire III (*sc. pp.* ( $\overline{\text{ΜΖ}}$ ),  $\overline{\text{ΜΗ}}$ ): the *verso* is headed [ $\overline{\text{ΜΗ}}$   $\overline{\text{ΙΗ}} \overline{\text{C}}$   $\oplus$   $\overline{\text{Π}} \overline{\text{Χ}} \overline{\text{C}}$ ]  $\text{ΠΑΙ ΠΗΙ}$   $\bar{\epsilon}$ ; Frag. 7 (*Cod. Tisch.* xxiv, 41)<sup>10</sup> is a complete leaf, the first in Quire IV. The *recto* is headed  $\overline{\text{Σ}}$   $\overline{\text{ΙΗ}} \overline{\text{C}}$   $\oplus$   $\overline{\text{Π}} \overline{\text{Χ}} \overline{\text{C}}$  ( $\overline{\text{ΜΘ}}$ ) and numbered on the *verso*  $\overline{\text{Π}}$ . The text of the *recto*, which is very dim, repeats the text of pp.  $\overline{\text{ΜΕ}}$  l. 5— $\overline{\text{ΜΖ}}$  l. 33. This fragment is not therefore reproduced in our text.<sup>11</sup> Frag. 8 (Cairo, no. 24<sup>Add i</sup>), 17.5 × 27 cm., is the lower portion of a leaf which must have been foliated  $\overline{\text{ΠΔ}}$ , since it intervenes directly between pp. ( $\overline{\text{ΜΘ}}$ ),  $\overline{\text{Π}}$ , and folio  $\overline{\text{ΠΕ}}$ .

<sup>1</sup> On the hand see Crum, *Rylands Cat.*, p. 221. It is probably identical with the hand of our No. xviii.

<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>3</sup> The same sign occurs in *Cod. Vat. Copt.* LIX, fo. 159<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> The abnormal numeration of Frags. 8 and 9 as *folios*

$\overline{\text{ΠΔ}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{ΠΕ}}$  was perhaps somehow due to a desire to eliminate the superfluous leaf, Frag. 7.

<sup>5</sup> See Leipoldt, *op. cit.*, p. 405.

<sup>6</sup> *id.*, p. 389.

<sup>7</sup> *id.*, p. 395.

<sup>8</sup> *id.*, p. 395.

<sup>9</sup> *id.*, p. 404.

<sup>10</sup> *id.*, p. 398.

<sup>11</sup> For the critical signs which are used on this leaf, see above.

# GREGORY THAUMATURGUS

Frag. 9 (*Cod. Tisch.* xxiv, 34),<sup>1</sup> a damaged leaf, foliated  $\overline{\pi\alpha}$  and headed on the *verso*  $\overline{\iota\eta\varsigma}$ , follows Frag. 8 directly.

Frag. 10 (Rylands Library, *Copt.* 49 = *Cat.* 446)<sup>2</sup>, a complete leaf, the last in Quire IV, is paged ( $\overline{\xi\epsilon}$ ),  $\overline{\xi\alpha}$  and headed on the *verso*  $\overline{\xi\alpha}$   $\overline{\iota\eta\varsigma}$   $\overline{\pi\chi\epsilon}$   $\overline{\alpha}$ . The text corresponds to 925 B τοῖς μητρώοις σπλάγχχνους—925 C καὶ ὅσα ἦν εἰκός of the Greek original.


Fragment 11 (Cairo, no. 24<sup>Add ii</sup>), 18 × 16 cm., is the lower and outer part of a decayed leaf. The text of the *recto* answers to 928 C τοὺς ἐκατέροις συμπαρατασσομένους—C εἰς εἰρηνικὰς εὐφροσύνας; of the *verso* to 929 A τὰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὴν λίμνην(?)—Δύκος γὰρ . . . ἐπονομάζεται.

Frag. 12 comprises Cairo, no. 24<sup>Add iii</sup>, 16.5 × 19.2 cm., the inner and upper portion of a leaf, headed (*recto*)  $\overline{\alpha}$  and (*verso*)  $\overline{\sigma\alpha}$   $\overline{\iota\eta\varsigma}$   $\overline{\iota\eta\varsigma}$  (*sic*), which fits *Cod. Tisch.* xxv, 14, the outer half of the same leaf. The text of both combined answers to 933 B καὶ ἡ σπουδὴ πρὸς τὸ ἀγαθόν—D ὡς δὲ οἱ μὲν παρήγον.

Frag. 13<sup>3</sup> (Cairo, no. 24<sup>Add iv</sup>), 13.7 × 24 cm., is the lower portion of a leaf: the text of the *recto* corresponds to 937 A καὶ διῆγεν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις λόγοις—B ἔχοντες Ἀλέξανδρον; and of the *verso* to 937 B τῷ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐχθρῷ—C τῆς ἐκείνου δυναστείας καθαιρέτην ἐσόμενον.

Frag. 14 (Cairo, no. 24<sup>Add vi</sup>) 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.

	— $\overline{\iota\eta\varsigma}$ — 	
	ⲉⲣⲣⲉⲡ ⲉⲣⲱⲓ	ⲁⲓⲣⲏⲣ ⲡⲉ ⲟⲓ
	ⲉⲣⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲭⲉⲡⲓ	ⲡⲓⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲉⲡ ⲧⲓ
	ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲱⲣⲡⲓ	ⲭⲓⲡⲱⲣⲓ ⲉⲓ
	ⲱⲡⲁⲡⲧⲟⲣⲓ ⲡⲡⲓ	ⲓ. ⲧⲣⲧⲏⲕⲓⲁⲓ
5	] [	5 ⲕⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲁⲧⲱⲓ
	ⲱⲡⲏⲣⲓ ⲣⲓ	ⲡⲏ ⲉⲧⲱⲓ
	ⲙⲙⲱⲟⲩ	] [
	ⲧⲟⲩⲉⲣⲓ	] [
	ⲧⲉⲃⲓ	ⲙⲱⲟⲩ
10	ⲧⲁⲩⲧⲱⲡⲏ?	10 ⲉⲣⲏⲟⲓ
	ⲱⲡⲟⲩ	ⲉⲣⲣⲏⲓ
	ⲡⲧⲓ	ⲟⲩⲟⲩ
	ⲧⲡⲟⲓ	ⲧⲙⲓ
	ⲉⲧⲁⲣ ⲡⲓ	ⲓ. ⲓⲉⲓ
15	] ⲧⲁⲓ	15 ⲟⲩⲁⲓ
	ⲉⲱⲡⲓ	ⲟⲩⲱⲉⲓ
	ⲁⲟⲩⲓ	
	ⲉⲡⲓ.	

<sup>1</sup> *op. cit.*, p. 396.

<sup>2</sup> See Crum, *Rylands Catalogue*, p. 221.

<sup>3</sup> For convenience in printing, I have placed Frag. 13 after Frag. 11 and before Frag. 12.

# NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 24).

5    <sup>1</sup>нос<sup>1</sup> пе ппонтос етеммат  
       еуерхорнтн + аоне феонос  
       ппхриа тнрот етот ехотн  
       е понт отон пнхен от мо-  
 10    пон ппиромн пте пма нем  
       пн е[т]шоп ден пмази алла  
       пкехωотн он еонаф мпот-  
       отот ероу еволден ма  
       пнхен  
 15    Отпай риф гар ден отмеомн  
       те тфсис пфхωра етем-  
       мат + от монон же сотес-  
       фоп ден хриа пнхен панаг-  
       неон етот ехотн е понт  
 20    алла ф. . . . . ша . . . . . он ппке-  
       хω[отн] тнрот о[. . . . .] . . . . . ап  
       . . . ахω . . . е. п есена  
       . . . фом таш . [ер]хорнтн  
       . ас пе ево[л]ден ма пн-  
 25    хен  
       Отпай риф пе пнеонос тнрч  
       ет]еммат + ρωсте пмерос  
       μм]ос ет ере отаи паф ρ-  
       он е]роу бари бароу мма-  
 30    ат]у шацметн же цсотн  
       пс[. . .] же пара пкехωот-  
       пн  
       Евхе فاي еволзтен отмотшт  
       пте пнеонос тнрч етеммат  
       зи отсон + атωш птполис  
       мпишф гргориос еорес-  
       шопн мметрополис мп[неоно]с  
       тнрч етеммат

<sup>1</sup> sc. [εὐξει]нос.

Γε

5    Θαι ет а отпшф потро еачер  
       свит ден пн ет атωш б[ен  
       ометотро ппиромнос е-  
       печрап пе кесар отарсар-  
 10    пн еоротмотф ерос е пег-  
       рап еволден пегмеи нем  
       пеготωш ехотн е-  
       рос  
       Алла пай сесн ап ехотн е пеп-  
 15    скопос е птнрч ρωсте  
       еорепме[тн] еρωот же рап-  
       таю пе мпишф етеммат  
       фн етшоп [ ден омнф пн  
       пн еор[та] . . . . .  
 20    Аш гар [птаю пе . . . . .  
       ха[ . . . . .  
       карпос ден[ . . . . .  
       п[ор] а[. . . . .] ден раппшф  
       пшф[н]ри . [ . . . . .] пегн же се-  
 25    ωли ехотн ероу мпепр[. . .  
       пас тнрч + еволден ма п[и-  
       хен зитен фом ес[денп  
       ерос  
       Алла отае пеппрока[. . . п-  
 30    шорп пн ет атшопн [пар-  
       хнтос мпечхфо ка[та ф-  
       сарз фпаер потметн [ап  
       ден псахи е п[тнрч  
       тотметр[мао отот мпот-  
       таю отот пот[а]з[и]ωма ка-  
       та пикосмос фпасахи е-  
       ρωот ап  
       Зант[а]фос гар нем рап-

- \* (p. 15?) [For alone of all lands and seas]\* that Pontus (is called) 'Euxine,' since it supplies unstintingly all necessities 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 necessities 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 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?)

# GREGORY THAUMATURGUS

Frag. 2 (Cod. Tisch. xxv, 24 + Cairo, no. 24<sup>Add v</sup>).

Πενεπσως α φαγαμος σι  
 πας ποττορμн есототех  
 ите фѣт еѡтп е тспот-  
 ан етхн пау еѡрнн мпеч-  
 5 т ронч е рли ите пгагастма  
 етоттωу пемау паѡот-  
 нот гар пе мѡн еѡотаѡ грн-  
 горюс мѡмωит иѣ пероот  
 ммошг  
 10 Δυχαг пегѡал еѡрнн га фѣт  
 еѡжω ммос же ис фѣт  
 жотшт ежон фпот ги от-  
 соп апок нем грнгорюс  
 Отоз е фма итеѡжхз аѡнн  
 15 мпглогос ежен грнгорюс  
 еаѡтотѡ мѡн ет[.....  
 бат[отч  
 Отоз аѡфорх пау еѡол пот-1  
 пол]ис ѡаг етасметѣ еѡол  
 20 ... ]. н е писнот е[те]ммаѡ  
 .. ]ри [е]рнѣт ѡеп фплапн  
 пте ] ппзωлон ѡосте п-  
 те ммон] протѡ тѣ прωмг е-  
 таѡшоп ерωот] мписажн мпи-  
 25 парѣт еѡолѡеп] пшгаг ипминш  
 етеммаѡ ]  
 . . . . ]ω. ѡа фпар-  
 ѡег. . . . ]ката отапаѡ-  
 кн . . . . ]он отоз  
 30 етаѡшоп иот]котхн иси-  
 от еѡол птотч м]ѡн етаѡ-  
 тнн пау пѣме]тотнѡ е[ѡ-]

<sup>1</sup> First l. of Cairo fragment.

λѣ — инс — ✠ — пхс ѣ  
 реѡт сѡω ѣ птаѡро тнрч  
 етѡеп пмѡстнрюп еѡот-  
 аѡ  
 Лоппон ката фрнѣт етеѡжω  
 5 ммос иже ппгпстѡлос еѡ-  
 отаѡ мпеготѡз тотч ѣ  
 отѡш пса сарз ги снѡг  
 Алла аѡерѣтнн мѡѣт еѡреѡ-  
 шорп пау еѡол итакрѣѡа  
 10 ипн етѡнн Отоз мпегѡѡт  
 е птнрч ѣ гиѡш мписажн  
 ѣннл ишорп ет а ѡмнн отѡпѡ  
 ѣроу гиѡеп отѡшорп ѣ-  
 ѡол  
 15 Δсшопн гар иотснот еѡмѡк-  
 мек .[....] мпегѡорз еѡѡе  
 псаѡ[и пте ппгаѡѣт от]ѡз еѡ-1  
 кнм ..[. . . . ѡеп  
 пегѡнт пе пе отон га[пот-  
 20 он гар ... п ѡеп писнот [етем-  
 маѡ [етаѡтѡ]ѡѡ еѡол п[ѣсѡω  
 иѣмететсе-  
 шѡ ѡнс  
 ѡѡсте еѡре ппкес[ѡѡет ер  
 25 рнт ѡ. .... и[отмнш и-  
 соп гиѡеп [тотхнпса-  
 жн еѡор[ш . . . . еѡѡе  
 таг ѣтѡ а[ѡер иатѣкот  
 отоз еѡ[ . . . . ема-  
 30 шѡ  
 ѡш Δѡпаѡ ѡеп ѡѣрасотн е ѡтѣнн  
 ипрωмг еѡ[ . . . .  
 то еѡол еѡг [иѡѡлло ѡеп  
 пегѡсмот . [ . . . .

\*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.

(p. 31)

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 says<sup>1</sup>—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)

\*p. 32

## NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 3 (*Cod. Tisch.* xxiv, 6).

[illegible][illegible]

<sup>1</sup> ę added by a later hand.

\* (p. 33) in the style of his dress as though he had received the rank (?) of a priest, and displaying great virtue in 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 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



# NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 5 (Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 29).

1    Ἐτ α γρηγοριος хос же ппарт  
       еротп е фт ешагтагро ап  
       згтеп залсахи алла згтеп [з]ап-  
       шфиги еоотонг ебол рен пи-  
 5    рхноті  
       Ачеротω пхе потнх же фот-  
       ш рω е пат е отшфиги ес-  
       пашωот мпарт еоргеромо-  
       лотп мпипарт  
 10  Атхос де еоће ппишт етем-  
       мат же аґри потшфиги рен  
       пма етеммат есоі п-  
       пишт  
       Ἐт а потнх де хос еоће от-  
 15  пишт пωп еґхн ерри згт-  
       ри ммоу ммон рнф е отоѳеу  
       еболзгтеп жх прωи же п-  
       рри рен тхом мпипарт м-  
       мататс марпат е паг ωпг  
 20  еаґотωтеѳ е кема рен пек-  
       отарсарпг  
       Тоте ппишт етеммат грнго-  
       риос мпепотіаотω е птирґ  
       аґотарсарпг мпиωпг пфот-  
 25  пот мфрнф мфн ете ото(п)  
       знт ммоу же отωтеѳ еѳ[ол]  
       птекше пак е кема ете  
       фн пе ет а потнх фминп [е-  
       роу  
 30  Ἐт а фал де шωпг [п]фотпот а[ґ-  
       парт пхе пирω[м]г е писахи О[тор]  
       аґхд епхал пивен псωу  
       печстпгеннс нем пегн[г] нем  
       теуґгмг нем пегшпг пем  
 35  пегшфнр

ме                      инс  
       нем теґметотнх ппер-  
       фег нем пегртархωпта  
       з[г] отсон  
       Аґсотпс пау еорегшωпг  
 5    нем грнгоріос е фма ппн  
       етшоп пау тирот Отор<sup>1</sup> п-  
       теґжфо пау пфкомωпта  
       пте пегрґгсг нем ффто-  
       софта мми етеммат нем  
 10  теґсѳω  
       Паре мокмен же пивен м-  
       метсапкотс плоготафос  
       шωам е рωот паг ешагтсг  
       протō пфметпшф пте пи-  
 15  шфиги рен отхпсахи пте  
       пирптор  
       Потпаг рнф гар ап пе фшфиги  
       рен пн ет апхотот рωсте  
       еоресотсг іе пѳоу птес-  
 20  хωжеѳ протō пара пирнф е-  
       тасшωпг ммоу згтеп тхом  
       мпетсахи  
       Нм гар пе еѳпашхе ротō е пн  
       ет апхотот птеґф пот-  
 25  метпшф пфшфиги аш де  
       оп протō ере отаг пашф п-  
       отхωжеѳ пфшфиги рен  
       п[с]ахи е штемѳре пн ет-  
       сωтем тωмт ерри ежен  
 30  фн етаґшωпг  
       О[т]ωпг аґѳре пн етатерѳωк  
       ппиωпг репот саѳол ппиωпг  
       Отор аґшωпг пѳатмωгт п-  
       папстотс

<sup>1</sup> 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,

\*p. 46    his wife, his children, his friends, \*his priesthood <in ?> 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 гар пе пи[машх ѿте пи-1  
 ѿпи ащ 2[е те т-  
 есѣнсіс е[ѡреѣер ѿ-  
 ежѡтсіа ѿ[те фн етѡтар-  
 5 сарпи паѣ [іе ащ те фхом  
 ѿреѣмоши е[т еп-  
 ѡнтѣ  
 Ащ де он пе п[сѡѡт ппечмелос  
 іе пецсхнм[а2 . . .  
 10 ѿпи е фма ѿ[паі тнрот  
 ѿрри ѡеп, фат е[т а ппишѣ грн-  
 торіос еррн[тс е фметжѡри  
 ѡѡе ппдем[ѡп Отор паѣ-  
 кѡт нем пиѡ[тнѡ ѡпсмот  
 15 ѿтсѣтѡлн [е аѣтарос ератс  
 ѡѡе пн ета[тѡтпн ѡа тот-  
 рѡ  
 Зѡсте еѡре п[іеѡнос тнрѣ  
 щѡортѣр еѡ[ѡе пецсѡит  
 20 Отор паі рнѣ [ѡеп ѡтпишѣ ѡѡт  
 ѿрнт нем [ ѡтпаррнсіа аѣмо-  
 ши еѡтпн е [ фполіс ѿрри ап  
 ѡеп раррар[ма нем раррѡр  
 нем рарп[енѡам ѡѡе еѣ-  
 25 щѡтщѡт [ѡмоѣ ап еѡеп ш-  
 мнш ѡт[е пн етѡтер ѿ-  
 сѡѣ  
 аλλα еѣѡ[і ѡт ѡеп ппаретн  
 еткѡт [ерѡѣ  
 30 Нмнш де [тнрот аѡі саѡѡ ѡт-  
 поліс рѣ[пѡт еѡѡ ерѡѡрпн3  
 ѡтщф[нрі ѡѡері Отор па-  
 ре] ѡтпн [пнѡеп ерѣпѡт-

<sup>1</sup> The supplements are derived from Frag. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Frag. 7 reads аλλα ет а фхом пте пѡтарсарпи  
щѡпи ѡпѡпи.

<sup>3</sup> ѡѡ ерѡѡрпн (sic), Frag. 7.

мн інс + п[хс] паі пнн ѣ

мн пе е паѡ е[ѣ]рнѡріос е-1  
 теммѡт фн ет ер]е ѡтѡми пе-  
 аѣщѡп ерѡѣ ѡт]ежѡтсіа ѡ-  
 фрнѣ ѡтѡтѡро ]ѣѡеп пн е-  
 5 тѡтѡтѣ ерѡ]ѡѣ ѡе рарпѡтѣ  
 ммѡт]  
 ѡе аѣпн ппндемѡ]п Отор аѣт-  
 ѡрпѡт рн фѡта]рсарпи катѡ  
 пецѣмѡт . . е ф]ма ет еѣт-  
 10 ѡш . . еѣ]еп ѡмѡт  
 еѡтпн ѡтор он е[ѣ]рѡтѡі ѡмѡ-  
 ѡт еѡѡ ѡфрн]ѣ рарпѡн-  
 аік пѡтѡ ѡ]ѡѡс пе ѡе іс пн-  
 ѡтнѡ пѡт]еѣщѡмш ете(м-)  
 15 маѡ аѣтѡтѣ р]ѡѣ е аѣѡѣ ѡ-  
 ѡѡк ѡеп ѡтѣ]ѡтсіа рѡсте  
 ѡтѣѣерпѡѡ]ш мен е пецѡт  
 фн ете фѡѣ ѡ]щѡрп ѡтѣѣ-  
 сѡтп паѣ ѡ]ѣѡмѡши ѿ-  
 20 те фат е фм]ѡ ппечѣтпар-  
 хѡтѡ]  
 Етѡтѡт де тнрот] ѡѡѡѣ са-  
 тѣн ѡтполіс ѡеп] ѡтѣѡмн  
 ѡтаі маіп]  
 25 Етѡтѡт де ер]нн ерѡтѡ  
 ѡеп пѡпѡре де ѡтѡп] пнѡеп  
 сомс ѡѡѡѣ аѣ]сѡпѡт тнрот  
 ѡфрнѣ ѡтѡѡе ете] ѡмѡн ѡт-  
 хн ѡтнѣ  
 30 Паѣфѡнѡѣ гар ѡмоѣ] е рѡі ппн  
 е паре кѡт ерѡ]ѣ аλλα е-  
 ѣмоши ѡеп ѡт]сѡтѡте(п)

<sup>1</sup> 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. . .<sup>1</sup> (p. 47)

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.<sup>2</sup> And the whole multitude went forth from the city to behold a new marvel, everyone desiring 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.] \*p. 48

<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> The Greek has ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ἐν κύκλῳ δορυφορούμενος: the omission of anything corresponding to 'body-guard' is indicated in Frag. 7 by the marginal ✕.



## NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

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<sup>Add i</sup>).

[ИД]

(Eighteen lines lost)

(Sixteen lines lost)

\* \* \*

20 . . . шфн] рг пте пи-  
опт . отон] пиен ео-  
. . . . .]. а҃ѣрохрех ммоу п  
. . . . .]. са са пиен евольте(п)  
пиинш еомощи пемау е зил  
еоуп

25 Неп пжипоре фполс де ї евоа  
бжау етѣ хот птеумет-  
отнѣ кетоі рѡ рапкотѣ  
емашо пе пи етавшоп ерѡ-  
от прѣнтс млсажи млпазѣ  
30 батрѣ млпатешше ёротѣ е-  
рос ката фрнѣ етагершорп  
пѣос

Епган агау млп ммоу премоє

\* \* \*  
 6. а[  
 отъ ꙗко ѿмоу ма ꙗшопи  
 ап еореуѣ[тоу ѿмоу ꙗнѣу  
 20 отъ не ѿмоу екѣ[лѣсѣа  
 не отъ ꙗтау ѿми ѿ[оу  
 Отъ ашѣортер ꙗже пи ео-  
 моуи немау отъ атерѣ-  
 пори же аѣашопи ꙗѣоп  
 25 ꙗе же аѣашопи ѣа тске-  
 пи ꙗни  
 Отъ ꙗреуѣѣѣѣ ѣе ꙗѣау-  
 ꙗѣѣѣ же еѣѣѣ ѣт тетеп-  
 ерапори ѣеп ꙗѣ ꙗѣрен  
 30 ꙗетепѣрноу еѣѣѣ ѣѣма  
 ꙗемтоу ꙗѣ ꙗетепѣѣма  
 ѣѣѣ ѣтетеп ѣѣѣѣ ꙗѣѣѣ-  
 ѣѣ ѣѣѣѣ

\* (p. 51<sup>a</sup>)      \* [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?”

# GREGORY THAUMATURGUS

Frag. 9 (*Cod. Tisch.* XXIV, 34).

[illegible][illegible]

“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 ?<sup>1</sup> 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) \*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.

## NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 10 (Rylands Library *Copt.* [49], 446).

5    Һен пессаһотп + җос ео-  
 маҗ те м̄петопҗ + отор п-  
 тесеромологпн + п̄тес-  
 со[т]пс Һен п̄хм̄орестҗо  
 [е] җасо ẽ п̄котҗи п̄шн-  
 ри +  
 Насҗеп җмот җар Һен җаҗ  
 пе еоре п̄котҗи п̄шнри  
 опҗ + е п̄тирҗ +  
 10    А потро җе ере паҗ саҗи ш̄шпн  
 етма п̄җрал п̄җмеомни  
 о[т]оҗ аҗерхҗаризесое п̄җҗт-  
 с[и]с<sup>1</sup> [п]те п̄отро п̄өн етас-  
 .... ]п̄ еҗ-  
 15    .... ]  
 Җ[ . . ]м̄окмек м̄моҗ + җе өн  
 е[т]е м̄песҗасо + ẽ к̄оҗ п̄-  
 са Һотеҗ м̄песшнри + се-  
 ерн̄ат̄п̄торпн ẽрос җитеп  
 20    җҗҗсис җе п̄оос {ап} те т-  
 маҗ м̄петесх̄одем ẽ Һоо-  
 Һеҗ + еаш җе җп̄от пе п̄-  
 җал + ет еп̄патаот̄оҗ п̄те  
 п̄п̄шҗҗ җриҗори-  
 25    ос  
 Асш̄опи җе еоре соп Һ̄ ẽҗал-  
 котҗи пе Һен җҗҗликӣа  
 җш̄ш ẽх̄оот п̄җлиропо-  
 мӣа п̄те пот̄иот + Отор п̄ат-  
 30    җ̄т̄оп пе ẽҗеп оҗл̄т̄м̄пн м̄-  
 м̄оот + ере пот̄аҗ пот̄аҗ  
 м̄м̄оот т̄ос м̄моҗ

<sup>1</sup> For ψηφoc.

<sup>2</sup> Rough, late hand.

[illegible]

[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.]

<sup>x</sup>(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.

\*p. 64 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, 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<sup>Add ii</sup>).

[illegible]

\* \* \*

οἱ π[  
щ<sub>а</sub> Οὐορ [πн тирот ет аτжω  
μμω[οτ οτορ етатотонρ  
εβολ[ εθεε φλσμπн пай  
5 не  
ωщ Οτοп кеш[φнρн менепса  
θαί ē αψ[αис οτορ ē αψот-  
онρ ēб[ολ  
метī щ[а φоот ете  
10 θαί те  
Не οτοп отаро[  
πιτοпос ēт[εμματ  
ни ē пепшот[  
χιπсωк ρит[  
15 μοτφ ē роуρ же [λσκος

Frag. 13 (Cairo, no. 24<sup>Add iv</sup>).

5 ] Отор [п]ацмн[п  
 ерѣаотѡ [п]н е[тѡ]рѣнт  
 ѣатотѣ рен паи сажи м[  
 шате пн ѣтерѣакопн  
 жок ѣбол мпечотарсак[п  
 рѣтен пн ет адренѡпѡт  
 тотѡт псетаѡѡт шѣ-  
 роу  
 Нацмошѣ ѡе пемѡѡт пе пѣе

\* \* \*

[.] мп[тхд-  
ж] ѿѣм[етерсе] ѿ[о]р  
.....] ѿ[е]ре пискетос  
ѿс[ωтп] ѿ[е]р еѿкорѿ ѿ[о]р  
5 еѿ[р]ωп еѿωѿ р[итен] ѣмет-  
а[т]ем[ъ]  
О[р]ѿ еѿотωш ап еѿре от-  
рωм[и] мп[а]г рѣт[ъ] ѿ е ѿмнѣ ѿ ф[а]  
еѿпашωп[и] потречшорѣр  
10 ѿтеѿметтр[а]ппос[ъ]

[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. . .

Frag. II  
× *Recto*

<sup>x</sup>(l. 2) These were the things said and done concerning the lake.

× *Verso*

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).

Frag. 13  
× *Recto*

\* (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 destroyer of his tyranny, should come into the midst.

× *Verso*

## NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 12 (Cairo, no. 24<sup>Add</sup> iii + *Cod. Tisch.* xxv, 14).

Ҳиспотаи де еҳотн ē п<sup>х</sup>агаѳо(п)  
 пасиноѡ епащай пе хш(а)те фмет-  
 отнѣ шопи батеи о<sup>х</sup>топ пиѣе(п)  
 е асагаи отог аса-  
 5    шай     ар[  
 Ѡтотворп де он потп<sup>х</sup>ресѣга      щу]1  
         шароу ебољрен о<sup>х</sup>толис  
         есепт еҳотн ер<sup>х</sup>оу еореу-  
         ще шарвоѡ же р<sup>х</sup>на итеу-  
 10    тарѡ ератс ифмеѡ<sup>х</sup>отнѣ бе(п)  
         тотекклнсја  
 Фрап де ифполис ет<sup>х</sup>еммаѡ те  
         пкомонап ѳаг ех<sup>т</sup> а п<sup>х</sup>анмос  
         тирѹ р<sup>х</sup>и отсон ер<sup>х</sup>азіои ппи-  
 15    пишф] ётеммаѡ е<sup>х</sup>ореуѡи-  
         ли маѡ е]еретип хпотромот  
         итотец]  
         .     .     .     ]агер запѣрѡ-  
         оз     .     .     о]тор агер е ф-  
 20    .     .     .     б]нтоѡ прото  
         .     .     .     мѡс]тирюп ебољ  
         .     .     .     ]моѡѡ // нем  
         .     .     .     ]ѡ  
         .     .     .     ]  
 25    .     .     .     ш]опи еореуф  
         .     .     .     . ]етима // отог  
         еореуѳош по]вархнеретс  
         итотекклнс]а // tote пи-  
         .     .     .     ]от аѡси соопи  
 30    .     .     .     ].т иса метѡ-  
         си     .     .     ]нем писенос  
         нем пкесѡх]п мпазїома<sup>2</sup> и-  
         .     .     .     ]  
         .     .     .     ]хе епиан пе от-  
 35    оп     .     .     п]ишф тригориос

<sup>1</sup> Late informal uncials.

<sup>2</sup> *sic.*

$$\overline{02} \qquad \overline{\text{IHC}}$$
[illegible]

**1** × × × indicates the junction of the two fragments.

<sup>x</sup> (p. 73) (When . . . ) \*The zeal towards good was growing intense until the priesthood was established everywhere, increasing and growing;<sup>1</sup> 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.*]

<sup>x</sup> (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,<sup>2</sup> 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.*]

<sup>1</sup> The Greek has: 'that everywhere *the faith* might increase and extend.'

2 sc. persons.

## LIFE OF ABBA PIDJIMI

### XXIX. LIFE OF ABBA PIDJIMI

Parchment. Five leaves from a single ms. Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 1<sup>Add</sup>), 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)<sup>1</sup>, 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* Α, is a complete leaf and was separated from Frag. 3 by a single folio (now lost). Frag. 5 (Rylands Library, *Copt.* no. 445),<sup>2</sup> 32.5 × 21.6 cm., was probably the next leaf but one to Frag. 4.<sup>3</sup>

In all the script is the same, a large and bold but uneven uncial (Plate III A), identified by Crum with the hand of Hyvernât, *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).

Pidjimi<sup>4</sup> (*Arab.* Bidjimi) was a native of Fishah in the region of Masil.<sup>5</sup> At the age of twelve, while keeping his father's flocks, he was led by an angel to the desert,<sup>6</sup> where he became the disciple of three old monks. After dwelling with them for twenty-four years,<sup>7</sup> 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 (فاران),<sup>8</sup> to bring to repentance the people who had gone astray (Frag. 4). Pidjimi then returned to Shihât. Once, while carrying baskets to sell in the *rîf*, 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 Strangers<sup>9</sup> 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.<sup>10</sup>

Pidjimi is one of the nine hermits depicted in the Chapel of Es Sûâh at Dêr Abû Makâr.<sup>11</sup>

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.*, iv, 247, and more recently by Leipoldt, *Sinuthii Vita*, i, 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 Shihât; but it is to Shihât (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 (Frag. 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'île 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.* lxxv, col. 373) the name Pidjimi is classicized into Βερύμιος.

10 *Apophth. Patr.*, Poemen, clvi (*P.G.* lxxv, col. 360): he is mentioned in two fuller apophthegms (*op. cit.*, cols. 124 c, 125 A).

11 See *A.A.C.M.* II, iii, 2.

# NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 1<sup>Add</sup>).

.. м]х[анл д[е з[ωу ере п[αга-  
 хо[λ]ос σ[ι] ρ[α]п н[ε]м[α]у е[ω]не  
 п[ι]ω[μ]α μ[ι]ω[τ]ε[ι]н[с] м[ε]п[ε]ч-  
 ерто[λ]мап е [ι]п[ι] н[ο]τ[ε]ж[ε]о[τ]а  
 5 е[ω]у  
 А[ρ]и тек[ω]м е[ω]рекп[α]и ρ[α]  
 п[ι]ω[μ]т т[ι]р[υ] хе д[ι]  
 хе з[ω]н п[ι]неп ρ[ε]п о[τ]т[ε]м[α]т[ε] м-  
 п[ε]х[с] [п]е о[τ]о[τ] хе з[ω]н [п]и[ε]п  
 10 ρ[α]п[ε]х[ο]λ μ[ι]о[υ]  
 [п]е  
 П[ε]х[α]у он ρ[ε]п к[ε]с[α] [х]и... са [.] ш[ι]  
 н[ε]п[ι]т[ε] о[τ]о[τ] . [.....] д[ι] з[ο]т[α]п[?]  
 о[τ]п ак[ε]м[ι] хе п[ι] [.....] ф[ι]  
 15 м[ε]п[ε]р[ε]ш[ε]ш[ε] з[λ]и п[ι]  
 п[ο]т[ε]  
 А[κ]ш[α]п[α]т е о[τ]п[ε]р[ε]д[ε]р[о]н[ι]  
 м[ε]п[ε]р[ε]м[ε]ст[ω]у д[ι] [α]λ[α] м[ο]с[т] м-  
 ф[ι]н[ο]и н[ο]о[υ] ет е[γ]α[ι]у  
 20 з[ι]п[α] н[ε]т[ε]к[ω]т[ε]м[α]и[γ]  
 з[ω]к  
 С[ε]н[ο]т[ε] [х]е е[ω]п[ι] м[ι] [.] с[ι] п[ι]н[ε] [п]  
 е[κ]ε[τ]α[λ]ω[ο]т[ε] е[ρ]п[ι] п[ο]т[ε]т[ε] [.] н[ι]  
 е[ω]п[ι] о[τ]и[ω]п[ε] е[κ]ε[ш]ε[ι]н[ι]т[ε] [ε]  
 25 ρ[α] о[τ]ε[с]ω[ο]т  
 П[α]и [ρ]и[т] з[ω]к з[ω]н п[ι]неп е[т]ε[κ]-  
 п[α]т [ε]р[ω]т[ε] п[ε]м п[ι] е[т]ε[κ]-  
 п[α]с[ω]т[ε]м е[ρ]ω[ο]т ш[ι]н[ε] [т] м-  
 м[ω]т[ε] е ρ[α]п[ε]р[ε]п[α]-  
 30 п[ε]т  
 С[ε]ш[ω]п а[κ]ш[α]п[α]т е о[τ]ε[κ]и[ω]п

(Slight traces of one line.)

..... ]и н[ι]р[ε]ω[ι]н[ε]..  
 ..... т[ι]п[ο]т е[т]ш[ο]т[ι] [α]и[ο]  
 ..... п[ι]н е[т]ε[ρ]ο[τ]ω[ι]п[ι] м-  
 5 ф[ι]р[ι]т м[φ]р[ι]н ρ[ε]п т[ε]м[ο]т-  
 ро н[ε]те п[ι]ф[ι]н[ο]т[ι]  
 П[ε]х[α]у д[ε] он е ρ[α]п[ε]т[ρ]οφ[ι]н е[с]-  
 ..... ]и ρ[α]п[ε]т[ρ]οφ[ι]н д[ε]-  
 ρ[ι] ф[ι]м[ε]т[ι] н[ι]п[α]ρ[α]θ[ο]п е[т]с[ε]н-  
 10 т[ι]ω[т] ρ[ε]п и[λ]н[ι]м н[ε]те т[ε]ф[ε] п[ε] [μ]  
 п[ι]с[ε]т[ε] [п[ο]т[ε]т[ε] е[т]ρ[ε]п п[ι]п[α]р[α] [α]и-  
 с[ο]с  
 А[κ]ш[α] [п] ..... ]и е ρ[α]п[ε]с[ι] п[ε]м  
 ... [.....] д[ι]р[ι] ф[ι]м[ε]т[ι] п[ι]п[ι]к[ο]-  
 15 [λ]α[с]и[с] ..... ]и ρ[ε]п м[α]и п[ι]неп  
 [.....] м[ι] п[ο]т[ε] ф[ι]т  
 [.....] с[ε]с[ε]н[ι] [ο]т[ε]т[ε] хе и[с]х[ε] д[ε] т[ε]-  
 [т[ε]п[ι]т[ε]п[ι]н[ο]т[ε] п[ε]м п[ε]х[с] м[α]-  
 [и]ω[с] п[ο]т[ε]п[ι] з[ω]т[ε]п е κ[ω]т[ε] н[ε]-  
 20 са п[α]п[ε]х[с]  
 О[τ]о[τ] он хе е[ω]п[ι] м[ι]п[α]т[ε]к[ο]р[φ]ο  
 е п[ε]κ[ρ]и[т] ρ[ω]и[с] е п[ε]κ[ρ]α[λ] п[ε] [μ]  
 п[ε]κ[μ]α[ш]х п[α]и γ[α]р п[ε] п[ι]ρ[ω]о[τ]  
 н[ε]те п[ε]κ[ρ]и[т]  
 25 С[ε]ш[ω]п он а[κ]ш[α]п[α]т [и]с[ι] м[ε]п[ε]-  
 ρ[ι]т о[τ]о[τ] н[ε]т[ε]к[ε]м[ι] хе д[ι]к-  
 о[ρ]о е[ρ]о[υ] и[ε] д[ι]р[ε]д[α]р[ι] [п] п[α]к х[ε]  
 х[п]α[ε]р[с]α[н]ε н[ε]о[τ]о  
 А[ρ]и тек[ω]м он е[ω]рекп[α]т е  
 30 ф[ι]т ρ[ε]п з[ω]н п[ι]неп е-

μ and с appear certain: after the former is a single vertical stroke which may be part of ι, м, п or н.

\* Recto ".... but Michael also, when the Devil disputed with him concerning the body of Moses, did not dare to bring a railing accusation against him.<sup>1</sup>

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 mayest not do it thyself.<sup>2</sup> It is written<sup>3</sup> 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) \*... (l. 3) all the precious things (?) [belonging to ?] those who shine like the sun in the Kingdom of the Heavens."<sup>4</sup>

\* Verso

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.'"<sup>5</sup>

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

1 See Jude 9.

2 Cp. *Apophth. Patr.*, Paphnutius I (*P.G.* LXV, col. 377).

3 Where ?

5 *Colossians* III, 1.

4 Cp. *Matth.* XIII, 43.





# NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 3 (Cod. Tisch. xxv, 1).

Отор па҃ѡпъ не еѡл рен  
 поттар ѡте нѡбен пн ет-  
 рнт рен пиреллос етеммат  
 Отор ката ѿ пероот па҃-  
 5 пноѡ не рѡжен пиреллос е҃-  
 сѡк па҃ѡ мпоттар ѡнѡе-  
 ни  
 отае не мпа҃ѡтѡм не ша-  
 те҃маѡ рнтѣ не а҃лла па҃ѡ-  
 10 мо҃ѡ ѡте҃ѡрпс фн ете  
 тотѣ па҃ѡлѣ фат не пегѡт-  
 ѡм  
 Пегмѡѡт де он епа҃ѡѡ м-  
 мо҃ѡ фат не от҃рпн мѡѡѡт  
 15 ката ѿ пероот еѡлрен  
 пиреллос  
 Отае он мпесѡѡпн па҃ѡ е҃не[р  
 е҃стпѡѡѡ еѡре от҃рре  
 ѡѡпн немаѡ рен пма е па[҃-  
 20 ѡн ммо҃ѡ отае мѡѡт  
 А҃лла ката ѿ пероот а҃ѡѡп-  
 ѡѡѡ е отѡм па҃ѡпноѡ  
 е҃жен пиреллос ѡте҃маѡ  
 ѡте҃ѡрпс ѡбен ѡте҃-  
 25 ѡѡмс  
 отор ѡте҃ѡѡ мпегрпн м-  
 мѡѡт рѡжен пиреллос ѡ-  
 те҃ѡтасѡѡ е пегма он ша п-  
 ѡѡк мпѡ пероот а҃ѡѡ  
 30 кеѡ промпи рен таи по҃лнтѡ

Пегѡлнл нем пегѡтпа҃ѡѡ =  
 па҃ѡѡрпн мѡѡѡт мѡпн ѡм м-  
 метапѡ рен пегѡѡт нем ѡ<sup>1</sup>  
 мѡѡлмос нем рѡпкемнѡ па-  
 5 по[с]ѡнтис еѡлрен мѡѡ-  
 снс нем нппрофитис ти-  
 роѡ  
 Пегѡѡѡ де рѡѡ нѡ ѡѡе м[ме-  
 тапѡѡ нем ѡ мѡѡлмос  
 10 нем ѡѡрпс пѡпнѡ папос-  
 ѡнтис еѡлрен фѡрафн  
 папѡс  
 Ета҃ѡѡ ѡ промпи рен таи по-  
 лнтѡ ѡѡи а пегѡѡс ет-  
 15 рѡѡѡ рѡѡ а҃ѡѡѡѡѡ  
 Пегмѡкме҃к ммо҃ѡ не же [от  
 не ет е҃паѡѡѡ// еѡѡе же а[҃-  
 ѡѡѡ ап не е ф рѡи рѡѡѡ е-  
 ѡлрен тѡрѡѡ мпѡи кѡс-  
 20 мо҃с  
 А҃лла рѡѡ ѡте҃ѡѡпн е҃ѡнл [е-  
 ѡл мѡфрнѡ ѡпѡѡѡѡ пѡ-  
 ѡѡѡ нем пте҃ѡпѡѡѡ  
 пѡпн ѡѡѡм не е҃ѡрпн-  
 25 фн еѡл рен пѡрафн  
 пегѡѡ ѡрпн ѡрнтѣ же  
 пѡс фпа҃ѡѡѡ еѡнѡѡ  
 пѡс фпаѡѡѡѡ мѡѡѡ [еѡ-  
 ѡнѡ//  
 30 Пѡлпн пегѡѡ же паѡѡѡ а҃ѡѡ  
 нем еѡѡ пегѡѡпн ѡѡѡѡ

<sup>1</sup> The vertical back-stroke of the numeral (not p) alone remains: perhaps ѡ.

\* *Recto* \*And he used to live on the fruit of the palms which grew in the Marsh<sup>1</sup> 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*<sup>2</sup> 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 necessities 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. . ."

<sup>1</sup> The well-known "Marsh of Shiēt."

<sup>2</sup> An Egyptian measure (commonly used in Palestine:

cp. *Exodus* xxix, 40; xxx, 24; where the LXX has εἴς). Here it denotes a vessel of definite capacity.

# LIFE OF ABBA PIDJIMI

Frag. 4 (Cairo, no. 1).

па[1] рнѣ он пимовъ плин м-  
 потмовнх мпѣхон пѣ пром-  
 ни  
 Пепеса паі афотвнз ероу  
 5 пѣх пѣс инс пѣс нем мѣханл  
 нем пнѣ напостолос отор  
 а птвот тнр ер отви-  
 ни  
 Отор пѣх псвтир пау +<sup>1</sup> хе хе-  
 10 ре пасвтир пѣхми фн етау-  
 он е тнпн пнапостолос ео-  
 отаѣ свтем е пн е фпаер-  
 харизесѣе ммов  
 пак  
 15 Фпаеротквт пак поттопос  
 беп пекрап птотхω мпек-  
 свма пѣнтѣ псеотвшт п-  
 пексвма псе фвот пнн  
 нем павт нем пнѣа еѣотаѣ  
 20 беп пекто-  
 пос  
 Фн еѣ[п]ашвпн беп рашвпн  
 .]еп[.]ашвот ашвпн е пек-  
 топос фпаерхаризесѣе пау  
 25 мпвотжаі  
 Фн еѣпаіри потметпавт беп  
 пекрап ппечшот пѣепот  
 пе .т т . .  
 Фн еѣ[па]с[ѣ]аі мпекѣиос нем  
 30 . . . . . ] бопот фпасѣ[е  
 пѣврал рωу [беп пѣхωм м-  
 пωпѣ //  
 Н]аі ета псвтир жотот пау

л  
 аѣраспазесѣе ммов нем  
 мѣханл нем пнапостолос  
 Тоте пѣх псвтир мпѣаіос  
 хе пѣхми пасвтир = твнх ма-  
 5 ще пак е пекѣми бѣі ммаѣ хе  
 фпаіри пѣрапжом еѣолѣі-  
 тотк  
 е пѣптасѣо рароі потлаос  
 пѣѣнос нем отмиш пте пек-  
 10 карі еѣротсвотпн псе-  
 ф вот пнн еѣолѣітотк  
 хе отнн аѣѣвнт еѣотн пѣх  
 пекромпн  
 Не і промпн пе шатаі апок  
 15 нем паатѣелос - птаолѣ е  
 таполѣс мнн  
 Пѣх псвтир мѣмѣханл хе  
 ѣаі мпавсвтир рѣхеп пектѣп[р  
 потвпнн олѣ е пикарі еѣат-  
 20 хѣѣ ммов  
 Наі етаѣжотот пау аѣше п[аѣ  
 е пшвп е пѣфноті отор а м[і-  
 ханл іпн мпѣаіос е пн еѣе-  
 потѣ сатотѣ аѣше пау  
 25 е птвот мѣфаррап ашвпн[і  
 ммаѣ пѣ пром-  
 ни  
 Еѣол хе рѣтѣп пѣ[ѣрѣнн]оті а ѣ[ѣ-  
 мнш [к]ѣтот рѣ пѣс отор аѣ[і  
 30 мпшомс еѣотаѣ  
 Отмиш пѣѣлѣѣт нем рѣпѣа-1

<sup>1</sup> sc. рѣпѣа[лѣѣт.

<sup>1</sup> The small cross (inserted by a later hand) distinguishes the divine utterance.

...so also the water. But they<sup>1</sup> 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 name<sup>2</sup> 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. . .

<sup>1</sup> sc. the bread and water brought by the Angel (see Introductory Note).

<sup>2</sup> No sanctuary bearing the name of Pidjimi seems to be recorded elsewhere.

\* Recto

\* Verso

## NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 5 (Rylands, no. 445).

1 Псхеп етагсе птегмопн  
 м[пе]гсотам пепег[с]ω  
 пе егмошн пехе [пхе пи-  
 хим] паг  
 5 хе си пак мпаг моки марз [м-  
 мωт ебωлхеп ппор ет  
 са пегехт  
 Нωу де агси мпилакωн аг-  
 марз мωωт  
 10 Етагї е пшωи агхем пнхел-  
 ло егōгї ератг егтωхг м-  
 фт  
 Етагше ехотн е фг агхи-  
 ми птшїω есхн ехрн ес-  
 херхер пте пфгсг  
 15 Тоте ахха шепотт агкаф  
 хен пегхнт хе фал пе  
 ахха пихим фн ет атта-  
 мог е пегорωнос нем пег-  
 20 хлом  
 Етагшлнл нем потернот  
 атотωм мпикотхг мфгсг  
 атен[к]от  
 Хен тфашн де мпехωрз ат-  
 25 тωотнот атер снпаггс  
 нем потернот атер пие-  
 хωрз тнрг егхωс ē фт  
 отор етерψалпн хен галω-  
 ан мпнатикон  
 30 Пепенса паг а ахха шепотт

.....к. [. шф]нрї ѿ[.....].  
 .....пем пѡ[рп]ѡс[  
 .....х]лѡм  
 Ста паз ѡе шѡп[ї] азї еѡл  
 5 .....м]ѡшї рен фкої пем  
 ...н[...т[ем]мат ѡ фѣ ѡ-  
 ѡш ѡпаз рнѣ ѡре фметсѡтп  
 пте аѡа шепѡтѣ ѡѡпѡ еѡл  
 е аѡа пѡхїмї  
 10 сшѡпї еѡмѡшї ѡпѡ азї е-  
 хеп ѡреѡмѡѡт еѡѡмс  
 ѡпма еѡеммат хе ѡтн[ї  
 ѡѡп ѡтнш пѡма ѡѡм[с]  
 мѡт пте пѡѡпѡс пѡрхе-  
 15 ѡс  
 Аѡа шепѡтѣ ѡ пѡѡшї  
 ере пн[ко]ѡхї пѡа рен теѡ-  
 хїх. [...] ехеп ѡхрѡпїп п-  
 те ѡреѡмѡѡт  
 20 Аѡа шепѡтѣ ѡ аѡѡлѡ мѡ[ѡ]  
 пѡ пѡп е пѡрѡпѡп  
 рен ф[ѡт]пѡ аѡѡѡп [...]п  
 пѡхе пѡреѡмѡѡт аѡѡхї  
 пем аѡа шепѡтѣ [пем аѡа]  
 25 пѡхїмї е [паз] рнѣ  
 Хе хере хере пѡреѡѡѡшѡт  
 пѡф[м]нї пте пѡѡ ѡѡѡ пѡ-  
 еѡ[аѡк п]те фѣ еѡѡсї  
 Ѧ[...][...] пѡѡѡ аѡѡѡѡ ѡф[м-  
 30 ѡѡ хе ѡ пѡтѡп ѡ[.....]  
 м..  
 Зппѡе пѡр пѡхеп фпѡѡ [...]па

\* *Recto*      \*From the time that he (Shenouti)<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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.*

Frag. 5 *recto*<sup>3</sup> = (fragments of) L., p. 56<sup>8</sup> παρῳληλ πὲρ τοῦ 56<sup>17</sup> οὐδὲ ἀγ(ζωα). *Verso*<sup>4</sup> = (fragments of) L., p. 57<sup>2</sup> ἐκ πῆμαρτος τοῦ 57<sup>10</sup> μοναχος (but indeterminate traces of four more lines follow).

4 Indeterminate beginnings of four lines precede.

## XXXI. LIFE OF TIMOTHY AELURUS

Parchment. Two leaves (Cairo, no. 12), 34 × 24 cm., paged<sup>1</sup> —ϥ and —ⲓⲉ, 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.).<sup>2</sup> After a lacuna of two leaves (four pages), the return of Timothy from exile (475 A.D.) and his subsequent alleged<sup>3</sup> 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*;<sup>4</sup> 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,<sup>5</sup> 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*<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup> 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 Abū Makār in Wadi Habīb." 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;<sup>8</sup> 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..."<sup>9</sup>

(Cairo, no. 12).

ⲟⲩⲭⲱⲗⲉⲙ ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩ ⲡⲭⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲕⲓⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲟ-  
ⲡⲉ ⲩⲱⲡⲓ =  
Ⲑⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲩⲣⲟⲩ ⲡⲓⲓⲏⲣⲟⲩ  
ⲉⲩⲁⲩⲣⲉⲡ ⲡⲉⲙⲭⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲙⲓⲡⲓⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ  
5 ⲁⲩⲩⲱⲡⲓ ⲡⲭⲱⲗⲉⲙ ⲁⲩⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗⲣⲉⲡ ⲡⲉⲙⲭⲉ  
ⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲕⲟⲩⲩ ⲉ ⲣⲁⲕⲟⲩⲧ ⲡⲉⲡⲟⲩⲧ ⲓⲛⲧ  
ⲡⲭⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲩⲣⲟⲕ ⲙⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲉⲡⲓⲩ ⲉ ⲙⲁⲩ  
ⲕⲁⲩⲁ ⲟⲩⲟⲓⲕⲟⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ ⲉⲟⲣⲉⲩⲩⲱⲡⲓ ⲓ-  
ⲡⲟⲙⲧ ⲙⲓⲡⲓⲁⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲙ ⲧⲁⲭⲣⲟ ⲓⲡⲓⲡⲁⲩⲧ  
10 ⲡⲟⲣⲟⲩⲟⲩⲟⲩⲟⲩ =  
Ⲑⲁⲓ ⲁⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲟⲓⲕⲟⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ ⲣⲉⲡ ⲡⲭⲓⲡⲟⲣⲉ ⲡⲓ-  
ⲩⲓⲡⲓ ⲧⲁⲩⲉ ⲧⲓⲡⲟⲗⲓⲩ ⲣⲁⲕⲟⲩⲧ ⲉⲟⲩⲉ ⲫⲙⲟⲩ  
ⲙⲙⲁⲣⲕⲓⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲫⲓ ⲉⲩⲁⲩⲩⲱⲡⲓ ⲡⲉⲩⲣⲟⲩ  
ⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲓⲛⲟⲩ ⲓⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲡⲉⲓⲧⲣⲱⲟⲩ  
15 ⲧⲓⲣⲟⲩ ⲙⲫⲓⲙⲓⲩⲩⲱ ⲓⲡⲓⲡⲟⲣⲟⲩⲟⲩⲟⲩ

ⲧ  
ⲓⲧⲉ ⲧⲏⲁⲕⲓ ⲣⲁⲕⲟⲩⲧ ⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲡ ⲡⲧⲱⲟⲩ  
ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲙⲓⲡⲓⲩⲩⲱⲧ ⲡⲁⲩⲕⲓⲧⲓⲩ ⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲙ-  
ⲡⲣⲟⲫⲓⲧⲓⲩ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲗⲟⲩⲧⲓⲡⲟⲩ ⲫⲓⲱⲧ  
ⲓⲡⲓⲙⲟⲡⲁⲭⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲩⲱⲡ ⲡⲱⲟⲩ ⲓ-  
5 ⲟⲁⲩⲙⲱⲓⲧ ⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲓⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲓⲡⲁⲓ  
ⲩⲱⲗⲉ ⲉⲟⲡⲁⲡⲉⲩ ⲉⲩⲧⲟⲩⲡⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲱ-  
ⲟⲩ ⲩⲓⲧⲉⲡ ⲫⲟⲩⲁⲩⲣⲁⲩⲡⲓ ⲙⲫⲧⲉ ⲩⲩ-  
ⲧⲉⲙⲉⲣⲁⲙⲉⲗⲉⲩ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲟⲣⲟⲩⲱⲩ  
ⲉ ⲭⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲫⲓ ⲉⲩⲁⲩⲁⲩⲩⲱⲩ =  
10 Ⲑⲟⲩⲉ ⲣⲉⲡ ⲡⲭⲓⲡⲟⲣⲟⲩⲧⲉⲣⲁⲕⲓⲙⲁⲩⲓⲡⲓ  
ⲩⲓ ⲟⲩⲟⲡ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲣⲓ ⲡⲣⲁⲡⲟⲩⲟⲡ  
ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲡ ⲩⲱⲭⲟⲙ ⲙⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲉ ⲉⲣ ⲫⲁⲓ  
ⲣⲉⲡ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲣⲉⲩⲉⲣⲉⲙⲓ =  
ⲁⲩⲣⲱⲗⲉⲙ ⲙⲓⲡⲟⲙⲟⲗⲟⲩⲧⲓⲩ ⲉⲩⲧⲁⲓ-  
15 ⲛⲟⲩⲧ ⲙⲁⲗⲗⲟⲡ ⲁⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲁⲣⲧⲣⲟⲩ

<sup>1</sup> That numeration is by pages is certain. The usual number of parchment sheets in the quire is four (=eight leaves or sixteen pages).

<sup>2</sup> Timothy was elected in 457 and died in 477 A.D.: see Nau in *P.O.* VIII, p. 20, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 167, note 3.

<sup>4</sup> 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).*

<sup>5</sup> § xxxviii (ed. Nau, *P.O.* VIII, p. 63). Note that the Syriac is briefer than the Coptic.

<sup>6</sup> Raabe, *op. cit.*, p. 70 ("Das war für den seligen Petrus ... erfreuen konnte").

<sup>7</sup> 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.

<sup>8</sup> George may himself have been a Syrian.

<sup>9</sup> Concerning George, see *Hist. Patr.*, ed. Evetts, pp. 344 f.

# LIFE OF TIMOTHY AELURUS

20 Өтототω аτχα жом еболретен па-  
 шай һни-флв[и]с ет атепот ежωот-  
 нем пизωтмос ет ашопот еат-  
 ершлар прнт е[а]лретен п[м]кар п[р]нт  
 20 Өтот аτωпһ һ[ес]оп һеп [п]хип[р]от-  
 хим потснот мп[м]тон а[...].х[...]. он  
 ерн[и] мпенсωтир.[...].[...].  
 м еоречшен<sup>1</sup> [р]мот п[тот] п[та] маин  
 же мпечжωпт ерωот һеп пхип-  
 25 ретнитот һеп от[...].  
 е п[х]х мп[и]лоимос[...].  
 по[т]ωпш потамс[п]о[ч]  
 Л[ом]он етатнат е п[сн]от[...].  
 .]та[е]тотωһ еор[от]хим ммоу  
 30 А[т]ωωотт һе фмш[и] һнмоп[а]хос  
 һн етһеп фһак м[...].ла[...]  
 п[ке]хωотни он етем[а]т п[ми]ш п-  
 те п[ма] пе етотмωт[т] ероу же п[ре]-  
 патон нем п[ок]тωке[а]катон  
 35 нем п[ресе]ни п[ни]моп[аст]ирион е-  
 о[та]һ [п]ем п[ил]дос тирч е[она]рт

<sup>1</sup> For еоротшен.

һте өмни еболретен пшаче аһһа  
 тимөөес еро[и] патеми е рωһ  
 мпай смот=  
 Х[е] асотω кар е[м]пша мп[а]зωма п[т]-  
 20 метп[р]есһтерос һөөу нем а-  
 п[а]т[ω]л[и]ос п[е]с[с]он һт[и]с[и]ос  
 отот һ[р]е[ч]хор немау е фаск[и]с[и]с  
 еболретен п[ни]ш[т] к[т]ри[л]лос п[и]-  
 архнеп[и]с[и]ос һте ракот=  
 25 Пен[и]ωт кар а[һ]һа т[и]мөөес пе пе от-  
 рωми е[р]еркос[м]п һеп смот  
 п[и]һеп м[п]ир[м]от һте п[х]с м[ф]-  
 рн[т] п[и]а[п]остолос һрот[о] [а]е от-  
 речхор п[а]к[ри]һнс п[те] п[и]а[р]т[т]  
 30 порөөоз[о]с=  
 Етатенч а[е] ф[п]о[л]ис отот а[т]ω[и]т[ч]  
 еротп е[т]еккл[и]ста өн етотмо-  
 т[т] ер[л]ос же п[и]кесарион пе а[т]-  
 по[л]ис т[и]рс с[х]е[а]д[и]н өωотт р[и] от-  
 35 сон п[и]рωми нем п[и]р[и]ом[и] нем пот-  
 шни п[е]м п[и]моп[а]хос еотатһ

...\*Marcian<sup>1</sup> died suddenly without sickness. Then the blessed Peter the Iberian, who was at Pemdje<sup>2</sup> 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 heart—they 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 (?)<sup>3</sup> 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 Oktokaidekaton<sup>4</sup> 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,<sup>5</sup> 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—Timothy<sup>6</sup> 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,<sup>7</sup> almost all the city was assembled together, men and women and their children together with the holy monks.

*Two leaves (four pages) missing.*

<sup>1</sup> Emperor, 450–457 A.D.

<sup>2</sup> =Oxyrhynchus, the modern Behnesa.

<sup>3</sup> The Syriac has 'destructive.'

<sup>4</sup> 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.

<sup>5</sup> 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<sup>b</sup> ff.). Five of his sayings are found in the *Apophth. Patr.* (P.G. lxxv, 266 ff.).

<sup>6</sup> 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.

<sup>7</sup> 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).

ἡπимакаριος τιμοθεος φη ет атер-  
хироуопиη ἡμοу еѡλзгитен фѣ  
ἡсетремсоу ежен пегѡронос же  
зпаа згитен паг смот ѣре отномѣ  
5 пашупи ἡѣаки еѡлзбен пѣмакѡ  
етатсипи оторз ἡте пѣлаос ἡтоп  
ἡмωот збен отзирни =

Оторз етаткоту еѡтп е ѣаки а мѡ-  
ит пѣбен мор праши зг отпоу зг ѡе-  
10 лнл оторз наре отмиш еѡш еѡл-  
збен пѣапазѣ знл етотѡмс оторз  
исхе сше ἡтенхос збен отшот  
еѡл наре тполгс ἡрем[р]акоѣ ог  
мѣе ἡпегзот тирот етеммаѣ

15 Еѡшоп отп ἡхе пѣмакариос тимѡе-  
ос збен тѣпско[п]н ἡѣѣ ἡромпи  
Палп оп мпешуѡг ероу ἡхе пѣѡо-  
пирос пѣемоп еѡпаѣ ѣ потхаг  
ἡпирѡм =

20 Δѡротзлгн птаг зѣ тирс збен от-  
пшѣ ἡметмасте рѡмг ἡхе пѣ-  
пскопос етзбен ма пѣбен ἡзото  
же фа кѡпстапг[п]отполгс нем  
фа рѡмн еѡе же фѣиос ἡпѣмака-  
25 риос т[имѡ]еос нем теукаста-  
с[гс п]ем пегѡот нем теупар-  
рнсгѣ паѡшоп пшфгт нем хѣгѡ  
ἡпн етеммаѣ

Еѡерапаѡематгзп ἡмнп ἡанмосгѣ  
30 ἡѡоу нем пѣпскопос ет заратѣ  
нем пѣклнрѣкос нем пѣмопахос  
нем пѣлагкос пѣстпозос пѣсе-  
внс етасшопи збен хѣалкнѡп

Еатггг потпшѣ ἡспотѡн згитен  
35 пѣѣ ἡзанахрѣма нем отппростасгѣ  
п[рѡмг]<sup>1</sup> ἡап[о]мос пѣ аѡхггг гар

<sup>1</sup> sic apparently, for ппирѡм.

16

ἡптархѡп етотг ἡпснот етем-  
маѣ етѣ зомт ерѡот згитен  
ѣметмаг зат ἡпоткнп ежен паг  
соопн етзѡот оторз ἡпопнро(п)  
5 шатотерезѡргзп ἡкесоп ἡ-  
пѣмакариос тимѡеос еат-  
фѡп еѡл ἡзанапсѡу етѡш збен  
пѣлаос оторз паг рнѣ аѡлѣ е ѣ-  
езѡргстгѣ ἡкесоп = е отполгс

10 же таѡѡра пѣма ет а пегшфнр  
помѡлѡт[г]тнс оторз ἡрегѣ [е]же(п)  
пѣпазѣ порѡѡзѡзѡс Δгоскорѡс  
хѡк [е]ѡл пѣнтѣ е аѡтг ἡп[г]х-  
лом ἡте ѣомѡлѡтг =

15 Етатзггтг т[а]р еѡл ἡпѣмакариос  
тимѡеос з[г]збен пегѡронос зг-  
тен отппростатгѣ потро нем от-  
аѡептгѣ оторз етатерезѡр-  
зп ἡмоу =

20 Оторз [п]сеен кеѡтаг еѡтп ѣ пег-  
ма згитен т[к]е[к]ѡесгс ἡпотро ѣ-  
от еѡл п[е] збен ппресѡттерѡс  
оторз збен ѡ[тп]росѣггггѣ мен  
же тимѡеос еотпн теукера(п)  
25 з[е] же сасаѡофаггѣ[лѡс]<sup>1</sup> оторз он  
еѡамопн мѣпазѣ еттак[нот]т  
ппхѣалкнѡптнс =

Не от[о]п отпресѡттерѡс же зѣ(п)  
кесаргѣ е пеграп же аѡѡлѡс

30 еѡѣсмот збен ѣ[е]кклнсгѣ пте пѣ-  
орѡѡзѡзѡс е отрѡмг еѡтаѣ пѣ  
оторз псеппос емашѡ еѡтаг-  
нотт пазрег отпн пѣбен зѡс  
сѡтп еѡгаг зѣ отмиш ἡзгсг  
35 збен отметхѡрг еѡе пѣпазѣ  
порѡѡзѡзѡс згг[ен] пег[п]шѣ

<sup>1</sup> sic.

## LIFE OF TIMOTHY AELURUS

[The Emperor<sup>1</sup> 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.

× (p. 11)  
= Raabe, p. 69

Now when the blessed Timothy had occupied the Bishopric for three<sup>2</sup> 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,<sup>3</sup> 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 bribegiving 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.<sup>4</sup>

× p. 12

= Raabe, p. 70

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 Salophacialos<sup>5</sup>, and who also had adopted the corrupt faith of the Chalcedonians.

Now there was a priest in Caesarea named Apholios<sup>6</sup> who celebrated in the Church of the orthodox: he was a holy man and very reverend, honored in the sight of all as a chosen one, who had endured a multitude of afflictions steadfastly for the orthodox faith by reason of his great . . .

= *Plerophoriae*  
§ xxviii

1 *i.e.* Basiliscus, who had driven Zeno from the throne: see Evagrius, *H.E.* III, 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.* III, 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.* II, 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.



## NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

### 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 (ⲁⲉ), 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 ⲙⲁ in an informal but perhaps contemporary hand: for the meaning of this and the corresponding direction ⲙⲙ 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 (?) ⲡⲁ, 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*<sup>1</sup> for Kihak 2, Hôr was a native of Atriye 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,<sup>2</sup> with whom he took a journey to the Monastery of Apa Jeremias (at Sakkara).<sup>3</sup> 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,<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ed. Basset, pp. 249 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *id.*, pp. 295 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *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.).

<sup>4</sup> See Inscriptions nos. 26, 36, 76, 295 (ed. Thomson, *ap.* Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara*, III, 35, 40, 50; IV, 92).

<sup>5</sup> See John of Nikiu, *Chronicle*, LXXXIX, §§ 4 ff.

# LIFE OF APA HÔR

Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 60).

✦ ∴ φη[ος] μπεμπεριτ πωτ εοотах  
✦ ет[та]иотт ката смот пиѣн пи-  
✦ мотпахос птеλιос φη εοотах  
✦ апа ρωρ етаϣωκ ебол м-  
✦ печатωп псот ѿ мпιαхот ϣоiaκ  
✦ ѡен отърипи пте фѣ ере пег-  
✦ смот εοотах шопи немап тирот  
✦ ша] еп[е]р] амин

ШР ШЕΛΑΧΙCΤΟC  
петсѣаг ератϣ мпамен-  
рит πωт εοотах пем рω-  
ми пте фѣ апа іереміас  
5 χερετε  
Батри де прѡх пиѣн фѣро  
отор фѣωхр птеκ[α]иост-  
пи еорекер памет[и] ѡен  
пекшлнл етош [п]ем пек-  
10 тѡхр еомни ебол  
Еп[и]а[н] отп агошω е пѣт ерок  
п[и]отмниш псеп про отѣ ро  
от[о]р сеерк[ω]λ(ѣ)п ммог ша  
ф[и]от  
15 Алла фпарт е фѣт же сеп-  
тит пѣт рѣм[от] пкесоп  
гитен [п]екшлнл εοотах =  
птапат е текметіот п-  
ро отѣ ро =

Отор птаераспаз[εσθ]е ммоκ  
прωγ-пем рωγ-  
Хеχас еіεпѣт е писχн[ма] пте  
πιαττελос еттог ρіωтκ  
5 Пте пекаспасмос тоѣо п-  
памел[о]с етсаѣотп-пем  
пн етсаѣол =  
Ш фрωми мфѣ = ω ппараке-  
рос<sup>1</sup> пмопахос ѡен п[ек]-  
10 снот ппапахωрит[ис] пѣ-  
таріки ппасχитис [пте  
тептепед =  
Не гар акшопи паѣρωш  
ѡен ρли прѡх пте пѣт ѡс  
15 пте фпот =  
Акшопи ере пекметі ѡен пѣт-  
си екротѣ ѡен кепϣ п-  
инс ере пекρωш тирϣ  
ша отер ероϣ  
20 Акωтем гар ероϣ еϣфіѡ  
пѣп отоп еϣω ммоκ  
же пим еболѡен ѡнпѣт-етег-  
гирω[ѣ]ш ете отоп шхом  
ммоϣ е таде отмагг пшн  
25 ежен теѣмаин =  
Пѣок ρωκ аkerотω паϣ ѣ[е]п  
отраш екшω ммоκ паϣ  
же мпѣисі [пѣ]с е[и]отер пѣок  
мпіерепіѣтмин е ρли потеро-  
30 от потѡт  
Е[т]аупат де ерок екотер пѣωϣ<sup>2</sup>  
аϣиѣт еѣотп еррак еϣω ммоκ  
Хе си пак пѣтпѣ еѣотах

<sup>1</sup> For παρακαρρος? <sup>2</sup> псѡг, 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.

\* Recto

Hôr, the least (of men), who writes (this), unto my beloved and holy Father, the man of God, Apa Jeremias,<sup>1</sup> 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.

\* Verso

O man of God! O matchless one (?)!<sup>2</sup> The monk of thine age! The perfect anchorite! 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?"<sup>3</sup> 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..."

<sup>1</sup> See Introductory Note.

<sup>2</sup> Reading παρακαρρος in the sense of 'transcending

the men of thy own time.'

<sup>3</sup> Matth. vi, 27.

## NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 2 (*Cod. Tisch.* xxiv, 5).

— ꙗꙋс — ✠ — ꙗꙋс — ꙗꙋ ꙗꙋ

Амѣросіос ѿотп еррен апа  
зѡр же арі фатанъ ꙗтекер  
паметі ѿеп пекшлнл ѿот-  
аѣ

5 Пжех апа зѡр ꙗпа амѣросіос  
же арі паметі зѡ жехас еіе-  
ер пекметі пехе апа ам-  
ѣросіос ꙗпа зѡр же тенпа-  
ї]рі мпекметі паѡт ѿот-

10 аѣ пехе апа зѡр ѿотп  
еррен апа амѣросіос ꙗмо(п)  
злї ѿеп фметсон тѡрс їрі  
паметі аопе ꙗсетамої же  
. ]. ме. їрі мпек-

15 м]ѳ[ті  
Пехе ]ае апа ꙗѡ[

\* \* \*

5  
 10  
 15

ѡм ѣт а҃҃аіс ѿхе пеніѡт  
 еѡтаѡ апа ҃рѡ  
 Аѡтѡтп аѡе ни ѣ пѡае  
 аер ѡеѡѡмас тирс мпѡт-  
 хат е ерфметі пала ҃рѡ  
 еѡе пипішѣ ѿрсі етхн ҃г-  
 ѡт  
 Аѡѡшн еѡѡѡен птѡѡт аѡѡ  
 ѡе пѡхн ѡен птѡѡт ѿсѡеѣт  
 Апа ҃рѡ ѡе пѡхн ѡен птѡѡт  
 мпѡсѡен ҃ѡѡѡѡт мѡѡ  
 пѡѡѡѡн мѡѡшн аѡѡѡ  
 ѡтпшѣ пѡѡѡѡѡ еѡснр [е-  
 ѡѡ ѡѡѡ  
 Фѡѡ ѡ] е етѡѡѡтп ѡѡѡѡ пѡѡѡ  
 ]...[

\* \* \*

<sup>x</sup> (p. 103)      <sup>x</sup>Ambrosius<sup>1</sup> (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. . .<sup>2</sup> said . . .

<sup>x</sup> p. 104 . . . [the] miracle<sup>3</sup> which our holy Father Apa Hôr had wrought, I<sup>4</sup> arose and went into the desert. I spent a whole week without being permitted to make mention of Apa Hôr, 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;<sup>5</sup> but Apa Hôr was in the desert of Pi-soben,<sup>6</sup> 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 . . .

<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>3</sup> 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 **ncworn** (*sic legendum*) in the Achmimic nome, named in *Vita Simuthii* (ed. Leipoldt), p. 11, l. 27, and the Arabic **ابصونه** 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])<sup>1</sup> is a single leaf  $28 \times 19$  cm.: the page-number is lost. Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 62) measures  $29.1 \times 20.8$ , 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)<sup>2</sup> are two consecutive leaves, paged respectively — $\overline{\text{p}}\alpha$ ,<sup>3</sup> and — $\overline{\text{c}}$  (*sic*), and measuring  $25 \times 19$  and  $28 \times 18$  cm.<sup>4</sup>

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 Hyvernât, *Album*, XLII, 1, XLI, 1: in addition to the peculiarities noticed by Crum the irregularity of  $\rho$  is remarkable. (See Plate XI 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):<sup>5</sup> 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."<sup>6</sup> 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,<sup>7</sup> 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 Father Who is in Heaven.'"<sup>8</sup>

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,<sup>9</sup> 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.

<sup>1</sup> See Crum, *Cat. of Copt. MSS. in the Rylands Library*, pp. 222 f., where the text of this fragment is edited.

<sup>2</sup> See Leipoldt, *ap. Vollers Kat.*, p. 410.

<sup>3</sup> The  $\text{p}$  is at a lower level than the  $\alpha$  and surmounted by a separate bar. Presumably the original scribe forgot his hundreds, and these were added sporadically by a later hand.

<sup>4</sup> The lower edge and lower right corner of Frag. 3 are missing: in Frag. 4 the left edge has been slightly cropped.

<sup>5</sup> 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.

<sup>6</sup> 'Abd el 'Aziz was governor of Egypt, 685–705 A.D. (See Lane Poole, *Hist. of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, pp. 26, 46.)

<sup>7</sup> The meaning seems to be that Christ was literally transformed into the Elements.

<sup>8</sup> Ms. cit., fo. 210<sup>b</sup>. 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.

<sup>9</sup> 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.





# NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 3 (Cod. Tisch. xxvi, 11).

γελος εἰς[οταῖ  
 Ἰς πη ετ αἰς[ωτε]μ еρωот  
 ἡτοτοτ ἡπατοτ αἰταμοκ  
 еρωот =  
 5 Πεξε πιστηνολος παυ γε  
 сс҃ноут ҃ен папомос  
 γε ἡπε φ̣т = ελ ср̣м̣и =  
 отде ἡπερ̣мас шнри =  
 алла отни҃и = пем отса-  
 10 χ̣и ἡτωот ашшпи мфри-  
 т̣т ἡпρω̣м̣и¹ =  
 Πεξε πιαρχ̣νη̣πισκοπος  
 γε ἰсхе отρω̣ми пе = ἰе  
 п̣ос а҃ер п̣м̣ωот ἡ-  
 15 нри = а҃гг̣от[ἡ] п̣п̣г̣]е-  
 м̣ωп е̣бол̣ = [а҃г̣г̣а̣л̣со  
 п̣п̣и етш̣ω[п̣и = а҃г̣г̣от-  
 п̣]ос п̣и ет[μωот  
 Πεξε π̣ис̣[п̣η̣от̣]λος παυ  
 20 γε φ̣п̣и҃и [м̣ф̣т̣  
 Πεξε π̣ιαρ̣χ̣η̣п̣иско-  
 п̣]ос пау [ге ἰсхе отон  
 о]т̣п̣и҃и пе[ = ἰе . . . . .  
 от̣о[ . . . . .  
 25 .].[ . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> The Arabic shows that after l. 11 two paragraphs have been dropped out owing to homoeoteleuton.

ⲡⲁ 1

Πεξε π̣ис̣[п̣η̣от̣]λος γε с-  
 ҃ноут ҃е[п̣] папомос γε ἡ-  
 тоттароу ρω = алла а̣ φ̣т̣  
 ол̣у е п̣ш̣ω̣и е т̣фе  
 5 Πεξε π̣ιαρ̣χ̣η̣п̣исκοπος  
 γε отор̣ п̣̣м̣ пе ет̣ ашш  
 е̣ п̣и҃е = п̣εξε п̣ис̣[п̣η̣от̣]-  
 лос γε отρω̣ми пе ета҃-  
 ер̣ т̣е҃ш̣е̣н̣и̣ω̣ отор̣  
 10 паре̣ п̣иот̣г̣а̣и̣ мет̣и̣ пе̣ γε  
 ἡ̣с̣ пе̣ ет̣ ашш  
 Πεξε π̣ιαρ̣χ̣η̣п̣исκοπος  
 γε м̣и̣ φ̣т̣ от̣ре҃҃ ш̣и̣х̣[онс  
 п̣е̣ ш̣а̣те҃҃т̣ [п̣]от̣ρω̣[м̣и  
 15 ἡ̣а̣θ̣п̣о̣н̣и̣ ] е̣от̣от̣г̣ω̣те̣н̣ м̣-  
 моу̣ ἡ̣ш̣]е̣н̣и̣ω̣ ἡ̣и̣с̣  
 Πεξε п̣ис̣[п̣η̣от̣]λος γε  
 . . . . . ] . е̣ ἡ̣ре҃҃[е̣]р̣  
 п̣ет̣г̣ω̣от̣ ет̣] а̣ п̣о̣с̣ т̣н̣и̣҃҃  
 20 е̣от̣ре҃҃мо̣т̣ к̣]а̣та̣ п̣е҃҃҃ш̣ш̣а̣  
 Πεξε π̣ιαρ̣χ̣η̣п̣исκοπος  
 ҃ен̣ от̣а̣]х̣ро̣ = ἡ̣пер̣-  
 ж̣ω̣п̣т̣ . . . . .  
 Πεξε п̣ис̣[п̣η̣от̣]λος γε т̣-

<sup>1</sup> To the left of ⲡⲁ and at a very slightly lower level is the added numeral ⲡ.

\* (p. 103)  
(= Arab.  
fo. 201<sup>b</sup>, 12)

“...<sup>\*</sup>holy Angels.”<sup>1</sup> Lo, those things which I have heard from my fathers I declare unto you.”

The Governor<sup>2</sup> said unto him: “It is written in my Law that God taketh not a woman, nor doth He beget;<sup>3</sup> but a Spirit and a Word<sup>4</sup> 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.”]<sup>5</sup> 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.”<sup>6</sup> 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.”<sup>7</sup> 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

\* p. 104

<sup>1</sup> The end of the saying of Christ to His Apostles as quoted by the Archbishop. See Introductory Note.

<sup>2</sup> For the meaning of *σύμβουλος* see Crum in *P.S.B.A.* xxix, 292; Leipoldt *ap.* Vollers, *Kat.* p. 410 (note).

<sup>3</sup> See *Koran*, Sura cxii: “He begetteth not, neither is He begotten.”

<sup>4</sup> *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.”

<sup>5</sup> Question and answer (which ended like l. 11 of the

text with the word *ρωμι*) were omitted in the Coptic by homoeoteleuton: they are here reproduced from the Arabic.

<sup>6</sup> See *Koran*, Sura iv, 156 (cp. iii, 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.

<sup>7</sup> See preceding note.

# THE CONTROVERSY OF JOHN IV

Frag. 4 (Cod. Tisch. xxvi, 13).

паѡпт ап  
 пехе пiархненископос  
 же ic отир пpоми пpег-  
 сиотї акpоѡѡт рен таї  
 5 полїс icxen такер отро-  
 Пеке пистпѡлос же ic от-  
 мнш аїpотелї мμω-  
 от-  
 Пеке пiархненископос  
 10 же акси отир псотену  
 ѡа лїше пте писопї ет ат-  
 ѡшот еpωот-  
 Пеке пистпѡлос же пим  
 пpоми ете отон потс  
 15 мμоу-еѡпащшоп п-  
 пшє етеммат-пай еѡ-  
 мнр пμωот пїаї пте пот-  
 сωма мμон ппаре п-  
 шє етеммат-ершат е  
 20 перлї же еїнл псеркωр  
 мμωот рен отхpωм-  
 Пеке пiар-хнєнископос<sup>1</sup>  
 же icxe отсонї пе-ет а  
 пїотѡлї ѡѡѡеу-їе еѡѡ  
 25 от акшат ппай п̄ пшѡ епо-  
 лоткoxи-ѡа таї котxi п̄  
 хени пшє ет акxемс рє(п)

<sup>1</sup> So divided.

(p)с  
 пнї ппай іотѡлї мωтїс п̄  
 тесер отертω пшїп̄  
 ке тар акxос пнї-же п-  
 шє пте писопї-ершат  
 5 ē перлї<sup>1</sup> ап же-ēнл ē  
 pωн(р) мμωот еѡѡ потс-  
 ѡї hωп  
 IC еѡѡ от ω потро ппе  
 ѡаї pωкz пѡс-їсxe от-  
 10 сонї пе ет атащє еpос  
 Tote пистпѡлос аq-  
 ωпш ēѡл потпшї† п-  
 пат-ēгемї ап же  
 от пе ет егпаѡротω  
 15 мμоу ппiархнєниско-  
 пос-  
 Et а пегрнт же і еpоу пе-  
 xаq же аλнѡс ашш-  
 пї пфрнт потеѡ пар-  
 20 рак-ке тар аїсаxї нем  
 отмнш псѡфос-нем  
 отмнш епѡсѡрологос  
 пай етxотшї ē пїсїот  
 Hape hон мμωот ωpу мμої

<sup>1</sup> ē пѡрлї, MS.

"will not be angry." The Archbishop said: "Lo, how many thieves hast thou put to death in this city since thou 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 \*the house of this Jew, scarce a palm long?<sup>1</sup> 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 bewilder (?) me<sup>x</sup>...<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the allusion see the Introductory Note.

<sup>2</sup> A few lines only of the conclusion are missing, the Arabic continuing (down to fo. 202<sup>b</sup>, 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."

\* (p. 105)  
(= Arab.  
fo. 201<sup>b</sup>, 17)

\* p. 106

\* (= Arab.  
fo. 202<sup>b</sup>, 18)

*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 17a, 17b, and therefore immediately preceding the Paris fragment 129<sup>14</sup> 132 paged 17c, 17d. In this work also an archbishop named John disputes with a xαλκηνωп, 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.



### XXXIV. A EUCHARISTIC MIRACLE

Parchment. Two fragments from one ms. Frag. 1 (*Cod. Tisch.* xxiv, 36) is a complete leaf, 32 × 23 cm., numbered — $\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$ . 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  $\kappa[.]$ —either  $\overline{\kappa\zeta}$  or  $\overline{\kappa\eta}$ , if Frag. 2 follows Frag. 1 immediately.

The hand, which is slightly below medium size, is square and thick. The form of  $\tau$  (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).

Пехни паг же фн ётаѣаміо ѿ-  
тѣ нем пикари — нем пири  
пирен

ΑΣΩΠΙ ΔΕ ΕΤΑΘΚΗΝ ΕΘΣΩΚ

5 π[ι]ετην εἰς ἄ π[ι]λαος ἰ ε π-  
 ψ[ι]...<sup>1</sup> εἰς πασι π[ι]σωμα πεμ  
 π[ι]ς ποῦ ἦτε πεπρωτηρ =

ἂν πικρῶσι καὶ ἡγελλήνῃσιν ὧσιν  
 ἑρῶνι ἢ ἐν ὀμίῃ μύλαος  
 αὐτοῦ ἐκολλήσιν πῶμα μύστῃ  
 ἢ ἐν πεπλῆϊ μύλαρχῇ ἡρώεσσι  
 αὐχόσῃσι ἐκῶσιν αὐχέσιν ἐσ-  
 σὶ μύσμοι ποτῆρι ἡρώεσσι  
 ἢ ἐν [πεπλῆϊ]

15 Οτορ αψωλεμ ε περφοι εο-  
 ποτεμ αρολε αψε πας ε περ-  
 νι = κπερδωρ ψανφι εβολ =  
 αλλα αψε πας ματατε

Ἀφωλι ἡπρωμα ἡπῶτ εἶοι μ-

20 фрѣт потсѡма прѡми ас-  
хасу беп откаѡа ѡпотѣ ас-  
тѡѣ прѡр<sup>2</sup> мпечшотр = отор  
асѣт мпечшотр ѣ печтѣ =

Першѣмъ же немъ темаѣ немъ  
неуспноѣ аѣшѣмъ ѣ пи-  
сѣи ѣпъ пинѣ фнѣ ете мпо-  
шѣмъ ѣ сѣи мпернѣ ѣ-  
перъ =

30 Атмощт ѿма пиѣен еѡбен  
потни ѿпотжем пиомит  
ере писоѡи ѿнтѣ

Аѣр[соф]нѣ нем потернот ѣт-  
 хѡ ммѡс хѣ арнот ѣт а пай  
 хрнстїаѡс ер матїа еѡѡ

35 аҗәωм мпепзнт = зпн[а] птєп-

<sup>1</sup> ? ε πψ[ωι].

<sup>2</sup> *sic* apparently.

шолем є паі сооі ђеп пепѣ  
 ђсшопі ђе менепса ѡре пѣз [п-  
 саѡѡтоп і а пѣкоѡѡ пѡш[н-  
 рі пѡеллпос [ . . . ] пса .

5 ἀφ' ἡνι ποῦσκετορ πο[...  
 ща р ѣ . т . ѣк . . нѣ . . . .  
 ΙΩΤ =

...  
Итешно ... ђиω ... коѢ ђе(п)

10    пѣхѡрѣ еуѡѡ ммѡс ппѣ  
       же ма<sup>р</sup>о<sup>п</sup> [е ѳе]кклнсіѧ ѣтеп-  
       от ппѣ[. .] ѳ ма[. . .]<sup>1</sup> ете фаѣ  
       пѣ псѡма нем пспкоу мпен-  
       ѡс ѡнс пхс = аптѡотпѡѡ ѡе  
       апѡѡλ =

15 Զոս շе еппарωλ αἰῶшт е-  
 бол ἡτασθῶνн етτοι ριωт  
 αἰтнис ριωтγ = ἀρωλ ē †-  
 еκκλησιᾶ =

Ὡς δὲ ἐπιδῶσι ἄνθρωποι περ

20 пспоу мпхс инс пенс = па-  
мошн гар нсwn пе=  
пархнѣпскопос ссот-  
теп пау мпсма пем пспоу  
мпенс инс =

25 Πιρῆλληπος θε ρωυ ἑταρσι  
 мписωма ёѡѡаѡ аѡ[χο]ѡшт  
 еѡу аѡѡемѡ еѡси ѡсѡ[м]а  
 ѡеп неѡѡѡ =

Нѹсѹ дѣ зѡсѹ пѣрѣлѣнносѹ дѹ-

30 σωτηριῶν ἡγεμονοῦν ἐπι-  
 αρχιεπισκοπος περα-  
 νας καὶ πατριῶν μ[α]ριστο-  
 εν πη ἐτ. αἰσίου ἡτοκ =

Патрхнепископос де пезау

35      пац же ропот не паг пащыры

<sup>1</sup>  $\mu\sigma\sigma\tau\eta\rho\iota\omicron\mu$  cannot be read.

## A EUCHARISTIC MIRACLE

\*I said unto him: "He Who hath made the Heaven and the Earth and all living things."<sup>1</sup>

\* Recto

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 man<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> They spake with one another: "Perchance this Christian<sup>4</sup> hath wrought magic and cast a spell upon us that we should \*smell this fragrance in our house."

\* Verso

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 body<sup>5</sup> in his hands. And the Pagan also held out some gold<sup>6</sup> 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).

Πεχαυ χ]ε ετατοι<sup>1</sup> μπισωμα ε-  
 οου]αη επι οτη ειου-  
 ωμ ] μμοу - ατιπн πппо-<sup>2</sup>  
 тпp]ион ε εμνη† εорот-  
 5 φ]ωpα μμοу<sup>3</sup> = аноу де  
 апаго πпποтиpион пa-  
 т]иос =  
 αιοι] ηπισποу пте<sup>4</sup> παδс  
 ηнс] =  
 10 Огор ас]щω[п]и ειουε ερα[т

<sup>1</sup> ετατοι, MS.

<sup>2</sup> πппо-, MS.

<sup>3</sup> μμωου, MS.

<sup>4</sup> пта, MS.

κ[. ]<sup>1</sup>

α πпp[ω]μ]и ειотωпи соу[тeп  
 тeуxиx εβολ нем па[т]ωт аq-  
 а]мони πппотиpион [eуxω  
 μμос =

5 Χε та агта тпс агтас<sup>2</sup> = ет[е  
 φaт пе xε φп εθотаη η-  
 пп εθотаη = огор [ппла-  
 ос тпpу εротω = x[ε еис па-  
 т]пp агтос еис тp[с агтос  
 10 еп ппa а]тпон аμпп [

<sup>1</sup> Page or folio number: the second numeral is possibly ε.

<sup>2</sup> sic.

He<sup>7</sup> 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 partake<sup>8</sup> of it; and I received the Blood of my Lord Jesus. And it came to pass that while I was standing. . ."

"The man of light<sup>9</sup> stretched forth his hand with my Father<sup>10</sup> and took the Cup, saying: 'τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις,'<sup>11</sup> 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.'" <sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Doubtless in answer to the Pagan's question as to who was the Christians' God.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. human flesh. Similarly in *Apophth. Patr.*, Daniel vii, the monk who could not believe in Transubstantiation received κρέας ἡματωμένον.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. whence the fragrance proceeded.

<sup>4</sup> Probably the narrator, the associate of the 'little Pagan.'

<sup>5</sup> i.e. flesh.

<sup>6</sup> Probably the Elements carried away on the previous occasion had been turned to gold.

<sup>7</sup> sc. the Pagan.

<sup>8</sup> Literally 'divide.'

<sup>9</sup> Apparently an angelic celebrant who accompanies all the priest's actions (cp. *Apophth. Patr.*, Daniel vii (P.G. lxxv, 157)).

<sup>10</sup> sc. the celebrant.

<sup>11</sup> See *Liturgy of S. Mark* (Renaudot, *Lit. Or. Coll.*, ed. 2, i, 145).

<sup>12</sup> *ibidem*.

# XXXV. HOMILETIC FRAGMENTS

## A. SEVERIAN OF GABALA

### *Homily on Penitence.*

Parchment. Two fragments (Cairo, 3<sup>A</sup>, 3) from a single ms. The former (17.7 × 16 cm.), the upper part of the first leaf of a fourth quire, is headed ⲙ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲛ [ . . ];<sup>1</sup> the second (27 × 15.5 cm.) is the larger portion of a leaf from which the outer and lower edges have been torn.<sup>2</sup> 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 Chrysostom<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> Presumably when the final attempt to rehabilitate the Library was made,<sup>5</sup> 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.

As De Vis has remarked,<sup>6</sup> the Coptic version of the Homily is a paraphrase rather than a translation of the Greek. The new fragments bear out this view; for though Frag. 1 *recto* follows the Greek fairly closely, the presence of Angels at the death-bed, on which the Coptic lays stress (Frag. 1 *verso*—2 *recto*), is there barely suggested by the words: . . . ἁγγέλους φοβερούς τὸ δάνειον τῆς ψυχῆς σου ἀπαιτοῦντας. ἐὰν μὲν ἡ τιμῆς ἄξια πεποιηκυῖα ἡ ψυχὴ, ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγγέλων δορυφορηθήσεται· ἐὰν δὲ ἀνίλεως πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοφύλους πένητας ἀνατραφεῖσα, ἀνίλεως κατακριθήσεται.

<sup>1</sup> The heading is written in yellow-brown ink (as is the note or rubric ⲙⲟⲣⲡⲓ (*sic*), inscribed on the extreme upper edge). The faded quire-number ⲙ has been retraced in black ink by a later hand. The half-petition ⲡⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲛ corresponded to ⲓⲥ ⲡⲭⲥ on the opposite (left-hand) page.

<sup>2</sup> The upper and left margins have been cropped, doubtless to supply material for bookbinders, as also the left margin of Frag. 1.

<sup>3</sup> See *P.G.* lx, 767–8. It is not found in the Armenian collection of sermons by Severian: see Aucher, *Severiani . . . Homiliae* (Venice, 1827).

<sup>4</sup> 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.

<sup>5</sup> See Introduction, § 4.

<sup>6</sup> *ed. cit.*, p. 198.

# HOMILETIC FRAGMENTS

Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 3<sup>A</sup>).

$\frac{2}{\alpha}$   $\frac{2}{\pi\alpha\iota}$   $\otimes$   $\frac{2}{\pi\alpha\pi}$   $\frac{2}{[\mu\theta]}$   
 πη ετκω† ерок екπατ δε  
 е некщфир нем некстн†[е-  
 ннс етδρι ератот еро[κ ет-  
 ριμι ерок  
 5 οτορ μμον ρλι πλονατδ ш[ωπι  
 пак ъеп потрими етх[отшт  
 е пипи† еопиот е шш[ι еβολ-  
 ъеп некшай етш[ο]ρ†тер  
 ъеп οτμκαρ пгнт  
 10 εοθε πδισι пте пшш[πι ет-  
 ρорш етхн ριχωκ  
 χι пшфирι етκω†  
 ми  
 Оτορ ..[  
 15 ηος[

.]... πτελος<sup>1</sup> етаπī κωс  
 нтоτ]ολс ератη мпире†-  
 ρап] мψ†  
 ..]ο ρωη οтψοχн пαθпαι  
 5 ...] εβотн е несщфир п-  
 тепо]с ете пгнκι  
 не ]  
 .]аре[.] етаπī κωс †ρο† παс  
 .. αш[.]е етι етпн μμοс  
 10 εβολ]ъеп пессωма пκпнп  
 птоτгтс] е ппχανι етсаβολ  
 пма ете φрпм] гпащопи μ-  
 моу нем псθер]тер пте  
 ппахри]

<sup>1</sup> sic (not πιαττελος): ε is added above the line by a second hand.

\*...which surround thee, when thou beholdest<sup>1</sup> thy friends and thy kindred standing by thee lamenting for thee; and no help cometh to thee through their weeping, as they watch the breath<sup>2</sup> which goeth up from thy nostril, convulsed with grief because of the anguish of the heavy sickness which lieth upon thee;...

\* *Recto*

\*...at the last when they<sup>3</sup> come for it (sc. thy soul) to take it away to God the Judge... a soul pitiless towards its race-fellows, that is, the poor,<sup>4</sup>... 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,<sup>5</sup>...

\* *Verso*

1 = P.G. LX, 767 ὅρα τοὺς κύκλω 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 ἐὰν δὲ ἀνίλεως πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοφύλους ἐνήγτας &c. (quoted in the Introductory Note).

5 *Matth.* viii, 12.

# NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 3).

μπερφορξт е пасωма а[λλα  
 χατ ποτκοτχι пснот п-  
 таерметапоиη  
 κρεχρωχ κπερп κθ .[  
 5 ηραηρηνοτi εοροτпαι пa[κ  
 Тоте λοιπον ашпaпcω[тем  
 е пaи ηχε пaттeλoс  
 tote шaтxoc пaп  
 Xε ω тxоhи мψтxи ω т[...?  
 10 пшoтпaи пaс  
 пepoот тнpoт ηте пeω[пъ  
 apexитoт epexpaмeλ[иc  
 oтoг тпoт epexтoш [ e epмeт-  
 aпoиη  
 15 Ш тψтxи icxeп пaи пaт[ . . .  
 ηχε фoтoиηи мпe.[ . . . .  
 тпoт aтxок eбoλ [ ηχε пi...  
 пi aтxонт ηx[е пi-  
 бicи  
 20 λ]epкeлeтп ηχε [ . . .  
 фopx eбoλ O[ . . . .  
 ω тψтxи oт[ . . . .  
 т xан epo e пi[... ηe-  
 пeг кaтa пepx[и-  
 25 oтi  
 Пμoп птaк м[  
 пoтpeλпic [пeп пicнoт eтeм-  
 мaт пoт e [ . . . .  
 aλ]λa... [ . . . .  
 \* \* \*

пeп o]тмeдmи пaспнoт ep-  
 cωт]eм e пaи мпaи рпт  
 пeп] oтiωc мapeпepaтoи-  
 зec]oe eбe тoтпoт eтeм-  
 мaт]  
 5 зпa] птeпxемтeп epceп-  
 тo]т кaп eшoп тeпcтпн-  
 oиa]тe eepнoи  
 Oтoг] мapeптacωoп oтoг  
 10 мape]пoи exoп epмeтa-  
 пoиη]  
 мпe]pcωpeм пaспнoт цшoп  
 ηxe пiмa птxан oтoг пiкo-  
 λacic ] xаншa epex  
 15 пe]  
 oтxpoм ] oтaтceпo пe  
 oтцeпт ] oтaтeпкoт пe  
 oтxaki ] цтeмoωм  
 пaи пи eтпeп] пitaтapoc  
 20 пiмa eт ηптeт п]ipim  
 . . . . . пeм пi]coepтep ηтe  
 пiпaxpи]  
 Cωтeм тap e пи e]т a пoт xoc eт-  
 тcкω eтeп п]aи тнpoт пeп  
 25 пieтaттeλioп ] Oтoг oтaт-  
 мeθпoтx пoог пe]  
 пeтax тap xe пka]pи пaспи oтoг  
 пiфнoтi xωoт пaс]пи  
 . . . . . ]тп  
 \* \* \*

\* 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."<sup>1</sup> Thou art distressed, thou grieveest, thou [recallest ?] thy deeds, that they may have mercy upon thee.

Then when the Angels hear these things, they say unto us:<sup>2</sup> "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 henceforth 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.<sup>3</sup> These are the things that are in Tartarus, the place wherein shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.<sup>4</sup> 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 . . ."<sup>5</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

1 Cp. *Apophth. Patr.*, Sisoës XIV (P.G. LXV, 396), where Sisoës says: ἰδοὺ, ἄγγελοι ἡλθον λαβεῖν με, καὶ παρακαλῶ ἵνα ἀφελθῶ μετανοῆσαι μικρόν. (Sisoës XLIX is a variant of the same anecdote.)

2 For the beings who attend on death-beds cp. the Boh. *Life of Pisenti* (extract ap. Budge, *Copt. Apocrypha*, p. 329).

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: ὅρα μοι τὸν σκόληκα τὸν ἀκοίμητον κ.τ.λ.

4 *Matth.* VIII, 12.

5 *id.* XXIV, 35.

# HOMILETIC FRAGMENTS

## B. GREGORY THEOLOGUS

### *Homily on Christian Charity.*

Parchment. A single leaf (Cairo, no. 63), 33 × 27.5 cm., paged (κζ), κη,<sup>1</sup> 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 καὶ μάρτυς τῆς πίστεως Ἀβραάμ to 860 A καὶ μαρτυροῦσι Μωϋσῆς καὶ Δαβίδ. Further leaves from the same ms. are:—(λα), λβ (*Cod. Tisch.* xxiv, 8: = 861 c to 864 B of the Greek text); λγ, λδ (*id.* xxv, 4);<sup>2</sup> and (ζα), ζβ (Rylands Library, *Copt.* no. [42] 437).<sup>3</sup> 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).

Ο[το]ρ πιπαρτ μεν γερ μεορε  
 ραορ ηξε πιπατριархис αβ-  
 ρααμ ε ατομαιο εβολιτοτγ  
 5 Τρελπις δε γερ μεορε ραορ η-  
 ξε επως φαι γαρ πε πιω[ορ]  
 етаγερρελπις εγ[.]...ε μφ[ρα(п)  
 μп[с] отор ηη [εθ]οταδ т[н-  
 роу еташпен б[ис]и зитен ф-  
 реλ[п]иc  
 10 Тагапи де зως γερ μεορε εθ-  
 ђнтс ηξε п[а]п[о]столос ε[θ]-  
 отад егжω м[о]с же ф[и]т  
 пе тагапи  
 Напе фметмай шеммо отор  
 15 γερ μεορε ραορ ηξε п[р]ο[мн]и  
 лот фαι пащон ден со-  
 зомα [α]λλα пе отсозомитис  
 ап пе де[п] п[е]г[с]м[от]  
 Омоиω[с] де] оп рааб фпорпи  
 20 ер мео[ре] е] фметмай шем-  
 мо  
 θαι ετασπορεμ εθђнтс отор  
 ет[р]м[а]го м[о]с ден п[и]р[а]фн  
 еђнтс  
 25 Напе фметмай сон θαι етаγ-  
 е[р] меορε еђнтс ηξε пен-  
 с[т] i]ηс п[р]хс от моноп γαρ  
 ж]е агаитен ηсон паγ αλλα  
 ачерапехесђе он е мот ба-  
 30 роп тнрот  
 Напе фмет[май] ρωми ηθογ о(п)  
 пен[с]т i]ηс п[р]хс пе пмеορε  
 ηте таг а[р]етн ден п[и]п-  
 ђреγмай пе п[и]ρωми м[а]татγ а(п)

κη  
 .]ξε ε ραορ[η]νο]т ηап .[....  
 ηтеγερ зм[от] паγ п.ε. зр. он  
 кет он е.εο.ο.ε  
 Α[λλ]α ден п[и]п[ο]ρεγшопи ...  
 5 ...]ε[η]п[и] .. ηξε п[с]т . . . . .  
 . . . . . от[р]м[от] θ . . . . .  
 ..]те ф[а]θ[.]...меа еђпа[.]т пе-  
 .]. ρω етх[...]. пе  
 Н[а]пе фметреγωот ηг[и]т  
 10 п[р]ογ iо γαρ он пен[с]т пе етер  
 м[е]ορε ба таг . . . . . моноп же  
 а]γερ εђολ [.] μп[е]трос ден  
 п[и]п[ο]ρεγшот ден тснγ  
 αλλα аγтнι фмашх он м[ф]н  
 15 ет].. этерге . . . . . пегма η-  
 к]есон  
 Омог[с] о[п] с[т]ε[φ]α[ν]ο[с] п[и]μα-  
 ђнтс п[т]е[.]...[.]. аγта-  
 зο ератс он ηфмет[р]егшот  
 20 ηг[и]т ден п[и]п[ο]р[е]γшот  
 ба пн етаг[и]т он ероγ  
 Напе фмеοрем[а]тш пенс[ω]-  
 тнр аγтаго ератс пе[.] еγ-  
 жω м[м]ос  
 25 же ари[е]м[и] εђολ м[о]и же а[п]ок  
 отрем[а]тш отор ф[θ]ε[η]и-  
 нотт ден паргт  
 Ссђнотт де он еђнтγ ж[е]  
 гпашонпн ап от[а]е гпаш-  
 30 ωш еђολ ап от[а]е [м]моп з[а]г[и]  
 пасωтем ε те[γ]с[и]мн ден п[и]-  
 п[а]т[и]а  
 П[ω]т[с]нс де он нем зат[и]а п-  
 сеермеђ[е] ρарωот же аγ-

<sup>1</sup> 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).

<sup>2</sup> For the Tischendorf fragments see Leipoldt, *loc. cit.*, pp. 390, 401, where, however, they are not identified.

<sup>3</sup> See Crum, *Rylands Cat.*, p. 217. This leaf is clearly part of Tattam's find.

## NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

\* (p. 27) \*And unto Faith beareth witness the Patriarch Abraham who was justified because of it.<sup>1</sup> And unto Hope beareth witness Enôs—for he was the first who hoped, calling on the name of the Lord,<sup>2</sup>—and all the holy ones who suffered affliction in hope. And unto Charity also beareth witness the holy Apostle, saying, “God is Love.”<sup>3</sup>

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 Scriptures<sup>4</sup> 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.

\* p. 28 He again, Our Lord Jesus the Christ, is witness unto this virtue in that He not only loved Man<sup>\*</sup> . . . 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.”<sup>5</sup> And again it is written concerning Him: “He shall not strive nor cry; neither shall any man hear His voice in the streets.”<sup>6</sup> And Moses also and David . . .

<sup>1</sup> See *Romans* iv, 22.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. *Gen.* iv, 26.

<sup>3</sup> *1 John* iv, 8.

<sup>4</sup> See *Hebr.* xi, 31.

<sup>5</sup> *Matth.* xi, 29.

<sup>6</sup> *Isaiah* xlii, 2; *Matth.* xii, 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).

Παι τιρωτ ἀγχα μα ἡωωτ ἐθ-  
 ροτκοτοτ ραρωτ = οτωρ  
 πτερχω πωωτ εβολ = εγωτ-  
 ωω πτασωο ἡτε πρωμι  
 5 εωθε φαι ἀγωωτ ἡρηт ш-  
 теусоттєн εβοληєп †-  
 метшамше ἡωωлоп ἡεφλη-  
 οτ =  
 нем πηωтеѠ = нем . ппорпиа  
 10 нем πωωωтї = нем пмеѠпωтх  
 нем πρεу† фадри ἡρηт =  
 нем πωωт тиρωт єт а пи-  
 диѠволос сорот εβ[λ прн-  
 теп = εωθε φαι аге[  
 15 шатеусотт[єп  
 та . тї . [  
 Δ[α]тїа Δ[ε  
 \* \* \*

πн єт аτпаτ єρωωт нем πн  
 єте псєпаτ єρωωт аη  
 Ἰте πωωпос = ἡте пметѠ  
 Ἰте πιαρχн = ἡте пєзотсїа =  
 5 ραпєволритоту тиρωт ἡє  
 оτωρ ἡωωт єтѠаωт ἡωω(п)  
 пїєп  
 ЗωѠ де пїєп паωотї єратот  
 ἡρηтн ἡρηтє єте пωωт пє  
 10 †архн πшамсї εβοληєп  
 пн єѠмωотт ρпα ἡтеуш-  
 пн єγωт ἡроттн ρєп ρωѠ пїє(п)  
 ... ] . †ма† єшоп ἡр[н]тє  
 ... п]лнρωма тнрє ἡте †-  
 15 мєѠпωт† ... ] оτωρ εβολрито-  
 т ]нтеп єѠотп  
 \* \* \*

\*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...

\* Recto

... \*those things which are seen and those which are unseen, whether Thrones, or Dominions, or Principalities, or Powers, are all through Him and He is above them all, every one.

\* Verso

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 Godhead<sup>1</sup> and through Him...

<sup>1</sup> For the *verso* generally cp. *Colossians* I, 16 ff.; II, 9.





# 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 2.

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.

(Cairo, no. 68).

1 <sup>1</sup> Чпнот<sup>1</sup> де он хен теулар  
 спот<sup>†</sup> мпаротсѣ хен от-  
 ѡнз ебо<sup>†</sup> хен пѡот мпеч-  
 ѡт нем пегаттелос отор  
 5 птеу<sup>†</sup> хан е фокотмени  
 хен отакеостни отор  
 птеу<sup>†</sup> мпота<sup>†</sup> ката пег-  
 рхнот<sup>†</sup> ет агаитот<sup>†</sup> ѣте  
 агаѡон ѣте петро-  
 10 от  
 Іе отш<sup>†</sup>лоу ан не потсрѣм<sup>†</sup>  
 еасер песарѣ тирѣ есер-  
 порнетн есх<sup>†</sup> ммос хе  
 апок отхристѣанн отор  
 15 пте писарѣ<sup>†</sup> ѣте пессѡма  
 х<sup>†</sup> птесер хел<sup>†</sup>лѡ птот-  
 кнн еѡп ммос птесѡ  
 птесшерѣ птестарос е-  
 ратс е песма птесен прѣт<sup>†</sup>  
 20 прапкех<sup>†</sup>ѡотн е пта-  
 ко  
 Калѡс іеремѣас хос хе про  
 потпорнн ашш<sup>†</sup>н не аре-  
 сѣ шпн прапрн отон пѣе(н)  
 25 отор пай пш<sup>†</sup> пшѡш аре-  
 сѣт<sup>†</sup> не  
 Цн гар еѡе пѣсѣ пте фанат-  
 кн пте фѣре нем фрех<sup>†</sup>сѡ  
 ареерпорнетн шан ммо(н)  
 30 еѡе фѣрѡон  
 Чрошн пхе писахѣ мпѣпосто-  
 лос патлос хе маре ф-  
 отѣ ф<sup>†</sup>ѣт<sup>†</sup> х<sup>†</sup>а песарѣ пас  
 есш<sup>†</sup>н де еѡе фѣре нем  
 35 фрех<sup>†</sup>сѡ

<sup>1</sup> For чпннот?

2  
 а ф<sup>†</sup> шашш ппикетелѡ-  
 отн нем пра<sup>†</sup>ла<sup>†</sup> нем пи-  
 ѡнрион нем пѣамѡ тирѣ  
 от не пай пш<sup>†</sup> ѣпоѡн е а-  
 5 ресотн<sup>†</sup> не-апок де аи-  
 шанснн птап<sup>†</sup> е пай м-  
 пай рн<sup>†</sup> шаре таф<sup>†</sup>хн  
 шѡорт<sup>†</sup>р птарѣм ехен  
 пт<sup>†</sup>ако ппимелос етарѡнт  
 10 е ам<sup>†</sup>ен<sup>†</sup><sup>1</sup>  
 . . . . . о<sup>†</sup> хе шѡн ере хен пай  
 порнѣ ѡ фсрѣм<sup>†</sup> ката фрн<sup>†</sup>  
 ет а пппрофитнс хос хе  
 аретанѡ пнепорнѣ ехе(н)  
 15 мѡит<sup>2</sup> пѣен:—  
 Ашш<sup>†</sup>н гар епмѡшн хен ппѣла-  
 тѣ псѡтем е ф<sup>†</sup>ран мп<sup>†</sup>хс  
 ебо<sup>†</sup>хен рѡѣ прапрѡмн ет-  
 ѡхем еѡрк ммоу хе(н)  
 20 сахѣ пѣен ет аѡпахоу  
 отрот<sup>†</sup> не е ѡрк е птнрѣ  
 хен отмеѡмн малѣста  
 е ѡрк прѣтѣ ехен отсахѣ  
 мпорнѣ іе отх<sup>†</sup> ешшот-  
 25 ѣт  
 Ссѣнот<sup>†</sup> хе ппекхе ф<sup>†</sup>ра(н)  
 мпѡт<sup>†</sup> пекпот<sup>†</sup> ехен отмет-  
 еф<sup>†</sup>лнот-ппарѡмѣ гар  
 хѡ ммос хе мпаре рѡнсѡ-  
 30 тот етѣнрот ерш<sup>†</sup>а<sup>†</sup> пот-  
 рнт  
 Наш прѣт<sup>†</sup> гар ере ппран еѡот-  
 ах пте ф<sup>†</sup> шѡн хен рѡѣ  
 потатрнт нем нн еѡа-  
 35 хем

<sup>1</sup> ]епт, MS.

<sup>2</sup> сѡит, MS.

\*He shall come also at His Second Advent appearing in the glory of His Father with His Angels, and He will 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.<sup>1</sup>

\* Recto

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

<sup>1</sup> Cp. ii Cor. v, 10.

## NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

her, should take her daughter and set her in her place to seduce others to destruction? Well did Jeremias say:<sup>1</sup> "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."<sup>2</sup> But if (it be) for the sake of food and raiment, since \*God provideth for cattle and birds and wild beasts and all creation,<sup>3</sup> 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,<sup>4</sup> 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."<sup>5</sup> For the *Proverbs* say: "Faithful lips become a heart."<sup>6</sup> 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*, ρνα, ρνε, 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. I (Cairo, no. 40).

]...с  
 ]χα тир-  
 ]ει εϣχн  
 ]ετοοσι  
 5 ]...ρεϣω-  
 ].ϣ οτορ εϣ-  
 ]τη φн етеша.  
 . ]εβολριτοϣ  
 ]μρβнотн πατλн  
 10 κατας ]ϣασις εσοταб οτορ  
 ]от ρитен ϣερн.. нхе  
 ]ετ εβολ ..ос нхе ..  
 ]ϣροлх οτορ ...  
 κ]ατα πωποτ етаϣа..  
 15 ]пантωп φαι εт ер-  
 ]н н. еопанорем е тне  
 ].ϣ мпнншϣт πατλос =  
 ]шω пеопанеϣ нте ннϣтхн  
 ]аптаϣ е ϣшелет ерωот  
 20 ]сωп есшнпн батотс ллх-  
 ].е ебннн аϣтобнос пωот ϣе  
 ].шω ммос  
 ]ташфери он етнаϣ е снт...та  
 ]е сазн отωпρ ппн εβολ нрап-

ρνα  
 हे[п  
 анн[  
 пат е.[  
 отде.[  
 5 отсхнма[  
 нншт ота[  
 отде кеота[  
 ппа нте пн ет[  
 Αλλα ρωн пнкен.[  
 10 мпесκωт еϣш[  
 сωо шарос м[  
 пма гар етемма[  
 ннннн пантω[с  
 ппапωон ммат = [  
 15 εοhe ϣϣсис ϣе пe...[  
 шом хн деп тесп.ε[  
 ϣтсон потωт алла а от[  
 ебонн е фотат фотат н[  
 пеп. оттрнот εοhe .[  
 20 етшон нннтен нем пнне[  
 .ла[.]. фотат фотат ммωот о[  
 нте фн етϣωн.. деп пхнн[  
 нхе фн етемма[ + ϣна[  
 і ебонн пωос етешас шω[

<sup>1</sup> Jer. III, 3.

<sup>2</sup> i Cor. VII, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. *Matth.* VI, 25 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Ezekiel* XVI, 29?

<sup>5</sup> *Exodus* XX, 7.

<sup>6</sup> ? *Proverbs* X, 32 or XV, 7.

## HOMILETIC FRAGMENTS

25 ]пте прапкотѣ хен пай рнѣ ѡ(п)  
 ]. ар теппаѡетїап хе аркот  
 ]. . . . . отор есої проно  
 ]таш[ . . . . ]лос ереѣсѡ  
 ]мепр . отес . [  
 30 ] ѡмон п[  
 ] еотпкѡ[  
 ]. . . . таїхѡхѡхї[  
 ]. пї  
 ]п . . . † не †фѣтсїс  
 35 ]пснот пїхен отор  
 пїхен есаме[ . . . . ]пї-

25    пагаѡон отор пѣхнотѣ .[  
       Ѡѡѡхн пап еторѣ ератот отѣ[е?  
       ката отѡинѠ еѡотп евра ..[  
       ѡеп потернот отор с .[  
       Ѡп[. .] .[. .] пѡос пап а отп[  
 30    [. .]отѣ[. о]ѡсмот пот .[  
       [о]тор патѡпнр пснот[  
       е . асот ѡммот отор[  
       ѡмос ап ѡеп глѣ пснот[  
       ом ѡеп тирѡ ѡеп .[  
 35    ѡоп ерос те . Ѡме[. .] .[  
       пн е трѡот пснот[

Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 64).

[illegible]

<sup>1</sup> *sic.*

ρνε

[illegible]

## NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

### F. Four Homiletic Fragments.

(1) Parchment. Upper portion of a leaf (Cairo, no. 67), measuring  $21 \times 20$  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),  $17 \times 23$  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. ix, 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  $22.5 \times 25.5$  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 Jonab*, 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 (ⲟⲩⲣ), ⲟⲩⲁ which is missing from that ms.<sup>1</sup> 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),<sup>2</sup> 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 ⲙⲁⲣⲥ: the *verso* is headed ⲙⲁⲣⲥ — ⲛⲁⲓ — (Ornament<sup>3</sup>) — ⲛⲁⲓ — [...]. The script is identical with the script of No. xvi, Frags. 3-4: besides the rounded form of the stop ⲛ, the form ⲙⲉⲛⲓⲥⲁ is another feature in common.<sup>4</sup>

The text deals with the vanity of human wealth, power and strength.

<sup>1</sup> See de Rossi, *Alcuni Manoscritti Copti* (offprint), pp. 86f. For the Nitrian origin of the Bohairic mss. at Turin edited by de Rossi see *Introduction* § 6.

<sup>2</sup> Leipoldt, *loc. cit.*, p. 393.

<sup>3</sup> A rather elaborate eight-foil in red and yellow.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 79.

# HOMILETIC FRAGMENTS

Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 67).

1     $\bar{\eta}$ еп пегсωма нем ..от<sup>1</sup> па-  
       менѣ  
 2    О[то]р менпса паг а фѣѣ паг п[.].  
       а...еπε ...а хωρεε фмет[от-  
 5    ро пте пифноти ет ачерапола[ат-  
       ин ѡмос ша е[п]ер егш[он  
        $\bar{\eta}$ еп фатолатсис паткин е[.  
       петш нем паччелос[  
       пат...зωγ е ппетнс пиа[фпаг  
 10    Ауоѣ[ . . . . .  
       ппи [.κ]αλωс ...κ[.  
       ппири[κ]и пот[.].рот ч[...].[...].  
       теуѣ паг потатапи  
       Наз ζωγ же ет ачер катартар[ос  
 15    епесит м[е]п[и]са пжωκ ебол [м-  
       п]εφνιος ιсже егшω ..ω[  
       фпот  
       Пехад же егшоп  $\bar{\eta}$ еп аменѣ [  $\bar{\eta}$ еп  
       занѣзатос етρω[κ]р ѡм[оу  
 20     $\bar{\eta}$ еп п[х]ρωм  
       Iωη р[е]п пемтоп пте фмет[отро  
       ппифноти нем тапо[латсис  
       ппиат]афоп е[  
           \*           \*           \*  
           <sup>1</sup> ?тегсарз.

$\bar{\eta}$ <sup>1</sup> — паот — — инс ιζ<sup>2</sup>  
 ΑΛΛΑ етакωтем ē кεχε<sup>3</sup> φρω  
   же арифмети же акси ппеката[ф]он  
    $\bar{\eta}$ еп пекωпѣ хпат же мпе ппот-  
   ωм нем псω нем ф[а]перфо-  
 5    рин ѡкаλωс ер зли ппочри мпи-  
       афпаг етеммаѣ  
   Iс пимерос  $\bar{\eta}$  мпенѣгос ебол ппат  
   пѣеп ω памепригт ис Iωη  $\bar{\eta}$ еп  
   фметотро ппифноти нем ф-  
 10    полатсис паткин ис ппетнс  
       зωγ  $\bar{\eta}$ еп пиколасис патсено  
        $\bar{\eta}$ еп отѣис пат[κ]и[п] ша епер  
       сωтп же пак мпирѣѣ ет екот-  
       ωшч  
 15    Х[от]ωш фметотро ппифноти  
       нем псагафоп + тепωпκ е  
       фметотро ппифноти фат ет ач-  
       шашпи ерос пже п[а]κ[е]с[о]с Iωη  
       фн ете пегро отни потоп п-  
 20     $\bar{\eta}$ еп] мпегтасѣо е зли прωми  
       ... ] епер +  $\bar{\eta}$ еп пн етат[...].  
       .. ѡм]оу +  $\bar{\eta}$ еп е зли пх[  
           \*           \*           \*  
           <sup>1</sup> Cursive numeral.  
           <sup>2</sup> Probably an error for ιε.  
           <sup>3</sup> Read етаѣ-, еѣе- ?

...\*in his body and his flesh (?) in Amenti. And after these things God gave him<sup>1</sup>. . . , besides the Kingdom of Heaven which he enjoyed for ever being in a state of joy unending. . . with the Angels. Consider. . . also Nineves<sup>2</sup> 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 he<sup>3</sup> has heard, he will say: "Remember that in thy life thou didst receive thy good things."<sup>4</sup> 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.

## NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 70).

\* \* \*

πατ[ρ]ε[λ]ος[  
5 Ε[ρ]φ[η]ν[ι] ω φρ[ω]μ[ι] [ . . . . . ] τ[ι]  
ἐ στρωμ[ι] μ[η]ν[ε]κ[ . . . . . ]  
Κωσ[τ]η[ν] απ[η] κε[κο]ν[ι] η̄θαμ[ι]ο μ[η]ν[ε]κ[  
10 σ[τ] ο[το]ρ πο[τ] η̄τ[ε] τφε[ν]εμ[η] κα[  
ρι  
Κωσ[τ]η[ν] απ[η] κε[κο]ν[ι] ερατ[ο]ν  
η̄κε πατ[ρ]ε[λ]ος [μ[η]μ[ε]θο] π[η]  
ποτ[ο]τ[ο] ρε[ν] φε[κ]κ[η]ν[ι]α[  
15 Σεο[ρ]ι ερατ[ο]ν η̄κε παρ[α]ρ[η]ν[ι]α[ρ]ε[  
λος = ε[ε]ρ[ε]τ[ε]ρ[ε]ρ[ε] [τ[η]ν . . ] φ[ο]τ[  
α[ρ]α[ρ]η[ν] μ[η]ποτ[ο]τ[ο] [φ[η] ποτ[ο]ρ]ο η̄  
τε πω[ο]τ[ο] ρε[ν] φε[κ]κ[η]ν[ι]α[ρ]η[ν] =  
Ε[ε]θε οτ[η] η̄οκ ω φρ[ω]μ[ι] η̄τα  
15 λεπ[ω]ρος εκ[η]ν[η] ε[ε]ο[λ] ρε[ν] φ[  
εκκ[η]ν[ι]α[ρ]α παρ[α] φ[ο]τ[α]ρ[α]ρ[η]ν[ι] μ[η]  
π[η]κοτ[ο]

[ ] нї ек[ ]  
[ ]  
5 О[ . . . . . ] оу ꙗже запанше ꙗшо  
[ . . . . . ] ꙗпех<sup>1</sup> а по[ . . . ] ꙗзω-  
м[а тоу а] верерѣмнос ѣ поу-  
ст[а] [ нем оу] роуѣ нем оуѣер-  
т[ер]  
10 Ис[а] [е ꙗишуѣ] ꙗзѣмис ꙗзωма-  
т[оу нем] ꙗѣзотса тирот  
[пте ꙗфи] оуі ꙗшар ꙗхрѣм  
х[р] [ . . . . . ] . оу = оуор ꙗпат-  
ш[а] [емх] о[у] ꙗремс[а] = оуае ꙗ-  
п[оу]ше . ѣбо ѣ фотарсарѣ ꙗ-  
те поуст[а] = аλλα себѣ ꙗра-  
15 тоу т[и]р[оу] оу хеу оуѣертер  
еуоі ꙗа[ . . . ] . т[и]аааама = етерѣω-

1 Ог к.

Frag. 3 (Cairo, no. 65).

\* \* \*

εἰς οὐρανὸν . [

Ἀπλῶς ρίπτε . [

смот = нем [

ἐταυρωτ ἐ[κὸς ἡ]ν

5 προ ἡμῶν = х[.....] ε... ἡ-

σα μενοπον[.....] φρητ

ἐτ ἀφ' ὧν [п....]

Ἀφ' ἡμῶν ποταμοί = οὐροί ἐταυρ

πτερυγῶν ἀγῶνι ἐρος = οὐροί

10 ἐταυρωσθῇ ἐκὸς πατέρων

πε ἢ π φιομ

Ἀ φ' ἡμῶν καὶ σατοῦ τοῦ οὐ-

πνῆσθ' ἡμῶν πε φιομ

\* \* \*

Ότορ<sup>1</sup> [ . . . . . ]. ιωπα η̄χε η̄-  
κηζ[ος . . . . . ] ριτεπ φαι η̄θορ  
μεп [ . . . . . ] .. ε̄ριп η̄м[ορ  
η̄χε φ[† . . . . . ] η̄πρη† етаϑερ-  
5 παρεт[ῑσοε ?] ē еρ̄ιακониη η̄-  
πεϑсахи = η̄ем πεϑοταρ-  
сахи

Ότοп η̄ε η̄иηен ēт еӯпасот-  
поя = отор η̄теϑοτορпоя  
10 менепса ιωπα ēβολ̄ριτεп  
печ . . . . . ертоλ[η]ан<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The fragmentary endings of seven preceding lines are omitted.

<sup>1</sup> The fragmentary beginnings of ten lines are omitted.

<sup>2</sup> 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*

\*...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...

\* Frag. 3 *Recto*

\*...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.

<sup>x</sup> *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...

# HOMILETIC FRAGMENTS

Frag. 4 (Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 21 + Cairo, no. 52<sup>A</sup>).

ωπε  
 ταρωσ ριτεп потρωσ + ie ρι-  
 тен пезотсиā етоси н[т]е пикос-  
 мос + псеератметин<sup>1</sup> ммωσ  
 ie деп пхипоре писом хωтρ  
 5 нпни псеκωλп ммωσ + псеω-  
 λι мпетектωσ + Отор псебω-  
 теб нпотψтхн +  
 пθου деп пхипоре потѣхнот  
 ѡмс + Отор псешепесие +  
 10 Тпот же мпеноре пирамао шот-  
 шот ммωс деп теуમેθραμαб  
 Отор мпеноре пхωри шотшот  
 ммωс + ρхеп теуметхωри  
 Отор мпеноре писаie шотшот  
 15 ммωс ρхеп псаи + мпесω-  
 \* Cairo \*μα  
 Ке] ρар еотмнш етот нхωри  
 .. ]ατμн + нтотметкотхи п-  
 ... ]μεпйса откотхи де н-  
 20 снот]α α φт отωхп нтотхом  
 ротсот ρиτεп отшопи  
 же пот]ωот ебоλρиτεп φ[т]  
 .... м]отпк ебоλ + .. [...] ѳω  
 ..... ]нс е птн-  
 25 рч]  
 Отор еор]отерхриā ргανκεχω-  
 отпн + еб]роттωотпот р[еп  
 .... от]ор шаре пн ет[схн]от-  
 т... е]хеп фоот деп [...] ет-  
 30 хω ммωс + же хотшт [...] е  
 ..... ]пн[...] м сат]отс]

<sup>1</sup> = δημεύειν.

ωпз пай — — нн  
 асерплагин ммωс потρωми + бѳ[е  
 фай [α п]ппα еѳотаѳ ерстмменн  
 хеп[х]фо нте пкари + Отор пишн-  
 ри нте пирωми + ρωс же отоп  
 5 пнхеп ет атхфωот ебоλ деп п[ка-  
 ри + ρанкари ρωот пе + Отор о[п  
 же етекотот ē пкари + ката т-  
 αποφасис ет аѳѳашс ēхеп ααα[м  
 Хе нѳок откари + екпатасѳок  
 10 он ē пкари +  
 Пезау же пирамаои + пем пирни ет-  
 сом + ρωс же мпесферх отай  
 еболхеп отай + же ппе пирни  
 хос же етауе фай ē пирамаои  
 15 мматαтот + мпессахи еѳни  
 αпок ρа пирни +  
 бѳе фай аѳотенρ пρωѳ е[боλ ?  
 \* Cairo \* же еухω ммωс е отоп нн[еп ет-  
 сом + пезау же пн тиро[т ет-  
 20 шоп деп тѳикотмени [  
 нте пкари + Отор пишн[ри нте п-  
 рωми + пирамао + О[ор пирни  
 етсом +  
 Δке[ми] же мпесферх[от ебоλ ал-  
 25 λ[α α]ρѳωрем потот [пнхеп ет-  
 сом + еротн ē тѳи[котмени  
 Пфрн† он етеухω[ ммωс  
 . ]λλα<sup>1</sup> + же αμωпн [пишири сωтем  
 ер]οι + нта тсхω п[ωтеп тρот†  
 30 пте] пѳт +  
 О[то]ρ деп нснас<sup>2</sup>. [  
 .. ] . оип О[топ нн . [  
 .. ]тхн[  
 Δс[те . ]

<sup>1</sup> ? Read ααα.

<sup>2</sup> Doubtful.

[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 wont<sup>1</sup> 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."<sup>2</sup>

\* p. 856

Now he saith<sup>3</sup>: "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."<sup>4</sup> 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."<sup>5</sup> And in Isaiah...

\* p. 857

<sup>1</sup> What follows is very doubtful.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. III, 19.

<sup>3</sup> Psalm XLIX, 2.

<sup>4</sup> *id.*, I, 2.

<sup>5</sup> Psalm XXXIV, 11.



## XXXVI. MONASTICA

Parchment. Seven fragments of which the second and third belong to a single ms. Whether Frag. 1 belonged to the same volume is uncertain.<sup>1</sup> Frags. 4-5 belong to another ms. from which Frags. 6-7 also are probably derived.

Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 14<sup>Add</sup>),<sup>2</sup> 20.5 × 21 cm., is the upper portion of a leaf numbered —, сін. 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 τλς, τμς. The script is a regular, good-sized uncial: the only stop used is = (black). Frags. 4-5 (Cod. Tisch. xxvi, 24, 25),<sup>3</sup> 7 × 19 and 7 × 18 cm., again form the upper part of a sheet of two leaves, numbered on their *versos* ππ, πς. 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<sup>Add</sup>).

...]. κατὰ πίμωιτ ἐ[τ] αὑτινῷ  
 πα]π ἦξε πεπ[οτ] Οτορ πεп-  
 πηδ α]πλωс зωδ πῆπ артот  
 εοδ[ε] φ† нем откωт нем от-  
 5 ме]ѡпстос  
 ....]ден ралскегос прат  
 ....]. с ерон гар е ерке.  
 ....]. о пар<sup>1</sup> писног етеп-  
 ....]п ден фḡиос п†мет-  
 10 сон]  
 ...]аг пак<sup>2</sup> е ер фал кап ткатас-  
 тасис п]шорп маренарез ерос  
 ἦса пик]апωп мпимонастри-  
 он]  
 15 ...ε]тшоп ден пḡаос еротп ē  
 ...п]ем отѡт ḡнт нем от-  
 ....]рез мпер† оро ḡмωот зг-  
 ....]. ḡиос =  
 ....]ес. ἡп ..ϣ Отог ḡтесер  
 20 тпом]онн згтеп ота]пстрофн ē  
 .]. есотаḡ нем отаскн[с]  
 о]тор [п]текерспот[ан] псног пи-  
 ден] е смот а. [  
 ...]. апет[

<sup>1</sup> †нос written above παра.

<sup>2</sup> Written above the line.

сін  
 παπατ[κ]εон πτεγοτω[м се-  
 ерпогри гар он ḡрапсω[ма пхе  
 пгхриа παπατκεон ἡт[е писωма  
 отог шатсеког ēро[тп е пппа-  
 5 тикон  
 ε]шоп де отрамао пел  
 .]теп ралкотс етп[ашт арз  
 ерωот ката †соф[га ет а ф†  
 тн[с пак - птекут[емер-  
 10 есѡпесѡе золωс [  
 теуметхахи имти[ отзере-  
 тикос пе Отог еуѡ[д[е пе  
 отд[е ф†  
 Пппаτ етеμματ екпаѡ[от† е-  
 15 рок пралпрωм[ етотаḡ е[отон  
 шжом ммωот е сωтем е[  
 мпай рн† птекоаш пай зω[д ḡ-  
 мωот отог птекер рω[  
 етси ēротп е потот-  
 20 хаи  
 Παρ[онн он - отог птекарег ер[он  
 . . . .]ершот ер . . . .  
 . . . .]...αλλα πн з[  
 ]зног [

\* (p. 217) ...\*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...

\* p. 218 ...\*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...

<sup>1</sup> I have had no opportunity to compare the script of the two.

<sup>2</sup> This number was assigned in error.

<sup>3</sup> See Leipoldt, *loc. cit.*, pp. 24 f.

# MONASTICA

Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 101).

πρὶν τὸ εἶναι ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς  
 ποτὶς μὴ λαζ ὡς αὐτὸν εἶναι  
 γὰρ ἀλλοῖ - ὡς αὐτὸν ἡμεῖς  
 ποτὶς - παρὶς πρὶν τὸ εἶναι  
 5 ἡμεῖς ὡς αὐτὸν ποτὶς ἡμεῖς  
 παρὶς ὡς αὐτὸν ποτὶς ἡμεῖς  
 παρὶς ὡς αὐτὸν ποτὶς ἡμεῖς  
 παρὶς ὡς αὐτὸν ποτὶς ἡμεῖς  
 10 πρὶς [ ] ὡς αὐτὸν ποτὶς ἡμεῖς

τὰς  
 ..... μὲν ὡς αὐτὸν ποτὶς ἡμεῖς  
 .. παρὶς ὡς αὐτὸν ποτὶς ἡμεῖς  
 γὰρ ἀλλοῖ - ὡς αὐτὸν ποτὶς ἡμεῖς  
 .. ἀλλοῖ - ὡς αὐτὸν ποτὶς ἡμεῖς  
 5 ..... ὡς αὐτὸν ποτὶς ἡμεῖς  
 ..... ὡς αὐτὸν ποτὶς ἡμεῖς  
 ..... ὡς αὐτὸν ποτὶς ἡμεῖς  
 ..... ὡς αὐτὸν ποτὶς ἡμεῖς  
 (Slight remains of five more lines.)

Frag. 3 (Cairo, no. 101).

. ὡς αὐτὸν ποτὶς ἡμεῖς  
 πρὶς ὡς αὐτὸν ποτὶς ἡμεῖς  
 πρὶς ὡς αὐτὸν ποτὶς ἡμεῖς  
 5 ὡς αὐτὸν ποτὶς ἡμεῖς  
 ὡς αὐτὸν ποτὶς ἡμεῖς  
 πρὶς ὡς αὐτὸν ποτὶς ἡμεῖς  
 πρὶς ὡς αὐτὸν ποτὶς ἡμεῖς  
 10 πρὶς ὡς αὐτὸν ποτὶς ἡμεῖς  
 πρὶς ὡς αὐτὸν ποτὶς ἡμεῖς  
 πρὶς ὡς αὐτὸν ποτὶς ἡμεῖς  
 πρὶς ὡς αὐτὸν ποτὶς ἡμεῖς

τὰς  
 εἰς ὡς αὐτὸν ποτὶς ἡμεῖς  
 ὡς αὐτὸν ποτὶς ἡμεῖς  
 μὲν ὡς αὐτὸν ποτὶς ἡμεῖς  
 5 ὡς αὐτὸν ποτὶς ἡμεῖς  
 ὡς αὐτὸν ποτὶς ἡμεῖς  
 πρὶς ὡς αὐτὸν ποτὶς ἡμεῖς  
 πρὶς ὡς αὐτὸν ποτὶς ἡμεῖς  
 10 πρὶς ὡς αὐτὸν ποτὶς ἡμεῖς  
 πρὶς ὡς αὐτὸν ποτὶς ἡμεῖς  
 πρὶς ὡς αὐτὸν ποτὶς ἡμεῖς  
 πρὶς ὡς αὐτὸν ποτὶς ἡμεῖς

<sup>1</sup> πρὶς ὡς αὐτὸν ποτὶς ἡμεῖς written over erasure: ὡς αὐτὸν ποτὶς above line.  
<sup>2</sup> Last syll. of αὐτὸν ποτὶς written over erasure: after the following ε, σ over erasure; ὡς αὐτὸν ποτὶς is repeated above the line. These changes are due to a second hand.

...\*persuasion upon them. Just as ivy enshrouds a vineyard and destroys its fruit, so vain glory destroys the fruit of the monk, if it persuades him. Above all the virtues is humility, above (all the) ... \*...in all 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."<sup>1</sup> 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..."<sup>2</sup> ...\*causing them to be undismayed in all the 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."<sup>3</sup> And He gave them strength so as not to faint in tribulations. He put joy into their hearts...

<sup>1</sup> A loose citation of Luke VI, 46.

<sup>2</sup> Luke XII, 32.

<sup>3</sup> John XVI, 33.

# NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 4 (*Cod. Tisch. xxvi, 24*).

ε̅  
ε̅ ϣρεμρεμ η̅σα πεϣσον  
ϣατοτη - μ̅περϣφ̅ιτ ϣα-  
ϣωϣ = μ̅η̅πω̅ς η̅τεϣφ̅ε̅τ  
πεϣρη̅τ ϣε̅π πεϣσα̅ϣι -  
5 ο̅το̅ρ η̅τεκερ̅νο̅ν̅ι ε̅ φ̅τ̅  
Α̅Λ̅Λ̅[α . . . .  
\* \* \*

ρ̅π  
ερ̅ μ̅φ̅ρη̅τ̅ - ϣε̅ τεκ̅λω̅ι̅ϣ̅ι  
α̅τ̅ϣο̅πο̅τ̅ ε̅ρ̅ο̅τ̅π̅ -  
Ο̅το̅ρ̅ μα̅ π̅ι̅τα̅ι̅ο̅ π̅ω̅ο̅τ̅ - ϣε̅ α̅τ̅-  
ερ̅ π̅ι̅π̅α̅ι̅ π̅ε̅μ̅ν̅ι̅ ε̅ο̅ϣ̅ε̅ ο̅η̅πο̅τ̅ -  
5 Ε̅ϣ̅ω̅π̅ εκ̅πα̅ϣ̅ε̅ πα̅κ̅ ε̅ π̅ϣ̅ε̅μ̅-  
[μο . . . . ]  
\* \* \*

Frag. 5 (*Cod. Tisch. xxvi, 25*).

ε̅  
Ε̅ϣ̅ω̅π̅ π̅τεκερ̅ϣ̅α̅ρι̅ζ̅ε̅ς -  
ο̅ε̅ μ̅μο̅ϣ̅ π̅ο̅τ̅σο̅π̅ η̅τα̅κ̅  
α̅κερ̅νο̅ν̅ι̅ ε̅ φ̅τ̅ - ϣ̅α̅ϣ̅ ε̅ -  
ε̅ο̅λ̅ μα̅ρε̅ϣ̅ϣ̅ε̅ πα̅ϣ̅ - ι̅ε̅ α̅ -  
5 ρ̅ι̅τ̅ϣ̅ η̅ρε̅μ̅ε̅ ι̅ς̅ϣ̅ε̅ ε̅ϣ̅ -  
ο̅τ̅ω̅ϣ̅ ϣ̅ω̅ϣ̅ ε̅ ε̅ρ̅ μο̅να̅ -  
ϣ̅ο̅[ς̅ . . . .  
\* \* \*

ρ̅ϣ̅  
ρ̅ι̅να̅ η̅τεκερ̅ε̅μ̅ς̅ ϣε̅π̅ τεκ̅ -  
ρ̅ι̅ - ϣε̅π̅ ο̅τ̅με̅τ̅ε̅π̅ι̅κ̅η̅ς̅  
ε̅κο̅τ̅ω̅ϣ̅ η̅τεκο̅τ̅ω̅μ̅  
μ̅περ̅ω̅ι̅κ̅ -  
5 Ε̅ϣ̅ω̅π̅ α̅κ̅ϣ̅α̅π̅ϣ̅ε̅ πα̅κ̅ ε̅ ο̅τ̅ -  
ε̅α̅κ̅ι̅ - ι̅ε̅ ο̅τ̅μ̅ι̅ - ε̅ τ̅ μ̅περ̅ -  
[ρ̅ω̅ν̅ ε̅ε̅ο̅λ̅ . . . . ]  
\* \* \*

- \* 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...
- \* (p. 180) ...\*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 him<sup>1</sup> 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) ...\*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...

<sup>1</sup> sc. a slave.

Frag. 6 (*Cairo, no. 102<sup>a</sup>*).

\* \* \*  
κε̅ π̅ικ̅ε̅σα̅ε̅τ̅ -  
η̅τεϣ̅τα̅ρο̅ ε̅ρα̅το̅τ̅ η̅π̅ι̅ε̅ν̅το̅ -  
Α̅η̅ κα̅τα̅ τε̅ϣ̅ζ̅ο̅μ̅ - η̅τεϣ̅ -  
ϣ̅τε̅μα̅λα̅π̅λε̅ν̅ - α̅λ̅λα̅ η̅τεϣ̅ -  
5 ϣ̅ο̅τ̅ϣ̅τ̅ ε̅ε̅ο̅λ̅ ϣ̅α̅τ̅η̅ μ̅π̅ι̅ε̅ -  
....]ε̅ μ̅π̅ι̅τ̅ϣ̅ε̅ν̅ι̅ω̅ π̅ι̅ε̅κ̅ . .  
\* \* \*

\* \* \*  
μ̅ω̅ο̅τ̅ ε̅ρο̅ϣ̅ - α̅λ̅λα̅ π̅τεϣ̅κ̅ω̅τ̅  
η̅σα̅ π̅τα̅ι̅ο̅ π̅ι̅ε̅ο̅λ̅ο̅ρι̅τε̅π̅  
φ̅τ̅ μ̅μα̅τα̅τ̅ϣ̅ - ε̅ϣ̅με̅τ̅ι̅ ε̅ τ̅ -  
πα̅ρο̅τ̅ς̅ια̅ μ̅π̅ο̅τ̅ η̅πα̅τ̅ π̅ι̅ε̅ν̅  
5 ο̅η̅ ε̅το̅ι̅ η̅ρ̅ο̅τ̅ - ο̅το̅ρ̅ ε̅ο̅με̅ρ̅  
η̅ω̅ο̅τ̅  
\* \* \*

Frag. 7 (*Cairo, no. 102<sup>b</sup>*).

\* \* \*  
]. με̅π̅ . . .  
κα̅ϣ̅ω̅π̅ι̅ η̅ρ̅η̅τ̅ϣ̅ -  
τ̅μα̅ρ̅ σ̅πο̅τ̅τ̅ ε̅ε̅ η̅ε̅ο̅ς̅ η̅ϣ̅ο̅μ̅  
η̅τε̅ τ̅ψ̅υ̅ϣ̅η̅ ο̅α̅ι̅ ε̅τ̅ α̅ φ̅τ̅

\* \* \*  
ϣε̅ η̅ε̅ο̅ς̅ ε̅τ̅ρο̅τ̅π̅ π̅ε̅μ̅ π̅ι̅ -  
ς̅ω̅μα̅ ϣ̅ω̅ς̅τε̅ ε̅ο̅ρε̅ϣ̅ -  
ω̅η̅ε̅ ε̅ε̅ο̅λ̅ο̅ρι̅το̅τ̅ς̅

- 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...
- \* *Verso* ...\*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* ...\*...shall be in him. But the second strength of the soul, that which God...
- \* *Verso* ...\*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  $34 \times 27$  cm., forming a single sheet from the outer part of a quire, and numbered — $\overline{\text{TKZ}}$ , — $\overline{\text{TAZ}}$ . 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 7R<sup>v</sup> is a crude drawing of a bearded figure with halo and cross-headed staff: on the halo is inscribed  $\alpha\eta\eta\alpha$  μακαρι πνευ-  
 $\sigma\kappa(ονο\varsigma)$ .

The first leaf contains *Exodus* xxxiv, 29-35, xxxv, 1-10; the second, xxxix, 30 f. + xxxvi, 8 f., 35-38 + xxxviii, 9-18 (ⲉⲣⲱⲙⲱ) as published by Lagarde, *Der Pentateuch Koptisch*,<sup>1</sup> pp. 215<sup>5</sup>-216<sup>14</sup>, 221<sup>20</sup>-222<sup>31</sup>. A collation is here added, the references being to Lagarde's text.

L., p. 215<sup>5</sup> φποτѣ > пѡтѣ; L. 6 οτορ αφνατ > οτορ omitted; L. 7 πενшири тирот > тирот omitted; L. 8 ѡже про &c. > ѡже папом ѡте пецро; L. 9 πατερροѣ &c. > атер—... ероу пе || οτορ αμιοτѣ > οτορ omitted; L. 10 αутасεο > аутасεο; L. 11 παρχωп тирот > тирот omitted; L. 12 οτορ αφсαχι > οτορ omitted; L. 15 ѡсна > ѡте сна; L. 17 καλιμμα > калѣма || αψαпѣ > еψаѣ; L. 19 καλιμμα > калѣма || шатеупоти ѡѣ εѣηλ > шатеупоти еψсαχι пемау; L. 20 f. тирот > omitted; L. 21 ρεηρωпц > ρонрен ѣмоу; L. 24 καλιμμα > калѣма; L. 29 ѡнѣтот > ѣмоу; L. 30 ομѣтот > пемтот; L. 31 етнаѣѣ > еѡ-; L., p. 216<sup>5</sup> етна- > еѡпа-; L. 6 пецрѣт еѡѣпѣ еѡтп ѡпѣ- > потрѣт еѣпѣ еѡтп ѡѡ-; L. 9 f. ѣѡѣпѣ > ѡѡѣпѣ; L. 12 ραѡѡпѣ > οтѡпѣ; L., p. 221<sup>23</sup> ρτακпѡѣпѡп > ρтак(п)ѡ-; L. 24 мѣтра > мѣтра; L. 26 ѡѣскѣпѣп &c. > ѣмѣпѣ ѡѡѣпѣ ѡте ѣскѣпѣ; L. 29 (as l. 23); L. 30 еѡѣѣѣ > еѡѣѣѣѣ; L. 32 στѡλλος > σтѡлос; L., p. 222<sup>2</sup> πεтасма > калѣма; L. 3 скѣпѣпѣ > скѣпѣпѣ; L. 3 ρτακпѡѣпѡп > ρтакпѡѣпѡпѣ; L. 4 κοκκпѡпѣ > коккѡс (so also in L. 29 below) || еѡѣѣѣѣ—шѣпѣс > omitted; L. 6 σтѡλλος... ποτкрѣкос > σтѡлос... οτкрѣкос || ποтнеѣ- —οтнеѣ-; L. 9 πѣστѣа > οп added; L. 10 σтѡλλος > σтѡлос (so also in ll. 15, 20 below); L. 17 ѣ ѡѡсѣс ѡтѡѡ... ѡтѡѡѡ > οτορ (inverting the order of what follows); L. 21 οτορ παѡѡпѣ > οτορ omitted; L. 27 καλιμμα > калѣма; L. 31 етшпѣ > еѣ-.

B. *Psalm*s.

Fragments from mss. of the Psalms are numerous: most, if not all of these, however, were written either for liturgical or devotional use<sup>2</sup> and do not come from copies of the Scriptures. The parchment leaves and fragments<sup>3</sup> are here noticed first; then the remains of paper copies.

(a) *Parchment.*

(1) Single leaf (Cairo, no. 33<sup>A</sup>), 27.6 × 18 cm., medium sized, very regular hand of the tenth or eleventh century. Contents: *Pss.* xxix, 1—xxx, 19.<sup>4</sup>

(2) Single leaf (Cairo, no. 33<sup>B</sup>), 26 × 17 cm. The *verso* (last page of quire twelve) is headed  $\overline{\text{poc}} \overline{\text{ia}}$  (Ornament)  $\overline{\text{xv}} \overline{\text{ia}}$ . Contents: *Ps.* LXX, 5–18.

(3) Single leaf (Cairo, no. 76, vi), 26 × 19 cm., numbered on *verso* ٧٦٩; 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*)  $\overline{\text{q}}\overline{\text{r}}\overline{\text{r}}\overline{\text{e}}$  (Ornament)  $\overline{\text{o}}\overline{\text{e}}\overline{\text{c}}$  [ . . ]. 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* ⲡⲉ ⲛⲁⲩⲁ

<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>3</sup> 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.

<sup>4</sup> The references are to the Coptic version (Cairo, 1898).

## NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

(Ornament)  $\overline{\text{nni}} \overline{\text{pnn}}$ . 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  $\ast$  and  $\ast$ — (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 ( $\ast$ ), 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 leaves<sup>1</sup> (*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. Psalm-headings 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 ( $\ast$ ) and for emphasising prominent letters. The lower and outer portions of the leaves from quires  $\overline{\text{nn}}$ — $\overline{\text{kk}}$  are eaten away. Quire-headings, e.g.,  $\overline{\text{cc}}$  (Ornament)  $\overline{\text{xc}} \overline{\text{kk}} \mid \overline{\text{kk}} \overline{\text{cc}}$  (Ornament)  $\overline{\text{xc}}$ . 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; LXXX, 11—LXXXI, 2; LXXXVII, 1–6; LXXXVII, 13—XC, 4; XCII, 1—XCVI, 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—CXLIII, 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.)  $\overline{\text{cc}}$   $\overline{\text{kk}}$  (Ornament)  $\overline{\text{xc}} \overline{\text{kk}} \mid \overline{\text{kk}} \overline{\text{cc}}$  (Ornament)  $\overline{\text{xc}} \overline{\text{kk}}$ . Contents: *Pss.* XIII, 7—XV, 2; XXI, 15—XXII, 4; XXIV, 2–16; XXVI, 1–14; XXXVI, 1–8, 21–29; CXVIII, 117–137; CCLI, 5—CCLIII, 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 ( $\ast$ ), 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.<sup>2</sup> 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; LXXXVIII, 7–10; XCI, 1–12; XCIII, 3–10; CIII, 6–12.

(6) Thirty leaves or fragments (Cairo, no. 34),<sup>3</sup> 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 ( $\ast$  or  $\ast$ ), in red. Quire-headings (e.g.)  $\overline{\text{cc}}$  (Ornament)  $\overline{\text{xc}} \overline{\text{kk}} \mid \overline{\text{kk}} \overline{\text{cc}}$  (Ornament)  $\overline{\text{nni}} \overline{\text{pnn}}$  ( $\overline{\text{pnn}}$ ). 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; CXXXIII, 1—CXXXIV, 7; Song of the Three Children. To the same ms. belongs C.U.L., *Add.* 1886, 6 numbered  $\overline{\text{cm}}$  and containing *Pss.* CXLVI (end), CXLVII, CXLVIII (beginning).

<sup>1</sup> Three leaves at Cambridge (C.U.L., *Add.* 1886, 15, 18) belong to the same ms.

<sup>2</sup> Published with an excellent facsimile by Rossi, *Mem. della Reale Accad. delle Scienze di Torino*, Ser. II, t. XLIII

(1893), pp. 226 ff. The new leaves partially fill the gaps in the Turin ms., which must have come from Dêr Abû Makâr.

<sup>3</sup> The margins were illuminated, but the color has eaten away the paper.

## BIBLICAL FRAGMENTS

(7) <sup>1</sup>Two leaves (Cairo, no. 77, vii), 22 × 14.2 cm., unnumbered, headed ⲉⲛ. Coarse thirteenth—fourteenth century hand; Psalm-numbers and stops (ⲛ) 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 (ⲛ) in red: first lines in thick black script, sometimes with elaborated capitals. Quire-headings (*e.g.*) ⲕ ⲕⲉ (Ornament) ⲛⲉⲛ. Contents: *Pss.* lxxii, 11–lxxxiii, 6; cxiv, 1–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 (ⲛ), 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'.<sup>2</sup> The text of the last is as follows:

ⲡⲓⲣⲱⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲁⲃⲃⲁ ⲁⲓⲁⲛⲁⲥⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲏⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ

Ⲑⲩⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲡ ⲡⲛⲉⲧⲥⲟⲥⲓ ⲙⲉⲩⲧⲁ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲣⲓⲣⲏⲛⲓ ⲉⲣⲓⲭⲉ(ⲛ) ⲡⲓⲕⲁⲣⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲧⲙⲁⲧⲧ ⲛⲉⲡ ⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛⲉⲡⲱⲥ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ⲛⲉⲡⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ⲛⲉⲡⲩⲥⲙⲱⲩ ⲙⲙⲟⲕ ⲛⲉⲡⲟⲩⲱⲩⲧ ⲙⲙⲟⲕ ⲛⲉⲡⲟⲩⲱⲩⲧ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲉⲡⲥⲁⲭⲓ ⲛⲉⲡ ⲡⲉⲕⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲡⲩⲥⲙⲉⲣⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲕ ⲉⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲡⲓⲩⲧⲧ ⲛⲉⲡⲟⲩⲱⲩⲧ ⲛⲉⲡⲟⲩⲱⲩⲧ . . .

(11) Three leaves (*id.* xi), 26.5 × 18.5 cm., unnumbered. Script, regular thirteenth—fourteenth century 'paper' style: Psalm-headings, stops (ⲛ), &c., in red. Contents: *Pss.* vii, 9–19; cxxxi, 1–11; cxxxiii, 2–cxxxiv, 8.

### C. Gospels.

(1) Six nearly complete and six fragmentary leaves (Cairo, no. 73), 33.5 × 25 cm., paged on *versos*. Page-headings on left- and right-hand leaves respectively: ⲕⲁⲧⲁ | (ⲙⲁⲧⲥⲟⲥⲟⲛ); last and first leaves of quires headed (*e.g.*) ⲙⲁⲧⲥⲟⲥⲟⲛ | ⲛⲉⲛ (Ornament) ⲛⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲛ (Ornament) ⲛⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲛ. Stops, ⲛ (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: *Matth.* 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; *John* 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).<sup>4</sup>

(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.<sup>5</sup> (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, ⲛ (red) or ⲉⲛ (first hand, black). Left-hand pages are headed ⲙⲁⲧⲥⲟⲥⲟⲛ or ⲛⲉⲛ: quire-headings (*e.g.*) ⲡⲟ ⲛⲉⲛ (Ornament) ⲛⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲛ | ⲛⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲛ (Ornament) ⲛⲉⲛ. I was not able to retain the leaves sufficiently long to make a collation. Contents (originally), the Gospels of SS. Luke and John,<sup>6</sup> of which the following portions are preserved: *Luke* i, 21–28, 38–81; ii, 19–iii, 1; 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;<sup>7</sup> 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);

<sup>1</sup> Nos. 7 and 8 may well belong to Horologia.

<sup>2</sup> Identical with the 'Gloria in excelsis' of Western liturgies. For the complete Coptic text see the Cairo *Psalmody*, pp. 235–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)?

<sup>3</sup> 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).

<sup>4</sup> Recovered by Tischendorf.

<sup>5</sup> 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 ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲧⲁⲫⲓ, at the charge of 'the archon Bartholomew, son of the deacon Abu'l Feth (ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲁⲫⲉⲟ) Mansur, the man of the Monastery (ⲙⲟⲛⲁⲥⲧⲉⲣⲟⲩ) of Apa Besa.' Note that in the Abû Makâr ms. double *mu* is regularly written with a narrow and a spreading character: ⲙⲙ.

<sup>6</sup> No trace of the first volume (SS. Matthew and Mark) was found: it may be extant in the modern library or in Europe.

<sup>7</sup> = Fo. 92: fo. 93 is at Cambridge (C.U.L., *Add.* 1886, 11) and was recovered by Tischendorf.

## NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

*John* I, 9-49; III, 26-34; IV, 8-16; V, 19-VI, 33; VI, 61-70; VII, 10-44;<sup>1</sup> VIII, 14-29; VIII, 53-IX, 3; IX, 19-X, 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 ϣμεος; quire-headings, [ⲕⲁ ⲓⲥ (Ornament) ⲭⲥ ⲁ] | ⲕⲥ ⲓⲥ (Ornament) ⲭⲥ ⲕⲁ. Contents: *Epistles to the Romans* (Coptic and Arabic),<sup>2</sup> I, 17-24; III, 4-15; IV, 7-16; followed (on leaf -ⲕⲛ) by a collection of the O.T. citations occurring in the text with references to their sources.

The fifth leaf is headed (on *verso*) ⲡⲉⲕⲣⲓⲛ ⲁ ⲓⲥ (Ornament) ⲭⲥ ⲛ. Contents: i *Cor.* XIV, 20, ⲡⲉⲣⲛⲓ ⲛⲉⲡⲉⲧⲉⲣⲛⲧ—XIV, 28, ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥⲥⲁⲭⲓ ⲃⲧⲱϥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲫⲧ. The following variants from Horner's (Oxford) text occur: 20, ⲡⲉⲣⲛⲓ ⲛⲉⲡⲉⲧⲉⲣⲛⲧ ⲉϥⲱⲛⲓ (i added by a second hand) ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲣⲛⲧ. 21, ⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲧⲓⲟⲩ ⲟⲩ ⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲡⲥⲱⲓ (with ⲁⲛ added by the same or a second hand) ⲛⲉⲭⲉ ⲛⲟⲩ. 22, ⲛⲁⲩⲭⲓ ⲡⲟⲩⲙⲛⲓ || ⲧⲓⲣⲟⲩⲧⲓⲁ ⲧⲟ ⲉⲟⲛⲁⲣⲧ omitted by haplography. 23, ⲭⲉ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲣⲛⲟⲩ. 25, ⲛⲧⲉϥⲟⲩⲱⲛⲩ || ⲟⲩⲧⲱⲥ omitted. 26, ⲡⲟⲩⲩⲁⲗⲧⲓⲣⲓⲟⲩ || ⲩⲉⲛ ⲩⲱⲕ ⲛⲏⲉⲛ. 28, ⲉϥⲱⲛ ⲁⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲙ.

### E. *Catena Patrum*.<sup>3</sup>

Parchment. Two leaves, one half-leaf, and five fragments (Cairo, no. 36<sup>Add</sup>). 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 \* prefixed: stops, = (black).

Frag. 1, 33.5 × 25.5 cm. (column 27.5 × c. 17 cm.), numbered —ⲡⲙⲓ (on *Matth.* XVIII), corresponds to Lagarde's text,<sup>4</sup> pp. 49<sup>17</sup>–50<sup>13</sup>. The following variants occur: L(agarde), p. 49<sup>17</sup>, ⲉⲟⲣⲟⲩⲓ ⲛⲉⲭⲁϥ > order inverted; L.<sup>20</sup>, ⲉϥⲱϥ > ⲉⲭⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲡⲥⲱⲧⲓⲣ; L.<sup>21</sup>, ⲩⲁⲛⲙⲉⲟⲣⲉⲧ > ⲩⲁⲛⲙⲉⲧⲙⲉⲟⲣⲉⲧ; L.<sup>22</sup>, ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲥ > omitted; L.<sup>23</sup>, ⲛⲁϥⲭⲱ > ⲉⲛⲁϥⲭⲱ; L.<sup>24</sup>, ⲉⲩⲱⲟⲩ > ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ; L.<sup>24f</sup>, ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲓⲛⲁⲙ ⲛⲉⲭⲁϥ > inverted; L.<sup>25</sup>, ⲥⲁⲛⲡⲁⲗⲓⲩⲛ > -ⲩⲉⲥⲟⲗⲓ (so also in L.<sup>28</sup>); L.<sup>28</sup>, ⲉⲧ ⲉⲛⲟⲩⲙⲓⲁ > -ⲟⲩⲙⲓⲁ; L.<sup>36</sup>, ⲥⲉⲧⲓⲣⲟⲥ > omitted; ϥⲭⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ > ⲭⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ; L.<sup>36f</sup>, ⲙⲏⲉⲣⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲩⲛ > inverted. L., p. 50<sup>1</sup>, ⲡⲧⲉⲣⲛⲩⲣⲟ > ⲡⲧⲉⲣⲛⲩⲣⲟ; L.<sup>2f</sup>, ⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉⲩ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ > omitted; L.<sup>8</sup>, ⲓⲧⲁ > ⲁⲉ added; L.<sup>9</sup>, ⲁϥϥⲱ > ⲟⲩⲛ added; ⲛⲓⲧⲱⲟⲩ > ⲛⲓ-; L.<sup>10</sup>, ⲁϥⲓ > ⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲁϥⲓ; L.<sup>13</sup>, ⲫⲟⲩⲱϥ ⲁⲛ > ⲁⲛ omitted.

Frag. 2, 21 × 15 cm., is a fragment from the outer side of a leaf (on *Matth.* XXI), corresponding to L., pp. 57<sup>39</sup>–58<sup>13</sup>, 58<sup>23</sup>–25. It is too small for collation.

Frag. 3 (Cairo, no. 36), 32 × 26 cm., numbered —ⲡⲛⲁ (on *Matth.* XXII), corresponds to L., pp. 60<sup>13</sup>–61<sup>14</sup>. The following variants are found: L., p. 60<sup>18f</sup>, ⲛⲉⲭⲁϥ-ⲧⲁⲩⲩⲣⲕⲱⲛ > inverted; L.<sup>20</sup>, ⲛⲉⲧⲉϥⲭⲱ > ⲫⲓ ⲉⲧⲉϥⲭⲱ; L.<sup>21</sup>, ⲛⲓⲕⲁⲧⲁⲓⲛ > a second ⲉⲧⲱⲛ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ added; L.<sup>31</sup>, ⲛⲓⲁⲧⲓⲟⲥ > omitted; -ⲛⲗⲁⲩⲓⲛ > ⲫⲗⲁⲩⲓⲛ; L.<sup>33</sup>, ⲉⲛⲓⲁⲛ > ⲉⲛⲓ (ⲁⲉ added above line by a late hand); L.<sup>34</sup>, ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲁⲧϥ > placed after ⲛⲓⲣⲛⲧ.

L., p. 61<sup>1</sup>, ⲉⲧⲱⲛ > ⲗⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ added; ⲙⲙⲉⲧⲁⲧⲣⲱⲟⲩϥ > -ⲙⲉⲧ- omitted; ⲙⲛⲁⲧⲓⲛⲓ > with ⲭⲉ added; L.<sup>2</sup>, ⲟⲩⲁⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲩ ⲩⲗⲓ > ⲙⲩⲗⲓ; L.<sup>3</sup>, ⲙⲛⲁⲧⲩⲛⲓⲙ > with ⲟⲩⲁⲉ ⲙⲛⲁⲧⲉⲣⲱⲩⲁⲗⲩ ⲡⲓⲣⲛⲧ-ⲟⲩⲁⲉ ⲙⲛⲁⲧⲩⲣⲓ- added; L.<sup>5</sup>, ⲉⲧⲛⲁ-ϥⲱⲛ > ⲁⲧⲛⲁ-; L.<sup>7</sup>, ⲙⲧⲉⲣⲓⲛ > ⲙⲛⲉⲣⲓⲛ; ⲩⲱⲟⲩ > omitted; L.<sup>13</sup>, ⲙⲉⲛ > omitted.

<sup>1</sup> = Fo. 183; 814–22 is fo. 185. The lost fo. 184 contained 7<sup>45</sup>–52; but clearly the famous passage 7<sup>53</sup>–8<sup>11</sup> was omitted as usual in Coptic texts.

<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>3</sup> Other leaves from this work are at Leipzig (*Cod. Tisch.* 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.

<sup>4</sup> *Catena 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* ρϛ [ι]ης (Ornament) [πϛϛ], relating to *Matth.* xxiv. By a singular good fortune the fragment partly fills the lacuna in Lagarde's text,<sup>1</sup> p. 67. A copy (without line-division) is here given:

*Recto* [.....] παρ' ε [π]ηλανος = [..... πε]αυ αλερшорп ηχος [ηωτεп еш]ωп ατшанηος ηωτεп  
 же рппе цри пшаче мпер[ι] εβολ ρппе црек птаμιон мпертепротот - близн отп ηθοу пе  
 пикосмопланос ηαντιχристос

+ Чпаеррнтс рен т[ε]μархн ē īpi ηραпρηпоти мметшорн мпемθο ηпирωмi ρωсте еоресше пач ē пшачет  
 ηтеqiri ηραпёротт ηпнстiа мпма етеммат ефоптеп ммоу ē пϛϛ πiαληппос ηпот' - менепсωс  
 ηтеqшe пач еротп ē рантамiон ρωс же ηтеqероiкп м... [...]

*Verso* еттали[от]т ēже. [.....] = еумот' же [.....] ефхе пiρ пероот ē[.....]. пμρотт оiкonoμiкωс  
 εαушωпi еуoi пpeμωотт ефнттеп ката псахи п'оiкonoμiа шатеуоттпосеп тирот [п]емау отор  
 ηтеq[о]репρωλαi мфрн' ηппаρωм рiтеп пме[.] ммететсеhнс пте теумефот' ηреутапρо

+ Сатоту же пexау менепса пiρoxpeх ηте пiρоотт етеммат фрн еуеерхакi - пiор ηпег' мпеготωпi  
 отор псi[о]т етегеi εβολрeп тфе отор пiжом пте пiфноти етeкiм

Πенепса.....† гар а. шoorтep (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<sup>18</sup> κεφαλ]еоп фaг—109<sup>27</sup> η' η[саθepi (with slight traces of two further lines).

Frag. 6, 13.5 × 24 cm. (lower portion of a leaf). The text (on *Luke* i) = L., p. 119<sup>15-21, 34-39</sup>. 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* ρiη<sup>2</sup> ηης [ . Of the text (on *Luke* xxiii), ll. 18-21 of the *recto* (fragmentary) = L., p. 174<sup>20-21</sup>: the preceding seventeen lines (imperfect) partly fill the lacuna in the published text (p. 174<sup>19</sup>), and read as follows: ]παρaπτωμα ητε(η) | ]е птiрϛ -  
 αλλα ē | ]потшаши отор п[ | ]емашω - ерри ежен(η) | ] ωγт | ] пiмнш ηшωш пем | ]οτὰ ēт ααγiтот |  
 п]те пiархнēρεтс | ]ηηс же ет а пiεго- | ] | т'оот' η'пaраскeт[η] | п]peсhтepoc ηт[ε] | с]аp  
 пем пiархн[... ] | ]ηп ē потма п[.... ] | ]же η'θок пe. [.... ] | ]пωот же аi [.... ] | ]паρ' |

The *verso* = L., p. 174<sup>29-39</sup> (l. 36 етi он тiтос—l. 38 εωλ εβολ 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): ]ρεп пiсhω[ |  
 ... hас]ηλιoc еф[he ...

<sup>1</sup> 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?

<sup>2</sup> 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., unpagcd. 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 XXI A). Accents and breathings are intermittently marked, but are usually incorrect (e.g. + normally marks a *rough* breathing): initial γ has the form γ̇. Summary Arabic renderings of the rubrics are added in the margins by another (?) but probably contemporary hand. The ordinary abbreviations are used—ΘC, IC XC, KE, ΠHP, ΠNA, OYHOC, CPID, CTPOC. On fo. 9<sup>a</sup> 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 Renaudot<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> The following is an analysis<sup>3</sup> of this group of leaves with references to the texts and versions edited by Brightman (B.)<sup>4</sup> and Renaudot (R.).<sup>5</sup>

- |          |   |   |
|----------|---|---|
| Fo. 1    | { | I. <i>Prayer of Thanksgiving.</i><br>[Εὐχαριστοῦμεν—] σὺν τῷ παναγίῳ· Ἀμήν (B. 113, 148).   |
|          | { | II. <i>Prayer of Prothesis.</i><br>Δέσποτα Κύριε—αἰώνων. Ἀμήν (B. 148: cp. 124).  |
|          | { | III. ? <i>Prayer after the 'Praxis' (Acts-lesson).</i> <sup>6</sup><br>... θροῦ δικαίωσον—χάριτι καὶ οἰκτ[υρμοῖς].                            |
| Fos. 2–4 | { | IV. <i>Censing.</i><br>Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ αἰώνιος (B. 150).<br>καὶ μνησθῆναι (B. 150, 166, R. 58).<br>τὴν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ—τὸν λαόν σου (B. 166, 126, R. 59). |
|          | { | V. <i>Prayer of the Gospel.</i><br>Δέσποτα Κύριε &c. (cp. B. 115, 117).   |

<sup>1</sup> *Lit. Or. Coll.* (2nd edition) 1, 57 ff.

<sup>2</sup> These are noted in the *apparatus criticus* (where our fragments are parallel to the text of Renaudot).

<sup>3</sup> For this as for other notes on the contents of the Basil fragment I am greatly indebted to the kindness of the Rev. F. E. Brightman of Magdalen College.

<sup>4</sup> *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Vol. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *ut supra*.

<sup>6</sup> The identification is provisionally made by Brightman.

## LITURGICAL FRAGMENTS

- |          |   |   |
|----------|---|---|
| Fos. 5-6 | { | VI. <i>Intercession after the Gospel.</i><br>. . . . . (App.), B. 160.<br>. . . καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς—τὸ θέλημά σου τὸ ἅγιον (B. 161, 115).<br>VII. <i>Kiss of Peace.</i><br>Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ αἰώνιος—ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ καὶ . . . (R. 62).  |
| Fo. 7    | { | VIII. <i>Anaphora.</i><br>[ἀναγίν]νησιν ἐξ ὕδατος—ἐπὶ τῶν ἀ[γίων] (= R. 65 sq.).  |
| Fo. 8    | { | IX. <i>Intercession (after the Consecration).</i><br>[ἐλπίζ]οντες—εὐκαιρίαις + ὁ διδούς—ἔργον ἀγαθόν (B. 128, 167 f.; R. 69).<br>Μνήσθητι Κύριε—ὁμολογητῶν (R. 70).   |
| Fo. 9    | { | [ἀγγε]λικῆς καὶ ἀρχ. σου λειτουργίας (B. 120).<br>Μνήσθητι κε ὑπὲρ τ. θύσια—προσφερόντων (R. 32, 70: cp. B. 129).<br>Μνήσθητι κε ὑπὲρ τ.—ἐκκλησίας (B. 121, 150).<br>Μνήσθητι κε ὑπὲρ τ.—ἐπισκόπων (B. 121, 151).<br>Μνήσθητι κε ὑπὲρ τ.—συνελεύσεων ἡμῶν (B. 121, 151).<br>Ὡς προσεδέξω—βουλο[μένων] (B. 129). |
| Fo. 10   | { | X. <i>Fraction.</i><br>μεταλήψεως—Θεὸς ἡμῶν (R. 72).<br>Δέσποτα κε—ἀπαρεστικόν (R. 73).   |

The remains of the Liturgy of Saint Gregory correspond generally to the text of Renaudot,<sup>1</sup> 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.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| I. <i>Prayer of Peace.</i>                    |  |
| Fo. 1 <sup>a</sup> -2 <sup>b</sup>            | [ἀνα]καινίσαι—ἀμὴν (= Ren. 90-91).<br>ἡ ἀγάπη—κυρίῳ (= Ren. 92). |
| II. <i>Beginning of the Anaphora.</i>         |  |
| Fo. 2 <sup>b</sup>                            | ἀληθῶς—ἄχρονον (= Ren. 93).                                      |
| III. <i>Consecration.</i>                     |  |
| Fo. 3 <sup>a</sup> -4 <sup>b</sup>            | τοῦ πτώματος—πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ (= Ren. 96-97).                      |
| Fo. 5 <sup>a</sup> -5 <sup>b</sup>            | ὁ διάκονος—ἁμαρτιῶν (= Ren. 98).                                 |
| IV. <i>Intercession after Consecration.</i>   |  |
| Fo. 6 <sup>a</sup> -7 <sup>a</sup>            | παρασχού πασιν—τὸ πρόσωπον <τῆς γῆς> (= Ren. 100-101).           |
| Fo. 7 <sup>a</sup> -9 <sup>b</sup>            | χάρισαι τῷ λαῷ—δνόματα (= Ren. 102-104).                         |
| V. <i>(After the Eucharistic Confession).</i> |  |
| Fo. 10 <sup>a</sup>                           | τῷ πατρί—ἀμὴν (= Ren. 113, with differences).                    |
| VI. <i>Psalms and Hymns.</i>                  |  |
| Fo. 10 <sup>b</sup> -12 <sup>a</sup>          | Psalm cxxxv.   |
| Fo. 12 <sup>b</sup> -13 <sup>a</sup>          | Psalm cl.  |
| Fo. 13 <sup>b</sup> -14 <sup>b</sup>          | Hymn to the Trinity.   |
| Fo. 14 <sup>b</sup> -15 <sup>b</sup>          | Hymn to the Theotokos (Alphabetic).                              |

1 *op. cit.*, pp. 85 ff.

# NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

## THE LITURGY OF SAINT BASIL.

\* Fo. 1<sup>a</sup> \*CYN TΩ ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΑΘΩ ΚΑΙ ΖΩΟΠΟΙΩ ΚΑΙ ΘΜΟΟΥΣΙΩ ΣΟΥ ΠΝΙ· ΝΥΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΙΩΝΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΙΩΝΩΝ ΑΜΗΝ:—

\* ΕΥΧΗ ΕΠΙΚΛΗΣΕΩΣ<sup>1</sup> \*

السّر

ΔΕΣΠΟΤΑ ΚΕ ΙΥ ΧΕ Θ ΣΥΝΑΙΔΙΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΧΡΑΝΤΟΥ ΣΟΥ ΠΡΕ ΚΑΙ ΠΝΕ ΑΓΙΟΥ· Θ ΑΡΤΟΣ Θ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΟΥΝΟΥ ΚΑΤΑΒΑΣ· ΚΑΙ

\* Fo. 1<sup>b</sup> ΠΡΟΘΕΙΣ ΣΕΑΥΤΟΝ ΑΜΝΟΝ ΑΜΩΜΟΝ· ΥΠΕΡ ΤΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ ΖΩΗΣ· ΔΕΟΜΕΘΑ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝ<sup>2</sup> ΣΕ ΦΙΛΑΝΕ ΑΓΑ\*ΘΕ ΚΕ· ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΝ ΤΟ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΝ ΣΟΥ· ΕΠΙ ΤΟΝ ΑΡΤΟΝ ΤΟΥΤΟΝ· ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙ ΤΟ ΠΟΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΤΟΥΤΟ· (Α) ΠΡΟΕΘΗΚΑΜΕΝ ΕΝ ΤΑΥΤΗ<sup>3</sup> ΤΗ ΙΕΡΑΤΗΚΗ ΣΟΥ ΤΡΑΠΕΖΗ· ΚΑΙ ΑΓΙΑΣΟΝ ΑΥΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΤΑΠΟΙΗΣΟΝ· ΙΝΑ Θ ΜΕΝ ΑΡΤΟΣ ΟΥΤΟΣ<sup>4</sup>· ΓΕΝΗΤΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΑΓΙΟΝ ΣΟΥ ΣΩΜΑ ΤΟ<sup>5</sup> ΔΕ ΠΟΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΣΟΥ ΑΙΜΑ ΕΙΣ ΑΦΕΣΙΝ ΑΜΑΡΤΙΩΝ· ΧΑΡΙΤΙ ΚΑΙ ΟΙΚΤΕΙΡΜΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΑΝΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΝΕ· ΝΥΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΙΩΝΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΙΩΝΩΝ ΑΜΗΝ:—

\* \* \* \* \*

\* Fo. 2<sup>a</sup> [ΕΧ] \*ΘΡΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΩΣΟΝ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΧΡΗΣΤΟΤΗΤΙ ΣΟΥ· ΩΣ ΚΟΡΝΗΛΙΟΝ (ΤΟΝ ΕΝ) ΤΑΙΣ ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΣΟΥ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ· ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΥΜΕΝΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΙΣΧΥΣΟΝ ΗΜΩΝ ΤΟΝ ΝΟΥΝ· ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΔΙΔΟΝΑΙΑΝ ΙΝΑ ΜΙΜΗΤΑΙ ΓΕΝΩΜΕΘΑ<sup>6</sup> ΤΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ<sup>7</sup> ΣΟΥ· ΧΑΡΙΤΙ ΚΑΙ ΟΙΚΤ·:—

\* ΕΥΧΗ \* صلاة البخور

\* Fo. 2<sup>b</sup> \*Ο ΘΣ Ο ΑΙΩΝΙΟΣ Θ ΑΝΑΡΧΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΤΕΛΕΥΤΗΤΟΣ Θ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΤΗ ΒΟΥΛΗ ΚΑΙ ΔΥΝΑΤΟΣ· ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΕΡΓΟΙΣ· Θ ΠΑΝ\*ΤΑΧΟΥ ΠΑΡΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΑΣΙΝ ΠΑΡΙΣΤΑΜΕΝΟΣ· ΣΥΜΠΑΡΕΣΩ ΗΜΙΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΩΡΑΝ ΤΑΥΤΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΓΕΝΟΥ (ΕΝ) ΜΕΣΩ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΗΜΩ(Ν) ΑΓΝΙΣΟΝ<sup>8</sup> ΗΜΩΝ ΤΑΣ ΚΑΡΔΙΑΣ· ΑΓΙΑΣΟΝ ΗΜΩΝ ΤΑΣ ΨΥΧΑΣ· ΚΑΘΑΡΙΣΟΝ ΗΜΑΣ· ΑΠΟ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ ΑΜΑΡΤΗΜΑΤΟΣ ΕΚΟΥΣΙΟΥ ΤΕ· ΚΑΙ ΑΚΟΥΣΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΔΟΣ ΗΜΙΝ ΠΡΟΣΦΕΡΙΝ· ΕΝΩΠΙΟΝ ΣΟΥ ΤΑΣ ΛΟΓΙΚΑΣ ΛΑΤΡΕΙΑΣ ΑΙΝΕΣΕΩΣ ΘΥΜΙΑΜΑ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙΚΟΝ ΕΙΣΕΡ\*ΧΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΕΣΩΤΕΡΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΤΑΠΕΤΑΣΜΑΤΟΣ· ΕΙΣ ΤΑ ΑΓΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ [ΚΑΙ ΜΗΗΣΘΗΝΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΚΛΗΘΗΤΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ<sup>9</sup> ΕΙΡΗΝΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΓΙΑΣ ΜΟΝΗΣ ΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΗΣ ΣΟΥ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ:—

ΤΗΝ ΕΞ ΟΥΝΟΥ ΣΟΥ<sup>10</sup> ΕΙΡΗΝΗ(Ν)· ΒΡΑΒΕΥΣΟΝ ΤΑΙΣ ΑΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΗΜΩΝ ΚΑΡΔΙΑΙΣ· ΑΛΛΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΒΙΟΥ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ· ΤΗΝ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΝ

\* Fo. 3<sup>b</sup> = R. 59 ΗΜΙΝ ΔΩΡΗΘΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ ΤΑ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΙ· ΚΑ ΤΑΓΜΑ\*ΤΑ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΑΣ<sup>11</sup> ΒΟΥΛΗΝ ΔΗΜΟΥΣ ΓΕΙΤΟΝΙΑΣ<sup>12</sup> ΗΜΩΝ (Fo. 1<sup>a</sup>–2<sup>b</sup>: no parallel Greek text in Renaudot.)

- <sup>1</sup> ΕΠΙΚΛΗΣΙΣ, Cod.      <sup>2</sup> -ΠΑ- omitted by first hand, supplied in margin by later hand in 'Coptic' uncials.  
<sup>3</sup> Originally ΤΑΥΤΗΝ (N erased).      <sup>4</sup> ΤΟΥΤΟΣ, Cod.      <sup>5</sup> ΤΟΥ, Cod.      <sup>6</sup> ΓΕΝΟΜΕΘΑ, Cod.      <sup>7</sup> ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ, Cod.  
<sup>8</sup> ΑΓΝΗΣΟΝ, Cod.      <sup>9</sup> ΚΑΙ ΜΗΗΣΘΗΝΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΚΛΗΘΗΤΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ, Ren.      <sup>10</sup> Ren. omits ΣΟΥ.  
<sup>11</sup> ΑΡΧΟΥΤΑΣ, corrected by first hand.      <sup>12</sup> ΓΙΤΩΝΙΑΣ, Cod. (= 'quarters' of a city): ΓΕΙΤΟΝΑΣ, Ren.

\* Fo. 1<sup>a</sup> ...\*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.

\* \* \* \* \*

\* Fo. 2<sup>a</sup> ...\*of the enemy, justify (us) in Thy graciousness as Thou didst Cornelius unto whom witness is borne 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 \*of our army, our magistrates, our Senate, our people, the

## LITURGICAL FRAGMENTS

ΕΙΣΟΔΟΥΣ · ΚΑΙ ΕΞΟΔΟΥΣ ΕΝ ΠΑΣΗ ΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΚΑΤΑΚΟΣΜΗΣΟΝ<sup>1</sup> ∴ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΣ ΚΕ ΚΕ ΤΟΥ ΕΛΕΟΥΣ · ΕΙΡΗΝΗΝ<sup>2</sup>  
ΔΟΣ ΗΜΙΝ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΓΑΡ ΑΠΕΔΩΚΑΣ ΗΜΙΝ ΚΤΗΣΑΙ<sup>3</sup> ΗΜΑΣ Ο ΘΣ · ΕΚΤΟΣ ΣΟΥ ΑΛΛΟΝ ΟΥΚ ΟΙΔΑΜΕΝ ΤΟ ΟΝΟΜΑ ΣΟΥ ΟΝΟΜΑ-  
ΖΟΜΕΝ · ΤΟ ΥΠΕΡ ΣΡΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΣΙΑΣ · ΤΩΝ ΨΥΧΩΝ ΗΜΩΝ (ΕΠΟΝΟΜΑΖΟΜΕΝΟΝ)<sup>4</sup> · ΖΩΟ<sup>5</sup>ΠΟΙΗΣΟΝ ΤΑΣ ΑΠΑΝΤΩΝ  
ΗΜΩΝ ΨΥΧΑΣ ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΣΟΥ ΠΝΣ · ΟΠΩΣ ΜΗ ΚΑΤΙΣΧΥΣΗ<sup>5</sup> ΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ ΑΜΑΡΤΙΩΝ ΗΜΩΝ · ΜΗΤΕ<sup>6</sup> ΚΑΘ ΗΜΩΝ ΤΟΥΣ  
ΔΟΥΛΟΥΣ ΣΟΥ · ΜΗΤΕ<sup>7</sup> ΚΑΤΑ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΛΑΟΥ ΣΟΥ ΚΕ ΕΥΛΟΓΗΣΟΝ ΤΗΝ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΝ<sup>8</sup> ΣΟΥ ΧΑΡΙΤΙ ΚΑΙ ΟΙΚΤΕΙΡΜΟΙΣ

× Fo. 4<sup>a</sup>

\* ΕΥΧΗ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΥ \*

صلاه الانجيل

ΔΕΣΠΟΤΑ ΚΕ ΙΥ ΧΕ Ο ΕΞΑΠΟΣΤΕΙΛΑΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΓΙΟΥΣ<sup>9</sup> ΣΟΥ ΜΑΘΗΤΑΣ · ΚΑΙ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥΣ · ΕΝ ΟΛΩ ΤΩ<sup>10</sup> ΚΟΣΜΩ · ΚΗΡΥΞΑΙ \*ΚΑΙ  
ΔΙΔΑΞΑΙ ΤΟ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ ΣΟΥ + ΚΑΙ ΜΑΘΗΤΕΥΕΙΝ {ΕΙΣ} ΠΑΝΤΑ ΤΑ ΕΘΝΗ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΕΠΙΓΝΩΣΙΝ ΣΟΥ ΔΙ' Ο<sup>11</sup>  
ΔΕΟΜΕΘΑ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝ ΣΕ ΦΙΛΑΝΕ ΑΓΑΘΕ ΚΕ · ΔΙΑΝΟΙΞΟ(Ν) ΤΑ ΩΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΡΔΙΩΝ ΗΜΩΝ · ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΑΚΡΟΑΣΙΝ ΤΩΝ  
ΑΓΙΩΝ ΣΟΥ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΩΝ · ΔΙΑΝΟΙΞΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΑΙΣΘΗΤΗΡΙΑ<sup>12</sup> ΤΩΝ ΨΥΧΩΝ ΗΜΩΝ · ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑΞΙΩΣΟΝ ΗΜΑΣ ΓΕΝΕΣΘΑΙ ΜΗ  
ΜΟΝΟΝ ΑΚΡΟΑΤΑΣ · ΑΛΛΑ Κ(ΑΙ) ΠΟΙΗΤΑΣ

× Fo. 4<sup>b</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

ΚΑ]<sup>13</sup>ΘΟΛΙΚΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΙΚΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΘΥ<sup>13</sup> ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ · ΕΙΡΗΝΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΥΓΙΕΙΑΝ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΤΕ<sup>14</sup> ΚΑΙ ΗΜΙΝ ΧΑΡΙΖΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΕΚ  
ΠΑΣΩΝ<sup>15</sup> ΤΩΝ ΗΜΕΡΩ(Ν) ΤΑΣ ΔΕ ΕΥΧΑΣ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΑΣ ΠΟΙΟΥΝΤΑΙ ΥΠΕΡ ΗΜΩΝ · ΚΑΙ ΥΠΕΡ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΛΑΟΥ ΣΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΣ  
ΗΜΩΝ<sup>16</sup> ΥΠΕΡ ΑΥΤΟΥ<sup>17</sup> · ΠΡΟΣΔΕΞΑΙ ΕΠΙ ΤΟΝ ΟΥΝΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΛΟΓΗΜΕΝΟΝ ΣΟΥ ΘΥΣΙΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΙΣ ΟΣΜΗΝ ΕΥΩΔΙΑΣ ΠΑ(Ν)ΤΑ  
ΔΕ<sup>18</sup> ΕΧΘΡΟΝ<sup>19</sup> ΑΥΤΟΥ · ΟΡΑΤΟΝ<sup>20</sup> Η ΑΟΡΑΤΟΝ ΣΥΝ<sup>21</sup>ΤΡΙΨΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΘΥΠΟΤΑΞΟΝ · ΥΠΟ ΤΟΥΣ ΠΟΔΑΣ ΗΜΩ(Ν)<sup>21</sup> ΕΝ<sup>22</sup> ΤΑΧΕΙ  
ΑΥΤΟΝ ΔΕ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΑΓΙΑ<sup>23</sup> ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΕΝ ΕΙΡΗΝΗ<sup>24</sup> ΔΙΑΦΥΛΑΞΟΝ:—

× Fo. 5<sup>a</sup>=R. 60

× Fo. 5<sup>b</sup>

ΜΗΗΣΘΗΤΙ ΚΕ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΗΣ ΑΓΙΑΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ ΤΑΥΤΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ<sup>25</sup> ΣΥΝΕΛΕΥΣΕΩΝ ΗΜΩ(Ν)

<sup>1</sup> ΚΑΤΑΚΟΣΜΙΟΝ, *Cod.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ren.* omits ΚΕ ΚΕ ΤΟΥ ΕΛΕΟΥΣ and before ΕΙΡΗΝΗΝ adds ΤΗΝ ΧΗΝ.

<sup>3</sup> ΚΤΙΣΑΙ, *Cod.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ren.* omits ΤΟ ΥΠΕΡ—(ΕΠΟΝΟΜΑΖΟΜΕΝΟΝ): the last word was perhaps omitted by haplography.

<sup>5</sup> ΚΑΤΑΙΣΧΥΝΘΗΣΙ, *Cod.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ren.* omits.

<sup>7</sup> ΜΗΔΕ, *Cod.* (so also *Ren.*).

<sup>8</sup> ΤΗΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ, *Cod.*

(Fo. 4<sup>b</sup>: no parallel Greek text in Renaudot.)

<sup>9</sup> ΑΓΙΑΣ, *Cod.*

<sup>10</sup> ΤΟ, *Cod.*

<sup>11</sup> ΣΟΥ, added above line by the scribe of the Gregory-Liturgy:

ΔΙ' Ο, so corrected by the same hand from ΔΙΟΥ.

<sup>12</sup> ΕΣΘ-, *Cod.*

<sup>13</sup> ΣΟΥ, *Ren.*

<sup>14</sup> ΥΓΙΑΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΔΕ, *Cod.*

<sup>15</sup> ΠΑΝΤΩΝ, *Cod.*

<sup>16</sup> ΚΑΤΑΧΜΩΝ, *Cod.*: ΚΑΙ ΗΜΕΙΣ, *Ren.*

<sup>17</sup> ΑΥΤΟΥΣ, *Cod.*: ΑΥΤΩΝ, *Ren.*

<sup>18</sup> ΜΕΝ, *Ren.*

<sup>19</sup> -ΩΝ, *Cod.*

<sup>20</sup> -ΩΝ corrected by second hand.

<sup>21</sup> ΑΥΤΟΥ, *Ren.*

<sup>22</sup> ΕΠΙ, *Ren.*

<sup>23</sup> *Ren.* adds ΣΟΥ.

<sup>24</sup> *Ren.* adds ΚΑΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗ. (The

remainder of 5<sup>b</sup> with all but the last words of 6<sup>a</sup> has no parallel in Renaudot's Greek text, which is here imperfect.)

<sup>25</sup> ΤΟΝ, *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 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...

× Fo. 4<sup>a</sup>

\*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.

× Fo. 4<sup>b</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

...of the Catholic and Apostolic Church of God, granting unto them and unto us peace and health all our days. And for their prayers which they offer on behalf of us and of all Thy people, and our (prayers) on its<sup>1</sup> 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 \*crush and set under our feet, but for itself, preserve it in peace in the holy Church.

× Fo. 5<sup>a</sup>

× Fo. 5<sup>b</sup>

Remember, O Lord, this holy Church and our assemblies.

<sup>1</sup> sc. of Thy people.



# LITURGICAL FRAGMENTS

ΚΑΤΕΛΙΠΕΝ<sup>1</sup> ΔΕ ΗΜΙΝ ΤΟΥΤΟ (ΤΟ) ΜΕΓΑ ΤΗΣ ΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΑΣ {ΜΕΓΑ} ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΜΕΛΛΩΝ ΓΑΡ ΠΑΡΑΔΟΥΝΑΙ ΕΑΥΤΟΝ<sup>2</sup> · ΕΙΣ ΘΑΝΑΤΟΝ<sup>3</sup> ὕΠΕΡ ΤΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ ΖΩΗΣ +<sup>4</sup> (Ε)ΛΑΒΕΝ ΑΡΤΟΝ ΕΠΙ ΤΩΝ Δ | = R. 66

[ΕΛΠΙ]·\*ΖΟΝΤΑΣ ΕΠΙ ΟΙΣ<sup>5</sup> · ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΤΟ ΟΝΟΜΑ ΣΟΥ ΤΟ ἍΓΙΟΝ ὅΤΙ Οἱ ΟΦΘΑΛΜΟΙ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΕΙΣ ΣΕ ΕΛΠΙΖΟΥΣΙΝ · \* Fo. 8<sup>a</sup> = R. 69

ΚΑΙ Σὺ ΔΙΔΩΣ ΤΗΝ ΤΡΟΦὴν Αὐτῶν ΕΝ ΕΥΚΑΙΡΙΑΙΣ<sup>6</sup> ΠΟΙΗΣΟΝ ΜΕΘ' ΗΜΩΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΑΓΑΘΟΤΗΤΑ ΣΟΥ ὅ ΔΙΔΟΥΣ ΤΡΟΦΗΝ ΠΑΣΗ<sup>7</sup> ΣΑΡΚΙ ΠΛΗΡΩΣΟΝ ΧΑΡΑΣ · ΚΑΙ ΕΥΦΡΟΣΥΝΗΣ ΤΑΣ ΚΑΡΔΙΑΣ ΗΜΩΝ · ἵΝΑ<sup>8</sup> ΠΑΝΤΟΤΕ ΠΑΣΑΝ Αὐτάρκτιαν ΕΧΟΝΤΕΣ ΠΕΡΙΣΣΕΥΣΩΜΕΝ<sup>9</sup> ΕΙΣ ΠΑΝ ΕΡΓΟΝ ΑΓΑΘΟΝ ΤΟΥ<sup>10</sup> ΠΟΙΕῖΝ \*ΤΟ ΘΕΛΗΜΑ ΣΟΥ ΤΟ ἍΓΙΟΝ:— \* Fo. 8<sup>b</sup> = R. 70

ΜΝΗΣΘΗΤΙ ΚΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΤΑ<sup>11</sup> ΔΩΡΑ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΠΡΟΣΦΕΡΟΝΤΩΝ<sup>12</sup> · ΚΑΙ ΜΙΣΘΟΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΙΟΝ ΠΑΡΑΣΧΟΥ ΠΑΣΙΝ<sup>13</sup> · ΕΠΕΙΔΗ<sup>14</sup> ΔΕΣΠΟΤΑ ΠΡΟΣΤΑΓΜΑ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΤΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΓΕΝΟΥΣ ΣΟΥ ΥΙΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΜΝΗΜΗΣ ΤΩΝ ἁΓΙΩΝ ΣΟΥ · ΚΟΙΝΩΝΕΙΝ ΗΜΑΣ ΜΝΗΣΘΗΝΑΙ<sup>15</sup> ΚΑΤΑΞΙΩΣΟΝ<sup>16</sup> ΤΩΝ Ἀπ αἰωνος ΕΥΑΡΕΣΤΗΣΑΝΤΩΝ<sup>17</sup> ΟΙΣ<sup>18</sup> · ἁΓΙΩΝ ΠΡΩΝ ΠΡΙΑΡΧΩΝ · ΠΡΟΦΗΤΩΝ<sup>19</sup> · ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ · ΜΑΡΤΥΡΩΝ · ὉΜΟΛΟΓΗΤΩΝ

[ΑΓΓΕ]·\*ΛΙΚΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΙΚΗΣ ΣΟΥ ΛΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΙΑΣ · | ΜΝΗΣΘΗΤΙ ΚΕ ὕΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΘΥΣΙΑ<sup>20</sup> ἡμῶν ΤΑΥΤΑ ΔΩΡΑ ΠΡΟΣΦΕΡΟΝΤΩΝ + ΜΝΗΣΘΗΤΙ ΚΕ ὕΠΕΡ ΤΗΣ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΣ ΤΗΣ ἁΓΙΑΣ ΜΟΝΗΣ ΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΙΚΗΣ<sup>21</sup> ΟΡΘΟΔΟΞΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΘΥ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ + \* Fo. 9<sup>a</sup> *cf.* R. 70

ΜΝΗΣΘΗΤΙ ΚΕ ὕΠΕΡ ΤΟΥ ἁΓΙΟΥ ΠΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΠΑΠΑ ΑΒΒΑ ΒΕΝΙΑΜΗΝ · ΤΟΥ ΠΡΙΑΡΧΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑΣ · *cf.* R. 68 ΚΑΙ ΟΡΘΟ · ΔΟΞΩΝ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΩΝ<sup>22</sup>

\*ΜΝΗΣΘΗΤΙ ΚΕ ὕΠΕΡ ΤΗΣ ἁΓΙΑΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ ΤΑΥΤΗΣ · ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΣΥΝΕΛΕΥΣΕΩΝ<sup>23</sup> ΗΜΩΝ:— \* Fo. 9<sup>b</sup>

Ὡς ΠΡΟΣΕΔΕΞΩ ΤΑ ΔΩΡΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΣΟΥ ΑΒΕΛ · ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΘΥΣΙΑΝ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΣ ΗΜΩ(Ν) ἈΒΡΑΑΜ · ΖΑΧΑΡΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΘΥΜΙΑ(ΜΑ) · ΚΟΡΝΗΛΙΟΥ · ΤΑΣ ΠΡΟΣΕΥΧΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΛΕΗΜΟΣΥΝΑΣ<sup>24</sup> ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΧΗΡΑΣ<sup>25</sup> ΤΑ ΔΥΟ ΛΕΠΤΑ · ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΗΡΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΔΟΥΛΩΝ ΣΟΥ · ΠΡΟΣΔΕΞΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΤΟ ΠΟΛΥ<sup>26</sup> ΚΑΙ ΟΛΙΓΟΝ ΚΡΥΦΑ · ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΡΗΣΙΑ ΒΟΥΛΟ[ΜΕΝΩΝ

<sup>1</sup> -ΛΕΙΠΕΝ, *Cod.*      <sup>2</sup> ΑΥΤΟΝ, *Cod.*      <sup>3</sup> ΘΑΝΑΤΟΥ, *Cod.*      <sup>4</sup> People's response omitted.      <sup>5</sup> ΕΠΟΙΟΙ, *Cod.*

<sup>6</sup> ΕΥΚΑΙΡΙΑ, *Ren.*      <sup>7</sup> ΠΑΣΗ, *Cod.*      <sup>8</sup> *Ren.* adds ΕΝ ΠΑΝΤΙ.      <sup>9</sup> ΠΕΡΙΣΤΕΥΣΩΜΕΝ, *Ren.*      <sup>10</sup> ΤΟ, *Ren.*

<sup>11</sup> ΤΑ added by a second hand: ΤΑ ΤΙΜΙΑ ΔΩΡΑ ΟΙΣ ΤΑΥΤΑ, *Ren.*      <sup>12</sup> -ΤΟΝ, *Cod.*: *Ren.* adds ΚΑΙ ὕΠΕΡ ὧΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΙ ὧΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΦ' ΟἷΣ Αὐτὰ ΠΡΟΣΕΚΟΜΙΣΑΝ.      <sup>13</sup> *Ren.* adds Αὐτοῖς.      <sup>14</sup> ΕΠΙΔΗ, *Cod.*      <sup>15</sup> ΕΤΙ ΜΝΗΣΘΗΝΑΙ, *Ren.*

<sup>16</sup> *Ren.* adds ΚΥΡΙΕ.      <sup>17</sup> ΕΥΑΡΕΣΤΑΝΤΩΝ, *Ren.*      <sup>18</sup> ΣΟΥ, *Cod.*      <sup>19</sup> ἈΠΟστ., ΠΡΟφ., ΚΗΡΥΚΩΝ,

ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΣΤΩΝ, ΜΑΡτ., ὉΜΟΛΟΓΗΤΩΝ, *Ren.*      <sup>20</sup> *sic.*      <sup>21</sup> ἈΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΙς, *Cod.*      <sup>22</sup> -ΠΟΝ, *Cod.*

<sup>23</sup> -ΕΟΝ, *Cod.*      <sup>24</sup> ΕΛΕΕΙ-, *Cod.*      <sup>25</sup> ΤΑΣ ΧΕΙΡΑΣ, *Cod.*      <sup>26</sup> ΠΟΛΟΥ, *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. \* Fo. 8<sup>a</sup> *cf.* Fo. 8<sup>b</sup>

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. \* Fo. 9<sup>a</sup>

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,<sup>1</sup> the Patriarch of the great city Alexandria, and (all) Orthodox Bishops.

\*Remember, O Lord, this holy Church and our assemblies. \* Fo. 9<sup>b</sup>

As Thou didst accept the gifts of Thy righteous Abel, the sacrifice of our Father Abraham, the incense-offering of Zacharias, the prayers and alms of Cornelius, and the widow's two mites; even so accept the thank-offerings of Thy servants who desire to . . . their much and their little secretly and openly . . .

<sup>1</sup> Benjamin II, Monophysite Patriarch, 1327–1339 A.D.

## NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

μετάληψεως των ἁγίων αὐτοῦ μυστηρίων<sup>1</sup> ὁ παντοκράτωρ κέ' ὁ ὅς ἡμῶν

\* Fo. 10<sup>a</sup> = R. 72  
= R. 73

\* \*ΕΥΧΗ (ΤΗΣ) ΚΛΑΘΕΩΣ<sup>2</sup> ΤΟΥ ΑΡΤ(ΟΥ) \*

صلاه القس

\* Fo. 10<sup>b</sup>

Δεσποτα κέ' ο ὅς ὁ πᾶν ὁ παντοκράτωρ<sup>3</sup> ὁ μέγας ὁ αἰώνιος · καὶ θαυμαστός ἐν δοξῇ · ὁ φυλάσσων<sup>4</sup> τὴν διαθήκην σου καὶ τὸ ἐλεος τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν σε · ὁ δοὺς ἡμῖν λύτρωσιν<sup>5</sup> ἁμαρτιῶν · διὰ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ κῷ δέ καὶ ὁ<sup>6</sup> καὶ ὁ<sup>7</sup> ἡμῶν ἰῷ ὁ<sup>8</sup> ἡ ζωὴ τῶν ἀπαντῶν \* ἡ βοήθεια τῶν πρὸς σε καταφευγόντων καὶ ἐλπίς τοῖς επικαλούμενοις<sup>7</sup> σε ὡ παρῆσθαι μύριαδες<sup>8</sup> ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων χεροῦβιμ καὶ σεραφίμ καὶ πᾶσα τῶν οὐρανῶν<sup>9</sup> ἀγνάμεων ἡ ἀμετρήτος<sup>10</sup> πληθὺς ὁ ἁγίας τὰ<sup>11</sup> προκειμένα σου ὥρα ταῦτα καθαρίσας ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν κρυφαίων καὶ φανερῶν ἡμῶν ἁμαρτημάτων καὶ πᾶν διανοήμα<sup>12</sup> ἀπαρῆσθαι<sup>13</sup>

[Sic exit.]

### THE LITURGY OF SAINT GREGORY.

\* Fo. 1<sup>a</sup>  
= R. 90

\* καίνισαι βογλόμενος καὶ πρὸ[ς] τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἀναγάγειν ἀζ[ι]ω[μα] · οὐκ ἄγγελος · οὐκ ἀρχαγγελος · οὐκ πρίαρχος · οὐκ προφήτης · τὴν ἡμῶν ἐνεχείρησε<sup>14</sup> ἐρίαν ·

\* Fo. 1<sup>b</sup>  
= R. 91

Ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἀτρεπτῶς σάρξ γενόμενος · καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσας<sup>15</sup> κατὰ πάντα ὁμοιώθηκε<sup>16</sup> ἡμῖ(ν) ἐκτὸς μόνως<sup>17</sup> ἁμαρτίας · μεσίτης ἡμῶν γεγονας<sup>18</sup> καὶ τοῦ πᾶν · καὶ τὸν μεσότητον τοῦ φραγμοῦ · καὶ τὴν χρονίαν ἔχθραν καθελὼν · τὰ ἐπίγεια τοῖς ἐποῦνίοις σῆνυσας · καὶ τὰ ἀμφοτέρω εἰς ἓν σὺνηγαγες · \* καὶ τὴν ἐν\*σάρκον ἐπλήρως οἰκονομίαν · καὶ μέλλων σωματικῶς ἐλαΐνειν εἰς<sup>19</sup> οὐρανοῦς · θεϊκῶς τὰ πάντα πληρῶν · τοῖς ἁγίοις σου μαθήταις καὶ ἀποστόλοις ἔλεγες ·

Εἰρήνην ἀφίημι ὧμῖν · εἰρήνην τὴν ἐμὴν δίδωμι ὧμῖν ·

Ταύτην καὶ νῦν εἰρήνην ἡμῖ(ν) δώρησαι Δεσποτα · χάρις καὶ παντὸς ἀποκάθαρσιν<sup>20</sup> μολύσματος · παντὸς δόλογ · καὶ πάσης κακίας · καὶ πανουργίας · καὶ τῆς θανατηφόρου μνησικακίας · καὶ καταζίωσιν ἡμᾶς

<sup>1</sup> Ren. adds τοῦ ἀχράντου σώματος καὶ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος τοῦ χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ. <sup>2</sup> κλασας, Cod.

<sup>3</sup> κύριε, παντοκράτωρ ὁ θεός, ὁ μέγας, Ren. <sup>4</sup> -con, Cod. <sup>5</sup> -cein, Cod. <sup>6</sup> ὁ, Cod.

<sup>7</sup> τῶν επικαλούμενων, Ren. <sup>8</sup> παραστήκοις χίλιαι χιλιάδες καὶ μύρια μύριάδες, Ren. <sup>9</sup> οὐρανῶν, Cod.

<sup>10</sup> ἡ ἀμετρίτος, Cod.; Ren. omits. <sup>11</sup> So Ren.: ἀγίασας, Cod. (But ἁγίασας τὰ may well be the right reading.)

<sup>12</sup> -νοήμα, Cod. <sup>13</sup> ἀπαρῆσθαι, Cod.: ἀπάρῆσθαι, Ren.

<sup>14</sup> ἐνεχείρησας, Cod. (so Ren.). <sup>15</sup> ἐνθῆ, Cod. (so Ren.). <sup>16</sup> ὁμοιώθηκε, Ren. <sup>17</sup> + τῆς, Ren.

<sup>18</sup> γενόμενος, Ren. <sup>19</sup> + τοῦ, Ren. <sup>20</sup> ἀπὸ καθαρῶς, Cod.

\* Fo. 10<sup>a</sup>

... \*of partaking in His holy Mysteries, O Lord our God Almighty.

#### Prayer at the Breaking of the Bread.

\* Fo. 10<sup>b</sup>

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. 1<sup>a</sup>

... \*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;

\* Fo. 1<sup>b</sup>

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, \*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

## LITURGICAL FRAGMENTS

ἁσπασασθαι ἀλλήλοισ ἐν φιλήματι ἁγίῳ· εἰς τὸ μετασχεῖν ἀκατακρίτως τῆς ἀθανάτου καὶ ἐπογνίου σου δωρεᾶς· \* Fo. 2<sup>a</sup>

χάριτι<sup>1</sup> τῇ σὴ· εὐδοκίᾳ<sup>2</sup> τοῦ πατρὸς· καὶ ἐνεργείᾳ τοῦ παναγίου σου πνεύματος·

Ὁ γὰρ εἶ ὁ χορηγὸς καὶ δοτὴρ πά(ν)των· τῶν ἀγαθῶν· καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν τὴν αἰδὼν δοξολογίαν ἀναπέμπομεν<sup>3</sup>· σὺν τῷ ἀνάρχῳ σου πατρὶ· καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνί νῦν κ(αί) εἰς τ(οὺς) αἰῶ(νας) τ(ῶν) αἰῶ(νων) ἀμήν<sup>4</sup>· |

Ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ<sup>5</sup> πατρὸς· καὶ ἡ χάρις τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ κ(υρίου)· ἡ δὲ καὶ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἡ γλῶσση

= R. 92

καὶ ἡ κοινωνία καὶ ἡ δωρεὰ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος·

\* Fo. 2<sup>b</sup>

ἔσται<sup>6</sup> μετὰ πάντων ἡμῶν<sup>7</sup>

ἄνω ἡμῶν<sup>8</sup> τὰς καρδίας·<sup>9</sup>

ἐυχαιριστῶμεν τῷ κ(αί)·<sup>10</sup>

ἀρχῇ<sup>11</sup>

= R. 93

Ἀληθῶς<sup>12</sup> ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον· σὲ αἰνεῖν· σὲ ὑμνεῖν<sup>13</sup>· σὲ εὐλογεῖν· σὲ προσκυνεῖν· σὲ δοξάζειν· τὸν μόνον ἀληθινὸν θεόν· τὸν φιλάδων· τὸν ἀφραστον· τὸν ἀόρατον· τὸν ἀχώρητον· τὸν ἀνάρχον· τὸν αἰώνιον· τὸν ἀχρονον

? Four leaves lost.

τοῦ πτωματός μου τὴν ἀνά(σ)τασιν ὑπηγόρευσας· ἔδωκας τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁδου κρατούμενοις τὴν ἀφεσιν· τοῦ νόμου τὴν ἀρὰν ἀπεσώβησας<sup>14</sup>· ἐν σαρκὶ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν κατήργησας· τῆς σῆς ἐξουσίας μοὶ τὴν δυνάστηαν ἐγνώρισας· τυφλοῖς τὸ βλέπει(ν) ἀπέδωκας· νεκροῖς ἐκ τάφω(ν) ἀνέστησας· ῥῆματι τὴν φύσιν<sup>15</sup> ἀνθρώπου· τῆς σῆς ἐγχεῖ[λα] γῆρας μοὶ τὴν οἰ[κονομίαν] ὑπέδειξας τῶν [πονηρῶν τὴν] βίαν ὑπῆνεγκας [τὸν νῶτον]

\* Fo. 3<sup>a</sup>

= R. 96

<sup>1</sup> In marg. (?) هنا يطر (later hand), "Here he cuts the (bread)".

<sup>2</sup> χάριτι τῆς εὐδοκίας, *Ren.*

<sup>3</sup> -ωμεν, *Cod.*

<sup>4</sup> κ(αί) εἰς... ἀμήν, *Ren.* omits.

<sup>5</sup> *Ren.* omits.

<sup>6</sup> εἶη, *Ren.*

<sup>7</sup> People's response omitted.

<sup>8</sup> ἄνω σῶμεν, *Ren.*

<sup>9</sup> People's response omitted.

<sup>10</sup> People's and priest's versicles (ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον)

ignored: (note omission of γὰρ in the following Prayer of Oblation).

<sup>11</sup> (Red): + τῆς προσκομιδῆς, *Ren.*

<sup>12</sup> + γάρ, *Ren.* (cp. note on the omission of versicles above).

<sup>13</sup> σὲ ὑμνεῖν: *Ren.* omits.

<sup>14</sup> ἀπεσώβησας, *Cod.*

<sup>15</sup> φύσις, *Cod.*

evil, from wickedness and from deadly malice. And vouchsafe that we may greet one another with a holy 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.

\* Fo. 2<sup>a</sup>

For Thou art the Bestower and Giver of all good things, and unto Thee we offer up glory, the eternal praise-giving, 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 Christ,

\* Fo. 2<sup>b</sup>

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...

\* \* \* \* \*

... Thou didst suggest the rising again after my fall; Thou didst give release unto them who were under 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<sup>a</sup>



# NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

\* Fo. 3<sup>b</sup>    σου δέδωκας ἐ[ἰς μαστίγας] \*τὰς δὲ σιγῶνας σου ὑπέθηκες εἰς ράπισματα· οὐκ ἀπέστρεψας δι' ἐμὲ τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἀπὸ δεικνύνη[ς ἐ]μπιγμάτων

ο λ(αος) λε(γει) κ(υρι)ε ἐλ(εησον)<sup>1</sup>

ὥς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγῆν· ἤλθεσ μεχρὶ στροῦ τὴν ἐμὴν κηδεμονίαν ὑπέδειξας τῷ σὼ τάφῳ τὴν ἐμὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἐνέκρωσας· εἰς οὐν<sup>2</sup> μοι τὴν<sup>2</sup> ἀπαρχή(ν) [ἀνε]βίβασας· τῆς σῆς ἀφ' ἡμέρας<sup>3</sup> [μοι τὴν πα]ρουσίαν ἐμήνυσας· [ἐν ἡ μελλεῖς ἐρ]χέσθαι κρίναι ζώ(ν)τας καὶ νεκ[ρ]οὺς· καὶ ἀποδοῦ[ναι] ἕκαστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ.

\* Fo. 4<sup>a</sup>    \*ο λ(αος) λε(γει) κα[τὰ τὸ ἐλ(εός) σου κ(υρι)ε]<sup>4</sup>

Ἄγτος<sup>5</sup> μο[υ τῆς ἐλεγεθρίας προσφε]ρω σοι τὰ σ[υμβολα] τοῖς ρημασί σου ἐπιγράφ[ω] τα π[ραγμα]τα

Σὺ μοι τὴν μ[υστικὴν ταύτην] λειτοῦργ[ίαν]<sup>6</sup> παρεδωκας τῆς σῆς σαρκὸς ἐν ἁρτῷ καὶ οἶνῳ τὴν μέθ[εζιν]<sup>7</sup>

τῇ γὰρ νύκ[τι] ἡ παρεδωκας<sup>8</sup> ἄγτος σεαυτὸν τ[ῆς] σεαυτοῦ ἐξουσίας

= R. 97    λαβὼν ἄρ[τον] ἐν ταῖς ἀγίαις καὶ ἄχρ[α]ντοις καὶ ἀμώμητοις σου χερσ[ίν] ἐνεύσας ἀνω πρὸς τὸν<sup>9</sup> ἰδ[ίον] σου πατέρα]

Ἡ χαρί[ς] τῆς καὶ ἡλογῆσας

\* Fo. 4<sup>b</sup>    \* [ἡγιασας ἐκλασας μ]ετέδω[κας τοῖς ἀγίοις σου μ]αθήταις<sup>10</sup> [εἰπας]

[λαβετε φαγετε τοῦτ]ο μοῦ ἐστι(ν) [τὸ σῶμα τὸ ὑπερ ὑ]μῶν καὶ πο[λλῶν κλω]μενον καὶ διαδιδ[ο]μενον εἰς ἀφῆσιν ἁ[μαρτι]ῶν [τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐ]μὴν ἀνάμνησιν

[Ὡσαύτως μετὰ τὸ δεῖ]πνῆσαι λαβὼν ποτήριον καὶ ἐκ[έρας]ας αὐτο ἐκ γεννημα[τ]ος ἀμπέ[λου] καὶ ἐξ ὑδατος]

[Ἡ χαριστῆς καὶ ἡλογῆ]σας ἡγί[σας] μετέδωκας τοῖς ἀγίοις σεαυ[τοῦ]<sup>11</sup> εἰπας πιετε ἐξ αὐ[τοῦ]

\* \* \* \* \*

\* Fo. 5<sup>a</sup>  
= R. 98

\*Ο Δ(ιακονος) λέ(γει) κλίνα(τ)ε ὁ<sup>12</sup> μετὰ φόβου

Ο ἱερεὺς λέ(γει) ἐν ἑαυτῷ κλινῶν<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> (Red).

<sup>2</sup> τὴν ἐμὴν, Ren.

<sup>3</sup> ἀφ' ἡμέρας, Cod.

<sup>4</sup> (Red).

<sup>5</sup> ταύτης, Ren.

<sup>6</sup> Ren. omits.

<sup>7</sup> People's response omitted.

<sup>8</sup> παρεδίδηκε\*, Ren.

<sup>9</sup> Ren. omits.

<sup>10</sup> + καὶ ἀποστόλοις, Ren.: the lacuna would perhaps admit these words in abbreviated form, κ, ἀποστ.

<sup>11</sup> σοῦ μαθηταῖς καὶ ἀποστόλοις, Ren.

<sup>12</sup> ὁ, Cod. (in the margin is an illegible Arabic gloss).

<sup>13</sup> κλινάς, Ren.

\* Fo. 3<sup>b</sup>    back unto scourging; \*Thou didst submit Thy cheeks to buffeting; for my sake Thou didst not turn Thy 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<sup>a</sup>    \*(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

\* Fo. 4<sup>b</sup>    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

Αὐτός οὖν δέσποτα τῇ σὴ φωνῇ τὰ προκείμενα μεταποίησον·

Αὐτός παρὼν τὴν μυστικὴν ταύτην λειτουργίαν κατάρτισον αὐτὸς ἡμῖν τῆς σὴς λατρείας τὴν μνήσιν δυνάμωσον<sup>1</sup>

αὐτὸς τὸ πᾶν σοὶ τὸ πανάγιον κατάπεμψον· ἵνα ἐπιφοιτήσῃς τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ ἁγαθῇ καὶ ἐνδύξῃς αὐτοῦ παρουσία·

ἁγίασῃ καὶ μεταποιήσῃ τὰ προκείμενα τίμια καὶ ἁγία δῶρα ταῦτα εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸ αἷμα τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀπολυτρώσεως· \* Fo. 5<sup>b</sup>

Ο Δ(ΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ<sup>2</sup>) ΛΕΓ(ΕΙ) ΠΡΟΣΧΩΜ(ΕΝ)<sup>3</sup>

Ο Λ(ΑΟΣ<sup>4</sup>) ΛΕΓ(ΕΙ) ΑΜΗΝ

Ο Ι(ΕΡΕΥΣ) ΕΚΦΩΝΗΣΕΙ

يا صبح

Καὶ ποιήσῃ τὸν μὲν ἄρτον τοῦτον γενῇται<sup>5</sup> εἰς τὸ ἅγιον σοὶ<sup>6</sup> σῶμα· τοῦ ΚΥ ΔΕ καὶ ΘΥ καὶ CPC Κ(ΑΙ) ΠΑΜΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ<sup>7</sup>

ἡμῶν ΙΥ ΧΥ· εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν· καὶ εἰς ζωὴν τὴν αἰώνιον· τοῖς ΕΞ αὐτοῦ μεταλαμβάνουσιν<sup>8</sup>·

Τὸ ΔΕ ποτήριον τοῦτο τὸ τίμιον σοὶ αἷμα· τὸ τῆς καὶνῆς διαθήκης<sup>9</sup>· τοῦ ΚΥ ΔΕ καὶ ΘΥ καὶ CPC καὶ ΠΑΜΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ

ἡμῶν ΙΥ ΧΥ· εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν· καὶ εἰς

\* \* \* \*

\*παράσχοι πάντες αὐτοῖς·

\* Fo. 6<sup>a</sup>

Μνήσθητι ΚΕ καὶ τῶν ἐν ὄρεσι καὶ σπηλαίοις· καὶ ταῖς ὁπαῖς τῆς γῆς· καὶ τῶν ἐν αἰχμαλωσίαις ὄντων ἀδελφῶν

= R. 100

ἡμῶν· καὶ εἰρηνικὰς ἀποκαταστάσεις εἰς τὰ ἴδια χάρισαι·

[Rubric in two lines effaced by damp.<sup>10</sup>]

Μνήσθητι ΚΕ καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀθλίᾳς καὶ ταλαιπώρου ψυχῆς ταπεινώσεώς μου· καὶ συγχώρησόν μοι πάντα τὰ ἐμὰ

πλημμελήματα· | καὶ ὅπου ἐπλεόνασεν ἡ ἁμαρτία· ὑπερπερίσσευσόν<sup>11</sup> σοὶ τὴν χάριν· καὶ μὴ διὰ τὰς ἐμας

\* Fo. 6<sup>b</sup>

ἁμαρτίας· καὶ τὴν βεβήλωσιν τῆς καρδίας μου· ὑστερήσῃς τὸν λαόν σοὶ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ ἁγίου σοὶ πᾶς·

= R. 101

[Rubric in two lines effaced by damp.]

<sup>1</sup> Διάσωσον, Ren.

<sup>2</sup> ὁ λαός, Ren.

<sup>3</sup> προσχωμ(εν), Cod.

<sup>4</sup> ὁ διάκονος, Ren.

<sup>5</sup> -ηται rewritten (by first hand?) over -εσθαι (erased).

<sup>6</sup> σῶμα σοὶ, Ren.

<sup>7</sup> Κ(ΑΙ) ΠΑΜΒ. added in

margin by original or contemporary hand.

<sup>8</sup> People's response omitted.

<sup>9</sup> + σοὶ, Ren.

<sup>10</sup> In margin

is an illegible Arabic gloss.

<sup>11</sup> περίσσευσον, 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,

\* Fo. 5<sup>b</sup>

*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.

\* Fo. 6

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 uncleanness of my heart deprive not Thy people of the grace of Thy Holy Spirit.

\* Fo. 6<sup>b</sup>

(The rubric following is illegible.)

# NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Ο ΓΑΡ ΛΑ]ΟΣ ΣΟΥ ΚΑΙ Η ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΣΟΥ ΪΚΕΤΕΥΕΙ ΣΕ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΣΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΝ ΣΟΙ ΤΟΝ ΠΡΑ ΛΕΓΟΥΣΑ ·  
Ε]ΛΕΗΣΟΝ ΗΜΑΣ Ο ΘΣ Ο ΣΗΡ ΗΜΩΝ ·

[*Rubric in one line effaced by damp.*]

....الحل

Μ]ΝΗΣΘΗΤΙ ΚΕ' ΤΟΥ ΔΕΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΡΠΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΓΗΣ ·

× Fo. 7<sup>a</sup>

ΜΝΗΣΘΗΤΙ ΚΕ' ΤΗΣ ΣΥΜΜΕΤΡΟΥ \*ΑΝΑΒΑΣΕΩΣ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΤΑΜΕΙΩΝ<sup>1</sup> ΪΔΑΤΩΝ ·

Λ]ΝΗΣΘΗΤΙ ΚΕ' ΤΩΝ ΪΕΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΣΠΟΡΙΜΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΓΗΣ ·

Ε]ΪΦΡΑΝΟΝ ΠΑΛ(ΙΝ) Κ(ΑΙ) ΑΝΑΚ(ΑΙ)ΝΙΣ(ΟΝ) ΤΟ ΠΡΟΣΩΠ(ΟΝ) (ΤΗΣ ΓΗΣ)<sup>2</sup>

= R. 102

Χ]ΑΡΙΣΑΙ ΤΩ ΛΩ ΣΟΥ ΤΗΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑΝ ·

ΤΩ ΚΟΣΜΩ ΤΗΝ ΕΥΣΤΑΘΕΙΑΝ ·

ΤΩ ΔΕΡΙ ΤΗΝ ΕΥΚΡΑΣΙΑΝ ·

ΤΟΙΣ ΝΟΣΟΥΣΙ ΤΗΝ ΣΡΙΑΝ ·

ΤΟΙΣ ΔΕΟΜΕΝΟΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΑΝΑΨΥΞΙΝ ·

ΤΟΙΣ ΕΝ ΕΞΟΡΙΑΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΑΝΕΣΙΝ ·

ΤΟΙΣ ΟΡΦΑΝΟΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΒΟΗΘΕΙΑΝ ·

× Fo. 7<sup>b</sup>

\*ΤΑΙΣ ΧΗΡΑΙΣ [ΤΗΝ ΑΝΤΙΛΗΨΙΝ]

ΤΟΙΣ ΘΛΙΒΟΜΕΝ[ΟΙΣ ΕΠΑΡΚΗΣΟΝ ΕΙΣ] ΑΓΑΘΟΝ

ΤΟΥΣ ΕΣΤΩ[ΔΕ ΟΧΥΡΩΣΟΝ]

ΤΟΥΣ ΠΕΠΤΩ[ΚΟΤΑΣ ΕΓΕΙΡΟΝ]

[*Four lines wholly illegible.*]

ΤΟΥΣ ΗΜΑΡ]ΤΗΚΟΤΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΤΑΝΟΗΣΑΝΤΑΣ ΣΥΝΑΡΙΘΜΗΣΟΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΙΣΤΟΙΣ<sup>4</sup> ΣΟΥ

ΤΟΥΣ] ΠΙΣΤΟΥΣ [ΣΥΝΑΡΙΘΜΗΣΟΝ ΤΟΙΣ] ΜΑΡΤΥΣΙ<sup>5</sup> ΣΟΥ

ΜΙ]ΜΗΤΑΣ [ΤΟΥΣ ΠΑΡΟΝΤΑΣ] ΕΝ ΤΩ

<sup>1</sup> ΠΟΤΑΜΙΩΝ, *Cod.*

<sup>2</sup> The passage ΤΟΥΣ ΑΪΛΑΚΑΣ...ΚΥΡΙΕ ΕΛΕΗΣΟΝ (*Ren.* 101<sup>26</sup>–102<sup>9</sup>) is omitted from the ms.

<sup>3</sup> Folios 7 and 8 are seriously injured by damp; fo. 7<sup>b</sup> is almost illegible.

<sup>4</sup> ΜΕΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΠΙΣΤΩΝ, *Ren.*

<sup>5</sup> ΜΕΤΑ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΩΝ, *Ren.*

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.*)

Remember, O Lord, the atmosphere and the fruits of the earth.

× Fo. 7<sup>a</sup>

Remember, O Lord, the suitable \*rising of the waters of the River.

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<sup>b</sup>

\*Unto widows, protection;

Unto those who are distressed, give sufficiency for their good;

Stablish them who stand;

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;

## LITURGICAL FRAGMENTS

\*τόπω τοῦτω τῶν ἀγγέλων κατάρστησον καὶ ἡμᾶς τῇ σὴ χάριτι πρὸς τὴν σὴν κε[κλη]μένους διακονίαν ἀναζιοῦς \* Fo. 8<sup>a</sup>  
 ὄντας ὑποδ[εξ]αι

[*Rubric in one line effaced by damp.*]

Μνησθῆτι] κῆ' καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν ταύτης καὶ τῶν ἐν ὀρθολόζῳ πίστει οἰκούντων ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ πάσης  
 πό[λ]εως καὶ χώρας σὺν παντὶ τῷ κοσμῷ αὐτῶν καὶ ρύσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ λιμοῦ καὶ λοιμοῦ· σεισμοῦ καὶ κατα- = R. 103  
 ποντισμοῦ· πυρὸς καὶ αἰχμαλωσίας βαρβάρων) \*καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων μαχαίρων καὶ ἐπαναστάσεως ἐχθρῶν) \* Fo. 8<sup>b</sup>  
 τε καὶ αἰρετικῶν<sup>1</sup>.

Μνησθῆτι κῆ' καὶ<sup>2</sup> τῶν προλαβόντων ὁσίων π[ρ]ω[ν] ἡμῶν ὀρθολόζων ἐπι[σκο]πῶν

καὶ πάντων τῶ[ν] α]π[ίσ]των [αἰωνος] σοι ἐγαρεσθῆσάντων

Ἀγίων πρῶν· π[α]τριάρχων ἀπο[στο]λόων· προφητῶν· κηρυ[κ]ων ἐγγεγελιστῶν· μαρτύρων ὁμολογητῶν· καὶ παντὸς  
 π[αν]τός δικαίου· ἐν πίστει χ[ρ]ῖστ[ου] τετελειωμένου

Εξαιρέτως τῆς παναγίας ὑπερ\*ενδόξου ἀχραντοῦ ὑπερελογημένης δεσποίνης ἡμῶν θεοτοκοῦ καὶ ἀειπαρθενοῦ \* Fo. 9<sup>a</sup>  
 μαρίας

Τοῦ ἁγίου ἐνδόξου προφήτου προδρόμου βαπτιστοῦ καὶ μάρτυρος ἰωάννου·

Τοῦ ἁγίου στεφάνου τοῦ πρωτοδιακόνου καὶ πρωτομάρτυρος·

καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ μακαρίου π[α]τρὸς ἡμῶν μαρκοῦ τοῦ ἀποστόλου καὶ ἐγγεγελιστοῦ·

καὶ τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις π[α]τρὸς ἡμῶν θεολόγου<sup>3</sup> γρηγορίου καὶ ὧν ἐν τῇ σήμερον [ἡ]μερᾷ τὴν ὑπόμνησιν ποιοῦ[μεθ]α·  
 καὶ παντός \*χοροῦ τῶν ἁγίων σου· \* Fo. 9<sup>b</sup>

ὧν ταῖς ἐχχαῖς καὶ πρεσβεῖαις καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐλέησον καὶ σῶσον διὰ τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ ἅγιον τὸ ἐπικληθὲν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς.  
 [ο ἀ(ιακονος) λεγ(ει) τὰ δίπτυχα<sup>4</sup>]

Μνησθῆτι κῆ' τῶν προκεκοιμημένων ἐν τῇ ὀρθολόξῃ πίστει πρῶν ἡμῶν καὶ ἀδελφῶν.

= R. 104

καὶ ἀνάπαυσον τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν) μετὰ ὁσίων μετὰ δικαίων.

Οὔνασον<sup>5</sup> εἰς τύπον χλόης ἐπὶ ὕδατος ἀναπαύσεως· ἐν παραδείσῳ τρυφῆς· σὺν<sup>6</sup> ὧν εἵπομεν τὰ ὀνόματα<sup>7</sup>.

\* \* \* \* \*

<sup>1</sup> People's response omitted.

<sup>2</sup> Ren. omits.

<sup>3</sup> Ren. omits.

<sup>4</sup> 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.

<sup>5</sup> ἐκθρεψον καὶ οὔνασον, Ren.

<sup>6</sup> Ren. omits.

<sup>7</sup> Ren. adds αὐτῶν.

Them who are present in this \*place do Thou make imitators of the Angels; and though we be unworthy \* Fo. 8<sup>a</sup>  
 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. \* Fo. 8<sup>b</sup>

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<sup>a</sup>  
 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 \*company of Thy saints. \* Fo. 9<sup>b</sup>

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.

## NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

\* Fo. 10<sup>a</sup>  
= R. 113

\* τῷ πρὶ<sup>1</sup> · καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ<sup>2</sup> πνί · ὁμοούσιε καὶ συνάδιε<sup>3</sup> · δέχοι παρ' ἡμῶν τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν ἐξ ἀναξίων χειλέων  
ῥῳνον · μετὰ τῶν ἁνῶ δυνάμεων · σοὶ γὰρ πρέπει πᾶσα δόξα τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις · εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας  
ἀμήν ·

[The remainder of the page is left blank.]

<sup>1</sup> τῷ ἀνάρχῳ σοὶ πατρί, *Ren.*      <sup>2</sup> τῷ ζωοποιῷ σοὶ πνεύματι, *Ren.*      <sup>3</sup> These three words are absent from Renaudot's text, where the association of the Father and the Holy Spirit is placed after προσκύνησις.

\* Fo. 10<sup>a</sup>

... \* consubstantial and coeternal with the Father and the Holy Spirit, receive from us sinners and from our unworthy lips praise with the Powers above. For Thee befitte all glory, honor, and worship for ever and ever. Amen.

\* Fo. 10<sup>b</sup>

✠ ψαλμὸς · ρλέ<sup>1</sup> · ✠

[The following variants from Swete's (Cambridge) text occur:

- \* Fo. 11<sup>a</sup> (verse 8)    v. 1 ἁγαθὸς (so <sup>sc</sup> RT) > χρηστός.      v. 4 τῷ ποιῶντι (so <sup>sc</sup> RT) > ποιῶντι.      \* v. 9 τοὺς ἀστερας  
(so <sup>sc</sup> T) > τὰ ἄστρα.      v. 14 διὰ μέσοι (so <sup>sc</sup> AT) > ἐν μέσῳ.      v. 15 ἐκτεινάξαντι > ἐκτινάξαντι ·  
\* Fo. 11<sup>b</sup>    \* πᾶσαν τὴν δυνάμιν > τὴν δύναμιν.      v. 16 ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ > ἐν ἐρήμῳ.      v. 22 λόγῳ > δούλῳ.  
\* Fo. 12<sup>a</sup>    v. 23 ὅτι ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει ἡμῶν | ἐμνήσθη ἡμῶν ὁ κ' etc. (see Swete's apparatus).  
v. 24 ἐκ τῶν ἐχθρῶν (so ART) > ἐκ χειρὸς ἐχθ.

[The remainder of the page is left blank.]

<sup>1</sup> The Rubric in Renaudot's text (p. 113) prescribes only *Ps. cl.*

\* Fo. 12<sup>b</sup>-13<sup>a</sup>

\* ✠ ψαλμὸς · ρν' · ✠

[No variants from Swete's text occur. The remainder of fo. 13<sup>a</sup> is left blank.]

\* Fo. 13<sup>b</sup>-14<sup>b</sup>

\* ✠ ῥῳνος τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος ✠

Δεῦτε πάντες πιστοὶ προσκυνήσωμεν κ.τ.λ.

[For the text see Maas, *Frühbyzantinische Kirchenpoesie* 1, no. 2. The following variants occur:

1. 5 ἐξογίσαι ἑρόνοι κυριότητες > ἐξουσίαι, κυριότητες; παρισταμένα > -εναί.      1. 6 χαιροῦντι (*sic*) προσφύροσιν  
ce (*sic*).      1. 7 *Cod.* omits τε.      1. 12 *Cod.* has the reading of MP, ἀλλὰ σώσον... καταφύγομεν. Thereafter  
*Cod.* inserts the following verse (not in Maas)—δόξα σοὶ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν δόξα σοὶ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν δόξα σοὶ.  
1. 13 *Cod.* has the ascription as in Maas' text, but reads εἰς αἰῶνας ἀεὶ (instead of αὐτῶν) τῶν αἰώνων.]

\* Fo. 14<sup>b</sup> (end)

εἰς τὴν θεοτοκὸν κατὰ ἀλφάβητα<sup>1</sup>.

Χαῖρε ἀνανδρε μ(η)τήρ ἀλόχευτε χαῖρε βάτε πγρί · ἀκαταφλεκτε ·

\* Fo. 15<sup>a</sup>

\* Χαῖρε γένοϋς<sup>2</sup> βροτῶν ἡ ἀντίληψις · χαῖρε δόξα π[ι]των καὶ ἀγλαίσμα ·<sup>3</sup>

Χαῖρε εὔας κατάρας ἡ λῆτρωσις · χαῖρε ζωσα {δει}<sup>4</sup> βασιλέγοϋσα

Χαῖρε ἡ σ(ωτη)ρία τῶν ἀσθενόγνων · χαῖρε θρόνε κ(ύρις)υ καὶ σκήνωμα ·

<sup>1</sup> Heading in red. Alternate initials (X) are also in red, as are all the alphabetic initials.

<sup>2</sup> γενος, *Cod.*

<sup>3</sup> ἀπλαίσμα, *Cod.*

<sup>4</sup> Probably interpolated.

\* Fo. 14<sup>b</sup>

\* To the Theotokos.

Hail, Mother unwedded who didst never travail! Hail thou Bush unconsumed by fire!

\* Fo. 15<sup>a</sup>

\* 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!

## LITURGICAL FRAGMENTS

Χαῖρε ἱάσις τῶν νοσημάτων(Ν) κακῶν · χαῖρε κράτος στερρό(Ν) καταφύγιον.

Χαῖρε λόγον θεο(ε)ῖ ἡ γεννήσασα · χαῖρε μόνη παρθένος καὶ ἀφθορος ·

Χαῖρε νύμφη ἁγνή καὶ ἀμώλυντε<sup>1</sup> · χαῖρε ζοάνων εἰδώλω(Ν) \*κατάλυσις ·

\* Fo. 15<sup>a</sup>

Χαῖρε ὄρος θεο(ε)ῖ τὸ πανάγιον · χαῖρε προσενη<sup>2</sup> τῆς αἰωνίου χαρᾶς ·

Χαῖρε ῥάβδος βλαστήσασα στάχυν ζωῆς · χαῖρε στέμμα καὶ κάγχημα τῶν δικαίων ·

Χαῖρε τόμος ὁ ἐμψυχός καὶ καθαρὸς · χαῖρε ὑψῶμα τῶν πεπτωκότων φθορᾶς ·

Χαῖρε φέγγος καὶ εἰς ὁρθοδοξίαν · χαῖρε χειμαζομένων τὸ σκέπασμα ·

Χαῖρε ψυχοφθόρον ἐχθρον<sup>3</sup> ἡ θράύσασα · χαῖρε ὠμίμα<sup>4</sup> θεῖο(Ν) . . .

<sup>1</sup> ἀμώλυντε, *Cod.*

<sup>2</sup> προσενη, *Cod.*

<sup>3</sup> ψυχοφθόρων ἐχθρων, *Cod.*

<sup>4</sup> sic: ? = ὠμίμα.

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!

\* Fo. 15<sup>b</sup>

Hail, all-holy Mount of God! Hail, thou who dost procure eternal 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. *pē*<sup>b</sup>) 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 Uṭfih).

A leaf, numbered *z̄*, 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,<sup>1</sup> 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 (• and +), 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 XXV A) 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.

<sup>1</sup> See Crum, *Catalogue*, no. 428.

## NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

### D. *Horologia*.<sup>1</sup>

(1) Paper. Fifty-five leaves (Cairo, no. 82), 17.5 × 13.2 cm., foliated on *versos*,<sup>2</sup> 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.*) ̅ⲟ̅ ̅ⲛ̅ (Ornament) ̅ⲛ̅ ̅ⲟ̅ | ̅ⲛ̅ ̅ⲟ̅ (Ornament) ̅ⲟ̅ (̅ⲛ̅). 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,<sup>3</sup> 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*,<sup>4</sup> 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*.<sup>5</sup> 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*.<sup>6</sup> 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*.<sup>7</sup> Directions, Psalm-headings, stops (•), are in red: initial-lines in thick black script; paragraph-capitals, enlarged, are red and black. Bohairic, with Arabic version.

### E. *The Pascha*.<sup>8</sup>

#### (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) *Isaiah* 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*.<sup>9</sup> Good, bold thirteenth century hand. Headings (with Arabic versions) in red, *e.g.* ⲁⲛⲓ ⲉⲙⲓⲉⲛⲱⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲉ ⲙⲡⲓⲁⲥⲭⲁ ⲉⲑⲉ ⲫⲁⲗⲓ ⲁⲛⲁⲙ); stops (•) red; plain, enlarged capitals with red touches.

The leaves preserved contain odes (*psalmi*) for the Hours in Holy Week; but the last (—ⲉⲗⲏ) has the heading ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲛⲱⲛ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲫⲏⲉⲛⲧⲓⲕⲟⲩⲧⲏ.

1 Copt. ⲡⲓⲁⲛⲡⲓⲁ, Arabic ⲁⲗⲓⲃⲓⲉ. A collection of Psalms, prayers, Scriptural passages, &c., for each of the Canonical Hours. Modern editions are (1) Arabic: : ⲁⲗⲓⲃⲓⲉ ⲕⲧⲁⲃ ⲁⲗⲓⲃⲓⲉ ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲛⲱⲛ (Cairo, 1914); (2) English: *The Coptic Morning Service for the Lord's Day*, translated by the Marquis of Bute (London, 1882 and 1908), pp. 119 ff. and 135 ff.

2 The first leaf is ̅ⲛ̅, the last ̅ⲛ̅ (i.e. 16–287).

3 In size, quality of paper, &c., this ms. is similar to No. xxxviii A (Greek Liturgies).

4 Between ̅ⲛ̅ and ̅ⲛ̅ (i.e. 12–251).

5 Between ̅ⲛ̅ and ̅ⲛ̅ (18–246).

6 Between ̅ⲛ̅ and ̅ⲛ̅ (58–238).

7 Between ̅ⲛ̅ and [̅ⲛ̅] (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 ̅ⲛ̅ and ̅ⲛ̅ (6–238).

## LITURGICAL FRAGMENTS

(3) Parchment. One leaf (Cairo, no. 14),  $34.2 \times 27.5$  cm., unnumbered. Medium-sized uncial script, probably of the twelfth century; no stops (Plate VI A).

Contents: lections for the Pascha, viz., Ro. to Vo. l. 30: *Isaiab* XLIX, 11–25; then, after a *paragraphus*, the direction (in smaller informal uncials)  $\pi\sigma\kappa\alpha\tau\ \pi\tau\epsilon\beta\alpha\sigma\mu\alpha\varsigma\ \pi\tau\epsilon\ \pi\iota\pi\alpha\varsigma\chi\alpha\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \pi\iota\sigma\mu\omicron\tau\ \eta\mu\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\ \pi\omega\upsilon\tau\ \pi\alpha\iota\ \kappa\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\ \phi\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \pi\iota\mu\alpha\omicron\varsigma\ \overline{\tau\lambda\epsilon}\ \overline{\eta\kappa\alpha}$ .<sup>1</sup> Thereafter, with one line in enlarged capitals, *Isaiab* 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."<sup>2</sup> 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 volumes<sup>3</sup> of the *Difnār*. Each volume contained something like 160 leaves (320 pages), grouped in quires of ten leaves each. Where complete, the page measures  $25 \times 17$  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<sup>a</sup> of the first volume are headed — $\overline{\text{p}}\overline{\text{m}}$   $\overline{\text{r}}\overline{\text{s}}$  (Ornament)  $\overline{\text{x}}\overline{\text{r}}$   $\overline{\text{r}}\overline{\text{s}}$  |  $\overline{\text{j}}\overline{\text{e}}$   $\overline{\text{k}}\overline{\text{e}}$  (Ornament)  $\overline{\text{o}}\overline{\text{e}}\overline{\text{c}}$   $\overline{\text{p}}\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{a}}$ . 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 **Þ** and **Ʒ** both occur: capital **Λ** always has the form **ⲗ**; **ϥ** never carries the mark of abbreviation. The stop **⋄** or **⋆** (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 copies<sup>4</sup> date only from the eighteenth century: our fragments, such as they are, therefore represent by far the earliest known copy of this work.<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup>

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 *Difnâr*,<sup>7</sup> 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  $\kappa\theta\omicron\varsigma$  (or  $\kappa\theta\omicron\varsigma$ )  $\omicron\iota$ , '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  $\tau\omega\delta\epsilon \mu\pi\sigma\tau\epsilon \dots \epsilon\theta\rho\eta\iota \epsilon\chi\omega\iota\iota \pi\tau\epsilon\chi\chi\alpha$  ( $\mu\epsilon\mu\pi\omicron\upsilon\iota \mu\alpha\iota \epsilon\chi\omicron\lambda$ ), but once (Tôbi 21, Death of the Virgin) the formula is varied by [ $\pi\tau\epsilon\chi$ ]  $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\mu\omicron\tau \mu\epsilon\mu\psi\tau\chi\eta \mu\pi\chi\omega \epsilon\chi\omicron\lambda \mu\tau\epsilon \mu\epsilon\mu\pi\omicron\upsilon\iota$ , followed by  $\alpha\rho\iota\mu\pi\rho\epsilon\chi\epsilon\tau\iota \epsilon\theta\rho\eta\iota \epsilon\chi\omega\iota\iota$ : the second hymn ends  $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\mu \mu\epsilon\tau\chi\chi\eta \mu\tau\epsilon \dots \mu\sigma\tau$  ( $\alpha\rho\iota\mu\omicron\tau$ ? &c.). But both are commonly abbreviated to one or two words. Where neither formula was appropriate (as at Christmas) a variant, beginning  $\tau\epsilon\mu\psi\epsilon\omicron$ , was substituted. Ordinarily the hymns show no sign of acrostic arrangement: the only exceptions are: (i) the second Ode on Dioscoros (Thôut 3), and (ii) the second Ode on the Nativity, wherein each stanza begins with a letter of the alphabet.<sup>8</sup> In the latter Ode, moreover, a refrain,

<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> 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,  $\overline{\text{pnk}}$ , ll. 5-6.

7 Crum, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

8 The text of this Ode is given above (No. II).



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μαρηνως ερωγ nem πιαγγελος, follows each stanza: in the first Christmas Ode there is a refrain, εοθε φαι τεπερχωρετιν, 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:<sup>1</sup>

(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 Tkouu. *Athor* 9, The cccxviii 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, Saint Barbara;<sup>2</sup> 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),<sup>3</sup> 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 12 is paged — 22, and the first in quire 13 is numbered 23, 24. The intervening quire 13, 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,<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> 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. 1 (Cairo, no. 91), 19.3 × 15 cm., a single leaf cut vertically into two unequal parts,<sup>6</sup> and paged on the *verso* 2. *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' ἀλλήλοισια ἀπ . . . ἑς, and 10 περυσί τῆς ἑξ ἡμέρας | πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς "Lo, all his ministry (?) is (written) in the Book of the Prophets."<sup>7</sup> Lastly comes the heading (red):

1 Most of the hymns are incomplete.

2 One leaf (22) 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 Thō[out<sup>1</sup>: John] the Baptist. Melody, 'Adam'" with the opening of the Hymn: παιδαρεταπερωτινι πε ιωαννης πιπροαρμος παου αψτ βατω.

Frag. 2 (C.U.L. *Add.*, 1885, 9), 18 × 14.5 cm., two leaves (one sheet) paged on the *versos* κβ, κγ. Folio 1 *recto*: text completely effaced; *verso*: text (in part) of Hymn for the Feast of the Cross (? Thōout 17). Folio 2 *recto*: the latter part of a Hymn on John the Little (Paopi 20);<sup>2</sup> *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 κβ οηκσι).<sup>3</sup> 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 αλληλοτ[ια] προας ευθεν.<sup>4</sup>

Frag. 3 (Cairo, no. 91), 19.5 × 5.7 cm., is the outer half of a leaf, paged —λ, 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 [. . .<sup>5</sup> 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 Paopi. *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 —λς and cut vertically down the center. *Recto*: after one line of text is the direction (black, between *paragraphi*) δεν τεο[τορια] αλληλοτ[ια] προας. 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.<sup>6</sup> *Ps*[ali. Melody. . .]" The beginnings of four lines follow. (*Cod. Tisch.* xxix, 31, a leaf paged —μ, 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 ιης ηχς πλοος εταρσι-σαρξ αψωπι ηντε(η). Folio 2 *recto*: text of Hymn beginning ησαας πιπροφητης ωψ εβολ; *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.<sup>7</sup> The first leaf is paged —ο; 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) σωκ ετην οτω[. . . | ηχος βατος] . . .

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.' ακιη εςητη (? an *incipit*) δεν αλε ηχοιακ"<sup>8</sup> (the last two words are canceled and a later hand has substituted πωμ κοτα, 'the little book'). Second heading (red): "Fifteenth day of Mechir, Symon (*sic*) the Priest. Let them veil the throne.<sup>9</sup> *Psali*. Melody, 'Adam.'" Five lines of the Hymn follow, beginning εταμορ εβολ ηχε ηεροον. *Verso*. The same concluded, ending ακι οτορ ακωτ λιμον.

Frag. 8 (*id.*), 18.7 × 16 cm., is a complete but faded leaf, paged —σκη. *Recto*. "'Renew unto me' (an *incipit*). Take it from the first day of Thōout. Alleluia. Virgin."<sup>10</sup> Then follows a second heading (red): "The Second Sunday of the Fifty (Days);"<sup>11</sup> and in black, "See (?) on the Second Sunday of the Forty Days"<sup>12</sup> (ις των<sup>13</sup> δεν τμαρ ε ηκτριαν ητε πιμ). A third heading (red) comes next: "The [Second] Sunday of the

1 That Thōout 2 should follow Thōout 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 οηκσι.

4 I cannot explain προας (which occurs elsewhere): ευθεν may be an *incipit*.

5 An *incipit*.

6 εψε[μψι] δεν αββα βε]νοφερ, 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 αλε see *Auct. ad Peyronis Lexicon*): i.e. the Hymn indicated was to be found there. In the margin is the page-number π giving a more definite reference.

9 ετρωης ητκαεερα: if this 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 αριφερι εαροι ταρος δεν σοτ α ηοτωτ + αλληλοτια παρ.

11 *sc.* the Second Sunday in the period between Easter and Pentecost.

12 *sc.* in Lent.

13 Obscure.

# NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Fifty (Days),” followed by the direction (black) “The Samaritan Woman (†самаѣтис). *Psali*. Melody, ‘Adam.’ Take it from the Sunday (*sic*) of Mechir” (тагоу ден фкѣриани ѡте меѣир). A fourth heading (red) follows: “The Fourth [Sunday of the Fifty Days]. *Psali*. Melody, ‘Adam.’” The text of the Hymn follows, beginning ϣαϣι οτορ οεληλ ω περнос ѡπρωμι. *Verso*. The same concluded. A heading (red, two lines) followed, but is wholly effaced. The Hymn which followed begins ф† фн етѣор ѡεζотсиастис οτορ πιαττελос ѡте ппиш† ѡсоепи.<sup>1</sup>

Frag. 9 (*id.*), 19.5 × 16.5 cm., is a single leaf paged —αλѢ. *Recto*. Final ‘rubric’ of a Hymn relating to the preceding page, αλληλοτια + πисоепи.<sup>2</sup> Then beneath a transverse headpiece of interlaced work (white, yellow, red, and green)<sup>3</sup> is the month-heading “Pharmouthi: Eighth (Month). Twenty-third day of Pharmouthi, Saint George (red). *Psali*. (Melody), ‘Batos.’ (ѣ ѡромпи аѣжкоот εβολ), ‘Seven years did he pass’ (an *incipit*). Melody, ‘The Fifty,’ if he (one?) pleases” (ѡχος пп аѣшан†ма†) (black).<sup>4</sup> Next comes the direction<sup>5</sup> “Put first the (Hymns) of the Virgin (red) from the Theotokia for that day. Alleluia. (Melody?), ‘The Fifty.’”

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 ϣαи намор ѡсмот + палас—. *Verso*. Heading for last page of a quire, αλѢ кѢ (Ornament) ο ος ια. Then the text of the Hymn is continued—παοεληλ + εисασι ε πεктаιο + πιαтис апа биктор &c., and concludes with the rubric [αλλη]λοτια продос.

Frag. 10 (*id.*), 19.3 × 16.4 cm., is a complete leaf, the first in quire ιѢ, paged сѣѢ, сѣ. *Recto*. Below the quire-heading ιѢ ιѢ (Ornament) ѡѢ сѣѢ, follows the text (without beginning) of a Hymn to “our Father Abba Panoub” (Paoni 23), who “in his choice (прозереис) became a martyr and endured the affliction of punishment (αιωρια) when the King Co(n)stantine (*sic*) pursued after thee (*sic*) and the Seventy Confessors.” *Verso*. Heading: “Twenty-fourth day of Paoni. Abba Mousē (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 —сѣѢ. *Recto*. Endings of seven lines of a hymn followed by a *paragraphus*. Then comes a rubric (red) [εϣωп аѣшан]ωш де(п) [..... ε]ѣε πια[посто]лос<sup>6</sup> + ψα]ли нх(ос) батос. 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 εϣωп аѣшанωш ѡ]пילות [.....] ѡте пιαт[ис]....] εѣε пиз[ин]....] фекли[с]а....]... “If they read the discourse [...] (red) of the holy [...] 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.* worshipping) in (the Sanctuary of) the holy Mark, the small (Sanctuary).<sup>7</sup> *Psali*. Melody, ‘Batos.’” (сот ѡ ѡепни пιαтис оеозωρος-пистра†латис еѣемши деп пιαтис маркос ѡкотѣ-ψαλι ѡχος-батос). The text of the Hymn follows, beginning а пенѣт инс пѣс + шанаρонѣ ба пирмωтѣ ѡте фхнра етѣен 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.’<sup>8</sup> Alleluia: . . .” (сωк е тѣн + ψαли εβολден фѣеозокѣ + ѡχος фѣ ѡпиш† + αλληλ проз). Next follows a heading, “Epep 25. The Second *Lakane*,<sup>9</sup> and the holy Thekla the Apostle (red). Repeat everything which is written for Epep 5 except the *psali* ‘These Twelve did Our Savior choose.’<sup>10</sup> Alleluia. *Prodos*.” Сот кѢ ѡепни-†лакапн ѡмаз б† 5 фѣгѣа оекла фапостолос ѡже ϣωѣ пѣен етѣнотѣ + деп сот ѣ ѡепни хωрис фψали + ете Пал иѢ аѣсотпот + ѡже пенѣωр + αλληλ прозос + (black). Last is the heading (red): “Epep 25. Apa Antonina and many other

1 For the ‘Angel of the great Council’ see above, p. 26.

2 *Sic*, but the word соепи 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 пп below, or пιακωон in Frag. 12.

3 In the adjoining margin is a spray of conventional foliage: see Plate XIX B.

4 ѡχος пп аѣшан†ма†.

5 сωк етѣн-па†парѣенос εβοлден фѣеозокѣ ѡте пирѣот ѣтемма† + αλληλοτια + пп.

6 Or perhaps аѣшанωш де(п) [тскннн пт]ε ѣепѣ[мин], “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 ѡχος фѣ ѡпиш†.

9 флакапн ѡмаз б†.

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*.’<sup>1</sup> *Psali*. Melody, ‘Batos.’ Take from Khoiak 3 (the *psali*) ‘The [righteous] shine.’ ⲥⲟⲩ ⲓϯ ⲙⲙⲉⲥⲱⲛ ⲫⲁ[ⲡⲁⲗⲏⲙ]ⲭⲣⲓⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲫⲟⲉⲟⲗⲁⲕ[ⲟⲥ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ] ⲉⲩⲭⲱ ⲑⲁⲓ ⲧⲉ ⲫⲛⲟ[ⲗⲏ ⲡⲉⲙ] ⲡⲓⲁⲕⲁⲣⲱⲛ + ⲫⲱⲗ[ⲓ ⲛⲭⲟⲥ] ⲁⲗⲟⲥ + ⲧⲁⲣⲟⲥ Ⲭ[ⲉⲛ ⲥⲟⲩ] ⲧ̅ ⲛⲭⲟⲓⲁⲕ + ⲉⲧⲉ + [. . . .] ⲁⲩⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱⲛⲓ ⲛⲭⲉ  
ⲛ[ⲓⲱⲙⲛ]. 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.’” (ⲥⲟⲩ ⲓϯ ⲙⲙⲉⲥⲱⲛ - ⲡⲱⲛⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲗⲏⲙⲭⲱⲡⲟⲛ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲱⲧ ⲁⲃⲃⲁ ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓ - (red), ⲉⲃⲟⲩⲛ ⲉ  
ⲱⲛⲧ + ⲉⲩⲭⲱ ⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩⲱⲥⲱ + Ⲥ ⲡⲓⲁⲕⲁⲣⲱⲛ (black) ⲫⲱⲗⲓ ⲛⲭ̅ⲟⲥ ⲁⲗⲟⲥ (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.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup>

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.<sup>4</sup>

\* \* \*

сѡѣ + % S ѿѿсѡѣ пте .  
исаак + пѡ + кѣ +  
Θεοε πѡπѡмѡсѡ + мѡ [к.]  
пѡхрѡсостомос еѡ[h]е [к.]  
пѡπѡмѡсѡ . ѿѡ . ѡ . ѡ + [н.]  
+—————+ [к.]  
пѡкѡѡѡ пѡѡѡт  
Πѡѡѡѡс аѡѡѡѡѡѡс [т.]  
рѡѡѡ + кѣ [к.]  
Θеѡѡѡѡѡѡс еѡѡе пѡѡѡ ѡ [т.]  
ѡ [ѡ]

\* \* \*

Пѣ ꙗꙋоу ѿте ꙗ(п)ети  
захаріасъ сꙋвоу еѡ-  
ѥ пипети рꙋе + ꙗѢ рю¹

Пхрисостомосъ + еѡ-  
ѥ іова + ꙗѢ

→ ————— ←

<sup>1</sup> Added by a later hand.

232 ✕ And the Sacrifice of Isaac 54.22.

On the Nativity, 49<sup>5</sup>:

Chrysostom *On the Nativity*

91.1.93

*The Little Month.*

Saint Andrianos, 153.22<sup>6</sup>.

Theophilus *On the Archangel* (?).

The three Days of Nineveh—Zacharias of Schôou  
*On Nineveh* 165.82 (119 added by a later hand).

Chrysostom *On Jonah* 23.

1 The meaning of **πικαδων** (apparently an *incipit* or popular name for some hymn) is quite obscure.

<sup>2</sup> See also Introduction, p. xlv.

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 unit-ciphers following **x** (twenty) have therefore been destroyed. These marginal numbers are ignored in the version.

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.

## NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

### 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 *λεξις* "Lection" between two verses of the selected Psalm-passage or even in the middle of a verse.<sup>1</sup>

Further fragments of this ms. were recovered by Tischendorf and are now at Leipzig (*Cod. Tisch.* xxix, 1-10<sup>A</sup>).<sup>2</sup>

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)<sup>3</sup> are cited, followed by the direction *λεξις*. *Verso*. The heading is lost. *Psalm* xcvi, 8 (*λεξις*) and 6 (= xcvii, 7-8, 6)<sup>4</sup> 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) 11 (*λεξις*) and 12 then follow. *Verso*. "[Athôr 22.] Day of the holy Cosma and Damianos and their Brethren. *Psalm* xcvi (xcvii)." Verse 11 is quoted and followed by *λεξις*. Folio 4, *recto*. The heading is lost. *Psalm* xlv (xlv) 5 (*λεξις*), 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* *ⲙⲏ*. 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 (*λεξις*), 1 (*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* *ⲙⲟ*. 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 —*ⲙⲟ*, 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* *ⲙⲏ*,<sup>5</sup> *ⲙⲁ* 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 (*λεξις*), 2 continued,<sup>6</sup> and 3, are quoted. Then comes "The Fourth Sunday of Khoiak. *Psalm* xcv (xcvi)." *Verso*. Verse 1 (= 1-2) is cited. Next is "Khoiak 2[7. The Day ?] of our Lord the Christ . . . The Day of Abba Psoti the Bishop.<sup>7</sup> *Psalm* xlix (l)." passages quoted.

<sup>1</sup> For the use of the direction *λεξις* see Junker, *Koptische Poesie des Zehnten Jahrhunderts*, 1. Teil, pp. 57 f.

<sup>2</sup> See Leipoldt, *loc. cit.*, pp. 420 f.

<sup>3</sup> The Psalm- and verse-numbers are those of the Coptic Psalter (Cairo, 1897). The numeration of the English Psalter is added in brackets.

<sup>4</sup> Very noticeable is the occasional inversion of the

passages quoted.

<sup>5</sup> If, as is probable, this leaf immediately followed *Cod. Tisch.* xxix, 8, the numeration is by pages, not folios.

<sup>6</sup> This breaking of a verse is not unusual.

<sup>7</sup> In the *Synaxarium* Psoti is commemorated on Khoiak 27, and the Nativity on the 27-28.

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Verses 2 (λεζιϛ), 5-6 are quoted [*Cod. Tisch.* xxix, 4, commemorating John the Hegumen (Khoiak 30) with *Psalm* cxxxī, and Kallinikos (Tōbi 2) with *Psalm* lxxxvii, must have formed part of leaf, — $\overline{\alpha\eta}$  immediately following — $\overline{\alpha\eta}$ ]. Folio 2, *recto*. λεζιϛ, followed by *Psalm* lxxvi, 11-12. Then follows the heading: "Tōbi 8. The consecration of the Church of our Father Abba Makari. *Psalm* lxxvii (lxxviii)," verses 25-27 being quoted. Next, "Tōbi 9. The Day of our Father Abraham [of Shiēt]. *Psalm* . . ." (citation illegible). [*Cod. Tisch.* xxix, 8<sup>a</sup>, commemorating the Feast of the Baptism (Tōbi 11) and the Third Day of the Baptism, evidently completes the foot of the page with which we are dealing].<sup>1</sup> *Verso*. "The [Second] Sabbath of Tōbi. . . *Psalm* viii," verses 1 (λεζιϛ), 1 continued, being quoted. "The Second Sunday of Tōbi. *Psalm* xxviii." Verses 1-2 (λεζιϛ) 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  $\overline{\alpha}$  πατ (Ornament) πατ [ $\overline{\alpha\eta}$  ?]. *Recto*: "The Third Sabbath of Tōbi. *Psalm* iv (?)" (citation illegible). "The Third Sunday of Tōbi, *Psalm* xcii (xciii)." *Verso*. "Tōbi 21. The Day of Our Lady the Theotokos. *Psalm* xlv (xlv) . . . [The Day of the holy] Hilaria (ηλλαρια) *Psalm* . . ." [To the following page doubtless belonged *Cod. Tisch.* xxix, 7<sup>a</sup>, relating to the Fourth Sabbath and Sunday and to the last day of Tōbi, 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 πικτορ εβοση).]

Frag. 6 is a single leaf, 26.8 × 15 cm., numbered — $\overline{\rho\alpha}$ .<sup>2</sup> The inner edge has been torn away, but the upper part of the missing fragment is extant at Leipzig (*Cod. Tisch.* xxix, 5).<sup>3</sup> *Recto*: "Epep 20. The Day of the holy Theodoros the General. *Psalm* xc," verses 10, 11 (λεζιϛ), 11 continued -13 (= xci, 13-16), being quoted. "Epep 21. The Theotokos. *Psalm* xlvii (xlviii)." Verses 1 (λεζιϛ) and 2 are quoted. "Epep 25. The Day of the holy Thecla. *Psalm* lxxvii." Verse 33 (λεζιϛ), followed (*verso*) by two verses from another *Psalm*, is quoted. "Epep 26. The Day of my Father Joseph. *Psalm* lxxix." Verses 1 (λεζιϛ) and 17 (= lxxx, 1, 19) are cited. "Epep 27. Ap(a) Amoun the man of Terenouti. *Psalm* [xxxvi]." Verses 28, first half (λεζιϛ), and 28 (second half) cited. "Epep 2[. ] The Day of Our Lord Jesus the Christ." [*Cod. Tisch.* xxix, 5<sup>a</sup>, paged  $\overline{\rho\epsilon}$ <sup>4</sup>, followed Frag. 6 immediately, forming with it (since *Cod. Tisch.* xxix, 5, 5<sup>a</sup> are connected) a single sheet. It indicates the Psalmody for the Fourth Sunday of Epep, for the feasts of Apa Apoli (*Psalm* xxxvi) on Mesôrê 1, and for Simeon Stylites (*Psalm* lx) on Mesôrê 3.<sup>5</sup>]

Frag. 7 is a sheet of two leaves, each 26 × 19.2 cm. The second is paged — $\overline{\rho\kappa\alpha}$ . 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 (λεζιϛ) and part of 4 (= cvi, 4-5) being quoted. "The first place of reading for the end of the holy Theodosius, the Archbishop of Rakoti.<sup>6</sup> *Psalm* civ." Verses 8 (λεζιϛ) and 8 (second part) are cited. *Verso*. "Again (at) the second time of reading. . . *Psalm* cxviii." Verses 33 (λεζιϛ), 29, 31 (= cxix, 46, 42, 44) are quoted. Folio 2, *recto*. *Psalm* citation (unidentified). "If they read on (the Day of ?) the Prodigal Son, *Psalm* xxxi." Verses 1 (λεζιϛ) and 2 (= xxxii, 1-2) are quoted. "If they read on (the Day of) Lazarus the Poor, *Psalm* xl." Verses 1 (λεζιϛ) and 2 (first half) are added. *Verso*. "If they read on. . . concerning the man who [went down to] Jericho, *Psalm* [lxxxvii]." Verses 1 (λεζιϛ) and 2 (first half) are quoted. "The first place of reading for Abba Sever[ian]us the Bishop, *Psalm* xlii (xliii)." Verses 3 (λεζιϛ), 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<sup>a</sup> (on the Second Day of the Baptism) is to be fitted to 8<sup>a</sup> and to Frag. 4, fo. — $\overline{\alpha\eta}$  is by no means clear.

2 The numeration of Frag. 6 and of *Cod. Tisch.* xxix, 5<sup>a</sup> indicates that by whatever accident the month Epep was placed before Παῶνι.

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 Παῶνι 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,  $17 \times 13.1$  cm., from a Sahidic-Arabic vocabulary, foliated as follows:  $\overline{\text{ma}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{za}}$ . The hand is a plain, clear, slightly sloping uncial (see Plate XXII B 1), probably of the fourteenth century:<sup>1</sup> headings and stops (large, circular points) are red. Twelve leaves of the same ms. were recovered by Tattam and are now in the John Rylands Library at Manchester.<sup>2</sup>

As the headings<sup>3</sup> 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  $\overline{\text{itktrian}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{tapafora}}$   $\overline{\text{basilios}}$  (*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.<sup>4</sup>

(2) Two leaves (one sheet),  $15 \times 11.7$  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),  $14.3 \times 10.5$  cm., foliated (on the *rectos*)  $\overline{\text{la}}$ ,  $[\overline{\text{la}}]$ ,  $\overline{\text{sa}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{sa}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{sa}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{sa}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{sa}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{sa}}$ . These leaves mostly belong to the Biblical section of the Vocabulary, the headings (red) indicating *Timothy* 1, *Philemon*, and *James* as the sources of the lists.

(4) Three leaves,  $17.8 \times 15.5$  cm., numbered on the *versos*  $\overline{\text{sa}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{sa}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{sa}}$ , the second and third being the first and last leaves of quire  $\overline{\text{sa}}$  (there were therefore ten leaves in the quire, and the numeration is probably by folios). The heading of folio 90 is  $\overline{\text{sa}}$   $\overline{\text{sa}}$  (Ornament)  $\overline{\text{sa}}$   $\overline{\text{sa}}$ . Late thirteenth century hand; stops  $\div$  (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  $\overline{\text{sa}}$  of no. (3) both groups belonged to copies of the same work.

(5) Eleven leaves,  $13 \times 8.5$  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,  $18 \times 13$  cm., numbered on the *verso*  $\overline{\text{sa}}$ . 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  $\overline{\text{sa}}$ , and three leaves,  $17.3 \times 13.2$  cm., numbered  $\overline{\text{sa}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{sa}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{sa}}$  — (the first two forming the outer sheet of a quire of ten leaves). The quire-heading is  $[\overline{\text{sa}}]$   $\overline{\text{sa}}$  (Ornament)  $\overline{\text{sa}}$   $\overline{\text{sa}}$ . Red stops  $\div$  and  $\div$  are used.

(8) Single leaf,  $17.5 \times 13$  cm., headed  $\overline{\text{sa}}$   $\overline{\text{sa}}$  (Ornament)  $\overline{\text{sa}}$   $\overline{\text{sa}}$ . Late thirteenth century hand (see Plate XXII B 2, right). The words (mostly Greek) are drawn from the *Anaphora* of Saint Basil.<sup>5</sup>

(9) Two leaves,  $17.5 \times 12.4$  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*,<sup>6</sup> while the second includes such words as  $\overline{\text{stphanos}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{thymis}}$ , etc. (Plate XXII B).

(10) Single leaf,  $17.5 \times 13$  cm., headed on the *verso*  $\overline{\text{sa}}$   $\overline{\text{sa}}$  (Ornament)  $\overline{\text{sa}}$   $\overline{\text{sa}}$ . Late thirteenth century hand: headings, capitals, and stops ( $\div$ ) are red. The words listed seem to be drawn from the *Theotokia*.

<sup>1</sup> The paper is the same as that of the Greek Liturgies (No. xxxviii A).

<sup>2</sup> 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 Samanūdi.

<sup>3</sup> Biblical headings are in Coptic, the remainder in Arabic.

<sup>4</sup> Bibl. Nat., *Copt.* 44 (as Crum informs me).

<sup>5</sup> From pp. 312-337 of the Cairo *Euchologion* (1907).

<sup>6</sup> From pp. 329-343 of *ed. cit.*

## SUPPLEMENTARY TEXTS





# NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

## 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* 92. 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).

πικὰ ὑπρεσβυτερος <sup>1</sup>	92
Ш пѣм пѣ еѡнаѡѡѡ <sup>2</sup> •	25 ⲉⲩⲣⲉⲙⲥⲓ ⲉⲭⲱⲟⲩ •
ὑπⲱⲟⲩ пѣм пѣⲁⲓⲟ •	ἥⲭⲉ ϣⲁⲛⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ •
ἥⲧⲉ πικὰ •	ⲙⲙⲟⲛ ϣⲭⲟⲙ ἥⲗⲁⲥ ἥⲥⲁⲣⲗ •
ὑπⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ •	ⲡⲁⲥⲁⲭⲓ ⲉ̅ ⲡⲟⲧⲁⲓⲟ •
5 Ⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲫⲟⲣⲓ •	ⲁⲗⲓⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉ̅ ⲡⲓⲣⲓⲛḥ •
ἥⲣⲁⲛⲥⲟⲗⲓ ⲡⲟⲧⲱⲛⲓ •	30 ⲉⲩⲧⲁⲟⲩⲟ̅ ἥⲡⲟⲧⲣⲁⲛ •
ⲉⲣⲉ ϣⲁⲛⲭⲗⲟⲙ ἥⲱⲟⲩ •	ⲓⲥⲭⲉⲛ ⲧⲁⲣⲭⲏ ἥⲡⲓⲁⲗⲫⲁ •
ϣⲓⲭⲉⲛ ⲡⲟⲧⲁⲫⲛⲟⲩ̅ •	ϣⲁ ⲡⲭⲱⲕ ἥⲡⲓⲱ •
Ⲉⲣⲉ ⲕⲁ̅ ἥⲫⲓⲁⲗⲓ •	ⲥⲉⲣⲉⲛⲧ ⲉ̅ⲣⲟⲩⲛ ⲉ̅ ⲫⲧ̅ •
10 ἥⲡⲓⲟⲩḥ ⲃⲉⲛ ⲡⲟⲧⲭⲓⲭ •	ἥⲭⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲟⲩḥ ⲉⲧⲟⲥⲓ •
ⲉⲧⲙⲉⲣ ἥⲥⲟⲟⲓⲡⲟⲧⲩ̅ •	35 ⲉ̅ⲣⲟⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲧⲁⲩⲙⲁ ⲧⲓⲣⲟⲩ •
ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲙⲁⲩϣⲱ •	ἥⲡⲉⲡⲟⲧⲣⲁⲛⲓⲟⲛ •
Ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲟⲥⲉⲧⲭⲏ •	Ⲉⲧⲧⲣⲟ̅ ἥⲥⲓⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲓⲃⲉⲛ •
ἥⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲧⲓⲟⲥ •	ⲉ̅ ⲫⲧⲣⲓⲁⲥ ⲉⲟ(ⲟⲧⲁḥ) •
15 ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱⲣⲓ ἥⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲉ̅ ⲡⲩϣⲱ •	ⲭⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲙⲉⲧⲩⲉⲛⲣⲓⲛⲧ •
ϣⲁ ⲫⲧⲣⲓⲁⲥ ⲉⲟ(ⲟⲧⲁḥ) •	40 ⲧⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲓⲣⲩ̅ •
Ⲣⲁⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲓ ⲉ̅ⲧ ⲁⲩⲣⲁⲭⲓ •	ἥⲧⲉⲕⲡⲁⲓ ⲃⲁ ⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ •
ἥⲡⲱⲟⲩ ἥⲧⲉ ⲧⲟⲧⲙⲉⲧⲡⲓϣⲧ̅ •	ἥⲧⲉⲕⲩⲩⲉ ⲡⲣⲓⲛⲧ ⲃⲁ ⲡⲓⲧⲉḥⲡⲱⲟⲩ̅ •
ἥⲭⲉ ⲫⲓ ⲉⲟ(ⲟⲧⲁḥ) ⲓⲱ(ⲁⲛⲡⲓⲛⲥ) •	ἥⲧⲉⲕⲥⲙⲟⲩ̅ ⲉ̅ ⲡⲓⲁⲣⲱⲟⲩ̅ ἥⲙⲱⲟⲩ •
20 ⲡⲓⲉⲧⲁⲧⲧⲉⲗⲓⲥⲧⲏⲥ •	ἥⲧⲉⲕḥⲟⲩ̅ <sup>3</sup> ⲉ̅ ⲡⲩϣⲱ ἥⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ •
ⲁⲡⲓⲁⲧ ⲧⲁⲣ ⲡⲉⲭⲁⲩ̅ •	45 ⲩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲣⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲁ •
ⲉ̅ ⲕⲁ̅ ἥⲣⲟⲣⲟⲥ •	ἥⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ . . . .
ⲉⲧⲕⲱⲧ̅ ⲉ̅ ⲡⲓⲣⲟⲣⲟⲥ •	<i>sic exit</i>
ἥⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲡⲁⲛⲧⲟⲕⲣⲁⲧⲱⲣ •	

<sup>1</sup> Red ink. The last two syllables are added in black by a later hand.

<sup>2</sup> The letter ϣ is added in red by the rubricator.

<sup>3</sup> = ⲡⲧⲉⲕⲉⲛⲟⲩ.

## 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*  $\overline{\text{кѣ}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{кѣ}}$ , 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.<sup>1</sup> 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.

\*  $\overline{\text{кѣ}}$  recto

\*COT 17  $\overline{\text{м}}\pi\alpha\delta\alpha\theta\tau$  السابع عشر من شهر ثوت عيد الصليب  
 $\theta\omega\sigma\tau\tau$   $\pi\psi\alpha\iota$   $\text{لحن}$   
 $\overline{\text{м}}\pi\iota\phi\epsilon$   $\epsilon\theta\sigma\tau\alpha\delta$   $\text{واطس}$   
 $\overline{\text{н}}\chi\sigma\varsigma$   $\text{κατος}$

Асерепиоуми е пат +  
 $\overline{\text{н}}\text{же}$   $\overline{\text{ѣ}}$ лени  $\text{ѣ}$ отрѡ +  
 $\epsilon$  пише  $\epsilon\theta\sigma\tau\alpha\delta$   $\overline{\text{н}}\text{те}$   $\pi\iota\phi\epsilon$  +  
 $\pi\iota\psi\epsilon$   $\epsilon\tau$  аѡаш паѡт ероѡ +  
 5  $\overline{\text{П}}\pi\epsilon\sigma\chi\alpha$  тотс  $\epsilon\theta\sigma\lambda$  е  $\pi\tau\iota\tau\epsilon\chi\alpha$  +  
 $\epsilon\sigma\kappa\omega\tau$   $\overline{\text{н}}\text{с}\omega\chi$   $\text{нѣп}$   $\sigma\tau\sigma\iota\psi\psi\omega\tau$  +  
 $\psi\alpha\tau\epsilon\sigma\chi\epsilon\mu\chi$   $\text{нѣп}$   $\sigma\tau\sigma\iota\psi\psi\omega\tau$  +  
 $\epsilon\theta\epsilon$   $\pi\epsilon\sigma\pi\alpha\gamma\tau$   $\epsilon\theta\sigma\tau\iota$  ероѡ +

\*  $\overline{\text{кѣ}}$  verso

\*Вон отрази  $\psi\omega\pi$   $\overline{\text{м}}\phi\theta\sigma\tau$  +  
 10  $\text{нѣп}$   $\tau\phi\epsilon$   $\pi\epsilon\mu$   $\epsilon\chi\epsilon\pi$   $\pi\iota\kappa\alpha\gamma\iota$  +  
 $\epsilon\chi\tau\iota$   $\epsilon\chi\epsilon\pi$   $\pi\iota\sigma\tau\omega\pi\epsilon$   $\epsilon\theta\sigma\lambda$  +  
 $\overline{\text{н}}\text{те}$   $\pi\iota\phi\epsilon$   $\overline{\text{н}}\text{преуѡаѡ}$  +  
 $\pi\iota\phi\epsilon$   $\tau\epsilon\pi\sigma\tau\omega\psi\tau$   $\overline{\text{м}}\mu\sigma\chi$  +  
 $\pi\iota\psi\epsilon$   $\overline{\text{н}}\text{те}$   $\text{ѣ}$ метатмѡт +  
 15  $\pi\iota\psi\epsilon$   $\epsilon\tau$  аѡаш паѡт ероѡ +  
 $\psi\alpha\pi\tau\epsilon\chi\sigma\tau\tau\epsilon\pi$   $\text{нѣп}$   $\pi\epsilon\pi\kappa\sigma\iota$  +  
 $\text{Ге}$   $\tau\alpha\tau$   $\alpha\sigma\tau\omega\pi\epsilon$   $\overline{\text{н}}\text{же}$   $\overline{\text{ѣ}}$ лени +  
 $\alpha\sigma\sigma\iota$   $\overline{\text{н}}\text{ѣ}$   $\overline{\text{н}}\text{шо}$   $\mu\mu\alpha\tau\sigma\iota$  +  
 $\alpha\sigma\psi\epsilon$   $\pi\alpha\varsigma$   $\epsilon$   $\overline{\text{г}}\lambda\alpha\mu$  +  
 20  $\epsilon\sigma\kappa\omega\tau$   $\overline{\text{н}}\text{са}$   $\pi\iota\phi\epsilon$  +  
 $\text{А}$ тер  $\sigma\tau\sigma\sigma\sigma\pi\iota$   $\overline{\text{н}}\text{же}$   $\pi\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$  +  
 $\pi\epsilon\mu$   $\pi\sigma\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\pi\sigma\tau$   $\epsilon\tau\chi\omega$   $\overline{\text{м}}\mu\sigma\varsigma$  +  
 $\text{же}$   $\alpha\sigma\psi\alpha\pi\phi\sigma$   $\overline{\text{н}}\text{теп}$   $\mu\epsilon\tau\sigma\tau\epsilon\pi\sigma\tau\epsilon\pi$  +  
 $\tau\epsilon\pi\pi\alpha\sigma\tau\omega\pi\epsilon$ <sup>1</sup>  $\overline{\text{м}}\pi\iota\phi\epsilon$   $\epsilon\theta\sigma\lambda$   $\alpha\pi$  +  
 25  $\text{Δ}$ ικεос  $\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha\chi\iota$   $\pi\epsilon\mu\omega\sigma\tau$  +

<sup>1</sup> Grouped in the ms. with the preceding line.

30

35

40

45

50

55

\* $\overline{\text{н}}\text{же}$   $\overline{\text{ѣ}}$ лени  $\text{ѣ}$ отрѡ +  
 $\text{же}$   $\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\mu\sigma\iota$   $\epsilon$   $\pi\iota\phi\epsilon$  +  
 $\pi\iota\psi\epsilon$   $\epsilon\tau$  аѡаш паѡт ероѡ  
 $\text{А}$ тер  $\sigma\tau\omega$   $\overline{\text{н}}\text{же}$   $\pi\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$  +  
 $\epsilon\tau\sigma\alpha\chi\iota$   $\overline{\text{н}}\text{ѡ}\omega\tau$   $\pi\epsilon\mu$   $\pi\sigma\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\pi\sigma\tau$  +  
 $\text{же}$   $\iota\varsigma$   $\pi\iota\sigma\alpha\chi\iota$   $\overline{\text{н}}\text{те}$   $\pi\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\tau$  +  
 $\alpha\tau\chi\omega\kappa$   $\epsilon\theta\sigma\lambda$   $\epsilon\chi\tau\iota$   $\epsilon\chi\omega\pi$  +  
 $\text{А}$   $\pi\iota\sigma\tau$   $\sigma\tau\epsilon\mu$   $\psi\epsilon\lambda\psi\eta\iota\lambda\iota$  +  
 $\alpha$   $\pi\iota\kappa\alpha\chi\iota$   $\overline{\text{н}}\text{те}$   $\pi\sigma\tau\psi\eta\tau\iota$   $\sigma\lambda\eta\chi\iota$  +  
 $\pi\iota\sigma\tau\omega\tau\mu\sigma$   $\epsilon\tau\alpha\chi\tau\alpha\chi\omega\tau$  +  
 $\alpha\chi\iota$   $\epsilon\chi\tau\iota$   $\epsilon\chi\epsilon\pi$   $\pi\sigma\tau\psi\eta\tau\iota$  +  
 $\epsilon\tau$   $\alpha$   $\overline{\text{н}}\text{лени}$   $\text{ѣ}$ отрѡ +  
 $\alpha\mu\sigma\iota$   $\overline{\text{н}}\pi\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$   $\tau\iota\tau\sigma\tau$  +  
 $\text{же}$   $\iota\varsigma$   $\phi\mu\sigma\tau$   $\pi\epsilon\mu$   $\pi\omega\pi\epsilon$   $\overline{\text{м}}\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\pi\overline{\text{м}}\theta\sigma$  +  
 $\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\mu\sigma\iota$   $\epsilon$   $\pi\iota\phi\epsilon$  +  
 $\text{А}$ тѣ  $\pi\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\varsigma$   $\pi\alpha\varsigma$   $\epsilon\theta\sigma\tau(\pi)$   
 \* $\text{же}$   $\sigma\tau\psi\eta\tau\iota$   $\overline{\text{м}}\pi\sigma\phi\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$   $\pi\epsilon$  +  
 $\epsilon\chi\sigma\omega\tau\pi$   $\overline{\text{м}}\pi\iota\sigma\mu\sigma$   $\overline{\text{н}}\kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\varsigma$  +  
 $\overline{\text{н}}\text{теуѡаѡ}$   $\epsilon$   $\pi\iota\phi\epsilon$  +  
 $\text{А}$ ѡер  $\sigma\tau\omega$   $\overline{\text{н}}\text{же}$   $\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\varsigma$  +  
 $\sigma\tau\sigma\tau$   $\pi\epsilon\chi\alpha\chi$   $\overline{\text{н}}\pi\pi\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$  +  
 $\text{же}$   $\alpha\sigma\chi\omega\kappa$   $\epsilon\theta\sigma\lambda$   $\overline{\text{м}}\phi\theta\sigma\tau$  +  
 $\overline{\text{н}}\text{х}\iota$   $\pi\iota\sigma\alpha\chi\iota$   $\overline{\text{н}}\text{те}$   $\pi\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\tau$  +  
 $\text{Ζ}$ ακχѡс  $\phi\iota\omega\tau$   $\overline{\text{м}}\pi\alpha\iota\omega\tau$  +  
 $\alpha\chi\sigma\alpha\chi\iota$   $\pi\epsilon\mu$   $\sigma\iota\mu\omega\pi$   $\pi\alpha\iota\omega\tau$  +  
 $\text{же}$   $\rho\omega\tau$   $\pi\epsilon$   $\overline{\text{н}}\text{т}\sigma\tau\kappa\omega\tau$  +  
 $\overline{\text{н}}\text{са}$   $\pi\iota\psi\epsilon$   $\overline{\text{н}}\text{те}$   $\pi\iota\phi\epsilon$  +  
 $\epsilon\psi\omega\pi$   $\overline{\text{н}}\text{т}\sigma\tau\kappa\omega\tau$   $\overline{\text{н}}\text{с}\omega\chi$  +  
 $\sigma\tau\sigma\sigma\tau\epsilon\chi$   $\epsilon\theta\sigma\lambda$   $\overline{\text{м}}\pi\alpha\pi\tau\epsilon\kappa\mu\sigma\tau$  +  
 $\text{же}$   $\text{нѣп}$   $\pi\iota\sigma\epsilon\pi\sigma$   $\overline{\text{н}}\text{те}$   $\pi\iota\epsilon\theta\epsilon\pi\epsilon\sigma$  +  
 $\overline{\text{м}}\mu\sigma\pi$   $\epsilon\chi\iota$   $\chi\pi\alpha\epsilon\tau$   $\sigma\tau\epsilon\pi\sigma$   $\alpha\pi$   $\text{же}$  +  
 $\text{Н}$ ѡеос  $\alpha\chi\sigma\alpha\chi\iota$   $\pi\epsilon\mu\alpha\varsigma$  +  
 \* \* \*

\*  $\overline{\text{кѣ}}$  recto

\*  $\overline{\text{кѣ}}$  verso

\*The seventeenth day of the Month Thôout. The Feast of the Holy Cross.

\* Fo. 25<sup>a</sup>

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.

\* Fo. 25<sup>b</sup>

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.'<sup>1</sup> The persecution which overtook them is come upon their children."

\* Fo. 26<sup>a</sup>

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<sup>b</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jer. xxxi (xxxviii) 29. Cp. *Synax.*, Tût 17, ed. Basset, pp. 61 f.

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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 fragment<sup>1</sup> (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 —  $\overline{\text{ⲁⲃ}} \overline{\text{ⲁⲃ}}$  (Ornament)  $\overline{\text{ⲕⲉ}} | \overline{\text{ⲕⲉ}}$  (Ornament)  $\overline{\text{ⲟⲩⲥ}} \overline{\text{ⲁⲃ}}$ . The hand (see Plate XXIV B) 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).<sup>2</sup> The work to which these fragments belonged was apparently designed for the instruction of novices (see fo. 15<sup>vo</sup>), drawing mainly upon the *Sayings of the Fathers*<sup>3</sup> 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,<sup>4</sup> which, though not yet all formed, were in the process of formation. The  $\text{ⲕ}$  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.<sup>5</sup> 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  $\text{ⲁⲃⲟⲩⲥⲁⲃⲟⲩⲥ}$ . 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  $\text{ⲁⲃⲟⲩⲥⲁⲃⲟⲩⲥ}$  is represented in Arabic as  $\text{رجل}$  (nominative), but  $\text{ⲁⲃⲟⲩⲥⲁⲃⲟⲩⲥⲁⲃⲟⲩⲥ}$  (dative) and  $\text{ⲁⲃⲟⲩⲥⲁⲃⲟⲩⲥⲁⲃⲟⲩⲥ}$  (objective): so also with the suppressed final  $\text{ⲁ}$  in Coptic  $\text{ⲕⲟⲩⲁⲃⲟⲩⲥ} = \text{قل له}$ . There are other minor points which will be easily grasped by the reader.<sup>6</sup> I must draw attention here to the curious transliteration of the Arabic letter  $\text{ض}$  by the Coptic  $\text{ⲕ}$ . The letter  $\text{ض}$  is never pronounced as  $\text{ⲕ}$  in Arabic of the present time, whether classical or vulgar. It is always pronounced as a guttural  $\text{d}$ ; sometimes even in hurried pronunciation it becomes indistinguishable from the  $\text{d} = \text{ⲁ}$ . The  $\text{ض}$  however is pronounced like a  $\text{ⲕ}$  which is a guttural  $\text{tḥ} = \text{ⲕ}$  and which is also represented by a  $\text{ⲕ}$ , 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  $\text{ⲕ}$  represented a  $\text{v}$  or Turkish  $\text{و}$ .

<sup>1</sup> Four or five of the fragments have been omitted by Dr. Sobhy as too small to deserve publication.

<sup>2</sup> 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'Arch. Or.* 1, pp. 1 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.

<sup>3</sup> 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.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. *Ancient Egypt*, 1921, pt. III, pp. 70 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. II, 1915, pt. 1, p. 15; and *Bull. de l'Inst. Franç. d'Arch. Or.* XIV, p. 51.

<sup>6</sup> Underlined words are rubrics written in red in the ms.

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## CONCORDANCE OF COPTIC AND ARABIC ALPHABETS

Coptic	Arabic	Remarks	Arabic	Coptic	Remarks
ⲁ	ا, هـ	The هـ when not pronounced as ت	ا	ⲁ, ⲉ, Ⲏ	The Ⲏ before ا is invariably used with no difference whatever for ا. Casanova's theory of Emala does not hold good at all
Ⲃ	و	This may have been pronounced like V and represented the Turkish و	ب	Ⲏ	
Ⲅ	غ	Invariably used for the Ⲅ	ت	Ⲅ, Ⲅ̣, Ⲅ̤	The Ⲅ̣ always, marked above it Ⲅ̣ with three dots instead of two Ⲅ̣ although it represents ṭ. The actual spoken Arabic has lost entirely the Ⲅ̣ th
Ⲇ	ذ, د		ث	Ⲅ̣	In Ⲅ̣ⲁⲗⲉⲙⲉⲧ ثلاثة
Ⲉ	ا, ء	Invariably used for either ا or ء	ج	Ⲅ̤	There is no doubt whatever that the Ⲅ̤ and the ج 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, except in Cairo, nowadays always means ق
Ⲋ	ز, ض, ظ	Only once for ز. The ض = Ⲋ only in Turkish ??	ح	Ⲅ̥	Always the Ⲅ̥ marked with the Arabic ح above it
Ⲍ alone	..	Not represented	خ	Ⲅ̦	Which is variable in its form, Ⲅ̦, Ⲅ̧ being used
Ⲏ	ث, ط, ت	Once for ث	د	Ⲅ̧	
Ⲑ	ى, ء	Sometimes for a short ء, in Ⲅ̣ⲁⲗⲉⲙⲉⲧ	ذ	Ⲅ̧	ذ in the spoken Arabic is lost, always pronounced د
Ⲓ	ق, ك	Always marked with the respective Arabic letter it represents	ر	Ⲅ̨	
Ⲕ	ل		ز	Ⲅ̩, Ⲅ̪	Twice in the same word Ⲅ̣ⲁⲗⲉⲙⲉⲧ the Ⲅ̩ ought to be Ⲅ̩ = Ⲅ̪; معاذ ان //
Ⲗ	م		س	Ⲅ̫	
Ⲙ	ن		ش	Ⲅ̬	Once Ⲅ̬ thus, never Ⲅ̭, which however does not occur at all <sup>1</sup>
Ⲛ	ب	Appears in one fragment without my being able to assign its value	ص	Ⲅ̮	

<sup>1</sup> See the monumental work of M. Chassinat where he attacks my dictum that the Ⲅ̭ is always pronounced like English ch. *Un Papyrus Médical Copte*, p. 33.

# APPENDIX I

Coptic	Arabic	Remarks	Arabic	Coptic	Remarks
ο	ـ, و, ـ	Is oddly used for ـ in ϣⲟⲭⲟⲗ etc.	ض	ζ	Was the ض then pronounced as ط as in Turkish? Or was it the influence of Turkish??
π	ب		ط	ط τ, θ	Always with the Arabic equivalents above them
ρ	ر		ظ	ζ	The Copts could not catch exactly the right pronunciation of this letter
Ϸ	ز, ص, س	Faultily used for ز which ought to be ذ	ع	ء ع ا	The Arabic ع above is never written in full and might pass for ء hamzah, once or twice ا
τ	ث, ط, ت		غ	غ	
τ alone	..	Always + ο(τ)	ف	ف	
ⲁⲩ	أ, و		ق	ق κ	
ⲟⲩ	ه, و	As in ϣⲟⲩⲗⲗⲟⲩ قل له	ك	ك κ, χ	
ϣ	....	Not represented	ل	λ	
χ	ك		م	μ	
ψ	...		ن	π	
ω	...		ه	ε, ⲟⲩ, ⲁ	According to its position
ϣ	ش		ة	εⲉ, ετ, εθ, ε, ⲁ	" " "
ϣ	ف		و, و	ⲁ, ⲟⲩ, ⲟ, ⲁⲩ	
ϣ	خ		ي	λⲉ, λⲁ	
ε	ع, ح, ه		ي, ي	ι, η	
ⲁ	ج		ي, ي	ηι, ει	
ϣ	...	Never used, never represents ج or ش	ـ	ⲁ, ε	Not represented when final
†	...		ـ	//, επ	Two oblique red lines, once or twice επ
			ـ	ε, ι	
			ـ	ⲟ, ⲟⲩ	Not represented at end
			ـ	// =	Two oblique red lines
			ـ	//	Two oblique red lines
			ـ	ⲁⲁ	Once or twice



# NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Cairo, no. 45.

\* Fo. 1 recto

ق                      ق  
 \* πεκασεθε • καλη • γελ  
 λει • θαρο • ιεχοτη • πε  
 месхепеоеп ραζιμερ  
 ραπ•αορ • ηεμετεπκα :  
 λοτ : μελχε : ηεδαλας  
 ιλλε : σαρεπορ γετε  
 ριρ • πεσατο ραζιμ  
 ιαρρεγ σαρεπορ : γει•δε  
 σεμαρ : σαρεπορ ιεθ  
 ραппеп ραλνιρ се...  
 ηετεθλοп ηαλας...  
 ηετεηαλλесορ :...  
 ηесеη δελεκ...  
 ерради • γει•δε...  
 ρеп ρε•δε...  
 .....

بقساوة قلب  
 فالذى تحت يكون  
 بمسكنة عظيمه  
 عنده وما يبقى  
 له ملجا وخلص  
 الا صاحبه فيصيح  
 بصوت عظيم  
 يعرف صاحبه فاذا  
 سمع صاحبه  
 يتحنن عليه س[ريعا]  
 ويطلب خلاص...  
 وخلاصه...  
 فسد ذلك...  
 الردى فاذا...  
 حب هذا...  
 .....

\* Fo. 1 verso

\* ραλνιρ • ηεχερεη : ρα  
 λα ηαλαςορ • μεπελ  
 ηαρш ерради : ηεμε  
 ρасе еп ιεχοτη • λεπε  
 παρп ел•ηереγ • еп  
 ق                      ط  
 петакар • ελλεοι • λε  
 καοιρ • ελмесιρ • ι•δε  
 πορп • οεβеккеλпе  
 [α]λνιρ • γελε ιοусар  
 .. λ • ρα•αοτ • еп • ιεζ  
 ... ηε : λεχеп ιер  
 ..... μελεχοτ • λεπε  
 .... ηαλλαςпе • μεп  
 .... тап                      ιеро  
 ..... οτ • ел•ηο  
 .....  
 λλα... λε

عليه وجاهد على  
 خلاصه من  
 الوحش الردى  
 ومعاذ ان يكون لنا  
 نحن الخراف  
 الناطقه التى  
 لقطيع المسيح اذا  
 نحن توكلنا  
 عليه فلا يفسح  
 ... لعدو ان  
 [يعز]نا لكن  
 ير[سل] ملاكه لنا  
 ... خلاصنا من  
 [الشي]طان...  
 .....  
 .....

\* Fo. 1 recto

...and cruelty of heart.<sup>1</sup> 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...

\* Fo. 1 verso

harmful. If... liked this... on him and strove to save him from the ferocious beast.<sup>2</sup> 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...

\* \* \* \* \*

<sup>1</sup> = *Virtues of S. Macarius* (A.M.G. xxv, 131).

<sup>2</sup> *loc. cit.*

# APPENDIX I

\*λε • θακ ..... ραλε ελμε  
 ق ق  
 кам • ρεροπε : γεκαλ  
 ελχεπυρ : μενρομ • ιδε  
 ق  
 λем • пакѣ : ραλε : ελμε  
 кам : ρεροπε : μεζαипа  
 ιλε : ματζαρ : αηар :  
 ق ق  
 καλ : γε : κοτλο : ληис  
 ελ : ραхе : ιλε επ • αα  
 ροαροме : γειешχι  
 χε : γεεθροκροме :  
 γεiδε θεεrпе • γεροме  
 ق  
 ιαζραпеп : γεκοτλο :  
 λεροме • θεεαλoт επ  
 ποτ • λεχομ[ε ма]τζ[α]ρ  
 επ χон • θом .....  
 ق  
 γεκαλoт .....  
 ке [ ] [o θ]c α

لا ..... على المقام  
 هاهنا فقال  
 الكبير منهم اذا  
 لمرنقوى على المقام  
 هاهنا مضينا  
 الى موضع اخر  
 قال فقلت ليس  
 الحاجة الى ان  
 اطردهما فيشكيكما  
 فاتركهما  
 ناذا تعبنا فهما  
 يهربان فقلت  
 لهما تعالوا  
 ابنوا لكما [موضعا]  
 .....  
 فقالوا

\* Fo. 2 recto

\*λεπαρ • π ..... ρε • γεδε  
 ق  
 γαρτ • λερομ • γεс • ѣ  
 торіе • ѣеθελлис ρонз -  
 ق  
 ѣемеλρ • ѣеѣαηиѣ  
 ρом • ιλε саηра • ιεπε  
 ق  
 се • ѣеколт • λερομ  
 ق  
 азгегерот ρεροме ρоγ  
 ραρ • ѣеχипот λεχομ  
 ق  
 καсап • мен ελѣααι •  
 ق  
 ѣе • ραθθoοrρε • ѣеак  
 ق  
 ροαοт .. ѣεχонт  
 ιZen εππερομ ιαρ  
 ρап ..... qi ελχεπελ  
 ق  
 ..... ρап : ѣεсе  
 ..... ш ιοχoтн  
 ق  
 ..... γεκοлт

.....  
 فدفعنا لهم فاس و  
 طورية وتلّيس خبز  
 وملح ووديتهم  
 الى صخرة يابسة  
 وقلت لهم  
 احفروا هاهنا  
 حفرة واجنوا لكم  
 قصب من الوادي  
 وحطووها واقعدوا  
 وكنت  
 اظن انهم  
 يهرب ..... في الجبل  
 .....  
 يكون .....  
 فقلت .....

\* Fo. 2 verso

\*...to stay here.<sup>1</sup> The elder<sup>2</sup> amongst them said, "If we cannot stay in this place we shall depart to another." He<sup>3</sup> 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 hatchet<sup>4</sup> 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..."

\* Fo. 2 recto

\* Fo. 2 verso

1 = *Apophth. Patr.*, Macarius, xxxiii; and *A.M.G.* xxv, 207 ff.  
 3 sc. Macarius.

2 i.e. of the two 'Little Strangers' (Maximus and Domitius).

4 Notice that Arabic طورية = τωρι "hatchet."

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\* Fo. 3 recto

\*<sup>ⲉⲡⲙⲉⲣⲱⲧⲣ</sup> . . . . .  
<sup>ⲓⲁⲉ</sup> <sup>ⲗⲉⲙ</sup> . <sup>ⲓⲉⲑⲉⲙⲉⲥⲥⲉⲕ</sup> . . .  
<sup>ⲉⲗⲉⲡⲥⲉⲡ</sup> . <sup>ⲡⲉⲉⲑⲑⲉⲗⲁⲣ</sup> <sup>ⲉ</sup>  
<sup>ⲗⲁⲗⲓⲙ</sup> . <sup>ⲡⲓⲕⲁⲗⲡⲱⲧ</sup> = <sup>ⲗⲉ</sup>  
<sup>ⲡⲉⲥⲉⲗⲱⲧ</sup> . <sup>ⲗⲉ</sup> . . . . <sup>ⲉⲣⲱⲗ</sup>  
<sup>ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲧ</sup> . <sup>ⲡⲓ</sup> <sup>ⲱⲛⲓ</sup> . <sup>ⲗⲉ</sup>  
<sup>ⲓⲉⲛⲡⲉⲗ</sup> . <sup>ⲭⲱⲗ</sup> . <sup>ⲉⲗⲭⲉⲗⲉⲙ</sup>  
<sup>ⲗⲉⲓⲉⲗⲉⲙ</sup> <sup>ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲧ</sup> . <sup>ⲡⲓ</sup>  
<sup>ⲭⲱⲗ</sup> : <sup>ⲱⲛⲓ</sup> . <sup>ⲗⲉ</sup> <sup>ⲓⲉⲭⲱⲧⲡ</sup>  
<sup>ⲙⲁⲧⲑⲱⲧ</sup> . <sup>ⲕⲁⲣⲓⲡ</sup> = <sup>ⲙⲉⲛⲣ</sup> . .  
<sup>ⲓⲁⲙⲉⲛ</sup> <sup>ⲡⲉⲗⲁⲧⲙ</sup> . . <sup>ⲗⲉ</sup> . . . .  
<sup>ⲓⲉⲭⲣⲁⲗ</sup> . <sup>ⲭⲱⲗ</sup> <sup>ⲉⲗ</sup> . . . . .  
<sup>ⲗⲓⲉⲑ</sup> . . <sup>ⲗⲉⲓⲉⲭⲣⲁⲗ</sup> . . . . .  
<sup>ⲉⲣⲗ</sup> . <sup>ⲗⲉⲭⲱⲗ</sup> . <sup>ⲉ</sup> . . . . .  
. . . . .  
. . . . .

ومشوره . . . . .  
إذا لم يتهمسك  
الإنسان باتضاع  
عظيم في قلبه  
وجسده و يعود  
نفسه في شى  
ويقبل كل الكلام  
ويظلم نفسه في  
كل شى ويكون  
موته قريبا منه  
يوما بيوم و . . . . .  
يجحد كل الا . . . . .  
ويجحد . . . . .  
اهل . . . . . وكل . . . . .  
. . . . .

\* Fo. 3 verso

\* . . . . . <sup>ⲓⲗⲉ</sup> <sup>ⲉⲡⲱⲧ</sup>  
<sup>ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣ</sup> . <sup>ⲗⲉⲕⲁⲗⲱⲣ</sup> <sup>ⲕⲱⲗ</sup>  
<sup>ⲗⲓ</sup> <sup>ⲭⲉⲗⲉⲙ</sup> . <sup>ⲭⲉⲓⲩ</sup> . <sup>ⲓⲉ</sup>  
<sup>ⲭⲱⲧⲡ</sup> . <sup>ⲡⲁⲗⲁⲥⲓ</sup> . <sup>ⲕⲁⲗ</sup>  
<sup>ⲗⲱⲣ</sup> . <sup>ⲉⲱⲱⲩⲉⲓⲃ</sup> . <sup>ⲉⲙⲗⲓ</sup>  
<sup>ⲓⲗⲉ</sup> . <sup>ⲉⲗⲕⲱⲡⲱⲧ</sup> . <sup>ⲗⲉⲉⲱ</sup>  
<sup>ⲑⲱⲙ</sup> . <sup>ⲉⲗⲙⲁⲧⲑⲉ</sup> . <sup>ⲗⲉⲱⲣ</sup>  
<sup>ⲡⲱⲙⲣⲱⲙ</sup> . <sup>ⲡⲉⲗⲣⲓⲭⲁⲣ</sup>  
<sup>ⲡⲉⲙⲉⲗⲁ</sup> . <sup>ⲉⲗⲁⲃ</sup> . <sup>ⲗⲉⲱⲩⲉ</sup>  
<sup>ⲑⲉⲙⲣⲱⲙ</sup> . <sup>ⲗⲉⲣⲁⲭⲉⲙⲣⲱⲙ</sup>  
<sup>ⲡⲉⲗⲣⲓⲭⲁⲣⲁ</sup> . <sup>ⲗⲉⲣⲁⲗ</sup>  
. . . <sup>ⲉⲱⲱⲩⲉⲓⲃ</sup> . <sup>ⲡⲉⲕⲁⲗ</sup>  
. . . <sup>ⲉⲱⲱⲩⲉⲓⲃ</sup> . <sup>ⲙⲉ</sup>  
. . . . . <sup>ⲡⲱⲕ</sup> . <sup>ⲡⲉⲕⲁⲗ</sup>  
. . . . .  
. . . . .

. . . . . الى ابو  
مقار وقال له قل  
لى كلام كيف  
يكون خلاصى قال  
له الشيخ امض  
الى القبور واشتم  
الموتى  
وارجمهم بالحجار  
فمضى الاخ  
وشتمهم ورجمهم  
بالحجارة وعاد  
. . . . . الشيخ فقال  
. . . . . الشيخ  
. . . . . فقال  
. . . . .

\* Fo. 3 recto

... \*the counsel... If man do not hold great meekness in his heart and body and submit himself to every-  
thing 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....

\* Fo. 3 verso

\*[A brother came] to Abba Makari<sup>1</sup> 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...

\* \* \* \* \*  
<sup>1</sup> = *Apophth. Patr.*, Macarius, xxiii; *A.M.G.* xxv, 126.

## APPENDIX I

الرحمة ....  
 ملك المسيح ....  
 لها ..... عظيم  
 قو ..... ويجاوب  
 ..... يمنعها  
 سأله هذا الاخ  
 الواحد عن الفصل  
 ان شبابك يتجدد  
 مثل النسر قال له  
 انبا مقاري كمثله  
 الذهب اذا مد[ص]؟  
 .. بالنار .....  
 ..... جدد  
 نفس اذ ...  
 .....  
 .....  
 و.... ها وكل  
 حاج ضعفة تكون  
 جديده ....  
 الى العلو .....  
 ساله الاخ ... ما  
 هو الصعود الى  
 فوق يا ابي قال له  
 انبا مكاري كمثله  
 النسر اذا طار  
 في الجو فهو يتخلص  
 من فخ الصياد؟  
 ... اذا عاد الى  
 فيكون .....  
 .....  
 .....

...mercy....The Angel of Christ....to her....great....and answered....prevented her.  
*This same brother asked*<sup>1</sup> concerning the passage that “Thy youth shall be renewed like the eagle.”<sup>2</sup>  
 Abba Makari said to him: “Like gold when tried in the fire....renewed....

<sup>x</sup> . . . .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 . . . .*

\*            \*            \*            \*            \*

1 = *A.M.G.* xxv, 145 f.

2 = *Psalm* CIII, 5.

# NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

\* Fo. 5 recto

\*caβ · ελλεα<sup>ε</sup> ραλη<sup>ε</sup>ι<sup>ε</sup> ·  
λεχ<sup>ε</sup>επερε : θε<sup>ε</sup>ρεπαπ<sup>ε</sup> ρα<sup>ε</sup>  
λη<sup>ε</sup>ι<sup>ε</sup> · θε<sup>ε</sup>ελη<sup>ε</sup>ι<sup>ε</sup> · γα<sup>ε</sup>τκ<sup>ε</sup>  
σε<sup>ε</sup>ρερε · πε<sup>ε</sup>εε<sup>ε</sup>ε · γε<sup>ε</sup>ρε<sup>ε</sup>  
θε<sup>ε</sup>χολ<sup>ε</sup> · ψει<sup>ε</sup> · λο<sup>ε</sup>τ · ρε<sup>ε</sup>λο<sup>ε</sup>τ<sup>ε</sup>  
ρα<sup>ε</sup>περε · γε<sup>ε</sup>ι<sup>ε</sup>δε χε<sup>ε</sup>πε<sup>ε</sup>θε<sup>ε</sup>  
ρε<sup>ε</sup>α<sup>ε</sup>ι<sup>ε</sup> · με<sup>ε</sup>σπο<sup>ε</sup>ττα<sup>ε</sup>ρ · ρα<sup>ε</sup>  
λε · ρο<sup>ε</sup>ππ · θε<sup>ε</sup>λε<sup>ε</sup>ρε · γε<sup>ε</sup> ·  
με<sup>ε</sup>ρεσε επ<sup>ε</sup> ιε<sup>ε</sup>χ<sup>ε</sup>ο<sup>ε</sup>τπ · με<sup>ε</sup>π<sup>ε</sup>  
με<sup>ε</sup>ρα<sup>ε</sup>ππε<sup>ε</sup>θε<sup>ε</sup> · ε<sup>ε</sup>σσα<sup>ε</sup>πα<sup>ε</sup>ρ · γι<sup>ε</sup>  
πε · σε<sup>ε</sup>πε<sup>ε</sup>ρε · ιε<sup>ε</sup>σο<sup>ε</sup>ρ · ε<sup>ε</sup>λ<sup>ε</sup>  
με<sup>ε</sup>σι<sup>ε</sup>ρ ·

α<sup>ε</sup>β : σε<sup>ε</sup>λ : ι<sup>ε</sup>πα μα<sup>ε</sup>κα<sup>ε</sup>ρι :

κο<sup>ε</sup>τλ · λι · ε<sup>ε</sup>λ · ε<sup>ε</sup>θε<sup>ε</sup>α<sup>ε</sup>τ<sup>ε</sup>  
πε · κα<sup>ε</sup>λλο<sup>ε</sup>ρ ι<sup>ε</sup>πα μα<sup>ε</sup>κα<sup>ε</sup>ρι  
ε<sup>ε</sup>πε<sup>ε</sup>θε<sup>ε</sup>α<sup>ε</sup>τ<sup>ε</sup>πε<sup>ε</sup>ρ · λ<sup>ε</sup>η<sup>ε</sup>ς

\* Fo. 5 verso

\*θε<sup>ε</sup>π<sup>ε</sup>λο<sup>ε</sup>τ · πε<sup>ε</sup>λμε<sup>ε</sup>τα<sup>ε</sup>πο<sup>ε</sup>τ<sup>ε</sup>  
θε · χε<sup>ε</sup>με<sup>ε</sup>θ<sup>ε</sup>λ · ε<sup>ε</sup>λρα<sup>ε</sup>ψε<sup>ε</sup>  
πε · ε<sup>ε</sup>λλε<sup>ε</sup>ο<sup>ε</sup>ι · λε<sup>ε</sup>λ · ρα<sup>ε</sup>θ<sup>ε</sup>  
θα<sup>ε</sup>ρα · με<sup>ε</sup>θα<sup>ε</sup>ρ · ε<sup>ε</sup>λμε<sup>ε</sup> ·  
λε<sup>ε</sup>χ<sup>ε</sup>επ · με<sup>ε</sup>θ<sup>ε</sup>λ · σα<sup>ε</sup>πα<sup>ε</sup>ρ ·  
ρα<sup>ε</sup>χι<sup>ε</sup>μ · α<sup>ε</sup>ρα<sup>ε</sup>β · επ<sup>ε</sup> · ια<sup>ε</sup>ρ<sup>ε</sup>  
με<sup>ε</sup>λ · σε<sup>ε</sup>λσε<sup>ε</sup>λε · ρα<sup>ε</sup>λα<sup>ε</sup>κα<sup>ε</sup>  
ρε<sup>ε</sup>ρεπ · θε<sup>ε</sup>ρα<sup>ε</sup>λα<sup>ε</sup>κα · γα<sup>ε</sup>ζ<sup>ε</sup>  
ζα · θε<sup>ε</sup>με<sup>ε</sup>π ε<sup>ε</sup>λρα<sup>ε</sup>α<sup>ε</sup>ι<sup>ε</sup>α ·  
θε<sup>ε</sup>ρε<sup>ε</sup>ρε<sup>ε</sup>σε<sup>ε</sup> · ι<sup>ε</sup>λε επ<sup>ε</sup> · ιε<sup>ε</sup>  
κ<sup>ε</sup>ιμ · ε<sup>ε</sup>σσε<sup>ε</sup>λσε<sup>ε</sup>λε · θε<sup>ε</sup>ι<sup>ε</sup>ε<sup>ε</sup>  
χε<sup>ε</sup>μμε<sup>ε</sup>λε<sup>ε</sup>ρε · ρε<sup>ε</sup>δε με<sup>ε</sup>  
θε<sup>ε</sup>λ · ε<sup>ε</sup>θε<sup>ε</sup>α<sup>ε</sup>τ<sup>ε</sup>πε · θε<sup>ε</sup>ε<sup>ε</sup>ρε<sup>ε</sup>  
με<sup>ε</sup>ρ · ε<sup>ε</sup>λα<sup>ε</sup>ρμε<sup>ε</sup>λ · χ<sup>ε</sup>ο<sup>ε</sup>λ ·  
λε<sup>ε</sup>ρομ · θε<sup>ε</sup>ι<sup>ε</sup>ε<sup>ε</sup>θε<sup>ε</sup> · α<sup>ε</sup>λα<sup>ε</sup>κο<sup>ε</sup>  
πε<sup>ε</sup>ρε

... سانخ الذي عليه

لكنها تتحنن عليه

وتلقيه فوق

صدرها بوجه فرح

وكل شئ نه حنو

عندها فاذا كانت

هذه مسبوغه على

حب ولدها

فمعاذ ان يكون من

محبه الصانع

فيما سيدنا يسوع

المسيح

اخصال انبا مقاري

قل لي اصل التوبة

قال له انبا مقاري

ان التوبة ليس

تبليغ بالمطائنه

كمثل الخشبه

التي للخطاره متاع الماء

لكن مثل صنع

حكيم اراد ان

يعمل سلسله حلقه

ذهب وحلقه فضه

ومن الحديد

والرصاص الى ان

يقيم السلسله

ويكملها هذا

مثل التوبه تجتمع

الاعمال كلهم

ويتعلقوا بها

\* Fo. 5 recto

... [dirt] on him,<sup>1</sup> 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 ?

\* Fo. 5 verso

*The Virtues of Abba Makari.* "Say to me the nature of repentance."<sup>2</sup> Abba Makari said to him, "Repentance is not 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."

1 = A.M.G. xxv, 143.

2 ib.

# APPENDIX I

<sup>ق</sup>  
 \*qe : καλ λορ : iλε ειπ  
 θεμζι : εμμε ροτ : qe  
<sup>ق</sup>  
 καλ . λορ : επιζ : επ : εγ  
<sup>ق</sup>  
 θεκαζ : ελ : αηε : qe  
<sup>ق</sup>  
 λεμμε : αζ : καλλορ  
 εψψειθ . ελκαζζιζ  
<sup>ك</sup> <sup>ز</sup>  
 χνιγ : ζαλ : ελ : αηε =  
<sup>ق</sup> <sup>ز</sup>  
 καλ = ζαλ : επ = παζι =  
<sup>ق</sup> <sup>و</sup>  
 qe = καλλορ = εψψειθ  
 μεπ = εχλ = ειψ = εμμε  
<sup>ق</sup>  
 ροτ = qεκαλ = λορ = επ  
 περομ = εθραζα . . . ρα  
 λνι = χεμιαρομ = . . .  
<sup>ك</sup> <sup>ع</sup>  
 εψαρρ = μεχεν = ρα . .  
<sup>ق</sup>  
 επ = εσσαζικ = ελλ . . .  
<sup>ك</sup> <sup>ك</sup>  
 λι : ροπακ : χεν = ιε[c]  
<sup>ع</sup> <sup>ع</sup>  
 \*μαρ = μενπι . λεμαρ  
<sup>ك</sup>  
 λεμ . χνιγ : θεταπαρ =  
<sup>ط</sup>  
 ηελεζ = ροτ : ταiep : ελ  
<sup>ق</sup> <sup>ع</sup> <sup>ك</sup>  
 καλπ : μερζι : λεχενπορ  
<sup>ك</sup>  
 ساز : αρζε : μεπ : ελχολ  
<sup>ز</sup> <sup>و</sup>  
 ηεραλεγο : λε : εθι = πε  
 ρεχλνι : ρεζε : ελμε  
<sup>ك</sup> <sup>ع</sup>  
 χεν : iλε : παρζ : ζεμεπ  
<sup>ق</sup>  
 qe : λεμμε : καλ = ρατ  
<sup>ع</sup>  
 λνι : μεζα ραπ = εψ  
 ψειθ : ηεμμε = εψ  
<sup>ق</sup>  
 ψειθ : ελκαζζιζ  
 qερεηαλ : iλε μεταρε  
 θορ ηελ : μεχχεζ : λελ  
<sup>ز</sup>  
 εππ . ηελεππ = ηερατρ  
 ελκοζα α\_\_\_\_\_μπ

فقال له الى اين  
 تمضى اما هو  
 فقال له اريد ان  
 افتقد الاخوة  
 فلما عاد قال له  
 الشيخ القديس  
 كيف حال الاخوة  
 قال حال ردي  
 فقال له الشيخ  
 من اجل اى شى اما  
 هو فقال له انهم  
 ا . . . . . على  
 جميعهم . . . . .  
 الشر ما كان على [ى] . . .  
 ان الصديق [لدى]  
 . . . هناك كان

\* Fo. 6 recto

<sup>ع</sup> <sup>ع</sup>  
 \*μαρ = μενπι . λεμαρ  
<sup>ك</sup>  
 λεμ . χνιγ : θεταπαρ =  
<sup>ط</sup>  
 ηελεζ = ροτ : ταiep : ελ  
<sup>ق</sup> <sup>ع</sup> <sup>ك</sup>  
 καλπ : μερζι : λεχενπορ  
<sup>ك</sup>  
 ساز : αρζε : μεπ : ελχολ  
<sup>ز</sup> <sup>و</sup>  
 ηεραλεγο : λε : εθι = πε  
 ρεχλνι : ρεζε : ελμε  
<sup>ك</sup> <sup>ع</sup>  
 χεν : iλε : παρζ : ζεμεπ  
<sup>ق</sup>  
 qe : λεμμε : καλ = ρατ  
<sup>ع</sup>  
 λνι : μεζα ραπ = εψ  
 ψειθ : ηεμμε = εψ  
<sup>ق</sup>  
 ψειθ : ελκαζζιζ  
 qερεηαλ : iλε μεταρε  
 θορ ηελ : μεχχεζ : λελ  
<sup>ز</sup>  
 εππ . ηελεππ = ηερατρ  
 ελκοζα α\_\_\_\_\_μπ

يسمع منى لم اعلم  
 كيف تغير  
 وليس هو طيب  
 القلب معى لكنه  
 صار ازاء من الكل  
 وحلفت لا اأتى  
 برجلي هذا المكان  
 الا بعد زمان  
 فلما قال هولاء  
 مضى عن الشيخ  
 واما  
 الشيخ القديس  
 فدخل الى مغارته  
 والمجد للاب و الابن  
 والروح القدس امين

\* Fo. 6 verso

\*And he said to him:<sup>1</sup> "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 . . .

\* Fo. 6 recto

\* . . . (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.

\* Fo. 6 verso

<sup>1</sup> = *Apophth. Patr.*, Macarius, III; *A.M.G.* xxv, 233 f. (Macarius is speaking to the Devil).

# NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

\* Fo. 7 recto

\*εμπα ιωραππης λε = . . . . .

λεχεν : δεδελγ : μεθ[λ]

βαρεχι :

Βεκαλ : επον ιωραππης =

ελ . κασιρ . λεολεμιζορ

νεμεχχεα . ελ = δερεα . .

δεχολ . αραα = ιεμεα

χεαπε : δειδα : πεγαζ

πε : ελδερεα = ελλεα

ροτ αλλα . σερ[γ]οζ

πε ελ = χολ δεπε . . .

ιλε : ελριλεκ . . . . .

Βεχε : αρ : ιλε : ε[μπα ιω-]

ραππης δερε . . . . .

ελμεσε : δε . . . . .

ραε λε . . . . .

. . . . . انبا يوحانس لا

لكن داخل مثل

خارجي

وقال ابو يوحانس

القصير لتلاميذه

نمجد الواحد

وكل احد يمجّدنا

واذا رفضنا

الواحد الذي

هو الله سير فضنا

الكل ون[ذهّب]

الى الهلاك . . . . .

وجاء اخ الى انبا

يوحانس دفعه . . . .

المساء و

. . . . .

\* Fo. 7 verso

\*. . . . . χελλεμορ λεεαλ

. . . . . λεαεπεο : δεαταλ

ελχελεμ : ιλε : επ : ας

παροτ : δε : λεμ ιαε

λεμοτ . δεβαρεα . ιε

δεαδεροτ . γε : θεχελ

λεμ : μεροτ : ειζα ιλε

εθεεσεα : δε δεβαλ

ποτ : δε εχελ μεροτ

πονζ : δεμεα

δεκ]αλ επον ιωραππης

[αλκα]σιρ = λεεριο : ελ

. . . . . ερια επ εκοτη

. . . . . ερεμεμ : μεαλ

. . . . . εχεε λεεπε

. . . . . ερεμεμ

. . . . . كلمه لاجل

. . . . . حسنات واطال

الكلام : الى ان

اصبحوا ولم يعلموا

وخرج يودعه

فتكلم معه ايضا الى

التاسعة و دخل

به وأكل معه

خبزا ومضى

[وقا]ل ابو يوحانس

[القصير لاختيه

. . . . . اريد ان اكون

. . . . . اهتمام مثل

. . . . . لان

. . . . . اهتمام

\* Fo. 7 recto

\*Abba Johannes:<sup>1</sup> "Do not . . . but what is within me is as what is outside."

And said Abba Johannes the Short to his disciples:<sup>2</sup> "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 Johannes<sup>3</sup> . . . 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 brother<sup>4</sup>. . . "I wish to be [free from] occupation, as [the Angels],—because—[they have no] occupation"

\* Fo. 7 verso

1 = A.M.G. xxv, 338.

2 = Apophth. Patr., Ioh. Colob., xxiv.

3 = A.M.G. xxv, 367 f.

4 = Apophth. Patr., Ioh. Colob., ii; A.M.G. xxv, 354.

# APPENDIX I

\* $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon$  =  $\psi\sigma\kappa\lambda$  =  $\epsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon$  . [ $\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon$ ] . .

$\mu\epsilon\theta$  :  $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$  =  $\alpha\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\mu\epsilon$  / . . . .

$\kappa\alpha\lambda\alpha\varsigma$  =  $\theta\alpha\tau\pi\omicron\varsigma$  =  $\epsilon\lambda[\epsilon\theta\alpha]$

$\rho\alpha\chi$  .  $\iota\lambda\epsilon$  =  $\epsilon\lambda\pi\epsilon\rho$  . . . . .

$\epsilon\epsilon$  =  $\alpha\kappa\alpha\mu$  =  $\chi\omicron\mu$  = . . . .

$\epsilon\iota\gamma\epsilon$  =  $\epsilon\epsilon\rho\epsilon\chi\alpha$  . . . . .

$\epsilon\theta\iota\varsigma$  =  $\gamma\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\mu$  . . . . .

$\epsilon\lambda\pi\epsilon\rho$  =  $\lambda\epsilon\mu$  . . . . .

$\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  =  $\kappa\alpha\lambda$  . . . . .

$\epsilon\pi\tau$  . . .  $\epsilon\mu$  . . . . .

$\kappa\alpha\lambda$   $\epsilon\pi\epsilon$  . . .

$\gamma\epsilon$  =  $\epsilon\chi\epsilon[\pi]$  . . . . .

$\lambda\omicron\varsigma$   $\iota\omega[\alpha\pi\pi\eta\varsigma]$  . . .

$\mu\epsilon\pi$  . . . . .

$\lambda\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  . . . . .

$\epsilon\lambda$  . . . . .

\*[ $\alpha$ ] $\mu\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\tau$  :  $\gamma\epsilon\kappa\alpha\lambda$  =  $\lambda\omicron\tau$  =

. . .  $\epsilon\rho\omicron\tau$  .  $\epsilon\tau\alpha\lambda\epsilon\pi$  =  $\iota\lambda\eta\iota\varsigma$

. . . . .  $\epsilon\gamma$  .  $\theta\alpha\varsigma$  .  $\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  .  $\gamma\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\mu$

. . . . .  $\alpha\lambda$  .  $\pi\epsilon\lambda$   $\theta\epsilon\rho\epsilon\chi\omicron\varsigma$

. . . . .  $\omicron\tau\alpha\pi$  =  $\iota\lambda\epsilon$  =  $\pi\omicron\kappa\alpha$

. . . . .  $\alpha\varsigma\lambda\omicron\tau$  =  $\epsilon\kappa\alpha\lambda$

. . . . .  $\epsilon\pi\varsigma\epsilon\pi$  =  $\theta\alpha\varsigma$

. . . . .  $\theta\alpha\varsigma\mu\epsilon\lambda$  .  $\lambda\epsilon\theta\epsilon$

. . . . .  $\varsigma\alpha\kappa$  .  $\gamma\epsilon\tau\epsilon$

. . . . .  $\lambda\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\pi\omicron\tau$

. . . . .  $\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  =  $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\epsilon\rho$

. . . . .  $\mu\pi\alpha$   $\iota\omega\alpha\pi$ -

. . . . .  $\epsilon\psi$  .  $\epsilon\omicron\tau$

. . . . .  $\omicron\tau$  =  $\gamma\epsilon$

. . . . .  $\omicron\tau$

ولا شغلٍ الا كلمة

الله دائما . . . . .

قلع ثوبه وخرج

الى البرّ [يه] . . . . .

واقام جمعه . . . . .

. . . . . ورجع . . . . .

اخيه فلم . . . . .

الباب لم . . . . .

له قال . . . . .

انت . . . . .

قال انا . . . . .

فاجاب . . . . .

له يو . . . . .

من . . . . .

ليس . . . . .

اما هو فقال له

. . . . . وطلب اليه

. . . . . تفتح ؟ له فلم

يفعل ؟ بل تركه

. . . . . الى بكره

. . . . . وقال

. . . . . انسان . . . . .

. . . . . تعمل . . . . .

. . . . .

[تعمل] المطانوه ؟

. . . . . له اغفر

. . . . . انبا يوا

. . . . . نش ؟

. . . . .

. . . . .

\* Fo. 8 recto

\* Fo. 8 verso

\*and no work except the word of God always . . . . . He took off his clothes and went out to the desert . . . . and stayed a week . . . and returned . . . . his brother and not . . . . the door not . . . to him said . . . Thou . . . said, " I . . . answered . . . to him . . . . who . . . . is not . . . .

\* Fo. 8 recto

\* . . . But he said to him . . . and asked him . . . [that he] open to him, and [he did ?] not, but left him . . . until the morrow . . . and said : ["Thou art] a man [and must] do [work.] Thou [kneelest ?] . . . to him. Forgive . . . Abba Jo[hannes] . . . . .

\* Fo. 8 verso

\* \* \* \* \*



# NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

\* Fo. 9 recto

\*επ : ιεθζαπ : ϣι χολ : ϣει

εκαλ : εμπα ιωρannis

ραειτ : ϣειρ = ηεροτ πε

ρεθ = ηεθελεθεθ = πορ

πεπ = κиеμ - ραλε = ϣα

τι = ελπαρρ = ηερερομ

σατθ // = μεп = ελxenep

ελαρар • καיעλ // ρο

αοτ = λεχοτм = εхпе

ρα = παρ = ηεθεαλοτ : ι

λε - ραπαι = ηεεπеп

μεпгоμ = αρααοτ

εхπεра = παρ = ηета

ποτ : ιλε = ελπαρр = ελ

αραρ = ηεεμме = εла

αар ηεпекι = καиеμ // =

\*ιενχι : ηיעσιρ : ηיעι :

ελ : εριр : αρταρ хе

πεрап • ληис ρом παρ

λεххенпере : ζαριηен

πελε : κοthe : ηεχхенот

ιεθιροτ : ιλε ϣατк

ηειλε : εсqeλ : ηene

corotneen // : ραζime

хе ιλε : ελπαρр : ρε

χιδε : ρεде : ελχιλ :

ιεθoαοτ : εхπεра

ηελεхен • ληис ρи παρ

ηεπεлраре : ιεθoα

εхπεра : саар : ζα

ραρε : πεле : κοtheρ

καλ епoт ιωρannis

ان يتعب في كل شي

وقال انبا يوحانس

رايت شيخ وهو بهت

وثلاثه رهبان

قياماً على شاطي

البحر فجاهم

صوت من الجانب

الاخر قائلاً

خذوا لكم اجنحه

نار وتعالوا

الى عندي فاثنان

منهم اخذوا

اجنحه نار وطاروا

الى البر الاخر

واما الاخر فبقى قائماً

يبكى ويصيح وفي

الاخر اعطوه

جناحين ليس هم نار

لكنها ضعيفان

بلا قوة وكانوا

يطيروا الى فوق

والى اسفل فبصعوبة

عظيمة

جاء الى البر

هكذا هذا الجيل

ياخذوا اجنحه

ولكن ليس هي نار

وبالاخرى يأخذ

اجنحه صغار

ضعفة بلا قوة

قال ابو يحنس

\* Fo. 9 verso

\*ιενχι : ηיעσιρ : ηיעι :

ελ : εριр : αρταρ хе

πεрап • ληис ρом παρ

λεххенпере : ζαριηен

πελε : κοthe : ηεχхенот

ιεθιροτ : ιλε ϣατк

ηειλε : εсqeλ : ηene

corotneen // : ραζime

хе ιλε : ελπαρр : ρε

χιδε : ρεде : ελχιλ :

ιεθoαοτ : εхπεра

ηελεхен • ληис ρи παρ

ηεπεлраре : ιεθoα

εхπεра : саар : ζα

ραρε : πεле : κοtheρ

καλ епoт ιωρannis

\* Fo. 9 recto

\*... that he suffereth in everything.

And said Abba Johannes:<sup>1</sup> "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 said<sup>2</sup>

1 = *Apophth. Patr., Ioh. Colob., xiv; A.M.G. xxv, 344.*

2 = *Apophth. Patr., Ioh. Colob., iv.*

# APPENDIX I

*μεν : ιεμλε : πατηοτ	من يملأ بطنه	* Fo. 10 recto
χελεμ : μαρ : σαπ : γε	كلاما مع صبي	
καρ : γερατ : μεμμε :	فقد فرغ مما	
ιεζηι μεροτ : πεκαλ	يزنى معه بقلبه	
ποτ		
Βεκιλ : λεεχλοτ : εππορ	وقيل لاجله انه	
ιδαε : γερατ : μεν : ελρι	اذا فرغ من الحصاد	
σαρ : ιετοτγ : ραλε	يطوف على	
εψψειοτγ : ηειεθε	الشيوخ ويتفرغ	
γαρρατ : λεεσαλερ	للصلاة وسماع المزامير	
ηεεεμαρ : ελμεζεμip	والهلاذى حتى	
ηελμελεατ : ραθε	يستقيم فكره	
ιεεεκιμ : γεκρορ	على قضيته	
ραλε : καζιεθορ : ελ	الأولى	
ατηελε	قال انبا يوحانانس	
Καλ ἀπα ιωραππης	انه اشبه برجل	* Fo. 10 verso
*εππορ : εψπερ : περε	جالس تحت	
χολ : χελεε : θαρθε	شجره عظيمه	
ψεχεραρ : ραζιμερ	وهو ينظر	
ηεροτ : ιεν : ζορ : ηε	وحوش كثيرة	
ροτψ = χεοιρερ : ηε	ودبيب وهى جايه	
αεπιπ : ηερι : χηιτερ	اليه فاذا لم	
ιληιρ : γε : ιδαε : λεμ	يقدر ان يقف	
ιακτερ - επ : ιεκεγ	جرى وطلع الى	
χερα - ηεθαλαρ ιλε	الشجرة وتخلص	
εψψεχερα : ηεθερδαλ	وهكذا انا	
λasc : ηερεχιδαε : επε	جالس فى قلايتى	
χελεε : γι : κελλεie	وانظر افكار الشياطين	
οι : ηεεπζορ εγχαρ	تجى على فاذا لم	
εψψιετιπ : θεχι	اقدر عليها	
ραλι : γερδαε : λεμ		
ακτερ : ραληιρε :		

\*He who filleth his belly in converse with a youth hath already committed fornication with him in his heart. *It was said of him<sup>1</sup> 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:*<sup>2</sup> "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. . .

1 =id. xxxv.

2 =id. xii; A.M.G. xxv, 339.

# NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

\* Fo. 11 recto

\*λε • εχλορ • εппор • λε  
 ιετχεα • επсеп • ιε  
 θεχελεμ • ყიρ • पेλ  
 मे०ल • εααερεп • ελ  
 ϣαλες • ελμερаррар  
 पेलमिर्जेп • हेरे२ε  
 म्पा खेखοι • खेप  
 मोर्जोर्पेп • हेल्नις  
 ყიρ • खेसेल • हेले मे  
 ιεψπερ • २εαε •  
 Βεσεελ • აზ • мпа хех

لاجله انه لا  
 يوجد انسان  
 يتكلم فيه بل  
 مثل الذهب  
 الخالص المحرر  
 بالميزان وهذا  
 انبا باجيحوى كان  
 مضى؟ وليس  
 فيه كسل ولا ما  
 يشابه هذا  
 وسأل اخ انبا  
 با جيحوى وقال له ...

\* Fo. 11 verso

χοτ • हेकाλ [λ]ορ...  
 मे२ε • थेरेक.....  
 шит • हेखा.....  
 епз • епор мака[ρι]  
 हे॑॑॑॑ • iλε २ε  
 \*χεκαλ : ешшеи • лем  
 ме • पे२ε ешшигнт  
 еп ιεχθορ • семагт  
 еп е॑॑॑॑ • апτω  
 πος • ρακαα • चेкомт  
 हेखнιθ • iλε २ε२οπε  
 २εसेпθ • २ι - २εαε • ελ  
 хепел • ιесир • епқи  
 ρεα • हेकाααθ • २ε  
 αι२ • ελμοααεθ • ελ  
 [κα]σιρε२ • चेकाλ  
 .... аз • хем лан  
 .... ιε ॑пι • चेकाλ  
 .... ιп • हेसेпп  
 ....  
 .... λοτ мпа хехχο

..ماذا ترك....  
 شيهات وكا[نك]  
 عند ابو مقا[ري]  
 واتيت الى ها  
 فقال الشيخ لها  
 بدا الشيهات  
 ان يكثر سمعت  
 ان الطوباني انطونيوس  
 وقد فقيمت  
 وجئت الى هاهنا  
 فاصبت؟ فى هذا  
 الجبل يسير انفراد؟  
 وقعت هذه  
 المدة القصيره  
 فقال  
 .... اخ كمر لك  
 .... يا أبى فقال  
 .... وسنين  
 ....  
 ... له انبا جيحوى

\* Fo. 11 recto

\*... that there is no man who can speak against him<sup>1</sup> but he is like pure gold which is weighed in the balance; and this Abba Djidjoi<sup>2</sup> was sickly (?): there was in him no laziness nor its like.

\* Fo. 11 verso

And a brother asked Abba Djidjoi<sup>3</sup> and said to him "... why did you leave Shiēt (шит), being with Abba Makari, and come hither....?" \*The Sheikh said, "When Shihēt (шигнт) 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: ".... and .... years"

...to him Abba Djidjoi...

<sup>1</sup> ? = *Apophth. Patr.*, Poemen, CLXXXVII (in extended form).

<sup>2</sup> = Copt. *ⲁⲓⲃⲟⲓ*, Gk. *Σωφης*.

<sup>3</sup> = *Apophth. Patr.*, Sisoës, XXVIII.

# APPENDIX I

\*ϣ . <sup>ⲉ</sup>ⲕⲉⲣⲣⲁ <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲭⲉⲭⲟⲓ  
<sup>ⲉ</sup>ⲙⲉⲣⲉⲫ <sup>ⲉ</sup>ⲁⲩⲉⲩⲁ <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲕⲉⲭⲉⲡ  
<sup>ⲉ</sup>ⲁⲩⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⲱⲉⲓⲟⲩ . ϣⲉ  
<sup>ⲉ</sup>ⲣⲁⲁⲩⲱ : ⲓⲉ ⲑⲉⲭⲉⲗⲗⲉⲙ  
<sup>ⲉ</sup>ⲕⲉⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⲗⲟⲩ ⲙⲉⲁⲉ  
<sup>ⲉ</sup>ⲑⲉⲡⲱⲣ : ⲓⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲛⲉ - ϣⲉ  
<sup>ⲉ</sup>ⲕⲁⲗ : ⲕⲁⲩⲙⲉⲛⲓ ⲭⲉⲟⲩ  
 .. ⲁⲗϣⲓ .. ⲓⲉⲃⲟⲩⲟⲩ

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ⲉ  
 \*ϣⲉⲕⲁⲗ : ⲉⲱⲱⲱⲉⲩⲁ ⲓⲁⲉ  
<sup>ⲉ</sup>ⲭⲟⲡⲧ : ⲗⲉ : ⲁⲕⲕⲉ ⲉⲡ  
<sup>ⲉ</sup>ⲉⲩⲁⲗ : ϣⲉⲉⲛⲉ : ⲉⲑⲛⲉⲩ  
<sup>ⲉ</sup>ⲩⲉⲁ : ⲕⲁⲗⲓⲗ : ⲩⲁⲗⲉ  
<sup>ⲉ</sup>ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲓ ⲕⲉⲩⲉⲩⲁⲉ ⲁⲩⲱⲓⲙⲓ  
 ⲗⲓ  
 ⲭⲉ ⲓⲗⲛⲓⲩ ⲁⲩⲉⲩⲁ

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\*ⲉⲥⲙⲁⲩ . ⲙⲉⲡⲣⲟⲙ <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲭⲉⲗ  
<sup>ⲉ</sup>ⲙⲉⲩ : ϣⲉⲕⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⲗⲓ :  
<sup>ⲉ</sup>ⲗⲁⲕ ϣⲓⲡⲉ . ⲉⲙⲉⲛⲉ : ⲕⲉ  
<sup>ⲉ</sup>ⲡⲧ ⲑⲉⲧⲓⲩ . ⲕⲟⲗⲗⲧ  
<sup>ⲉ</sup>ⲡⲉⲁⲙ - ⲓⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲩⲉⲑⲟⲓ  
<sup>ⲉ</sup>ⲕⲉⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⲗⲓ : ⲉⲙⲩⲓ  
 ... ⲗⲓ ... ⲑⲉⲡⲥⲟⲣⲡⲓ  
 ..... ⲩ .....  
 [The lower half of the page is lost.]

ⲉ  
 \*ⲉⲱⲱⲱⲉⲩⲁ : ϣⲉⲕⲁⲗ ⲗⲉ  
<sup>ⲉ</sup>ⲣⲟⲙ . ⲣⲁⲥ - ⲭⲟⲗ : ϣⲉⲓ  
<sup>ⲉ</sup>ⲩⲟⲩ : ⲩⲉⲁⲉ : ⲉⲡ ⲗⲉ : ⲓⲉ  
<sup>ⲉ</sup>ⲟⲩⲁ - ⲉⲗⲉⲡⲥⲉⲡ : ⲡⲉⲩ  
<sup>ⲉ</sup>ⲥⲟⲩ ϣⲉⲓ ⲉⲗⲡⲉⲑⲑⲉ  
<sup>ⲉ</sup>ⲕⲉⲥⲉⲙⲁⲣⲧ : ⲉⲡ : ⲁⲡ  
 .. ⲑ : ⲉⲡⲡⲁ ⲭⲉ...

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... وانبا جيڇوي  
 مرض دفعه وکان  
 هوله شيوخ  
 فروح يتکلم  
 فقالوا له ماذا  
 تنظر يا ابانا  
 فقال قوما جاؤا  
 خلفي ... يأخذوا

\* Fo. 12 recto

فقال الشيخ اذا  
 كنت لا اقوى ان  
 افعل فانا  
 اتنهد قليلا على  
 نفسي وهذا عظيم  
 لي  
 جاء اليه دفعه

\* Fo. 12 verso

اسمع منهم كلمه  
 فقالوا لي  
 لك فينا امانه  
 وانت تطيع قلت  
 نعم : يا ابهاتي  
 فقالوا لي امض  
 .... تبصرنى  
 ....

\* Fo. 13 recto

الشيخ فقال  
 لهم راس كل شي  
 هو هذا ان لا  
 يعود الانسان  
 نفسه شي اليته  
 وسمعت ان  
 ابنا جيڇوي

\* Fo. 13 verso

\* And Abba Djidjoi once fell ill.<sup>1</sup> 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...]."

\* Fo. 12 recto

\* And the Sheikh said: "If I cannot do it, I sigh a little for myself, and this is enough for me"...  
 Came to him once....

\* Fo. 12 verso

\* ...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...."

\* Fo. 13 recto

\* ...the elder. And he said to them, "The chief of all things is that one does not ever accustom oneself to anything. And I heard that.... Abba Djidjoi..."

\* Fo. 13 verso

# NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

\* Fo. 14 recto

\*ζεποτη : ηελ .....  
 μαγραπ : ηελε με ....  
 ελλε επτ : ηεθαλλας  
 ηι : ιε ραπ μεπ : εηλ : ραζ  
 μεθακ ηειοηζοτη :  
 ελλεζην : ιε : κοτμοτη :  
 ελλη : ηειατλοποτη  
 ηεησι λιεηλεχορε  
 λееппак επт : ιε ραп  
 κοτθε : θι ηι χοτλ  
 ελ : ηελακ : εθоеспера  
 ιλε : αεηρ : εααεηεριп  
 α.....μνη  
 Ππα ιοτснф сеел м[па  
 ποιμεп : ηε .....  
 κοτλ λι

يحد[زنوني و]يس لي  
 مهرب ولا[ملجا]  
 الا انت فخلصني  
 يا رب من اجل  
 رحمتك ويخزون  
 الذين يقومون  
 على ويطلبون  
 نفسي ليهلكوها  
 لانك انت يا رب  
 قوتي في كل  
 حال ولك التسبيحه  
 الى دهر الداهرين  
 امين  
 انبا يوسف سأل [انبا]  
 بيمن و[قال له]  
 قل لي

\* Fo. 14 verso

\*.....ηееηεπορ еш  
 .....εпχопт θериα  
 .. ηοα πιαζ • ηι εααоп  
 ιε • ηελεηερεη η...θε  
 χοτη • θεκοτλ • ηι  
 χοτλ • αμр // επε μεп =  
 επε • ηελε : θεαп αζαα  
 ηαλ παρζ ελαηηε  
 ηααηαα : ελмеше  
 ιαη ει ηηε εспаη  
 λееппι апра : ηι : με  
 ζεμтг : ηεληс ηι  
 ρиккаθ каλп • λееп  
 ηι με αηρεη κοτθεθ  
 .....καλλοη  
 .....λε θεη

.... فاجابه ال[شيخ]  
 .... ان كنت تريد  
 [تا]خذ نياح في الدنيا  
 والاخره فتكون  
 تقول في  
 كل امر انا من  
 انا ولا تدين احد  
 قال بعض الاخوة  
 لاحد المشايخ  
 اى شى اصنع  
 لاني اقراء في  
 مز اميري وليس لي  
 رقة قلب لاني  
 ما اعرف قوة  
 قال له  
 لا تف[م]

\* 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 Poemen<sup>1</sup> 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....

\* \* \* \* \*

1 ? = *Apophtb. Patr.*, Poemen, xxxi.

# APPENDIX I

* <sup>ε</sup> ταβ : ιεχεν : ε.....	.... يجب ....	* Fo. 15 recto
παρεπ • επ : ιαρχα.....	راهب ان يحف[ظ]	
μελο <sup>ε</sup> • ηελε : ιεθλ.....	.... مله ولا ....	
γε : επ : χεν : επσεν.....	..... ان كان انسان	
μελ <sup>ι</sup> : χεοιρ : ηελε.....	..... كثير ولا ....	
γεζορ : γε : ληις.....	.. فظه فليس ....	
θεγα <sup>ε</sup> ρ : πεδελε <sup>ι</sup>	طفح ؟ . بذلك	
ροχολ <sup>ε</sup> επ καδα <sup>ι</sup> ις : επ	رجل قدس	
сар : επσεν <sup>ε</sup> καδ • α[β] τα	ابصر انسانا قد اخطا	
γενε <sup>ι</sup> χε . πο <sup>ι</sup> χε <sup>ε</sup> επ • εα	فبكاء بكاء [شديدا]	
ατα <sup>ε</sup> // ηεκαλ .. λ.. ε.....	وقال .....	
αhta : ελτα .....	اخطا الى .....	
αhta : ατατε.....	اخطىء .....	
*..... εαπορ ηελε	ادينه ولا	* Fo. 15 verso
..... ζεπορ • πελ • πε	بل ....	
.... ιλ • qi • περσene • επ	.... فى نفسنا ان	
... πε • αhta... μερ	... انا أخطأ منه	
.... εζαμ • αενπ <sup>ε</sup> μερ =	... اعظم ذنب منه	
Βεκαλ : ιεχεν • λερρα	وقال يجب للراهب	
ρεπ • επ • αhta • εαληιρ	ان اخطاء عليه	
αhtaρ λε • ιαρχα <sup>ε</sup>	اخوه لا يحقد	
ηελε : ιεχε <sup>ε</sup> : εαληιρ	ولا يجدد عليه	
..... σεραθορ : πελ	.... ساعته بل	
..... χορ • εαθε <sup>ε</sup> - ιερ	.... حتى	
.... ταζαπορ	.... غضبه	
.... σερα <sup>ε</sup> = θομ	.... ساعة ثم	

\*<sup>1</sup>... (it) must... monk... and not... if a man... much, and not... (?) and not... (?) with this. \* Fo. 15 recto  
*A holy man* saw a man commit sin, and he wept a great deal... and he said... sinned against (me)  
... commit sin...

\*... judge him, and not... but... in ourselves, that... I am more sinful than he... fault greater \* 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 feelings  
... and not repeat... immediately... but... even... his rage... an hour, then...

\* \* \* \* \*

# NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

\* Fo. 16 recto

<sup>ث</sup>  
 \*οερ · εντ = μεπ . . . .  
 2ε2 · ϣι μεζεμ . . . . .  
 λε · ενπι · σεμαρτ · παρζ  
 ελεππερεθ · ιεσεελοτ  
<sup>ء</sup>  
 ραν · ρε2ερ · ελμεσελερ  
<sup>ق</sup>  
 ϣε · εχεποτρ · हेका  
<sup>ز</sup>  
 लोτ · एन · एल२ाहि · मे  
<sup>ق</sup>  
 1αρρεϣ · को॒हेθ · एल  
<sup>ء</sup>  
 χελεμ · ελλε2ι · 1ε  
<sup>ق</sup>  
 को॒लो॒र · ले॒ल · २ानेर  
<sup>ك</sup>  
 ले॒खेπ · ए॒ल२ानेर · ॐ2  
<sup>ق</sup>  
 रेϣ · को॒हेθ · ए॒ल॒खे॒λεμ  
<sup>ق</sup>  
 1॒ल॒ले2ι · 1εको॒लो॒र · ए॒ल  
<sup>ز</sup>  
 २ाहि · हे॒θε2ε॒ल · 1εσε  
<sup>ء</sup>  
 मा॒२ ε॒θο॒ρ · हे॒θα2॒२2  
<sup>ك</sup>  
 हे॒ख॒1ε2ε॒क पो॒२π  
<sup>ك</sup>

. . . . . انت من  
 . . . . . فى  
 لا نى سمعت بعض  
 الابهات يسألوا  
 عن هذه المسألة  
 فا جابوا وقالوا  
 ان الحاوى ما  
 يعرف قوة  
 الكلام الذى  
 يقوله للحية  
 لكن الحية تعرف  
 قوة الكلام  
 الذى يقوله  
 الحاوى وتذل اذا  
 سمعته وتخضع  
 وكذلك نحن

\* Fo. 16 verso

\* . . . . . ϣοππε μεπεϣ  
<sup>ق</sup>  
 . . . . . को॒हेθ · मे॒नेको॒λ  
<sup>ط</sup>  
 २εεπ · εϣϣε1ταπ · हे  
 χεπο॒τ2ο॒ρ · 1ε2ε सेमे  
<sup>ك</sup>  
 २οτ = χε॒λεμ 2॒ल॒ला २2  
<sup>ء</sup>  
 रे॒ϣο॒२ · हे॒ϣε॒२ε॒२οτ मे॒ने॒२  
<sup>ء</sup>  
 हे॒२२2॒२॒ϣοτ मे॒ने॒२ =  
<sup>ق</sup>  
 क॒2ल : पा॒२२ · ए॒ल॒मे॒२े  
<sup>ز</sup>  
 12॒२ · ले॒ ए॒1 २॒े1॒ॐε॒२  
<sup>ك</sup>  
 २ेπ · ए॒ल॒ले2ι 1ε॒२॒ले  
<sup>ك</sup>  
 मा॒क · हे॒θε॒प॒το॒२ · ए॒ल॒ले  
<sup>ز</sup>  
 2ι 1ε॒२॒२ेपा॒क · ϣε =  
 2॒न1॒॒॒॒ २οτ · ए॒ल॒ले2ι  
<sup>ك</sup>  
 २2॒लेमा॒क · हे॒ले॒खेπ  
<sup>ط</sup>  
 εϣϣε1ταπ · ϣε1ε २ेπ  
 ए॒न ॒θε॒प॒το॒२ ए॒ल॒με॒२2

. . . . . كنا مانفهم?  
 . . . . . قوة مانقول  
 فان الشيطان  
 وجنوده اذا سمعوا  
 كلام الله عرفوا  
 وفزعوا منه  
 وضعفوا منه  
 قال بعض المشايخ  
 لاي شى تحزن  
 الذى يظلمك  
 وتبغض الذى  
 يحزنك  
 فليس هو الذى  
 ظلمك ولكن  
 الشيطان فيجب  
 ان تبغض المرض

\* Fo. 16 recto

\*<sup>1</sup> . . . 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 . . . .

\* Fo. 16 verso

\* . . . 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 . . .

\* \* \* \* \*

I Apophthegmata.

# APPENDIX I

\*περσοῦ θεμελζεμε

ψι εἰσεραπ : ἡελε ιεμαρ  
μαρ ιεραδ<sup>ε</sup> γειεχεν : εν

θαρρεσοῦ : ιε αῤῃεοι

εαλε ρεγζ : ρεδε : λιελ

λε : οεχοτη : ραιεθεχομ

πελε οεμαραδ . ἡεεν οε

χοτηποῦ : μεσθεραδαην

λεχολ : χελμερ : οεσμε

ροτηπερ : οεκοτλοτ

ετγερ : λεπε : λεεπε λ

εἰσεραδ : ιερζεμ : χολ

ψιη<sup>ε</sup> : μεν : εμορ ελραδαο

ἡελε : οεροα περσακ

εποτρε : ελεη : λεψει

μεν αῤῃμελακ

\*ἡειεχοτη : ἡεχρακ : με

εαппес : еπεде<sup>ε</sup> ιλλε

εν : ιεθοτη : αῤῃερ : το

ροπε : οεχοτη : πεψ :

μαρροτ : ἡεοεγραδ

περομ : λεχι : ιεσχοп

ψи : ψατγ αλλα

En . дегепт : маρ : αῤῃε

γ . тарик . оепереα

εαпгоμ : καλιλ<sup>ε</sup> / λεχι

οεχοτη : саμео . ἡειδα

χοηт : οεμψи : γελε

οελ : οεγет : ιεμipe<sup>ε</sup>

ἡε : ψиμελε<sup>ε</sup> : πελ : акра

ψи μεζεμipак . ἡεσαλλι

περεκpaк : ελε : αλλα

نفسه ويلزمها

في التعب ولا يمرض

احدا فيجب ان

تحرصوا يا اخوتي

على حفظ هذا لثلا

تكون حياتكم

بلا ثمره وان

تكونوا مستعدين

لكل كلمه تسمعونها

تقولوا

اغفر لنا لان

الاتضاع يعزم كل

شىء من امور العدو

ولا تعد نفسك

ايها الاخ لشىء

من اعمالك

ويكون وجهك

معبس ابدا الا

ان ياتوك اخوه

غرباء تكون بش

معهم وتفرح

بهم لكي يسكن

فيك خوف الله

ان ذهبت مع اخوه

في طريق تباعد

عنهم قليلا لكي

تكون صامت واذا

كنت تمشى فلا

تلتفت يمينا

وشمالا بل اقراء

في مزاميرك وصل

بفكرك الى الله

\* Fo. 17 recto

\* Fo. 17 verso

<sup>1</sup>... \*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...

\* Fo. 17 recto

... \*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...

\* Fo. 17 verso

<sup>1</sup> 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.]



# NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

\* Fo. 18 recto

<sup>ε</sup>  
 \*θεραλε : <sup>ϥ</sup>ι : <sup>χ</sup>ολ : ματ  
 ζαρ : θεαθολορ : λε  
<sup>ε</sup>  
 ιεχοτη : λακ : δελλαρ  
<sup>ε</sup>  
 μαρ : ερλοτρ : πελ : <sup>ε</sup>χοτη  
<sup>ε</sup>  
 ϥι : <sup>ε</sup>χολ : <sup>ε</sup>μη : <sup>ε</sup>μεο  
<sup>ε</sup>  
 ρακ : <sup>ε</sup>μεσιρ : <sup>ε</sup>θερ : <sup>ε</sup>χολ  
<sup>ε</sup>  
 ματζαρ : <sup>ε</sup>θεαθαρ  
<sup>ε</sup>  
 μερρεγερ : <sup>ε</sup>θεαθαρ .  
<sup>ε</sup>  
<sup>ε</sup>θεαχοτη : <sup>ε</sup>μη : <sup>ε</sup>θε  
<sup>ε</sup>  
 λε θεμορ : <sup>ε</sup>θεακ : <sup>ε</sup>πε  
<sup>ε</sup>  
 ταραμ : <sup>ε</sup>θερτορ : <sup>ε</sup>ϥ  
<sup>ε</sup>  
 ϥομ : <sup>ε</sup>αζαδ : <sup>ε</sup>θεα  
<sup>ε</sup>  
 πεμτ : <sup>ε</sup>ϥ ματζαρ  
<sup>ε</sup>  
 ϥελε : <sup>ε</sup>θεαθατα : <sup>ε</sup>επο  
<sup>ε</sup>  
<sup>ε</sup>θε αθαρ : <sup>ε</sup>ϥ <sup>ε</sup>χισερ  
<sup>ε</sup>  
<sup>ε</sup>θερεα : <sup>ε</sup>θε : <sup>ε</sup>καλλι  
<sup>ε</sup>  
 \*καλεθεν <sup>ε</sup>χεοιρερ : <sup>ε</sup>καπλ  
<sup>ε</sup>  
 εππατμ : <sup>ε</sup>θεαχοτη  
<sup>ε</sup>  
 καδ : <sup>ε</sup>θερεπο : <sup>ε</sup>ϥ <sup>ε</sup>εοταρικ =  
<sup>ε</sup>  
<sup>ε</sup>θερεττ = <sup>ε</sup>θεαρερ  
<sup>ε</sup>  
 πεκαλιλ : <sup>ε</sup>ζητο : <sup>ε</sup>λεαλ  
<sup>ε</sup>  
 εοθεραπ : <sup>ε</sup>ϥελε : <sup>ε</sup>θεαροπ  
<sup>ε</sup>  
<sup>ε</sup>μη : <sup>ε</sup>μερ <sup>ε</sup>θεακ : <sup>ε</sup>σεθε  
<sup>ε</sup>  
<sup>ε</sup>ρεαλνικ : <sup>ε</sup>θελε <sup>ε</sup>θεμερ  
<sup>ε</sup>  
<sup>ε</sup>χερ : <sup>ε</sup>αζαδ : <sup>ε</sup>επ : <sup>ε</sup>ιοαρερ  
<sup>ε</sup>  
<sup>ε</sup>ρε : <sup>ε</sup>λακ : <sup>ε</sup>ελλε : <sup>ε</sup>μερ = <sup>ε</sup>μη  
<sup>ε</sup>  
<sup>ε</sup>ρερ : <sup>ε</sup>αθ <sup>ε</sup>μεραζ : <sup>ε</sup>θεαρε  
<sup>ε</sup>  
<sup>ε</sup>σελεστ : <sup>ε</sup>ϥ <sup>ε</sup>καλλιε  
<sup>ε</sup>  
<sup>ε</sup>θακ : <sup>ε</sup>θερε : <sup>ε</sup>ιλε <sup>ε</sup>απακ  
<sup>ε</sup>  
 αθ : <sup>ε</sup>ταρικ <sup>ε</sup>θεαροπ  
<sup>ε</sup>  
<sup>ε</sup>ρεαλνικ : <sup>ε</sup>θεοταλ <sup>ε</sup>λορ  
<sup>ε</sup>  
<sup>ε</sup>επαρ : <sup>ε</sup>μεραππερ : <sup>ε</sup>θε

تعالى في كل موضع  
 تدخله لا  
 يكون لك داله  
 مع اهله بل كن  
 في كل شيء من امورك  
 مسيحي وفي كل  
 موضع تأدب  
 معرفه وحياء  
 وان كنت شابا  
 فلا تمد يدك  
 بطعام تضعه في  
 فم أحد وان  
 نمت في موضع  
 فلا تنغط انت  
 وآخر في كيس  
 واحد وصل  
 صلاة كثيره قبل  
 النوم وان كنت  
 قد تعبت في الطريق  
 واردت تدهن  
 بقليل زيت لاجل  
 التعب فلا تدهن  
 شيئا من جسدك سوا  
 رجلك ولا تمكّن  
 احدا ان يدهنها  
 لك الا من شدة  
 او مرض واذا  
 جلست في قلايتك  
 وجا الى عندك  
 اخ غريب فادهن  
 رجليه وقل له  
 اصنع محبة

\* Fo. 18 recto

\* 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 . . .

\* \* \* \* \*

I Esaias, Gr. 8, Lat. 1109 A.

# APPENDIX I

\*<sup>δ</sup>ψνι<sup>δ</sup> μεν : ελε<sup>δ</sup>μορ • γε  
 λε = θε<sup>δ</sup>χοομ • δε<sup>δ</sup>λεκ =  
 θε<sup>δ</sup>οεκ<sup>δ</sup>αεν : θε<sup>δ</sup>λε<sup>δ</sup>χεν  
 ε<sup>δ</sup>σπαρ μετα<sup>δ</sup>πο<sup>δ</sup>θη • θε<sup>δ</sup>  
 κερ • πε<sup>δ</sup>δε<sup>δ</sup>πο<sup>δ</sup>τ<sup>δ</sup>νακ • θε<sup>δ</sup>  
 ε<sup>δ</sup>σθα<sup>δ</sup>τ<sup>δ</sup>γερ • λει<sup>δ</sup>οτ<sup>δ</sup>γερ •  
 λακ • θε<sup>δ</sup>εν<sup>sic</sup> κα<sup>δ</sup>λλακ • εν<sup>δ</sup>  
 σε<sup>δ</sup>π = // χ<sup>δ</sup>ε<sup>δ</sup>λ<sup>δ</sup>με<sup>δ</sup>ο<sup>δ</sup>εν // ψε<sup>δ</sup>  
 α<sup>δ</sup>ι<sup>δ</sup>α<sup>δ</sup>ερ • γε<sup>δ</sup>λε • θε<sup>δ</sup>ο<sup>δ</sup>γερ<sup>δ</sup>  
 χερ • θε<sup>δ</sup>ε<sup>δ</sup>σε<sup>δ</sup>ο<sup>δ</sup>εκ<sup>δ</sup>πε<sup>δ</sup>ρ : κα<sup>δ</sup>λ<sup>δ</sup>  
 πακ = θε<sup>δ</sup>λε<sup>δ</sup> χερ • πε<sup>δ</sup>τερ<sup>δ</sup>  
 θε<sup>δ</sup>α<sup>δ</sup>ζ<sup>δ</sup>ρα<sup>δ</sup>π • λο<sup>δ</sup>ρ • μετα<sup>δ</sup>  
 πο<sup>δ</sup>θη • θε<sup>δ</sup>λε<sup>δ</sup> θε<sup>δ</sup>λο<sup>δ</sup>τ<sup>δ</sup>μο<sup>δ</sup>ρ  
 τι<sup>δ</sup> κα<sup>δ</sup>λ<sup>δ</sup>πακ • θε<sup>δ</sup>ι<sup>δ</sup>λλε =  
 γε<sup>δ</sup>λ = τα<sup>δ</sup>ζ<sup>δ</sup>ρα<sup>δ</sup>π : γε<sup>δ</sup>ο<sup>δ</sup>ε<sup>δ</sup>ρ<sup>δ</sup>α<sup>δ</sup>ρ<sup>δ</sup>ρεκ<sup>δ</sup>  
 ρα<sup>δ</sup>λ<sup>δ</sup>νικ = εν<sup>δ</sup> χ<sup>δ</sup>ο<sup>δ</sup>τε<sup>δ</sup>π =  
 \*<sup>δ</sup>ρα<sup>δ</sup>λ<sup>δ</sup>νικ • πε<sup>δ</sup>ψνι = λε<sup>δ</sup>μ  
 θε<sup>δ</sup>ε<sup>δ</sup>ρ<sup>δ</sup>α<sup>δ</sup>λο<sup>δ</sup>τ = γε<sup>δ</sup>λε<sup>δ</sup> ο<sup>δ</sup>α<sup>δ</sup>ρ<sup>δ</sup>  
 ζεν • θε<sup>δ</sup>ο<sup>δ</sup>α<sup>δ</sup>ζ<sup>δ</sup>α<sup>δ</sup>ρ • θε<sup>δ</sup>λε<sup>δ</sup>  
 χε<sup>δ</sup>λ : θε<sup>δ</sup>ε<sup>δ</sup>ε<sup>δ</sup>ζ<sup>δ</sup>α<sup>δ</sup>ρ • θε<sup>δ</sup>ε<sup>δ</sup>ε<sup>δ</sup>σ<sup>δ</sup>πα<sup>δ</sup>ρ<sup>δ</sup>  
 μετα<sup>δ</sup>πο<sup>δ</sup>θη • εν<sup>δ</sup> χ<sup>δ</sup>ο<sup>δ</sup>π<sup>δ</sup>τ<sup>δ</sup>  
 γε<sup>δ</sup>ρα<sup>δ</sup>λ<sup>δ</sup>θο<sup>δ</sup>ρ • θε<sup>δ</sup>ε<sup>δ</sup>π<sup>δ</sup>λε<sup>δ</sup>μ<sup>sic</sup>  
 θε<sup>δ</sup>ε<sup>δ</sup>ρ<sup>δ</sup>α<sup>δ</sup>λο<sup>δ</sup>ρ • θε<sup>δ</sup>ε<sup>δ</sup>κο<sup>δ</sup>τ<sup>δ</sup>λ<sup>δ</sup>  
 λο<sup>δ</sup>ρ : ε<sup>δ</sup>τ<sup>δ</sup>γερ<sup>δ</sup> λι : γε<sup>δ</sup>ε<sup>δ</sup>π<sup>δ</sup>νι<sup>δ</sup>  
 λ<sup>δ</sup>νικ : ε<sup>δ</sup>ρ<sup>δ</sup>ο<sup>δ</sup>τ<sup>δ</sup>α<sup>δ</sup> ε<sup>δ</sup>ρ<sup>δ</sup>α<sup>δ</sup>λ :  
 ρε<sup>δ</sup>α<sup>δ</sup>ι<sup>δ</sup>ρ ε<sup>δ</sup>λ<sup>δ</sup>ρε<sup>δ</sup>σα<sup>δ</sup>λ • πε<sup>δ</sup>γε<sup>δ</sup>  
 ρα : λε<sup>δ</sup>λα<sup>δ</sup>ρ<sup>δ</sup>α<sup>δ</sup>ε<sup>δ</sup>ο<sup>δ</sup> : τι<sup>δ</sup> •  
 ε<sup>δ</sup>ρ<sup>δ</sup>ρ<sup>δ</sup>ο<sup>δ</sup>ρ<sup>δ</sup>π<sup>δ</sup>ε<sup>δ</sup>νι<sup>δ</sup>ε = ι<sup>δ</sup>α<sup>δ</sup>ε<sup>δ</sup>  
 χ<sup>δ</sup>ο<sup>δ</sup>π<sup>δ</sup>τ : ο<sup>δ</sup>α<sup>δ</sup>ρ<sup>δ</sup>με<sup>δ</sup>λ : ρα<sup>δ</sup>με<sup>δ</sup>λ<sup>δ</sup>  
 γε<sup>δ</sup>α<sup>δ</sup>νικ - γε<sup>δ</sup>λε : θε<sup>δ</sup>ο<sup>δ</sup>ε<sup>δ</sup>θε<sup>δ</sup>  
 πε : ρα<sup>δ</sup>π<sup>δ</sup>ρ : θε<sup>δ</sup>λε<sup>δ</sup>χεν :  
 ο<sup>δ</sup>ο<sup>δ</sup>μ<sup>δ</sup>μο<sup>δ</sup>ρ : πε<sup>δ</sup>ρ<sup>δ</sup>α<sup>δ</sup>τ<sup>δ</sup>γ

شى من الأمور  
 فلا تكثر 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  
 في قلبك والا  
 فالغضب يتحرك  
 عليك ان كذب  
 عليك بشي لم  
 تفعله فلا تحزن  
 وتجزع ولكن  
 تواضع واصنع  
 مطانوه ان كنت  
 فعلته او ان لم  
 تفعله وقل  
 له اغفر لي فاني  
 ليس اعود افعل :  
 هذه الخصال  
 نافعه للاحداث فم  
 الرهبانيه اذا  
 كنت تعمل عمل  
 يدك فلا تتوان  
 عنه ولكن  
 ته بخوف

\* Fo. 19 recto

\* Fo. 19 verso

\*<sup>1</sup>. . . anything: do not hide this and lie, but kneel down and confess thy sins and ask forgiveness, that thou mayest be forgiven. If anyone speak to thee a hard word, do not take note of it so as to harden thy heart, 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.<sup>2</sup>

\* Fo. 19 recto

\* Fo. 19 verso

# NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

\* Fo. 20 recto

ⲁⲗⲗⲁ . ⲗⲓⲉⲗⲗⲉ . ⲑⲉⲃⲧⲓ  
ⲡⲉⲗⲉ ⲙⲉⲣⲣⲉⲓⲉ . ⲙⲉⲭⲟⲗ  
ⲉⲁⲙⲉⲗ . ⲑⲁⲣⲙⲉⲗⲟⲧ . ⲓⲉ  
ⲁⲣⲙⲉⲗⲟⲣ . ⲙⲉⲗⲉ ⲑⲉⲣⲑⲉ  
ⲙⲉⲙ . ⲉⲡ ⲑⲉⲥⲉⲗ = . ⲉⲗⲗⲉ  
ⲁⲓ ⲓⲉⲣⲁⲗⲗⲉⲙⲁⲕ . ⲁⲉⲓⲉ  
ⲙⲉ . ⲙⲉⲑⲉⲕⲟⲧⲗ ⲗⲟⲣ  
ⲉⲥⲥⲁⲣ . ⲙⲉⲣⲁⲡⲡⲉ : ⲙⲉⲁⲧ  
ⲣⲓⲡⲓ . ⲙⲉⲡⲥⲟⲣ . ⲉⲡ ⲭⲉⲡ  
ⲣⲉⲁⲉ . ⲭⲏⲡⲓⲉⲁ . ⲉⲙ ⲗⲉ  
ⲙⲉⲡ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ . ⲉⲣⲁⲁ . ⲙⲉⲡ  
ⲉⲗⲁⲃⲙⲉ . ⲙⲉⲡⲧ  
ⲙⲉⲗⲉⲥ : ⲉⲁⲗⲉ ⲉⲁⲙⲉⲗ : ⲓⲉ  
ⲁⲡⲓⲕ . ⲓⲉⲑⲉⲑⲟⲕ ⲉⲁ  
ⲙⲉⲗⲁⲕ . ⲙⲉⲥⲡⲁⲣ ⲉⲡⲧ  
ⲡⲓⲉⲣⲟⲧ

الله لثلا تخطي  
بلا معرفه وكل  
عمل عمله  
فا عمله ولا تحتشم  
ان تسال الذي  
يعلمك دائماً  
وتقول له  
اصنع محبة و  
اوربني وابصر ان كان  
هذا جيداً ام لا  
وان دعاك احد من  
الاخوه وانت  
جالس على عمل  
يديك فاترك  
عملك واصنع انت  
نياحه

\* Fo. 20 verso

ⲓⲁⲉ : ⲃⲁⲣⲉⲭⲟ . ⲙⲉⲡ ⲙⲁⲧ  
ⲙⲉⲗⲉ . ⲉⲗⲙⲏⲓⲁⲣ . ⲓⲉⲉⲁ  
ⲃⲟⲗ . ⲙⲉⲗⲗⲉⲓⲉⲑⲁⲕ ⲙⲉ  
ⲑⲉⲭⲗⲉⲥ . ⲑⲉⲑⲉⲣⲁⲁⲁⲉⲑ  
ⲙⲁⲣ ⲙⲉⲡ . ⲗⲉ . ⲉⲡⲓⲉⲣⲁⲕ .  
ⲙⲉ . ⲉⲙⲙⲉ ⲉⲡ ⲭⲉⲡⲟⲧ .  
ⲙⲉⲓⲉⲓⲟⲧⲃ . ⲓⲉⲑⲉⲭⲉⲗⲗⲉⲙⲟⲧ  
ⲭⲉⲗⲉⲙ . ⲁⲗⲗⲁ . ⲓⲉⲉⲥⲑⲉ  
ⲁⲉⲡ . ⲙⲉⲣⲁⲗⲗⲉⲙⲁⲕ . ⲓⲉ  
ⲉⲡ . ⲉⲁⲉⲡ ⲗⲁⲕ . ⲉⲡ . ⲑⲉⲭ  
ⲗⲉⲥ . ⲑⲉⲥⲙⲁⲣ . ⲭⲉⲗⲉⲙⲉ  
ⲣⲟⲙ . ⲙⲉⲭⲉⲙⲉ . ⲓⲉⲙⲁⲣⲁⲕ  
ⲓⲉⲥⲡⲁⲣ . ⲉⲡ ⲉⲣⲥⲁ  
ⲗⲁⲕ . ⲙⲉⲣⲁⲗⲗⲉⲙⲁⲕ  
ⲓⲗⲉ . ⲣⲟⲣⲡⲉⲣ . ⲓⲓ . ⲉⲁⲭⲉ  
ⲓⲉⲕⲟⲧⲗ ⲗⲟⲧ . ⲉⲡⲓ :

اذا خرجت من  
موضع المائدة  
فادخل قلايتك  
وتجلس تتحدث  
مع من لا ينفك  
واما ان كانوا  
شيوخا يتكلموا  
كلام الله فاستاذن  
معلمك .  
فان اذن لك ان  
تجلس تسمع كلامهم  
وكما يأمرك  
فاصنع ان ارسلك  
معلمك  
الى غربه في حاجه  
فقل له اني

\* Fo. 20 recto

1x . . . 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. . .

\* Fo. 20 verso

x . . . 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. . . .

\* \* \* \* \*

# APPENDIX I

<sup>ق</sup>  
 \*hesmar · me ierotalot  
<sup>ك</sup>      <sup>ح</sup>  
 lak · lielle · thazzen  
<sup>ح</sup>  
 rom · heieazzen · essolaz  
<sup>ك</sup>  
 men pinnehom · en  
<sup>ك</sup>      <sup>ث</sup>      <sup>ع</sup>  
 xont sechen: mar · ah-  
<sup>ق</sup>      <sup>ك</sup>      <sup>ط</sup>  
 qenal lak : etpor  
<sup>ت</sup>  
 lenes we: · qeesoezenoz  
 meze : iezzen : qeen  
<sup>ع</sup>      <sup>ك</sup>      <sup>ط</sup>  
 xezal · lak · essolatan  
<sup>ت</sup>  
 qemerme · hezetit  
<sup>ح</sup>  
 qeeslax : peratz  
<sup>الله</sup>  
 heiraazeo : alla · he  
<sup>ك</sup>      <sup>ع</sup>      <sup>ع</sup>  
 xol : zamel // iazmeloz  
 qesherechor qiz : helle  
<sup>ح</sup>  
 ieroti · ezaxhom : le  
 xesexoz · lielle  
<sup>ق</sup>  
 \*iazzen : kalp - ebriz  
<sup>ك</sup>      <sup>ث</sup>  
 izae komt : pelvate  
<sup>ك</sup>  
 qi xol : iatz // qemen  
<sup>ق</sup>      <sup>ع</sup>  
 kapl : en themosc : za  
<sup>ك</sup>  
 mel : ieznik · qeepti  
<sup>ث</sup>      <sup>الله</sup>  
 pemonezeo · alla  
<sup>ع</sup>  
 heccalaz · hemen  
<sup>ك</sup>  
 paz · zelek · en xzen  
<sup>ك</sup>      <sup>ق</sup>  
 lak zamel // qi : elkel  
<sup>ع</sup>  
 leiez · qiazmeloz  
<sup>ت</sup>  
 pele xesel = en xont  
<sup>ع</sup>  
 oeriz : thazmel · amr-  
 qiz · axp // heoehep //  
<sup>ك</sup>  
 qesherek - ahap : qiz -  
<sup>ح</sup>  
 helle thazexoz = qeen  
<sup>ك</sup>  
 xzen : amr // catir // he

واسمع ما يقولوه  
 لك لئلا تحزنهم  
 ويذهب الصلح  
 من بينكم ان  
 كنت ساكنا مع اخ  
 فقال لك اطبخ  
 لنا شيئا فاستأذنه  
 ماذا يجب فان  
 جعل لك السلطان  
 فمهما وجدت  
 فاصلح بخوف  
 وارادة الله  
 وكل عمل يعملته  
 فاشركه فيه ولا  
 يرثي احدكم  
 لجسده لئلا  
 يحزن قلب اخيه  
 اذا قمت بالغدا  
 في كل يوم فمن  
 قيل ان تمس  
 عمل يديك فابدي  
 بمناجاة الله  
 والصلاة ومن  
 بعد ذلك ان كان  
 لك عمل في القلايه  
 فاعمله  
 بلا كسل ان كنت  
 تريد تعمل امرا  
 فيه اجر وثواب  
 فشارك اخر فيه  
 ولا تحسده فان  
 كان امرا صغيرا و

\* Fo. 21 recto

\* Fo. 21 verso

<sup>1</sup>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 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. . .

\* Fo. 21 recto

\* Fo. 21 verso

# NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

\* Fo. 22 recto

ق  
\*κεκολ λορ ευφερ λι  
ie ēhi • γεεnnι ζαιγ  
κελνις : ερθεμελ : ες  
μαρ • ρεζε ελχελεμ  
κεεn • χεν : ζαριγ : κε  
θειπορ : κесеβα : γε  
εϋσελρε • λορ κεραι  
γατρα κееn χен : ροτ  
ραρεn : τατβαρ // ...  
ιερχοτη • ραπαα .....  
енсен : кацаис • γ .....  
θεαβολ : ποτ ραλ .....  
κελεχεν : ε : πα ..  
ροτ • ραρμει περ .....  
κεβαλλι сен  
.....

وقول له اغفر لي  
يا اخي فاني ضعيف  
وليس احتمل  
اسمع هذا الكلام  
وان كان ضعيف  
وثيابه وسخه  
فاغسلها له  
وخطبها وان كان هو  
راهب دولر .....  
يكون عندك  
انسان قديس .....  
تدخل به على  
ولكن .....  
هو رحمة ...  
وخل .....  
.....

\* Fo. 22 verso

\*μεn : εκλ • αλλα κесе  
ελνικ : θεnnιροτ • γε  
λε θεсρεγ κερρακ  
ραпρ • κелеχεν екпе  
лот • πεφераρ // μαρ ελ  
μοτμεnιn • ελλεζιn  
ιεθοτη • κееn χен мес  
χιν // γελε θεβαλλιρ •  
м(е)n ραπαак ραιен -  
[κε]λεχεν - ρετιρ - мем  
(α) ρετακ αλλα - μεn  
[ελ]πορχε - κεθερεn  
..... ρελεμ εν χολ =  
..... ροτλακ • κепицак  
ατιερ • μεn αλλα -  
.....

من اجل 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 كل  
حولك وبدك  
عطيه من الله  
.....

\* Fo. 22 recto

\* Fo. 22 verso

\*<sup>1</sup>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.

## APPENDIX I

الله *alla : heen : aṯḏerak	الله وان اودعك	* Fo. 23 recto
اڤ heaia . qeenaκ -	اخ وديعه فاياك	
en qeḡaḡḡa - leḡaḡ	ان تفتحها لتعرف	
paq : me qige : elle pe	ما فيها الا بحضوره	
ḡoḡoḡoṯ = leen : ḡoḡ	لان حرمة	
meḡ elheḡiaḡ : weḡiqe	الوديعة شريفة	
xeḡḡe : heen enṯ	جدا وان انت	
ḡereḡo : ile : ḡorpe	ذهبت الى غربة	
qeḡenḡel : ḡaḡa : en	قتنزل عند	
cenṯ qi keḡleieḡoṯ =	انسان في قلايته	
heḡareḡ . ḡoṯ : qigeḡe	وخرج هو في حاجة	
heḡereḡak . qi . elkeḡ	وتركك في القلاية	
leieḡ : haḡḡak : qe	وحدك فاياك	
enaκ en . ḡarḡaḡ : pa	ان ترفع راسك	
caκ : heḡeḡeḡaḡ	وتفتقد	
wniṯ memme : qige	شيئا مما فيها	
*aṯ ḡelmeḡ weḡ : memme	او تلمس شيئا مما	* Fo. 23 verso
qige : heḡexen : koṯa	فيها ولكن قل	
loḡ - ḡaḡa : ḡoḡoḡo	له عند خروجه	
aḡṯini = weḡ / aḡmeḡoṯ	اعطني شيئا اعمله	
heḡoḡ weḡ / ioṯciκ	وكل شئ يوصيك	
qeḡmaḡoṯ = peḡe ḡe	فاعمله بلا	
ceḡ - iḡe : ḡereḡo . ḡaḡ	كسل . اذا ذهبت	
paκ - elme - heḡeḡaḡo	تهرق الماء ودخلت	
wniḡ : erpaḡa : qige	بيت الراحة في	
xeḡak - qeḡe : ḡeḡeḡe	حاجتك فلا تتوان	
heḡexen : eḡḡoṯ : en	ولكن اذكر ان	
الله alla : ḡaḡ : heḡel	الله عز وجل	
ieḡḡoṯ : elniκ : heḡiḡe	ينظر اليك واذا	
κοṡṯ : ḡecaḡli : qi	قمت تصلى في	
keḡleieḡak : ceḡaḡak	قلايتك ساعتك	
qeḡnaκ . en ḡecaḡli	فاياك ان تصل	

×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

<sup>x</sup> Fo. 23 *recto*

<sup>x</sup> Fo. 23 *verso*

# NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

\* Fo. 24 recto

\*πεθερεθεν = ατ μεχα  
 ρα : ηελεχεν = κεγ - πε  
 ηεζαρζ / ηεραρζερ : λε  
 θεθερεχι = ραλε ελραιτ -  
 ηεοερηι - αραζ - πεχ  
 ληικ : ηεοεκотм = ραλε  
 εληερεζα : ηεοερηαρ  
 ελοηρε = χεμε . ιεηρα  
 λот = ελχορρελ : πελ  
 каер = еηχαρарк : ηε  
 θεοροηρε : θερμελ =  
 ηι = ελμοτρ = ελλεοι  
 ηιρε : εθεοερεθεν . λε  
 χιμε . ιεκπελ = αλλα  
 σαλεοακ : επ χοп  
 оом = μεχθεμεριп

بتهاون او مجهره  
 ولكن قف  
 بفزع ورعدة لا  
 تتكى على الحائط  
 وترخ احد [ى] رجلك  
 وتقوم على  
 الواحدة وترفع  
 الاخرى كما يفعلوا  
 الجبال بل  
 كثير افكارك  
 وتتركها تعمل  
 فى الامور التى  
 فيها التهاون  
 لكيما يقبل الله  
 صلاتك ان  
 كنتم مجتمعين

\* Fo. 24 verso

\*οακρατ : ηι : σαλεοε  
 χομ : ηε : ιεχοτη : χολ  
 λε ηερεζα / . мен : χομ  
 еспаг : σαλεοορ : ηεеп  
 χен : μεγαλλεμεп τα  
 рип / - εωλοποτ εληи .  
 επ . ιεσαλλι πεχом  
 πεμεραппе : ηελε οε  
 λεχχοτ ραλαиρ . сеηε  
 ηεηραοηип . ατ θελεοε  
 ιαε : χοпт : ηεкеη  
 ηι : ελκοζαес : ηεπε  
 сеп : еηχαρарк : ηεеп  
 θεχοτη : ραηесаκ - ηε  
 ηεηεη : πεμεηαηеο  
 αλλα : λεηιμε : θεοοε

تقراوا فى صلاتكم  
 فيكون كل  
 واحد منكم  
 يصنع صلاته وان  
 كان معلما  
 غريبا اطلبوا اليه  
 ان يصلى بكم  
 بمحبة ولا  
 تلجوا عليه سوى  
 دفعتين او ثلاثه  
 اذا كنت واقفا  
 فى القداس فناسب  
 افكارك وان  
 تكون حواسك  
 واقفة بمخافه  
 الله لكيما تستحق

\* Fo. 24 recto

<sup>x1</sup> 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 <sup>\*</sup>(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. . .

\* Fo. 24 verso

# APPENDIX I

\*Ϸηλ . επθερσζ . ελκωρ  
 πεπ . Ϸεσεζ . ερραπ  
 ιεσορ . ελμεσιρ . ηειεϷ  
 Ϸι = ερραπ Ϸεραρδθ  
 περσακ . ετακ επ =  
 θεθρωκ . Ϸι Ϸεσεζακ  
 ηεσαρ . ιερζαρ = λιελλε  
 ιερχορπ . κορρ . ελπε  
 τελ = ιεσρακακ . Ϸεεμ  
 με . εϷϷεπεπ . Ϸεθε  
 Ϸορπ . εϷεσεζερωμ =  
 περχολ = σεμεξερ . Ϸε  
 επ Ϸελεκ . ιεπγαρζρωμ  
 Ϸεζε = ηελε ιελπε  
 κορ = θαρπ = Ϸηιτεζ  
 επεζε . Ϸαθε ιεζρτολθ  
 \*Ϸ[αλα] ελϷαπαρ ηειεθρζα  
 πορ . Ϸι . εσσεπ . ειζε  
 Ϸοπρ θεμϷι μαρ  
 αρ Ϸορ αρπαρ μενπακ  
 Ϸελε . θεθαζαζεμορ  
 ελπεθε . ηεεπ Ϸεν  
 επσεπ . εϷπαρ μενκ  
 ιερϷελλεμ ορριπ Ϸε  
 επακ : επ . θαρκαρορ  
 ηεθεϷλες . ηελεϷεν  
 κεϷ . Ϸαθε ιεμερακ  
 περαιορ = ιζε Ϸερεπο  
 ιλε μεζιπε . αρ κερπε .  
 ϷεθεϷορπ . Ϸαπακ  
 πεζερεπ // ιλε ελαρζ  
 εσϷελ . λιελλε . . . . .

حال . ان تاخذ القربان  
 جسد الرب  
 يسوع المسيح ويشفى  
 الرب جراحات  
 نفسك اياك ان  
 تترك في جسدك  
 وسخ يظهر لثلا  
 يكون سبح الباطل  
 يسرقك فاما  
 الشباب فتكون  
 اجسادهم  
 بكل سماحه فان  
 ذلك ينفعهم  
 جدا ولا يلبسوا  
 ثوبا جيذا  
 ابدا حتى يدخلوا  
 على الكبر ويضعنوا  
 في السن اذا  
 كنت تمشى مع  
 اخ هو اكبر منك  
 فلا تتقدمه  
 البته وان كان  
 انسان اكبر منك  
 يكلم اخرين  
 فاياك ان تحقره  
 وتجلس ولكن  
 قف حتى يأمرك  
 برأيه اذا ذهب  
 الى مدينه او قرية  
 فتكون عيناك  
 ناظرتين الى الارض  
 اسفل لثلا . . . . .

\* Fo. 25 recto

\* Fo. 25 verso

\*<sup>1</sup>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 \*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 . . .

\* Fo. 25 recto

\* Fo. 25 verso



# NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

\* Fo. 26 recto

\*ελ · ρερατακα · πεγαίρ  
 μερρεμερ · μεπ · ελεμε  
 πεθ : ελμεσθεκίμερ · γε  
 λε : θαρκαρορ : ρανη  
 ροχορρορ · θεαζ = γαζ  
 πεγσακ : επ θεχερελ  
 ελρερατακα : ελμορ  
 θαλεγειν · λεθεριγ : πε  
 δελεκ : επ : θεκίμ : ελ : ε  
 μεπερ : λιελλε : ιεδρλ  
 σεμ · χελεμερομ : γ....  
 γεθερλεκ · θεεν ....  
 κιθεπ : μεπ · χοθπ ....  
 γελε · θακρα : γιρ ...  
 λε : ιεμλε : γικ σεμ : ελ  
 μαθ : θελεχεν : εμσεκ

الهرطقة بغير  
 معرفه من الامانات  
 المستقيمه  
 فلا تحقره عند  
 رجوعه واحفظ  
 نفسك ان تجادل  
 الهرطقة المخالفين  
 لتريد  
 بذلك ان تقيم  
 الامانه لئلا يدخل  
 سم كلامهم فيك  
 فتهلك وان ....  
 كتاب من كتب ....  
 فلا تقرأ فيه ....  
 لئلا يملأ فيك سم  
 الموت ولكن امسك  
 امانتك وكن على  
 حذر من العلم  
 الكاذب الذي  
 يضاد تعليم الحق  
 كما قال مار بولص  
 الرسول السماوى ..  
 ان كنت الان شابا  
 فيجب ان تشقى  
 نفسك وجسدك  
 .... التعب الذى  
 .... كما سمعت  
 الآباء وتعاليمهم  
 واعمالهم  
 الشريفة المضيئه  
 وتطمع ان تنالهم  
 بغير تعب

\* Fo. 26 verso

\*εμεπιθακ · θεχοσπ ρα  
 λε : ραδαρ // μεπ : ελρολμ =  
 ελχεριπ · ελλεαγ · ιεζα  
 δεα · θαρλιμ = ελδανκ =  
 χεμε : καλ : μαρι πατλο  
 ερροσογλ : εςσεμεθι ..  
 επ χοντ · ελεπ · ψεν //  
 γε · ιεχεπ · επ - θεψιγ  
 πεγσακ · θεχεσεακ  
 .. εθερεαπ : ελλεαγ  
 ... ηικ = χεμε = σεμαρτ  
 ... ελεπε : θεοαγλι  
 [μ]ρομ : θεαρμελερομ  
 ... ψεριγε ελμογιεγ  
 θεθεομαρ : επ θεπελε  
 ρομ : πεγαίρ : θεραπ :

الكاذب الذى  
 يضاد تعليم الحق  
 كما قال مار بولص  
 الرسول السماوى ..  
 ان كنت الان شابا  
 فيجب ان تشقى  
 نفسك وجسدك  
 .... التعب الذى  
 .... كما سمعت  
 الآباء وتعاليمهم  
 واعمالهم  
 الشريفة المضيئه  
 وتطمع ان تنالهم  
 بغير تعب

\* Fo. 26 recto

\*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 that . . . as thou hast heard . . . the fathers and their teaching and their noble and distinguished deeds, and presume to gain them without fatigue . . .

\* Fo. 26 verso

# APPENDIX I

\*<sup>ⲥ</sup>ⲁⲗⲉ : <sup>ⲥ</sup>ⲓⲉⲣⲉ <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲗⲁⲕ : <sup>ⲥ</sup>ⲁⲃⲃⲉ  
<sup>ⲉ</sup>ⲃⲁⲣⲙⲉⲗ : <sup>ⲉ</sup>ⲁⲣⲙⲉⲗⲉⲣⲉ : <sup>ⲥ</sup>ⲡⲉ  
<sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲗⲓⲉⲥⲥⲉⲙ . . ⲃⲉ : <sup>ⲥ</sup>ⲃⲉⲣⲁⲡ  
<sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲣⲉ : <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲭⲉⲃⲁⲕ : <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲙⲉⲡ : <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲕⲉⲡⲉⲗ  
<sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲉⲣⲉ. <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲗⲉⲩⲁⲩⲩⲉⲩⲉⲩⲉ  
<sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲥⲁⲕ ⲙⲉⲡ : <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲉⲗⲙⲉⲗⲉⲗ  
<sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲩⲉ : <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲉⲡⲡⲟⲣ : <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲣⲟⲩ : <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲉⲗⲗⲉⲥⲁⲓ  
<sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲓⲉⲃⲗⲉⲩ : <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲃⲁⲙⲁⲣⲉⲃ : <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲉⲣⲣⲁ  
<sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲣⲉⲡ : <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲭⲟⲗⲗⲉⲣⲉ :  
<sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲉⲡ - <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲭⲟⲡⲧ : <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲙⲉⲭⲉⲣⲉⲃ  
<sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲙⲉⲡ : <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲉⲭⲗ = <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲩⲉⲕⲣ : <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲁⲩ  
<sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲁⲥⲁⲣ <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲩⲉⲗⲉ <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲃⲉⲙⲉ . .  
<sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲁⲗⲉⲭⲉⲡ : <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲉⲗⲕⲓ <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲁⲕ  
<sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲡⲓⲡⲓⲥⲁⲕⲓⲉⲗⲁⲗⲁ = <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲁⲗⲉ  
<sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲕⲟⲩⲗ : <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲓⲉⲣⲁⲡ : <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲣⲓⲡⲉⲡⲓ  
<sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲉⲡⲉ ⲉⲩⲩⲩⲉⲕⲓ  
<sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲩⲉⲡ : <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲗⲓⲕⲓ : <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉ <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲁⲗⲉ  
<sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲣⲉⲃⲉ . <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲉⲗⲁⲥⲁⲣ : <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲩⲉⲣⲟⲩ  
<sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲓⲉⲣⲓⲡⲁⲕ <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲥⲉⲣⲓⲣⲁⲃ : <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲁⲥⲉⲡ  
<sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲭⲉⲡⲉⲃ : <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲃⲁⲗⲉⲡⲉⲃⲁⲕ : <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲡⲉ  
<sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲕⲁⲗⲡ // <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲙⲉⲥⲃⲉⲕⲓⲙ // <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲁⲗⲉ  
<sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲉⲡ <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲭⲟⲡⲧ : <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲩⲓⲩⲉⲓ // <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲙⲉⲡ  
<sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲃⲉⲣⲁⲡ <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲉⲣⲣⲟⲣⲡⲉⲡⲓⲉⲣ  
<sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲡⲉⲕⲓⲃⲉⲗ <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲉⲩⲩⲩⲉⲓⲉⲧⲓⲡ  
<sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲩⲉⲗⲉ <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲃⲉⲕⲟⲩⲗ . <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲩⲓⲡⲉⲩ  
<sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲥⲁⲕ . <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲉⲡⲡⲉⲣⲟⲙ : <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲕⲁⲃ  
<sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲉⲡⲣⲉⲩⲉⲙⲟⲩ . <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲁⲉⲡⲟⲣⲟⲩ  
<sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲁⲩⲟⲩ . <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲓⲗⲉ : <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲁⲣⲁⲣⲟⲙ .  
<sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲁⲓⲉⲩⲩⲣⲁⲣ . <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲕⲁⲗⲡⲁⲕ  
<sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲁⲉⲁⲣⲗⲉⲙ <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲉⲡ <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲩⲁⲣⲣⲁ  
<sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲣⲟⲙ <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲣⲓⲡⲓⲉⲃⲁ <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲓⲉⲣⲉⲥⲁ  
<sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲁⲕ . <sup>ⲕ</sup>ⲩⲉⲓⲉⲃⲉⲙⲉⲡ

ولا يصح لك حتى  
تعمل أعمالها  
بديته وثمرة؟ تحبها  
جأتك من قبل  
نفسها احفظ  
نفسك من الملل  
فانه هو الذي  
يتلف ثمرة  
الراهب كلها  
ان كنت مجاهداً  
من اجل فكر او  
وجع فلا تم؟؟  
ولكن القى نفسك  
بين يدي الله و  
قل يا رب عينى  
انا الشقى  
فان ليس اقوى على  
هذا الوجع فهو  
يعينك سريعاً وان  
كانت طلبتك  
بقلب مستقيم  
وان كنت فى شى من  
تعب الرهبانيه  
بقتال الشياطين  
فلا تقل فى  
نفسك انه قد  
انهزموا وبعدوا  
الى وراهم  
ويفرح قلبك  
واعلم ان شهرهم  
حينئذ يراصدك  
فيطمئن

\* Fo. 27 recto

\* Fo. 27 verso

\*1. . . and it is not meet for thee even to do its deeds for a reward, or to gain what thou desirest and which cometh to thee by itself. Keep thyself from grumbling, because it destroyeth all the fruits of a monk.  
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 satisfied: but know that their evil is then lying in wait for thee and trust. . .

\* Fo. 27 recto

\* Fo. 27 verso

# NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

\* Fo. 28 recto

<sup>ق</sup>καλ : <sup>ك</sup>πακ : <sup>ك</sup>βερχον : <sup>ع</sup>ελε  
<sup>ح</sup>ελεαρ // <sup>ق</sup>χεεν • <sup>ق</sup>περομ •  
<sup>ق</sup>ιερεποτ : <sup>ك</sup>λακ : <sup>ك</sup>κηνλ  
<sup>ق</sup>εσαρр : <sup>ك</sup>μεп : <sup>ك</sup>ελατηнλ  
<sup>ق</sup>βετεκμεпот • <sup>ق</sup>περ <sup>ق</sup>μεп  
<sup>ق</sup>βара <sup>ق</sup>ελμεαпne : <sup>ق</sup>βееп  
<sup>ق</sup>епт : <sup>ق</sup>песепοερομ •  
<sup>ق</sup>епρεεεμот : <sup>ق</sup>κοααе  
<sup>ق</sup>мак : <sup>ق</sup>пемакp : <sup>ق</sup>λεχ  
<sup>ق</sup>ме • <sup>ق</sup>οесοεχпер : <sup>ق</sup>βеоеоек  
<sup>ق</sup>пекотβеоак : <sup>ق</sup>βеоео  
<sup>ق</sup>роκ : <sup>ق</sup>ελμεαппн : <sup>ق</sup>βеоελ  
<sup>ق</sup>εакρομ : <sup>ق</sup>qe : <sup>ق</sup>iaе : <sup>ق</sup>еп  
<sup>ق</sup>сарок : <sup>ق</sup>каα : <sup>ق</sup>βараαо :  
<sup>ق</sup>мен • <sup>ق</sup>ελμεαппн : <sup>ق</sup>кам  
<sup>ق</sup>ελχεμпн <sup>ق</sup>εалнн  
<sup>ق</sup>ме <sup>ق</sup>βараκ : <sup>ق</sup>βερααот

قلبك وكن على  
 حذر فانهم  
 يهياؤا لك قتال  
 الشر من الاول  
 ويكمنوا به من  
 وراء المدينة وان  
 انت نصبتهم  
 انهزموا قدامك  
 بمكر لكى  
 ما تستكبر وتثق  
 بقوتك وتترك  
 المدينة وتلاحقهم  
 فاذا ابصروك  
 قد خرجت  
 من المدينة قام  
 الكمين عليك

\* Fo. 28 verso

<sup>ق</sup>ме <sup>ق</sup>βараκ : <sup>ق</sup>βερααот  
<sup>ق</sup>εατηн = <sup>ق</sup>мен : <sup>ق</sup>κοααεмак  
<sup>ق</sup>βιεαερεοетот = <sup>ق</sup>печсак =  
<sup>ق</sup>qт = <sup>ق</sup>βεстаρομ : <sup>ق</sup>qeле  
<sup>ق</sup>ιεχотпн : <sup>ق</sup>λερε : <sup>ق</sup>μελхе  
<sup>ق</sup>Парпe = <sup>ق</sup>ελμεαппн <sup>ق</sup>еп =  
<sup>ق</sup>ιεχотпн : <sup>ق</sup>εленсеп : <sup>ق</sup>гел  
<sup>ق</sup>кп : <sup>ق</sup>печсоз : <sup>ق</sup>пнпн : <sup>ق</sup>геднп  
<sup>ق</sup>αλλα : <sup>ق</sup>сопεαпор : <sup>ق</sup>мен  
<sup>ق</sup>χол = <sup>ق</sup>καλπορ : <sup>ق</sup>αεгем //  
<sup>ق</sup>qерот : <sup>ق</sup>ιεεгпот = <sup>ق</sup>мен  
<sup>ق</sup>пелгeоен = <sup>ق</sup>οеог = <sup>ق</sup>εалнпг  
<sup>ق</sup>βe : <sup>ق</sup>ιοβλос = <sup>ق</sup>мен = <sup>ق</sup>кп  
<sup>ق</sup>οηλ = <sup>ق</sup>ελεααот : <sup>ق</sup>βесаλ  
<sup>ق</sup>λг : <sup>ق</sup>λελλα = <sup>ق</sup>еп : <sup>ق</sup>гeααг  
<sup>ق</sup>εапк : <sup>ق</sup>пелгeоен <sup>ق</sup>οеог

من وراك : وحذوا  
 حولك من قدامك  
 ويحطاطوا نفسك  
 فى وسطهم : فلا  
 يكون لها ملجا  
 معنى المدينة ان  
 يكون الانسان يلقي  
 نفسه بين يدي  
 الله سبحانه من  
 كل قلبه دائما  
 فهو يعينه من  
 بليّة تاتى عليه  
 ويخلص من قتال  
 العدو : وصل  
 لله ان يدفع  
 عنك بليّة تاتى

\* Fo. 28 recto

\*<sup>1</sup> 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

\* Fo. 28 verso

# APPENDIX I

\*ϭαλνικ ηεεπ . . . . .

χιπακ = ηελε : θ . . . . .

εεθεζαρραζ = ιλνιζ : λε

εππορ : ιαρρεγ : ελλεα

ροτ : ϣαγρ : λακ = εκθαρ

μεπ : περσακ

Ιδε επτ : σαλλνιθ : ιλε

الله : μεπ : εχλ αμρ

ατ μεσελερ // ηεθεσελορ =

ηι : χολ : ηακθ // ηελε :

θεκοτλ : εαγαρ = ϣαππ

ρεδε : ηερεπ λι . ϣεδε =

πελ σαλλι : ηεκοτλ -

ιε = ιλερι : ηεσνιηεα :

ιεσορ ελμεσιρ : επτ

ρατπνι - ηεηι : ιεανικ :

\* . . . . . τ : ερλεμ με

. . . . . ϣιρερ . λι . ηι

ερινεπνι : ηελε : θεοροκ

νι : εητι : ιλνικ . ηεεπ

νι ζαριγ : ηελε : θεμεκ

χενπνι . εοπαρ . ϣεηε

ηελε . θεααρνι . ερλεκ

πεχαταγαι ηεαρραμ

ηεπολλεθακ : ηεηελ

κεθ : ιεανικ : ηελε θεс

ρεγ = ϣαππνικ : ϣαππνι =

λεεπνι μεсχιπ = ηε

λε : θεπερεαπνι : λεεχλ

εππνι : ϣαραπο : ιλνικ

ηε . εηηι : περσι . μεπ

ιεανι : ελλεαπνι ιαζ

عليك وان [لم]

يستجيبك فلا تجزع بل]

اتضرع اليه

لانه يعرف الذي

هو خير لك اكثر

من نفسك

اذا اُنت صليت الى

الله من اجل امر

او مسألة وتساله

في كل وقت فلا

تقل اُدفع عني

هذا وهب لي هذا

بل صل وقل

يا الهى وسيدى

يسوع المسيح انت

عونى وفى يديك

. . . . . أعلم

خيلا لي

فاعيننى ولا تتركنى

اخطئني اليك فاني

ضعيف ولا تمكنني

اتبع هواي

ولا تدعني اهلك

بخطاياى وارحم

جبلتك وخلقة

يديك ولا تصرف

عينيك عني

لانى مسكين

ولا تبعدنى لاجل

انى هربت اليك

فاشف نفسى من

يدى الذين

\* Fo. 29 recto

\* Fo. 29 verso

\*<sup>1</sup>thee, and if [He doth not answer] thee [do not grieve, but] implore Him, for He knoweth what is good for thee better than thou [dost].

\* Fo. 29 recto

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. . . ."

\* Fo. 29 verso

## NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

\* Fo. 30 *recto*

<sup>ⲥ</sup>ⲡⲉⲣⲥⲁⲕ = ⲗⲉⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲗⲉ . . . .  
 ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲡ . ⲙⲉⲛ ⲉϣⲗ . ⲃⲁⲧ[ⲁ]  
 ⲓⲁⲕ . ϣⲉⲗⲉ . ⲟⲩⲉⲃⲁⲣ : ⲉϣϣⲁ  
 ⲣⲁⲕ : ⲟⲩⲉϣⲁⲣⲡⲁⲕ . ⲙⲉⲛ  
 ⲉϣⲗ : ⲁⲣⲟⲩⲟⲩⲡⲁⲕ : ⲉⲗⲕⲁ  
 ⲁⲓⲙⲉⲣ : ⲕⲉⲟⲩⲉⲥⲁⲧⲃⲁⲣ ⲗⲁⲕ  
 ⲉⲛⲡⲉⲣⲉ : ⲗⲉ : ⲟⲩⲁⲣϣⲟⲩⲣ  
 ⲗⲁⲕ : ⲕⲉⲗⲉ : ⲟⲩⲉϣⲉⲗ  
 ⲉⲓⲗⲁ : ⲗⲁⲛ : ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲩⲉⲣⲁϣⲣⲁⲗ :  
 ϣⲓ ⲙⲉ : ⲁⲩⲃⲁⲗⲟ : ϣⲓⲣ =  
 ⲙⲉⲛ : ⲕⲉⲥⲁⲓⲉ = ⲉⲗⲙⲉⲥⲓⲣ =  
 ⲕⲉⲓⲗⲗⲉ = ⲗⲁⲕⲕⲁ = ⲗⲓⲛⲥ  
 . . . . . ⲕ : ⲃⲁⲧⲁ  
 . . . . . ⲙⲉⲣ : ⲉⲗⲉⲛ

نفسك لألله لا ..  
 ؟ تتوب من اجل خطاياك  
 فلا تدع افكارك  
 تجربك من  
 اجل ذنوبك القديمة  
 وتصورك  
 انها لا تُغْفَر  
 لك ولا : تغفل  
 ايضا عن التحفظ  
 فيما دخلت فيه  
 من وصايا المسيح  
 والا حقا ليس  
 .....

<sup>x</sup> Fo. 30 *verso*

$\overline{\text{KE}}$                        $\overline{\text{O}} \quad \overline{\text{OC}}$                        $\overline{\text{IA}}$   
 $\times \text{AE} : \text{IEZME\AA} : \text{EZE}$   
 $\text{E} \cdot \cdot \text{IAK} = \text{EP} \quad \text{OE}\chi\text{OL} \cdot \text{MAZ}$   
 $\text{EMPAZ} = \text{HELE} = \text{IE}\chi\text{OTI} = \text{LAK}$   
 $\text{MOTHA}\text{PAZ} = \text{MAZ} = \text{TOT}$   
 $\text{LEM} = \text{ZAZEO} = \text{HELE} = \text{OENEM}$   
 $\text{MAZ} = \text{AZAZ} = \text{ZALE} = \text{ZACIP} //$   
 $\text{HEZAZ} = \text{HELE} \quad \text{OE}\theta\text{EPE}$   
 $\text{MEN} = \text{EP} = \text{OAZ}\gamma\text{AZ} : \text{ZAI}$   
 $\text{PAK} = \text{IAE} : \text{PEZAZ}\theta$   
 $\text{OATPAK} : \text{HELE} : \text{OEP}\text{COP}$   
 $\text{SHI} : \text{MEN} \quad \text{XES}\epsilon\text{ZAZAK}$   
 $\text{HEEN} : \text{EX}\text{PORT} : \text{ZALE}$   
 $\text{SHOP} : \text{ELH(A}\mu\text{RA)} \dots$   
 $\text{OESH}\mu\text{PA} \dots \dots$

لا يهملها  
ايك ان تأكل مع  
امراه ولا يكون لك  
مؤاواه : مع  
غلام حديث ولا تنم  
مع احد على حصير  
واحد ولا تتوان  
من ان تحفظ  
عينك اذا نزع  
ثوبك ولا تبصر  
شي من جسديك  
وان اجبرت على  
شرب الخمر [ره] . . . .  
تشرب

\* Fo. 30 *recto*    \*<sup>1</sup>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*      \*does not neglect it.

*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. . . .

# APPENDIX I

<sup>ⲓⲃ</sup> <sup>ⲓⲃ</sup> <sup>ⲭⲓ</sup>  
 \*ⲉⲗⲏⲉⲥⲓⲉ • ⲙⲉⲡ • ⲉⲭⲗ • ⲉⲗ  
 ⲙⲉⲥⲁⲃⲉⲛⲁ • ⲕⲉⲗⲉ • ⲑⲉⲥ  
 ⲭⲟⲡ • ⲉⲓ ⲙⲁⲧⲧⲁⲣ • ⲕⲁⲃ  
 ⲁⲃⲧⲁⲓⲑ • ⲉⲓⲣ • ⲡⲉⲭⲉⲥⲉⲃⲁⲕ  
 ⲡⲏⲓⲡ • ⲓⲉⲃⲏⲓ • ⲁⲗⲗⲁ • ⲕⲉⲗⲉ  
 ⲑⲉⲑⲏⲉⲡⲉ • ⲉⲣⲁⲡ ⲥⲁⲗⲉⲑⲁⲕ =  
 ⲉⲓ ⲥⲉⲣⲁⲑⲁⲕ • ⲗⲓⲉⲗⲗⲉ  
 ⲑⲉⲕⲁⲣ • ⲉⲓ • ⲉⲓⲃⲏⲓ • ⲁⲣⲃⲁⲕ  
 ⲕⲉⲁⲕⲣⲁⲣ • ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲁⲕ •  
 ⲉⲓ ⲃⲁⲣⲥ • ⲙⲉⲗⲉⲙⲓⲣⲁⲕ  
 ⲉⲉⲡ • ⲃⲉⲗⲉⲕ • ⲓⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲗⲁⲕ  
 ⲙⲉⲡ • ⲕⲉⲥⲁⲃ • ⲉⲗⲏⲁⲧⲓⲉⲣ  
 ⲕⲉ • ⲓⲉⲕⲉⲗ • ⲁⲧⲭⲉⲁⲕ  
 ⲁⲣⲣⲉⲥ • ⲗⲉ • ⲑⲉⲣⲟⲃ • ⲡⲉⲧ  
 ⲥⲁⲕ • ⲗⲉⲧⲏⲓ • ⲙⲉⲡ • ⲉⲗⲉ  
 ⲙⲟⲧⲣ • ⲉⲉⲡ ⲃⲉⲗⲉⲕ  
 \*ⲓⲉⲧⲉⲣⲣⲁⲧⲁⲕ = ⲗⲉⲡⲡⲁⲧⲣ  
 ⲉⲗⲉ - ⲏⲁⲧⲁⲓⲁⲕ • ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲁⲧ  
 ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲁⲕ • ⲙⲉⲡ • ⲉⲗⲏⲉⲥⲓⲉ  
 ⲗⲉⲉⲡⲡⲟⲣ • ⲓⲟⲧⲣⲟⲃ  
 ⲏⲁⲧⲉ • ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲙⲉⲡⲕ  
 ⲗⲉ • ⲑⲉⲕⲧⲉⲧ • ⲉⲧⲕⲁⲣⲁⲕ  
 ⲗⲉⲭⲟⲗ ⲉⲡⲡⲉⲥ : ⲗⲉⲓⲉⲗ  
 ⲗⲉ • ⲑⲉⲭⲉⲣⲁⲗ • ⲗⲉⲕⲁⲣⲓⲡⲁⲕ  
 ⲉⲗⲉⲣⲁ • ⲕⲉⲗⲉⲭⲉⲡ ⲉⲕ •  
 ⲧⲉⲧ • ⲉⲧⲕⲁⲣⲁⲕ • ⲗⲉⲉⲡ  
 ⲡⲉⲣⲉⲑⲁⲕ • ⲉⲣⲣⲁⲧⲣⲁⲡⲓⲡ  
 ⲗⲉⲭⲓⲙⲉ • ⲑⲉⲧⲁ • ⲑⲓⲕ  
 ⲣⲁⲣⲙⲉⲑ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ • ⲁⲕⲣⲁⲣ  
 ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲁⲕ • ⲉⲓ ⲉⲙⲉⲗ • ⲓⲉ  
 ⲃⲏⲓⲕ • ⲕⲉⲏⲁⲧⲉ • ⲁⲗⲗⲁ  
 ⲓⲉⲥⲭⲟⲡ ⲉⲓⲕ

الوصية من اجل  
 المصادقه ولا  
 تسكن في موضع قد  
 اخطأت فيه بجسدك  
 بين يدي الله ولا  
 تتوان عن صلاتك  
 في ساعتك لئلا  
 تقع في ايدي اعداك  
 واكره نفسك  
 في درس مزاميرك  
 فان ذلك يحفظك  
 من وسخ الخطيه  
 ويقلل اوجاعك  
 احرس لا تعد  
 نفسك لشي من  
 الامور فان ذلك  
 يفرغك للنوح  
 على خطاياك احفظ  
 نفسك من الكذب  
 لانه يطرد  
 خوف الله منك  
 لا تكشف افكارك  
 لكل الناس لئلا  
 تجعل لقريبك  
 عثره ولكن  
 اكشف افكارك  
 لابنائك الروحانيين  
 لكيما تأتيك (?)  
 رحمة الله اكره  
 نفسك في عمل  
 يديك وخوف الله  
 يسكن فيك

\* Fo. 31 recto

\* Fo. 31 verso

\*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. . .

\* Fo. 31 recto

\*. . 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.

\* Fo. 31 verso

# NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

\* Fo. 32 recto

\*<sup>ق</sup>εν <sup>ط</sup>ραατο : <sup>ق</sup>αβ// <sup>ط</sup>καα <sup>ق</sup>αβτα  
<sup>ط</sup>βατιερ : <sup>ق</sup>ληις : <sup>ق</sup>λελματο  
<sup>ق</sup>γελε : <sup>ق</sup>θαρκαρορ : <sup>ق</sup>θεοερ  
<sup>ق</sup>αελορ : <sup>ق</sup>θεοεαπορ :  
<sup>ق</sup>λι : <sup>ق</sup>ελλε : <sup>ق</sup>θεκαρ : <sup>ق</sup>φι : <sup>ق</sup>ιανη :  
<sup>ق</sup>αρχακ : <sup>ق</sup>αρχαζ : <sup>ق</sup>περ  
<sup>ق</sup>σακ : <sup>ق</sup>εν <sup>ق</sup>λε : <sup>ق</sup>ιαспе : <sup>ق</sup>ακλακ  
<sup>ق</sup>φι <sup>ق</sup>αερ . <sup>ق</sup>βατακ : <sup>ق</sup>ελ  
<sup>ق</sup>κααμερ . <sup>ق</sup>πελ <sup>ق</sup>εακορ  
<sup>ق</sup>ρα : <sup>ق</sup>θε = <sup>ق</sup>επαем : <sup>ق</sup>εαλιε :  
<sup>ق</sup>λιελλε : <sup>ق</sup>ιεραп : <sup>ق</sup>μεпκ :  
<sup>ق</sup>ελ : <sup>ق</sup>εοθεζαρ : <sup>ق</sup>γεен : <sup>ق</sup>αε  
<sup>ق</sup>λεκ : <sup>ق</sup>ιεπακпк : <sup>ق</sup>μεп  
<sup>ق</sup>ελβατιερ : <sup>ق</sup>λεοεχοп :  
<sup>ق</sup>μονεкез <sup>ق</sup>θερεп : <sup>ق</sup>ен  
<sup>ق</sup>θεκпм : <sup>ق</sup>χελμεοак :  
\*<sup>ق</sup>λιελλε <sup>ق</sup>ιεсχοп <sup>ق</sup>φι =  
<sup>ق</sup>εууар : <sup>ق</sup>ле <sup>ق</sup>θεααλ  
<sup>ق</sup>περсаκ : <sup>ق</sup>εαχпм <sup>ق</sup>пера  
<sup>ق</sup>πεрсак = <sup>ق</sup>λιελλε . <sup>ق</sup>θεκαρ  
<sup>ق</sup>φι <sup>ق</sup>ειανη = <sup>ق</sup>αρχακ . <sup>ق</sup>εα  
<sup>ق</sup>θεα : <sup>ق</sup>леспак . <sup>ق</sup>ιεκοпλ  
<sup>ق</sup>εβερ <sup>ق</sup>ли : <sup>ق</sup>θελεοθεζαρ  
<sup>ق</sup>ιεοпк : <sup>ق</sup>ια <sup>ق</sup>αεlesc : <sup>ق</sup>φι  
<sup>ق</sup>κελλειεοак : <sup>ق</sup>γεερεем  
<sup>ق</sup>περεαи : <sup>ق</sup>εοθελεοε :  
<sup>ق</sup>βесаλ : <sup>ق</sup>αеием// <sup>ق</sup>επεαε//  
<sup>ق</sup>εαμελ <sup>ق</sup>ιεανηк : <sup>ق</sup>θεαарс  
<sup>ق</sup>μεζεμпак : <sup>ق</sup>θεααλεοак :  
<sup>ق</sup>εααλ . <sup>ق</sup>φι = <sup>ق</sup>πεрсак  
<sup>ق</sup>θεαερпак : <sup>ق</sup>ен : <sup>ق</sup>ληи  
<sup>ق</sup>пекп <sup>ق</sup>лак = <sup>ق</sup>φι = <sup>ق</sup>ιεααоние

ان رأت احاً قد اخطا  
خطيه ليس للموت  
فلا تحقره  
وترذله وتدينه  
لثلا تقع في ايدي  
اعداك : احفظ  
نفسك ان لا يسبي عقلك  
في ذكر خطاياك  
القديمه بل اذكرها  
واندم عليها  
لثلا يذهب منك  
الاتضاع فان  
ذلك ينقيك من  
الخطيه . لا تكن  
مناقض تحب ان  
تقيم كلمتك  
لثلا يسكن فيك  
الشر لا تجعل  
نفسك حكيم براى  
نفسك لثلا تقع  
في ايدي اعداك  
عود لسانك يقول  
اغفر لى والاتضاع  
ياتيك . اذا جلست فى  
قلايتك فاهتم  
بهذه الثلاثه  
خصال دائما ابدا  
عمل يديك : ودرس  
مزاميرك : وصلاتك  
اجعل فى نفسك  
وذكرك ان ليس  
بقا . لك فى الدنيا

\* Fo. 32 recto

\*<sup>1</sup>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

\* Fo. 32 verso

\* \* \* \* \*

1 Esaias, Gr. 65, Lat. 1134 B.

# APPENDIX I

Δ	15		
* <sup>ε</sup> θεοεραρερεκ	.....	وتعرفك	.....
<sup>ε</sup> ιεχοση <sup>ε</sup> χι	.....	يكون فيك	....
<sup>ε</sup> ιεχοση • <sup>ε</sup> χι • <sup>ε</sup> α	....	يكون في	.....
ανιποση • <sup>ε</sup> ελ		دينونه	.....
λεμερ • <sup>ε</sup> οροη		لمنع هروب	....
ληις <sup>ε</sup> ριμερ • <sup>ε</sup> α	....	ليس ؟	
ειεα <sup>ε</sup> επες • <sup>ε</sup> λεχ	....	ايادي الناس	....
α <sup>ε</sup> μελ • <sup>ε</sup> αρερε •	....	اعمل ظاهرا	....
σα <sup>ε</sup> ρασα • <sup>ε</sup> αεε	....	شخصه واعظ	..
ρα <sup>ε</sup> οη • <sup>ε</sup> ελεσελ	..ελ	سلاسل ال[خطيه]	...
τιε • <sup>ε</sup> ελε <sup>ε</sup> ακ <sup>ε</sup> α <sup>ε</sup> ρ	...	ولا تقدر	.....
θα <sup>ε</sup> ραη • <sup>ε</sup> μερ <sup>ε</sup> οη •	....	تهرب منهم	....
ροη • <sup>ε</sup> εκο <sup>ε</sup> η : <sup>ε</sup> επεκ	....	هم وقوف	
θο <sup>ε</sup> η • <sup>ε</sup> πελε	....	يبتكوك بلا	
θεεη	...	وانت	.....
μο <sup>ε</sup> ραη	.....	منحن	.....
*..... <sup>ε</sup> θε <sup>ε</sup> • <sup>ε</sup> θε <sup>ε</sup> ελεμ		و... وجه تتكلم	
..... <sup>ε</sup> ε • <sup>ε</sup> ε <sup>ε</sup> α <sup>ε</sup> ε : <sup>ε</sup> ε		الخطيه	...
..... <sup>ε</sup> ακ • <sup>ε</sup> ε <sup>ε</sup> ροη : <sup>ε</sup> ε		اياهم	....
..... <sup>ε</sup> ε <sup>ε</sup> οη <sup>ε</sup> <sup>ε</sup> α <sup>ε</sup> ηα		وهم سوا	....
..... <sup>ε</sup> χι <sup>ε</sup> α <sup>ε</sup> ηακ • <sup>ε</sup> ε <sup>ε</sup> με <sup>ε</sup> α		في قلبك كمثل	.....
..... <sup>ε</sup> ελ : <sup>ε</sup> ε <sup>ε</sup> ο <sup>ε</sup> α : <sup>ε</sup> επεκ		الصورة	....
..... <sup>ε</sup> ε <sup>ε</sup> οκ • <sup>ε</sup> ε <sup>ε</sup> ε <sup>ε</sup> ρεμ <sup>ε</sup> α <sup>ε</sup> α		وتفهم كل	.....
..... <sup>ε</sup> ε <sup>ε</sup> ε <sup>ε</sup> ε <sup>ε</sup> • <sup>ε</sup> μεη • <sup>ε</sup> ελ • <sup>ε</sup> α <sup>ε</sup>		هذا من	....
..... <sup>ε</sup> ε <sup>ε</sup> λε <sup>ε</sup> α <sup>ε</sup> • <sup>ε</sup> α <sup>ε</sup> α		الذي قد	....
..... <sup>ε</sup> ε <sup>ε</sup> με <sup>ε</sup> α <sup>ε</sup> ε <sup>ε</sup> οη • <sup>ε</sup> χι <sup>ε</sup> ε		املتهم في	.....
..... <sup>ε</sup> μεη • <sup>ε</sup> α <sup>ε</sup> ε <sup>ε</sup> α <sup>ε</sup> ηα			.....
..... <sup>ε</sup> α <sup>ε</sup> α <sup>ε</sup> ε • <sup>ε</sup> α <sup>ε</sup> ε <sup>ε</sup> κ • <sup>ε</sup> α <sup>ε</sup>		ذلك او	.....
..... <sup>ε</sup> ε <sup>ε</sup> α • <sup>ε</sup> ε <sup>ε</sup> ε <sup>ε</sup> α <sup>ε</sup> α <sup>ε</sup> η		وبالحق	.....
..... <sup>ε</sup> ο <sup>ε</sup> α <sup>ε</sup> ακ : <sup>ε</sup> α <sup>ε</sup> α		كل	.....
..... <sup>ε</sup> α • <sup>ε</sup> ε			
α <sup>ε</sup> α <sup>ε</sup> ε •			

\* Fo. 33 recto

\* Fo. 33 verso

1\*...and will know thee...will be in thee...will be in...judgment...to stop the escape...is 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...

\* Fo. 33 recto

\* Fo. 33 verso

\* \* \* \* \*

1 Not identified.



# NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

\* Fo. 34 recto

ق  
\*ΛΟΤΚΑΤ .....  
ط  
ζορ : ιλε : ψαρ : εραα...  
ط  
μεν εππес · ηεταραραο  
ع  
ελαρινιν · ηερεγζ =  
ق  
ελλεσеп · ηεπεκαηεο  
еррежλιν · ηепер :  
ελεγλιν · ηεηεαμεο  
εссаλεηεο · ηεελεμ  
ελхесεα · ηεεερεαp ·  
الله  
ελε αλλα · ηερααλ...  
ιεζαp ρομλοp · πεμ.....  
ταp · ηεμοψοp.....  
ق  
λεинс пекалак.....  
ق  
περεαο.....  
ق  
ελακλ.....  
.....

..... ??  
? ... الى شر احد  
من الناس وطهارة  
العينين وحفظ  
اللسان ونقاوة  
الرجلين وبر  
الايدى وخدمة  
الصلوات والامر  
الجسد والسرير  
الى الله في حوذك  
يضع حملة.....  
..... [مشور].....  
ليس بقلق.....  
بعاده.....  
الحقل.....  
.....

\* Fo. 34 verso

\*..... οεμζι ραηο°  
ق  
ηετεςip · ηι ελκαλп =  
ح  
ζοpοп · ηεκαлак · ηε  
ع  
εγχαp · ελхесεα · ιер  
ع  
ραpοη : πελραρεχετ  
ηεπεταp : ελρααο =  
ق  
ηεiαε : paααp : ελκαλп  
ط  
ηεραααζ · ηεμεp · ep  
ح  
paαα · ηεοесip : εαλιp°  
ط  
μεααλε : ηipieα =  
... : αε : εελεμ : εленсеп  
ط  
..... μοηεηεπεο αλλα  
ح  
..... paααοη χεμε  
... : εηοα : ιε paпп  
..... θ саpαpт...  
.....

..... تمضى عنه  
ويصير في القلب  
حروب وقلق  
واقكار الجسد  
يرعبه بالحركات  
وبدار العدو  
واذا رجع القلب  
وحفظ اوامر  
الروح فتسير عليه  
مظله حينئذ  
[ذا] علم الانسان  
مواظبة الله  
..... راحته كما  
..... ?? يا رب  
صرخت.....  
.....

\* Fo. 34 recto

\*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....

\* Fo. 34 verso

\* \* \* \* \*

1 Not identified.

## APPENDIX I

* <sup>ق</sup> ḥēēpnor : ḥe : <sup>ك</sup> teqrem <sup>ش</sup> πnt	وانه لا يفهم شى	* Fo. 35 recto
ḥēle <sup>ق</sup> iekim : <sup>ك</sup> χēlmeθon	ولا يقيم كلمته	
ḥēēp • <sup>ط</sup> aktar : <sup>ع</sup> e ... e	وان يقطع .....	
ḥēteχon • <sup>ك</sup> pezaror	ويكون نظره	
iḥe = <sup>ق</sup> elapz • <sup>ع</sup> ḥēpezar	الى الارض ونظر	
<sup>ق</sup> zaklon : iḥe <sup>ع</sup> eseme	عقله الى السماء	
ḥēēp : <sup>ع</sup> tezar • <sup>ع</sup> elmatθ	وان يضع الموت	
πnt • <sup>ع</sup> zainnir : <sup>ع</sup> ḥēteq	بين عينيه	
qaz • <sup>ع</sup> peqcor <sup>ع</sup> men .....	ويحفظ نفسه من .....	
ḥorap : <sup>ك</sup> ḥēle ...	كذب ولا ....	
<sup>ع</sup> zeθ • <sup>ع</sup> zazio .....	... حديث .....	
ḥēle <sup>ع</sup> ieχ .....	ولا .....	
.... <sup>ع</sup> par .....	.....	
.... <sup>ع</sup> mel .. <sup>ع</sup> pe .....	.....	
θime <sup>ع</sup> ḥē .....	.....	
rame .. <sup>ع</sup> ḥē .....	.....	
* <sup>ك</sup> teqrem : <sup>ك</sup> χol : <sup>ك</sup> qez <sup>1</sup>	يغفر كل ... ؟	* Fo. 35 verso
ēp : <sup>ع</sup> alla = <sup>ع</sup> essalla <sup>2</sup> • <sup>ع</sup> erp	ان الله الصالح	
<sup>ع</sup> z ... <sup>ع</sup> m • <sup>ع</sup> kadnr • <sup>ع</sup> ēp <sup>ع</sup> iekimak	الرحيم قدير ان يقيمك	
ḥētekatik : <sup>ع</sup> ḥēle <sup>ع</sup> θazmel	ويقويك ولا تعمل	
<sup>ع</sup> pezeze <sup>ع</sup> elχēlem : <sup>ع</sup> leθe	بهذا الكلام لتجد	
<sup>ع</sup> zeχ : <sup>ع</sup> pa <sup>3</sup> me : <sup>ع</sup> ma <sup>4</sup> z <sup>ع</sup> el	رحمة مع	
<sup>ق</sup> kadazic • <sup>ق</sup> qi : <sup>ق</sup> zeler :	القديس فى ذلك	
<sup>ق</sup> eliazm : <sup>ق</sup> elmezotl	اليوم المهبول	
<sup>ق</sup> ēlle <sup>ق</sup> ma <sup>5</sup> z • <sup>ق</sup> eleθθezar =	الا مع الاتضاع	
..... <sup>ق</sup> mi • <sup>ق</sup> elepcep <sup>ق</sup> peq	..... الانسان ...	
..... <sup>ط</sup> ti : <sup>ط</sup> ḥēēpnor	..... وانه	
..... <sup>ط</sup> ni .. <sup>ط</sup> men .. <sup>ط</sup> l	..... من	
..... <sup>ط</sup> iezn <sup>6</sup> <sup>ط</sup> alla	..... يدي الله	
..... <sup>ط</sup> oz <sup>ط</sup> h ...	.....	
..... <sup>ط</sup> ḥēle <sup>ط</sup> ie	..... ولا	
..... <sup>ط</sup> r : <sup>ط</sup> πnt •	..... شى	

<sup>1</sup> These letters cancelled.

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 . . . and not . . . thing.

\* Fo. 35 *recto*

\* Fo. 35 verso

1 ? Esaias,

# NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

C.U.L. Add. 1886, 17.

\* Fo. 1 recto

\*<sup>ϥ</sup>ⲕⲉⲭⲉⲡⲉⲟ - ⲉⲁⲃⲉⲟ - ⲉⲣⲱ  
ⲱⲛⲓⲃ - ⲡⲉⲗⲉⲁⲱⲣⲉ - ⲭⲟⲗ  
ⲓⲁⲧⲙ - ⲓⲉⲗⲁⲗⲉⲙⲟⲣ -  
ⲙⲉ - ⲓⲉⲡⲱⲁⲱ - ⲡⲉⲱⲥⲟⲣ -  
ⲕⲉⲙⲉⲛ - ⲡⲁⲗⲁ - ⲉⲟⲟⲁⲗ  
ⲗⲓⲧⲙ - ⲭⲉⲛ - ⲓⲁⲗⲙⲉⲗ - ⲥⲁ  
ⲗⲉⲣ - ⲕⲉⲓⲉⲟⲗⲁⲕⲟⲣ - ⲗⲉ  
ⲓⲉⲣⲕⲟⲣ - ⲕⲉⲱⲓ - ⲁⲣⲁⲃ  
ⲉⲗⲉⲛⲉⲙ - ⲣⲓⲛ - ⲉⲭⲉⲗⲟⲧ  
ⲉⲭⲗⲉⲣⲟⲙ - ⲉⲗⲕⲁⲗⲓⲗ -  
ⲡⲉⲗⲉⲁⲱⲣⲉ - ⲭⲉⲗⲉⲱ  
ⲱⲣⲉⲓ<sup>1</sup> - ⲡⲁⲗⲁ - ⲉⲥⲥⲁⲗⲉⲟ  
ⲉⲗⲭⲉⲙⲉⲣⲁ - ⲭⲉⲗ - ⲁⲃⲉⲣ  
ⲗⲓⲉⲗⲁⲗⲉⲙ - ⲉⲗⲁⲃ ...  
ⲕⲉⲱⲓⲙⲉ - ⲣⲟⲧⲓⲉⲭ ...  
ⲗⲉⲙⲟⲣ - ⲭⲁ ...

وكانت عادة الشيخ  
بالعشا كل  
يوم يعلمه  
ما ينفع نفسه  
فمن بعد التعليم  
كان يعمل صلاة  
ويطلقه ليرقد  
وفي احد  
الايام حين اكلوا  
اكلهم القليل  
بالعشا جل[س]  
الشيخ بعد الصلاة  
الجامعة كالعادة  
ليعلم الاخ  
وفيما هو يكلمه  
جا[رعيه]  
النوم فرقد

\* Fo. 1 verso

\*ⲉⲡⲡⲁⲧⲙ - ⲣⲉ - ⲡⲁⲕⲁⲃ  
ⲉⲱⲱⲣⲉⲓ - ⲕⲉⲭⲉⲛ - ⲉⲗⲁⲃ -  
ⲥⲁⲡⲉⲣ - ⲉⲁⲟⲟⲉ - ⲓⲉⲕⲟⲧⲙ  
ⲉⲱⲱⲣⲉⲓ - ⲓⲉⲡⲉⲣⲉⲕ - ⲉⲁ  
ⲗⲉⲓⲣ - ⲭⲉⲗⲁⲃⲉⲟⲣ -  
ⲱⲣⲉⲗⲉⲙⲙⲉ - ⲡⲉⲕⲓ - ⲉⲱⲱⲣⲉⲓ  
ⲡⲉⲓⲉⲙ - ⲕⲁⲕⲟ - ⲉⲁⲣⲓⲙ -  
ⲣⲁⲓⲉⲕⲟⲧ - ⲉⲗⲉⲱ - ⲭⲁⲣ -  
ⲉⲗ - ⲁⲃ - ⲕⲁⲓⲉⲗⲉ - ⲗⲟⲣ -  
ⲕⲟⲧⲙ - ⲉⲡⲧ - ⲉⲓⲣⲁ - ⲉⲣ  
ⲕⲟⲣ - ⲕⲉⲭⲉⲡⲉⲣⲟⲧ - ⲓⲉ  
ⲕⲁⲟⲉⲗ - ⲱⲣⲉⲭⲣⲟⲣ - ⲕⲁ  
ⲓⲉⲗ - ⲙⲉⲓⲉⲙⲭⲉⲡⲓ - ⲉⲙ  
... ⲉⲁⲗⲉⲙ - ⲓⲉⲕⲟⲧⲙ  
... ⲕⲉⲓⲉⲟⲗⲁⲕⲓ - ⲭⲉⲗ  
... ⲉ - ⲣⲁⲓⲉⲕⲁⲟⲣ

الشيخ وكان الاخ  
صابرا حتى يقوم  
الشيخ يبارك عليه  
كعادته  
فلما بقي الشيخ  
نايما وقت عظيم  
ضايقوا الافكار  
الاخ قايلًا له  
قمر انت ايضا ارقد  
وكان هو يقاتل  
فكره قايلًا  
ما يمكنني ام[ضى]  
اذا لم يقر[هو]  
ويطلقني كالعادة  
فضايقته

<sup>1</sup> For ⲭⲉⲗⲉⲥ ⲉⲱⲱⲣⲉⲓ.

\* Fo. 1 recto

<sup>1</sup>... 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 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]

\* Fo. 1 verso

<sup>1</sup> = *Apophtb. Patr., P.L. LXXIII, 903, § 43.* The Arabic reprinted from Casanova's edition, in *Bull. Inst. Franç. 1, 1 ff.*; the English by Dr. O'Leary.

# APPENDIX I

\*ελ = εφχαρ - ειζαθελεμ  
 ιεμζι - ρεχιζε - καθε  
 λουρ - σεπαρδεφουρ  
 ηεχεπ - сапер - мекаθελ  
 λερε - ηεμεп - παρζ -  
 ρερε - λεμμε - θεκαδ  
 δεμ - ελληνιλ - χερε -  
 γελλεμε - εсθηκαζ -  
 ешшвейр - γεθεχερε -  
 χελεс - ραпρор - γε  
 καλ - λор - ιλε - ελεп  
 λем - θεμζι - καλλор  
 ιεεπi - еппак - λем  
 θεθλακпi - γεка . . . .  
 ешшвейр - λем . . . .  
 λем = θикаζ . . . .  
 \*λор - мехесарт - еика  
 ζак - λιελλε - εθρεпак -  
 γεπεрик - ραλιρ - еш  
 швейр - ηελεμμε - ка  
 мот - ραμελор - есса  
 λер - ελχεμερδεθ  
 лак - ελ - αη - λειεсθe  
 ριρ - ηεieпem - καλιλ  
 ηεχεп - ειζα - ешшвейр  
 χεлес - ги - меспeрор  
 ιeθ ρep - пeφcor = ιλε  
 покpa - ηeφimeρor -  
 χεлес - саp - ги - coror -  
 . . ζ - ιδε ηεpιζ - ιepιρ -  
 . . . ζαρ - мемeли  
 . . . . ηe φιρ - χo[p

الافكار ايضا ولم  
 يمض وكذا قاتلوه  
 سبع دفعوع  
 وكان صابرا مقاتلا  
 لها ومن بعد  
 هذا لها تقدم  
 الليل جدا  
 فلما استيقظ  
 الشيخ فوجده  
 جالسا عنده فقال  
 له الى الان  
 لم تمض قال له  
 يا ابي انك لم  
 تطلقني فقال  
 الشيخ لمر[ذا]  
 لم تيقظ[ني] [قال]  
 له ما جسرت ايقظك  
 لئلا اتعنك  
 وبارك عليه الشيخ  
 ولما قاموا  
 عملوا الصلاة  
 الجامعة اطلق  
 الاخ ليستريح  
 وينام قليلا  
 وكان ايضا الشيخ  
 جلس في مسنده  
 يتعب نفسه الى  
 بكرة وفيما هو  
 جالس صار في سهو  
 [و] اذا واحد يريه  
 [مو] ضعا متمليا [بمجد]  
 وفيه كر[سيا]

\* 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. . .

\* Fo. 2 recto

\* Fo. 2 verso

## APPENDIX II

### 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.

However this may be, only one Coptic ms.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup>

Arabic mss.

Three Arabic mss. are also connected with the Monastery of John: first, a (fragmentary) version of the *Psalms*<sup>5</sup> the date of which is not specified; secondly a copy of the *Gospels* written at the Monastery itself in 1343;<sup>6</sup> and thirdly the Vatican ms. of the *Chronicon Orientale*,<sup>7</sup> once the private possession of Peter, a monk of the Monastery in 1413. It was perhaps after the final desertion and ruin of the Convent<sup>8</sup> 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 Kalîl and the *Nomocanon* of Macarius,<sup>9</sup> 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,<sup>10</sup> and more loosely connected with the Syrians;<sup>11</sup> though indeed the Syriac books known to have been written there seem to have found their way almost at once to the Syrian Monastery.<sup>12</sup>

1 *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, §§ 5, 8.

10 See *H.N.S.* iv, x, § 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 Habîb for the use of his spiritual brother Isaac (see Payne Smith, *Cat. Codd. MSS. Bibl. Bodl.*, Pars vi, 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).

## APPENDIX II

### 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,<sup>1</sup> had not spared the books, but devoured all the earlier mss.

Probable fate  
of the earlier  
books

The earliest codex from the Monastery contains the works of Besa,<sup>2</sup> successor to Shenoute the Great; 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 works of  
Besa

The only dated examples which can be quoted are: (1) the *Four Gospels*, now at Göttingen,<sup>3</sup> written in 1357, repaired in 1491, and bequeathed at a date unknown to "the Monastery of Abi Bishâi in Wadi 't Tarraneh;" (2) the *Pentateuch*<sup>4</sup> dated 1393 A.D.; (3) the *Four Gospels*,<sup>5</sup> 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*,<sup>6</sup> presented in 1619; (5) a *Lectionary*, now at Leipzig, presented in 1784-5 by a monk named Sawios.<sup>7</sup>

Various dated  
mss.

The only further pieces of any interest known to come from this Monastery are a fragment of a *Homily*,<sup>8</sup> the *Acts of Samuel of Kalamon*,<sup>9</sup> a *Lectionary*,<sup>10</sup> and fragments of the *Office for the Consecration of Holy Oil*.<sup>11</sup>

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,<sup>12</sup> which may be assigned to the fourteenth century. A similar trilingual fragment, found at the Monastery of Baramûs<sup>13</sup> by Dr. A. J. Butler and now in the Bodleian Library, appears to have belonged to the same ms.<sup>14</sup>

Trilingual  
fragment

### 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 was restored in the thirteenth century,<sup>15</sup> and if this was made necessary by the ravages of white ants, the lack of early mss. is not surprising.

Possible fate of  
early mss.

Huntington in 1678-9 saw in the Church a complete New Testament in Coptic and Arabic,<sup>16</sup> but mentions no other books, though he seems to have acquired at least one ms. here.<sup>17</sup> Sonnini (1778),<sup>18</sup> 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.

Reports of  
visitors

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.<sup>19</sup> 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.<sup>20</sup> 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<sup>4</sup>; see Horner, *Copt. Vers. of the N.T.* i, 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), ii, 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.

## NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

is an apartment with a trap-door, full of leaves of Arabic and Coptic mss."<sup>1</sup> 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."<sup>2</sup>

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.<sup>3</sup> 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*<sup>4</sup> 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:<sup>5</sup> 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*,<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup>

Polyglot  
fragments

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 17.1 × 26 cm.) containing the text of *Saint Luke* vii, 37-39, 42-44, in Ethiopic, Syriac, Coptic, Karshuni, and Armenian, arranged in five parallel columns:<sup>9</sup> the second is a single leaf, 35.5 × 26.7 cm., containing the text of *Saint John* i, 31-45; it may be assigned to the thirteenth or fourteenth century.<sup>10</sup> 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*.

Trilingual  
fragment

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.<sup>11</sup> This fragment (32.4 × 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.

Syriac frag-  
ments

Butler also brought back from Baramûs a few Syriac fragments<sup>12</sup> 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 Kamé 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;<sup>13</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> *Quart. Rev.* LXXVII, p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> *Anc. Copt. Chs.* i, 333.

<sup>3</sup> Uri, *Bibl. Bodl. Codd. MSS. Or. Cat.* i, p. 327; cp. Budge, *Mart. of S. George*, pp. ix ff.

<sup>4</sup> Crum, *Cat.*, nos. 713, 720.

<sup>5</sup> ms. Hunt., no. 121 (=Uri, *Bibl. Bodl. Cod. MSS. Or. Cat.*, Pars i, Codd. Copt. iii).

<sup>6</sup> B.M., Add., 5995; cp. Horner, *Copt. Vers. of the N.T.* i, pp. lxvii f. = *Crum*, no. 732.

<sup>7</sup> Crum, *Cat.*, nos. 816, 815.

<sup>8</sup> Crum, *Cat. of Copt. MSS. in the Rylands Lib.*, no. 452 (viii), and *Quart. Rev.* LXXVII, pp. 51 f.

<sup>9</sup> Now in the Bodleian (ms. Copt. C. 2) = Maden, *Summary Catalogue* 29492<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> Now in the Bodleian (ms. Copt. C. 3) = Maden, *Summary Catalogue* 29492<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> 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.)

<sup>12</sup> These fragments (Bodl. Syr. g. i.) 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. i.).

<sup>13</sup> See Zoëga, *Cat.*, p. 4.

## APPENDIX II

the monastic Library. Moreover, the thirteenth-century copy of the Life of John Kamé<sup>1</sup> points to the existence of an original which is naturally to be sought in the Library under discussion.

All this is indirect evidence. One ms. 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,<sup>2</sup> 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*,<sup>3</sup> 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 described<sup>4</sup> 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,<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup>

### 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."<sup>7</sup> Some of these may have belonged to the national Abyssinian Monastery, but the fate of the collection is unknown.<sup>8</sup>

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*.<sup>9</sup> The book was found by Curzon, almost certainly in the Syrian Monastery,<sup>10</sup> 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.<sup>11</sup> 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 colophon<sup>12</sup> 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 ⲙⲁⲛⲓⲱⲛⲓ ⲡⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩⲧ.<sup>13</sup> 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 itself<sup>14</sup>—and since we know from Makrizi

Abyssinian  
Library in  
Curzon's day:  
1837  
Coptic ms.  
belonging to  
the Monastery  
of Elias:  
1199 A.D.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. xxvi.

<sup>2</sup> Now at Oxford, see Nicoll, *Bibl. Bodl. Codd. MSS. Or. Cat.*, Pars II, no. 37.

<sup>3</sup> 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.

<sup>4</sup> Uri, *Bibl. Bodl. Codd. MSS. Or. Cat.*, Pars I, Codd. Copt., no. III.

<sup>5</sup> See *H.N.S.* IV, v, § 4.

<sup>6</sup> See Wright, *Cat.*, pp. xv f.

<sup>7</sup> *Visits*, p. 89.

<sup>8</sup> 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.

<sup>9</sup> The first and third of these are published by Budge, *T.S.B.A.* IX, pp. 355 ff. and 74 ff., the second in *P.S.B.A.* IX, 317 ff.

<sup>10</sup> See *H.N.S.* v, iv, § 2, and Excursus, § 10.

<sup>11</sup> See Curzon, *Materials*, p. 27 (the colophon is there utterly mistranslated).

<sup>12</sup> Text in *T.S.B.A.* IX, pp. 110 f.

<sup>13</sup> On this cell see *H.N.S.* IV, v, § 2.

<sup>14</sup> *H.N.S.* IV, v, § 2.



## NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

that the Church of the Abyssinians was dedicated to Elias,<sup>1</sup> there can be little doubt that this volume once belonged to the Abyssinian Monastery.

The second ms. is a copy of the *Pauline Epistles*<sup>2</sup> 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<sup>b</sup>, 118<sup>b</sup> are various monastic rules of a general character relating to the Convent and dated in the Year of Grace 79 (= 1419 A.D.).<sup>3</sup> A further note on folio 119<sup>b</sup> records the foundation of a Church at Dêr Abû Mîna<sup>4</sup> 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.

<sup>1</sup> *id.* iv, x, § 8.

<sup>2</sup> See Zotenberg, *Cat. des MSS. de la Bibl. Nat.*, no. 46.

<sup>3</sup> 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 Tegment (Oct.)." The Monastery itself is referred to as "this precinct of the Monastery of Scetis, the Sanctuary of Elias."

<sup>4</sup> Possibly in the Dêr Mari Mîna, North of 'Old Cairo.'

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<sup>1</sup> 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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<sup>1</sup> In Coptic Cherubim is both singular and plural.

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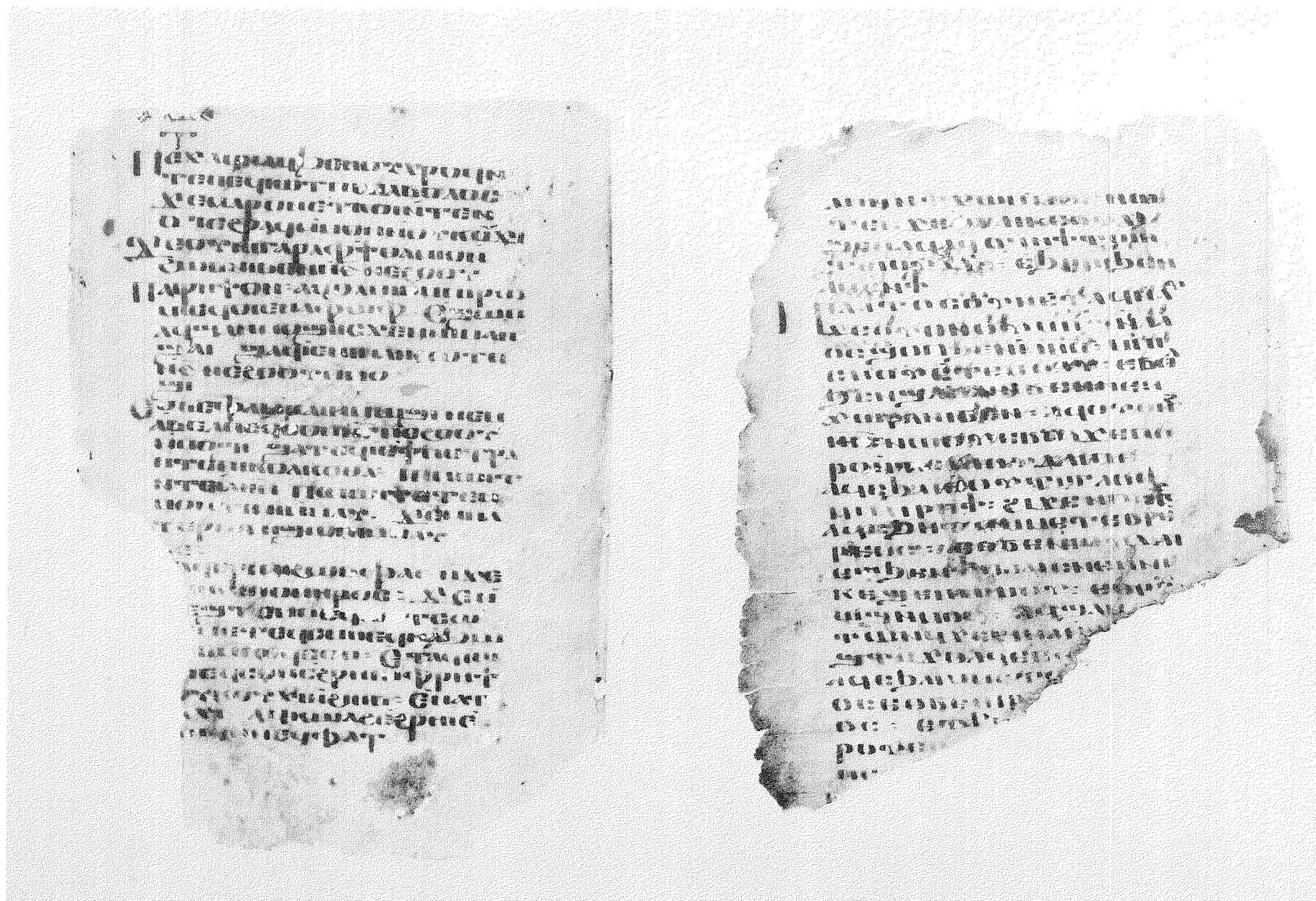
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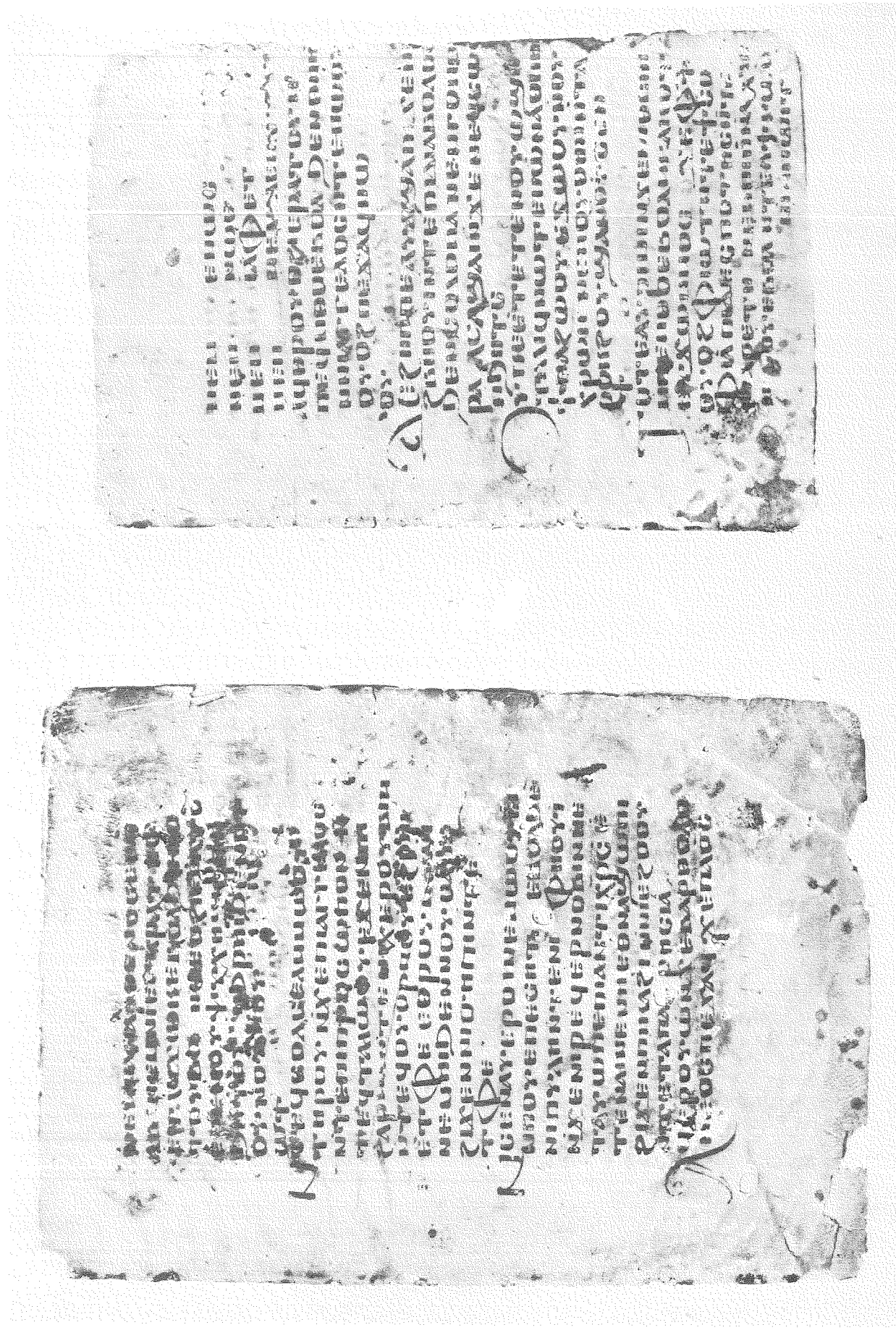
A

B

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A. Apocryphal Fragment on Adam (No. I, fo. I, verso).

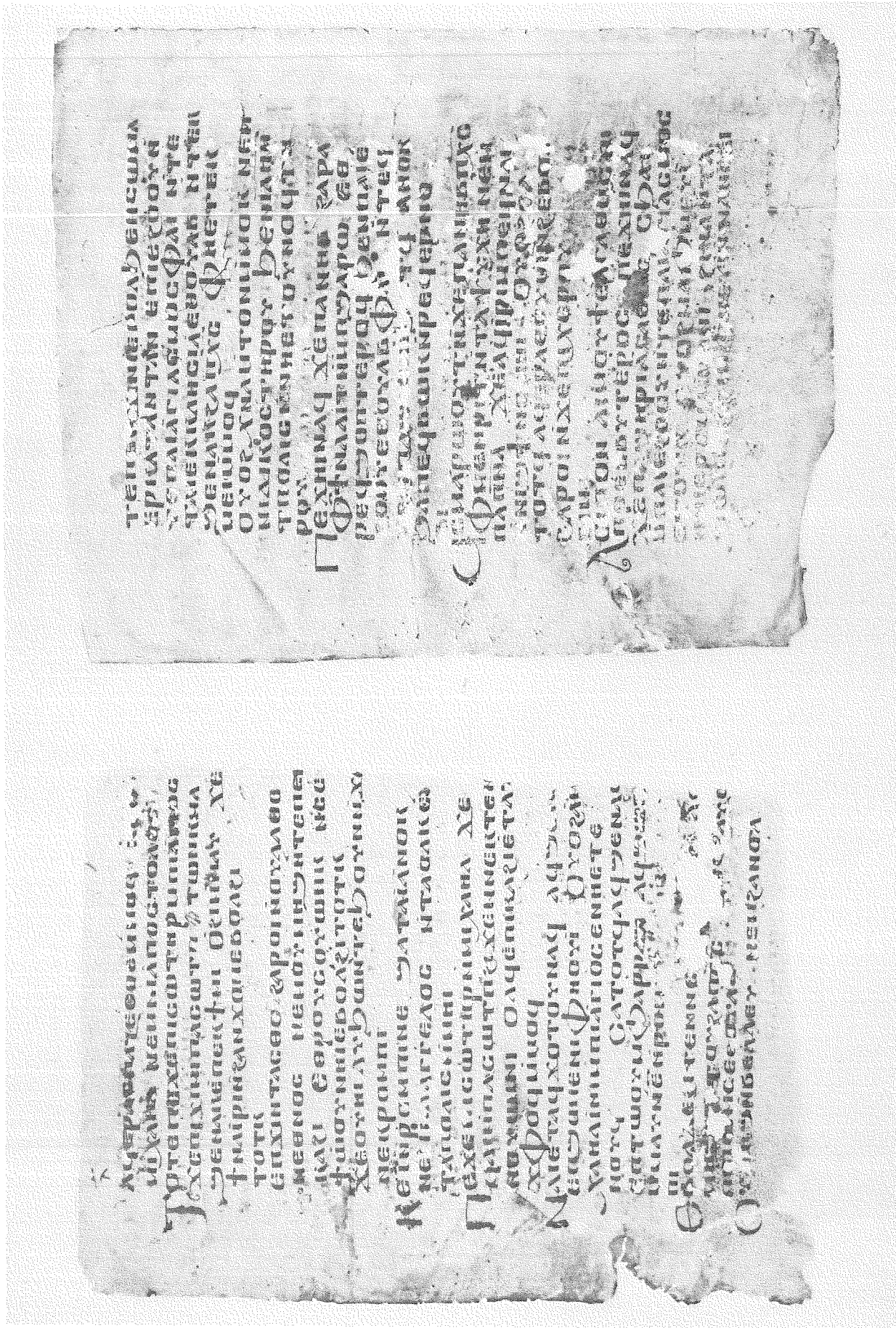
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A and B. Fragments of an Apocalyptic Gospel (No. V, frag. 2, i recto, and frag. 3, i recto).

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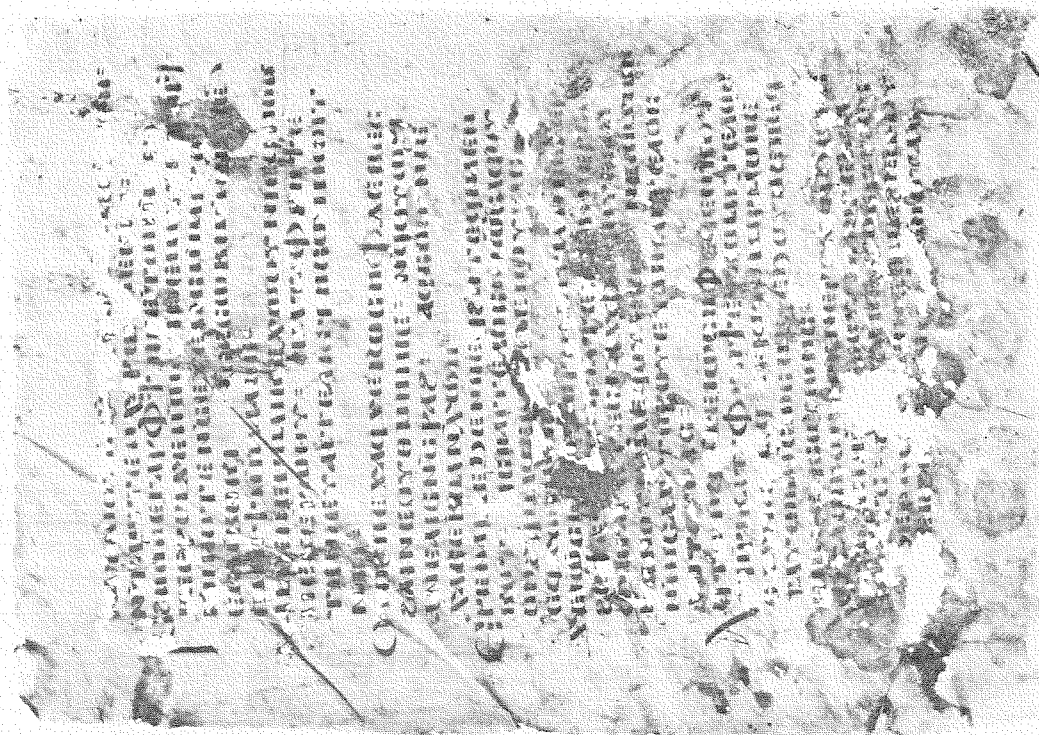


A

A. Life of Abba Pidjimi (No. XXIX, frag. 4, verso)

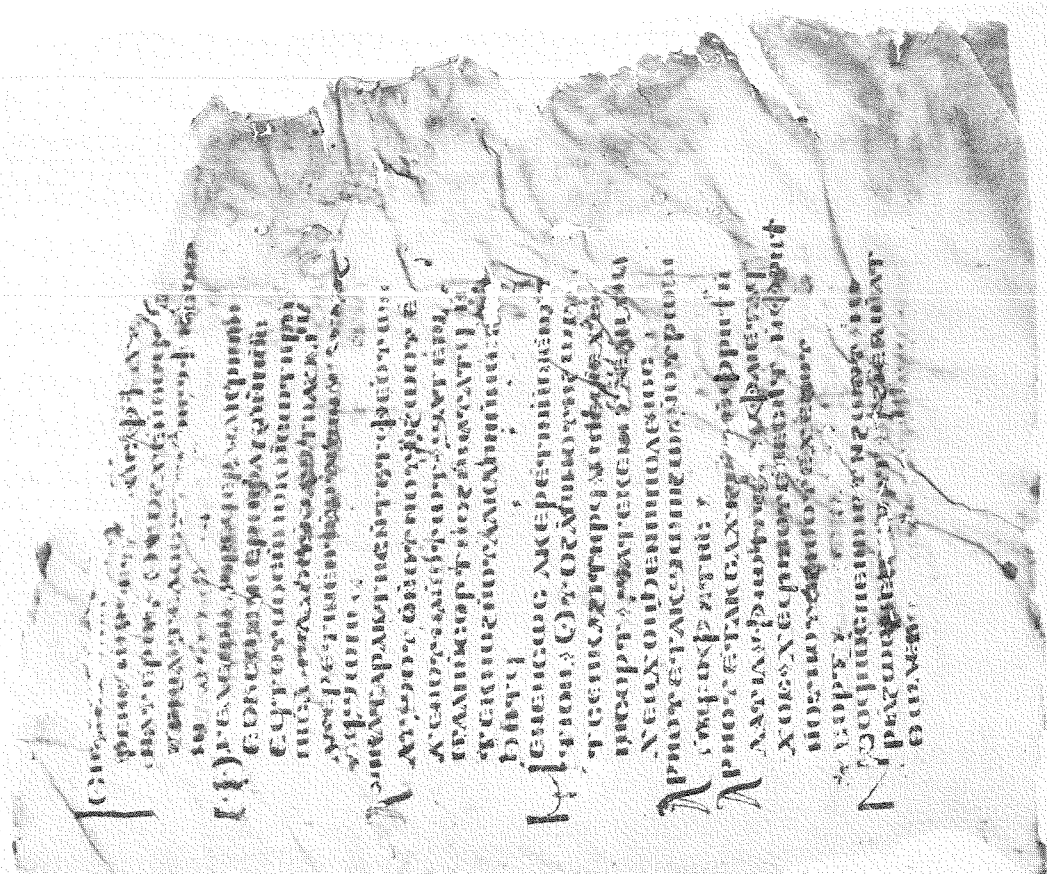
B

B. The Vision of Benjamin (No. XXIII C, frag. 3, verso).



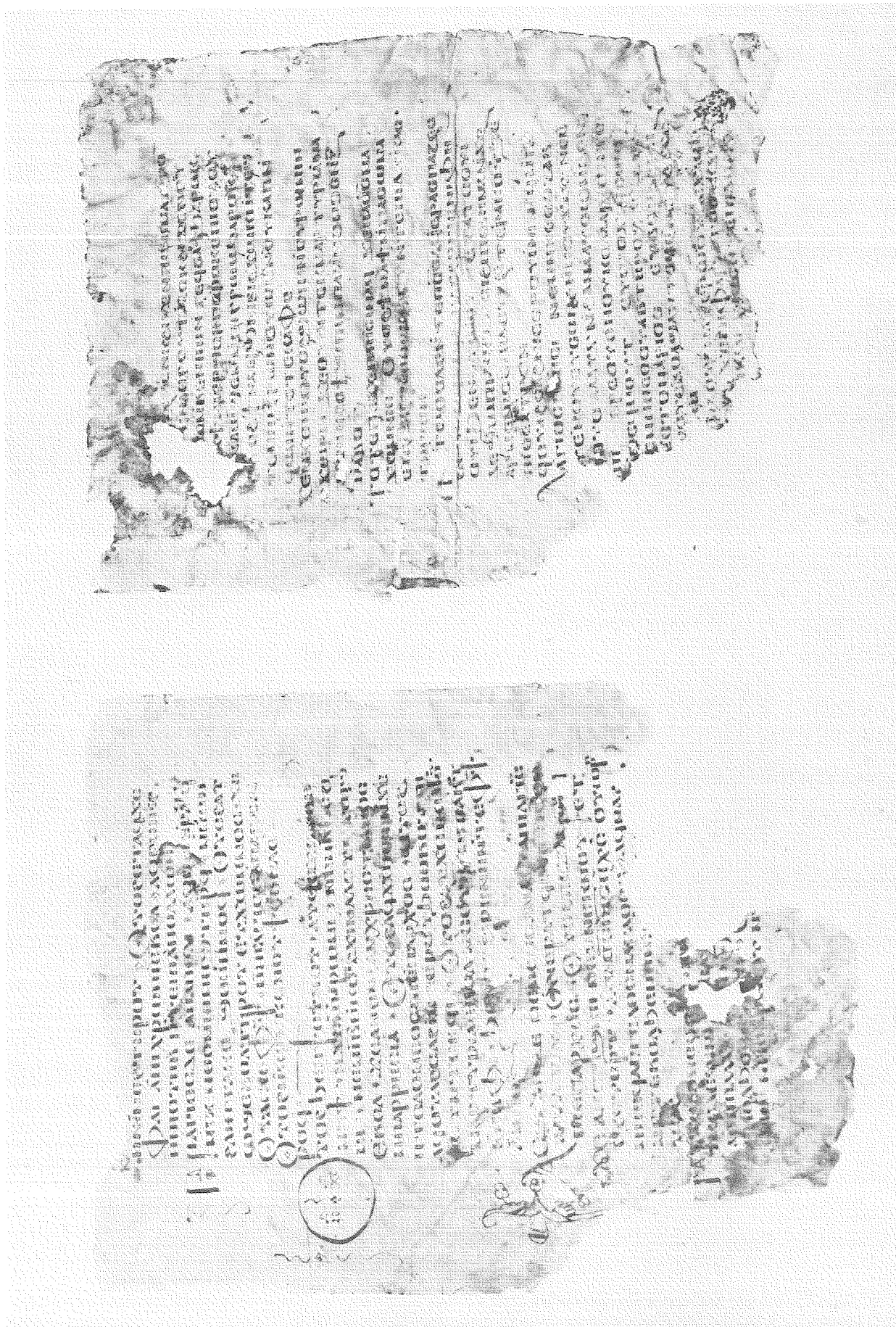
A

A. A Life of the Virgin (No. V.11 A, frag. 1, verso).



B

B. An Encomium on the Virgin (No. VIII E, frag. 1, 2, recto).



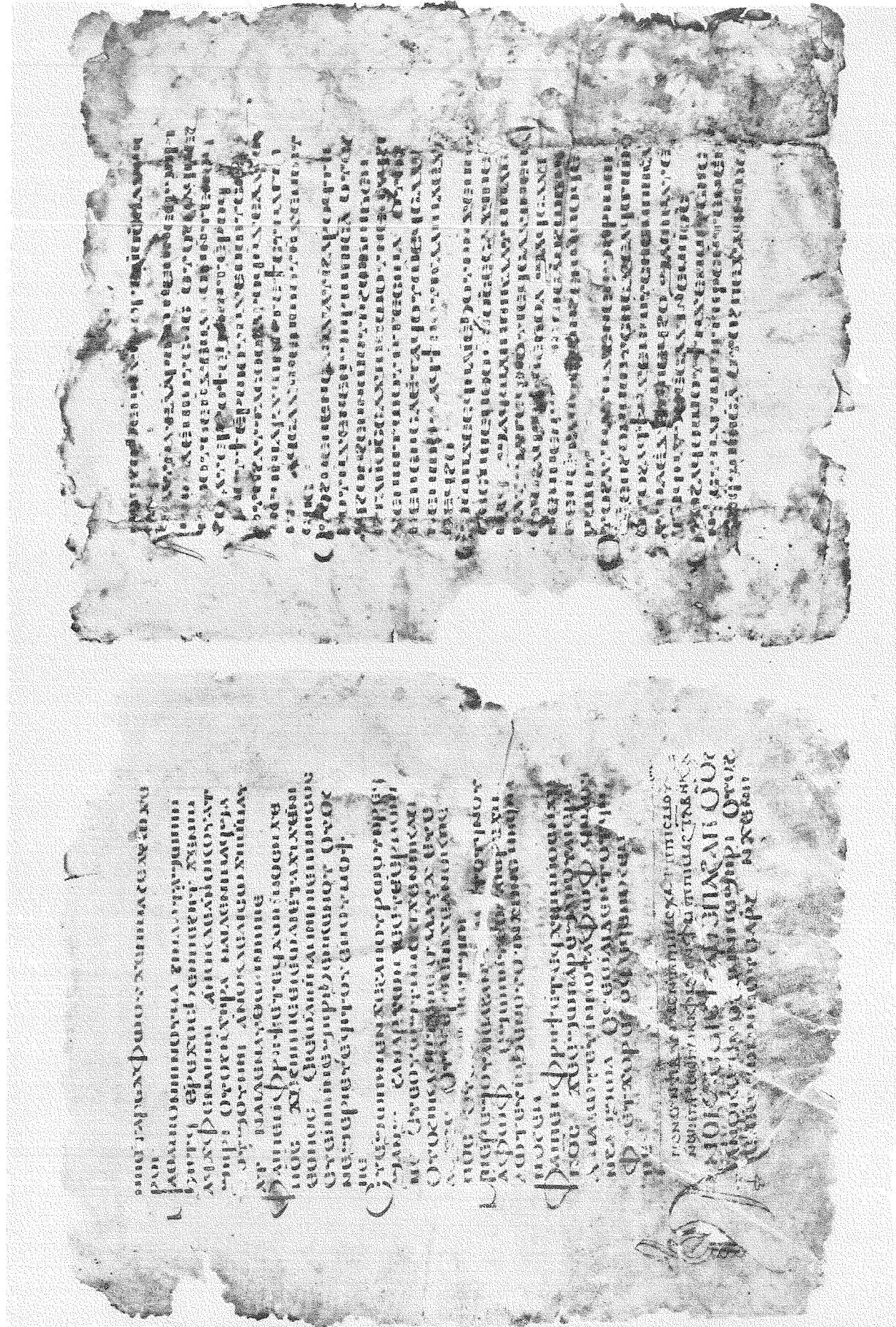
A

A. The Martyrdom of Apa Apoli (No. XVII, frag. 3, verso).

B

B. The Martyrdom of Paësi and Thekla (No. XXI, frag. 3, recto).





A

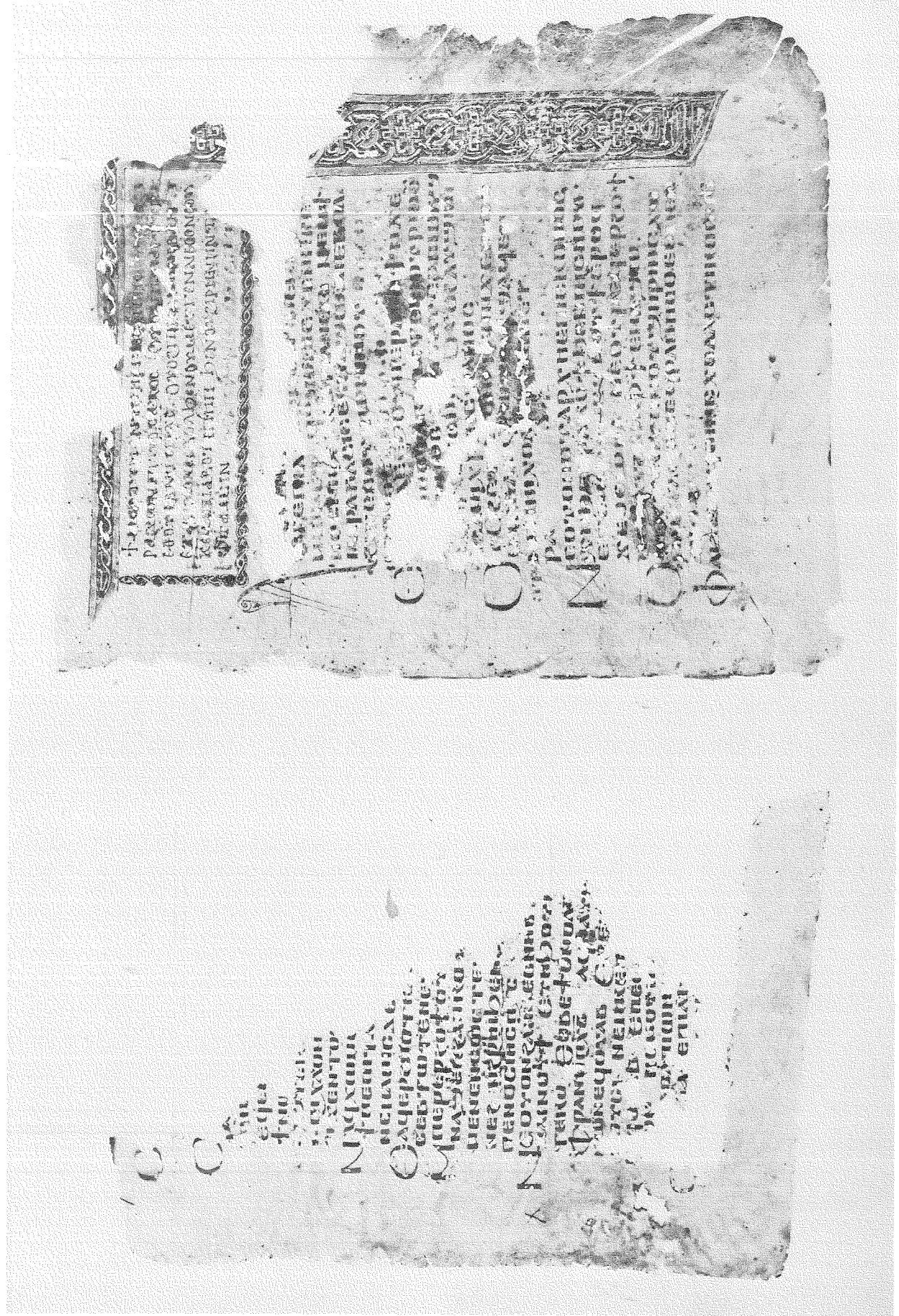
B

Printed in Holland

A. Lectionary (?) for Easter (No. XXXVIII E, 3).

B. Exodus XXXIV, 29 ff. (No. XXXVII A, fo. 1, recto).





A

B

A. The Martyrdom of Apa Amoun (No. XX, frag. 7, verso).

B. The Martyrdom of Apa Kradjón (No. XX, frag. 1, recto).

**ВНЕШНЯЯ ПОЛИТИКА**

Давно не пишу ни  
никому, ни маме, ни папе,  
ни бабушке, ни дедушке,  
ни друзьям.

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6. Primo Oratorum lib.  
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Oratorum Amo. et  
Amo. et Amo. et  
Amo. et Amo. et

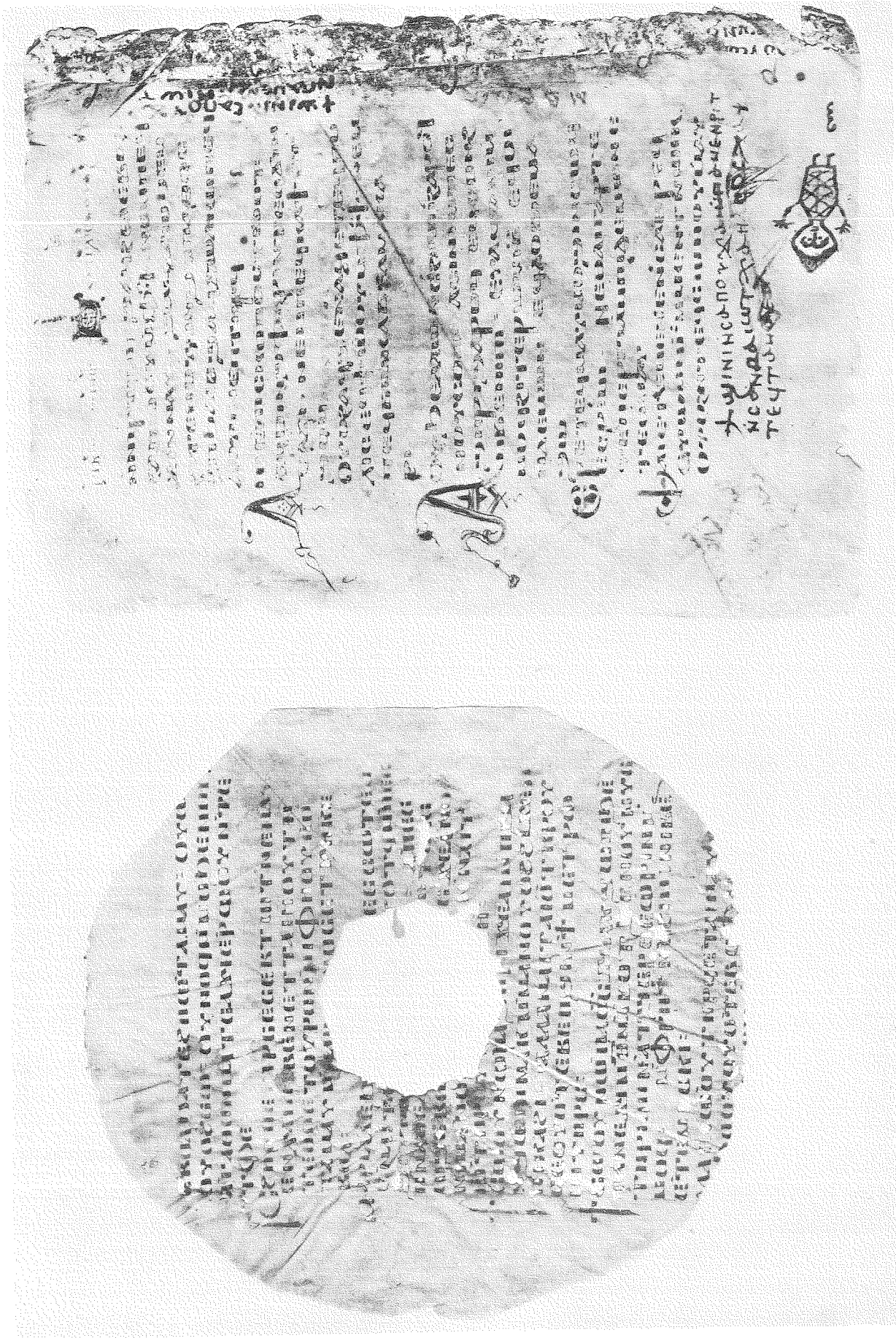
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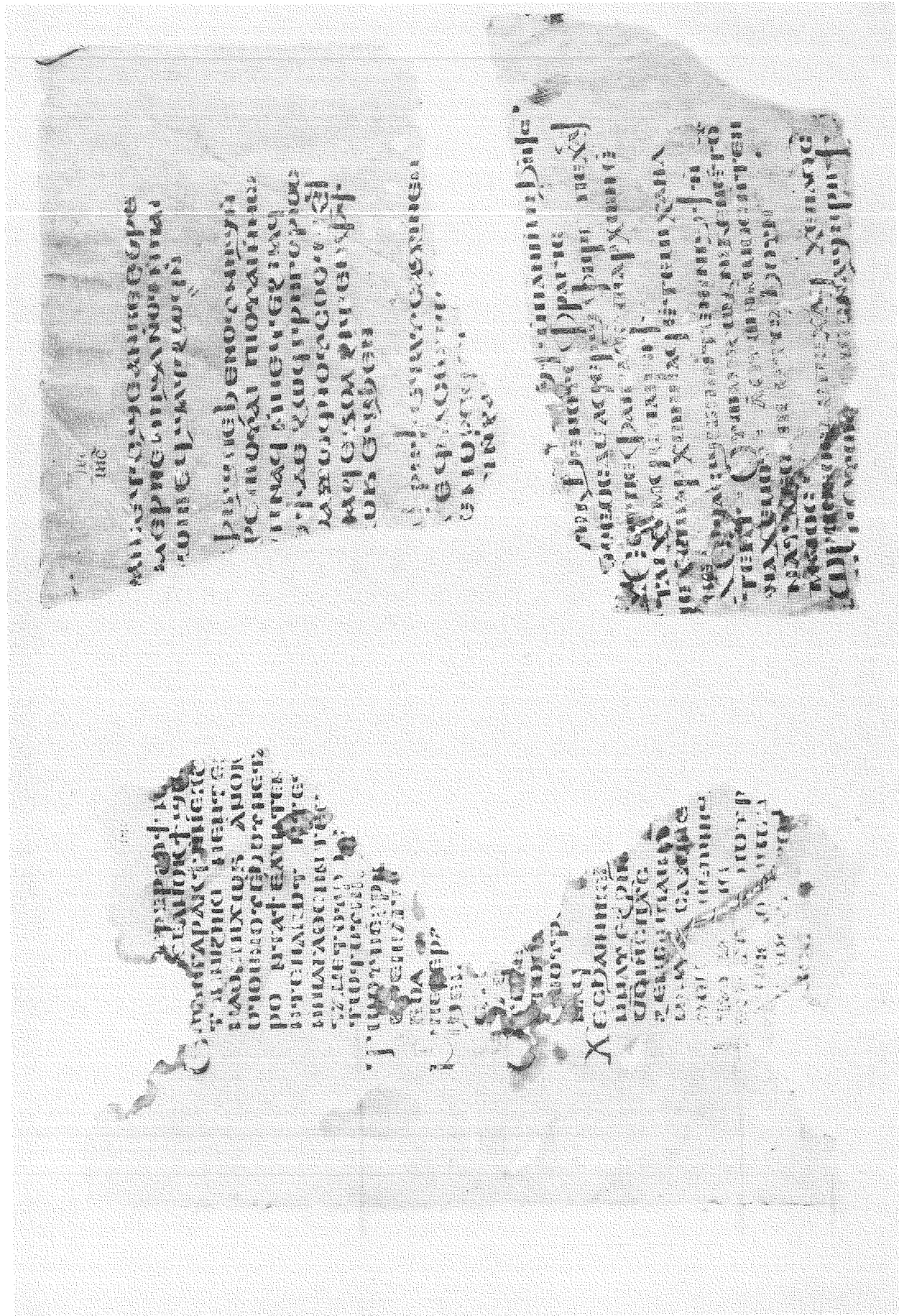


A

B

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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).



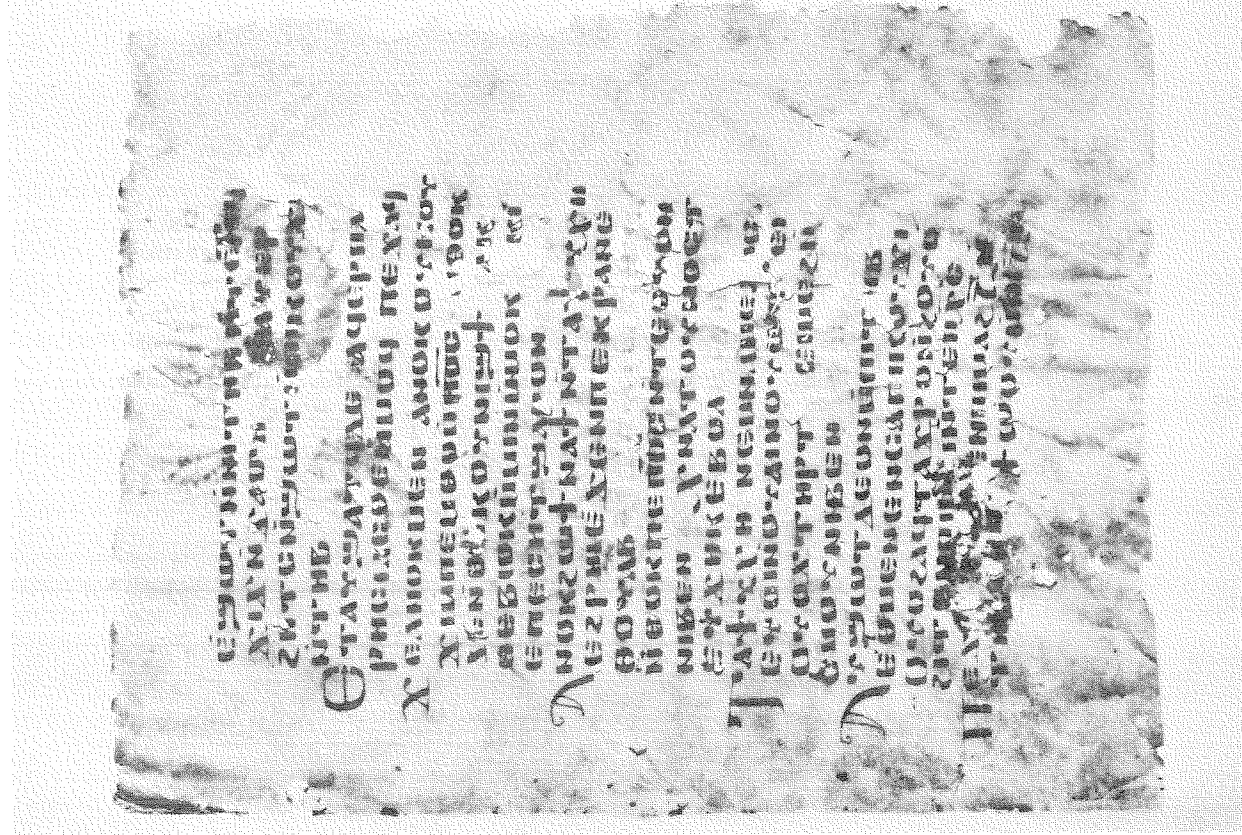
B (a), (b)

A

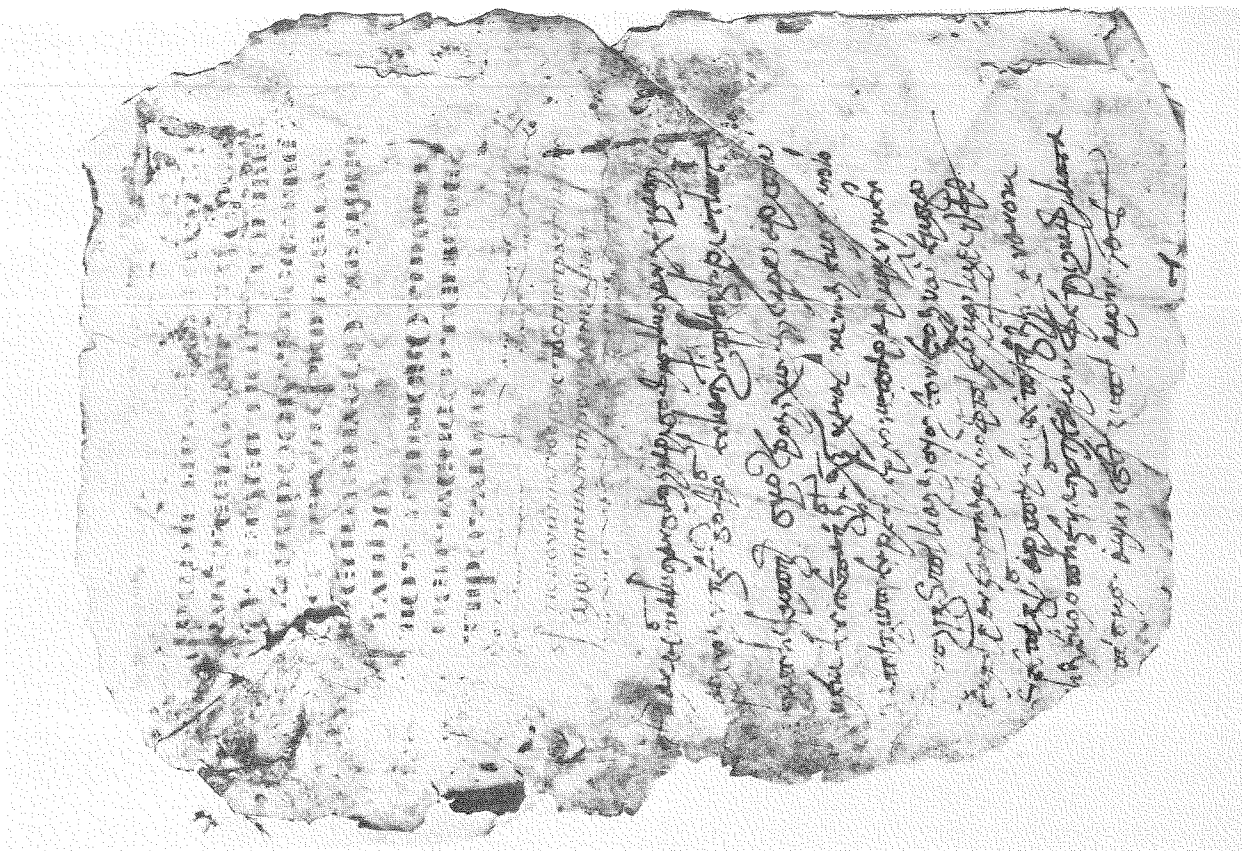
- A. The Martyrdom of Justus the Stratelates (No. XVI, frag. 2, verso).
- B. (a) Life of Gregory Thaumaturgus (No. XXVIII, frag. 12, verso).
- (b) Encomium on the Archangel Michael (No. IX, frag. 3, verso).







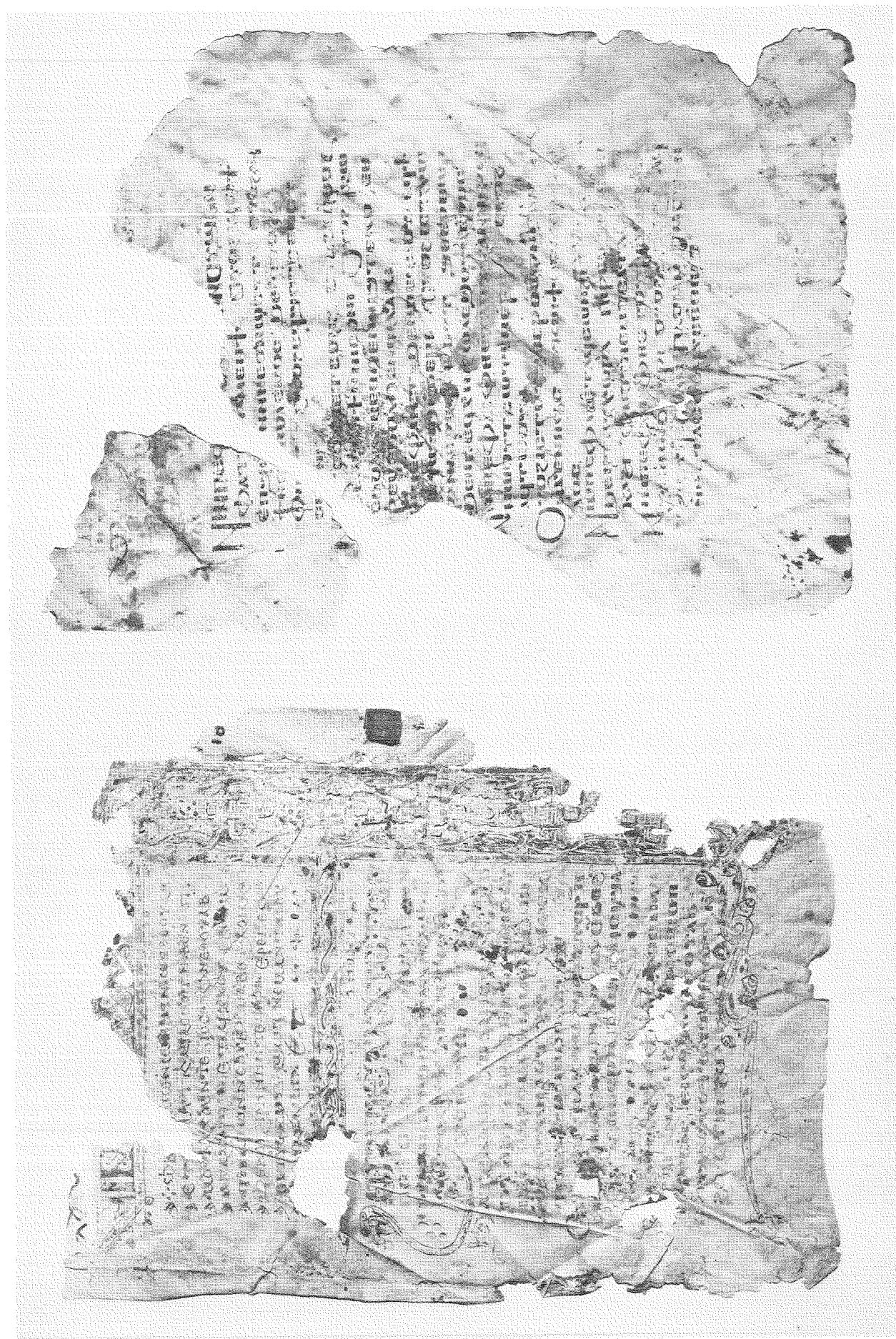
A. The Martyrdom of James the Persian (No. XIV, frag. I, p. 47).



3

B. The Martyrdom of Justus the Stratelates (No. XVI, frag. 7, verso, showing note in cursive script).





A

B

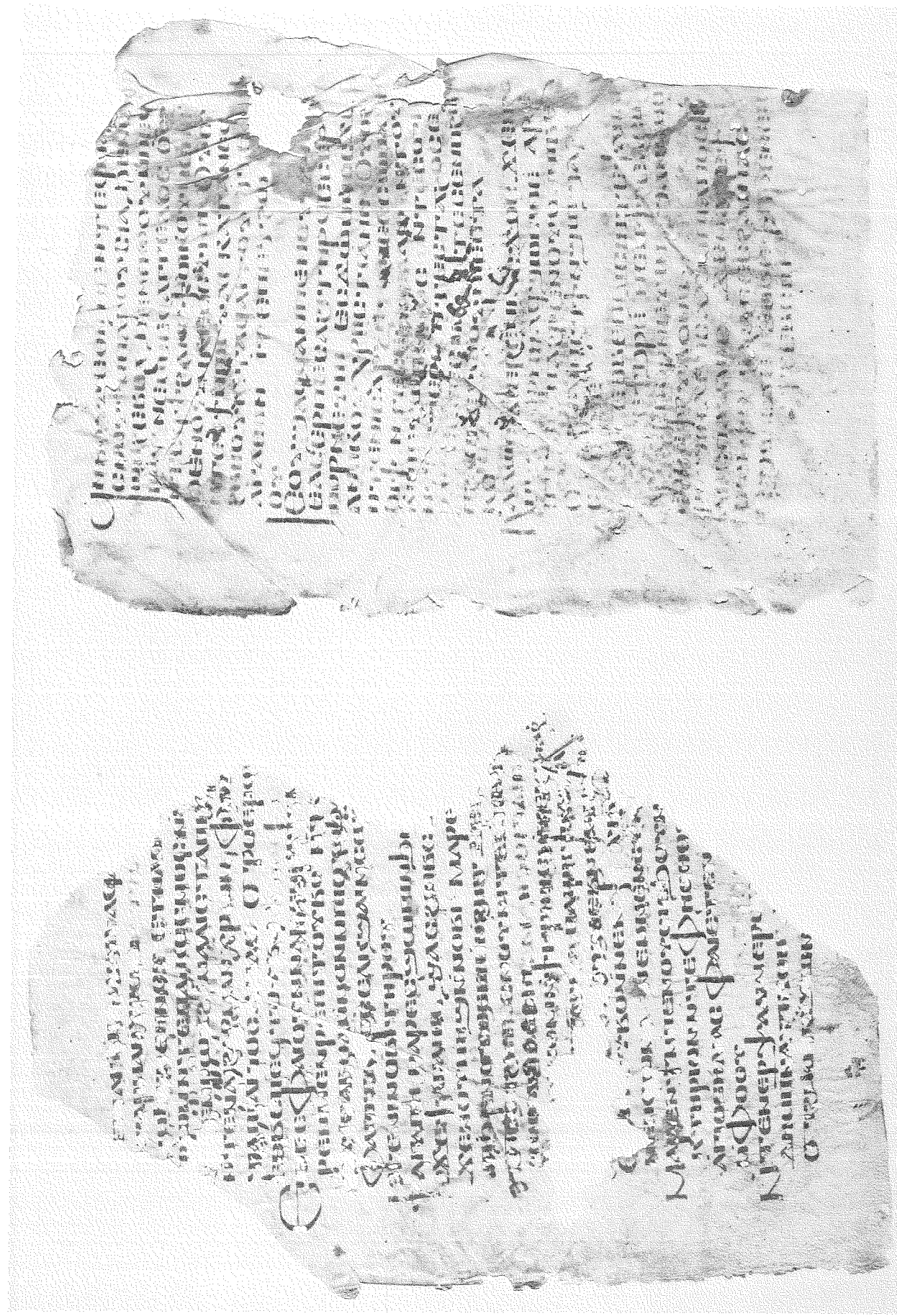
A. Life of Apa Hôr (No. XXXII, frag. 1, recto).

B. The Descent into Amenti (No. IV, frag. 1, recto).

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A Gregory Theologus, Homily on Christian Charity (No. XXXV B, recto).  
B. The Martyrdom of Thomas of Shentalet (No. XVIII, frag. 6, recto).



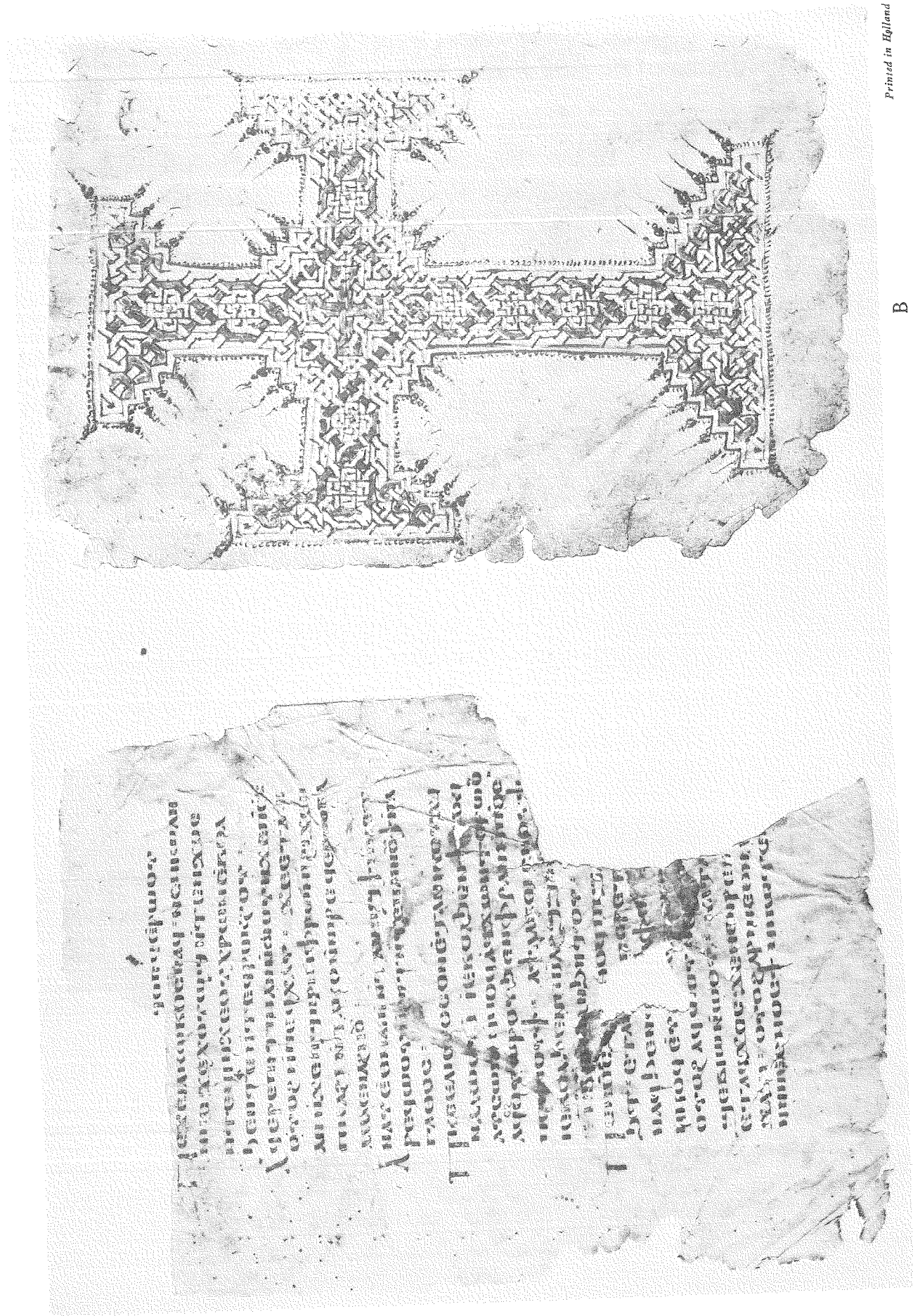


A

B

A. John Chrysostom, Encomium on the Prophet Elias (No. XI, recto).

B. Homily on Fornication (No. XXXV D, recto).



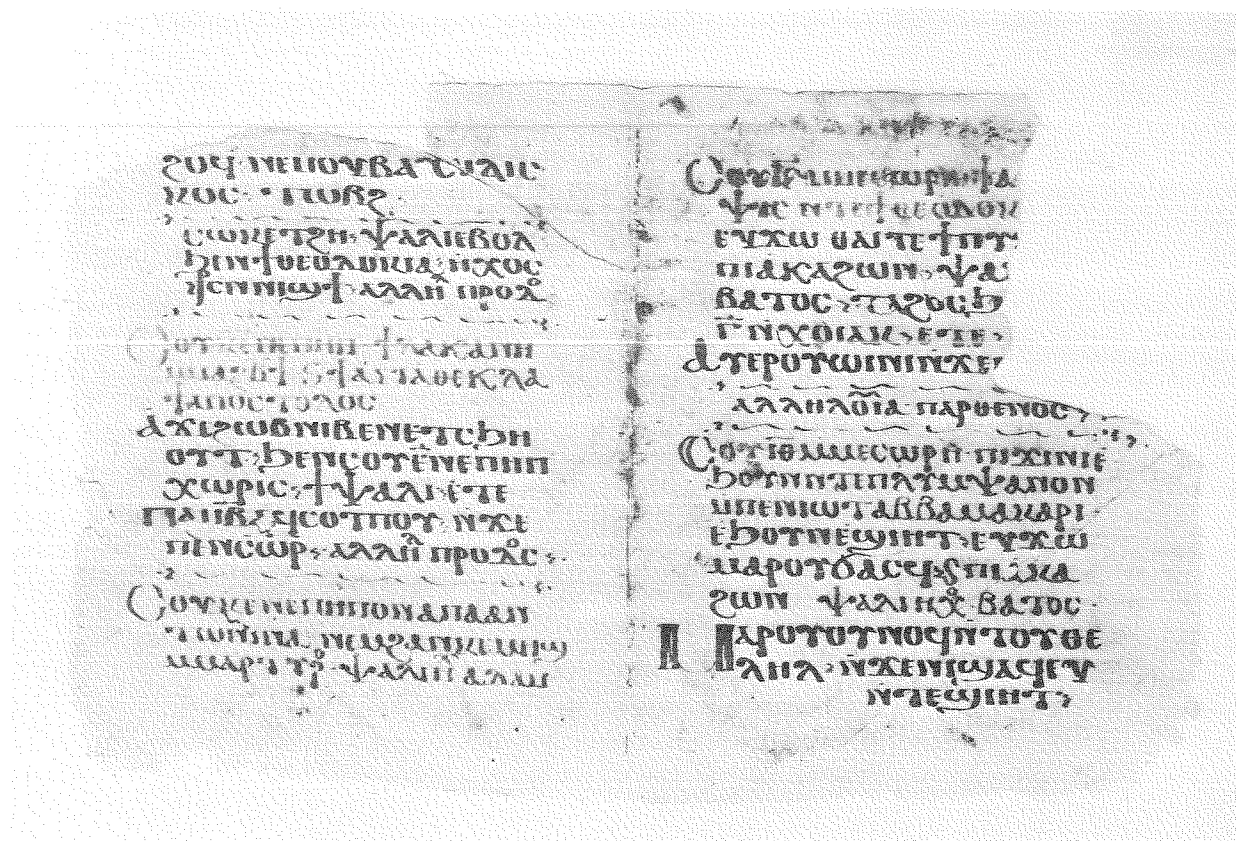
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A  
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A. Homily on the Long-suffering of Christ (No. XXXV C, frag. 2, verso).  
B. Frontispiece (from No. VI or No. XXXVII C, ii).

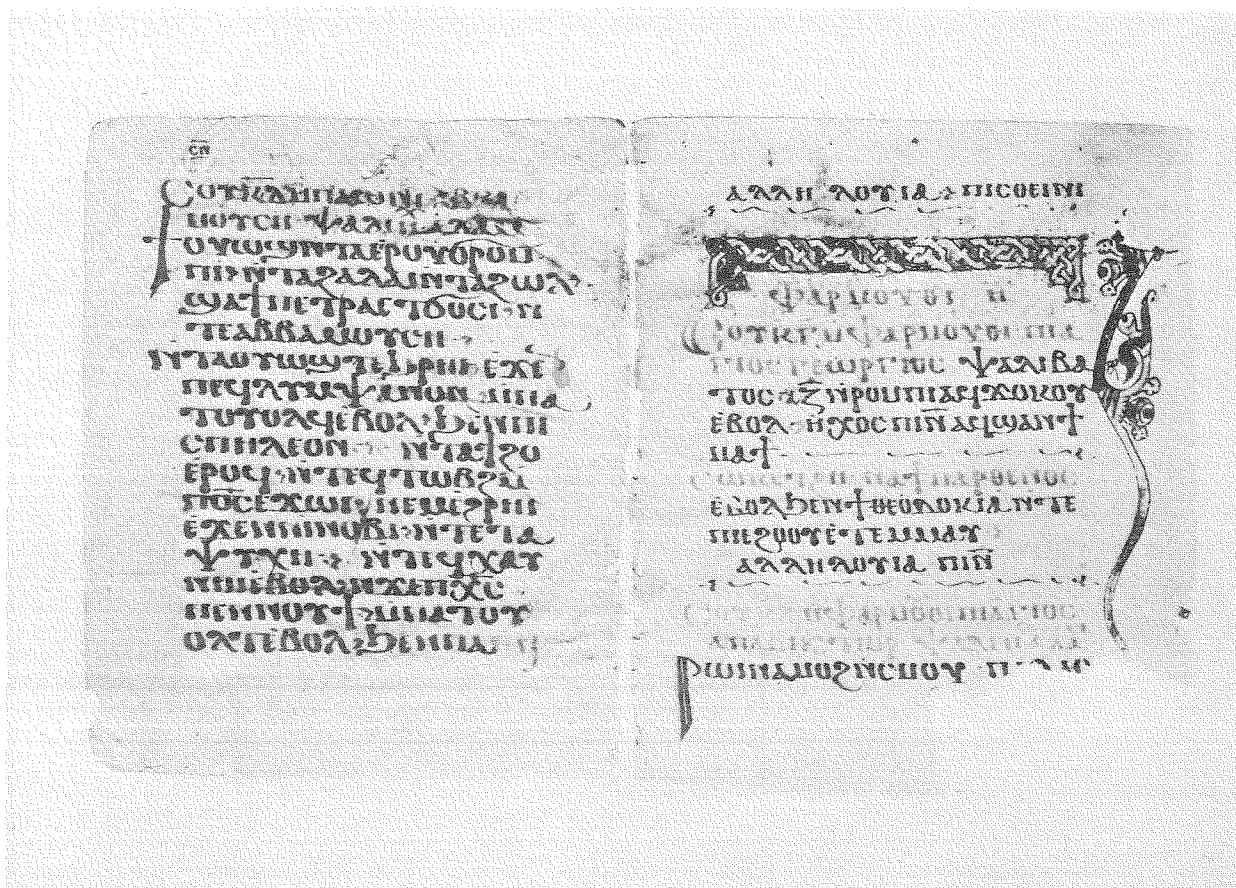








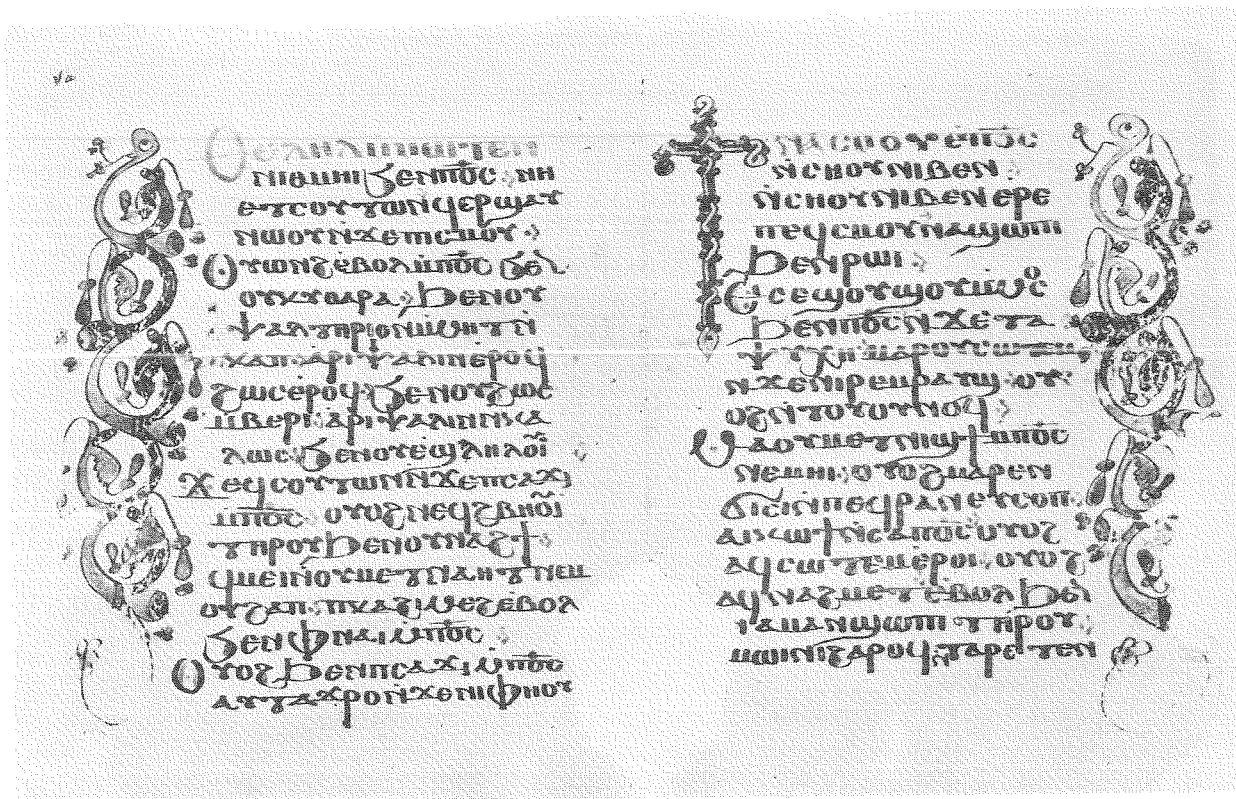
A



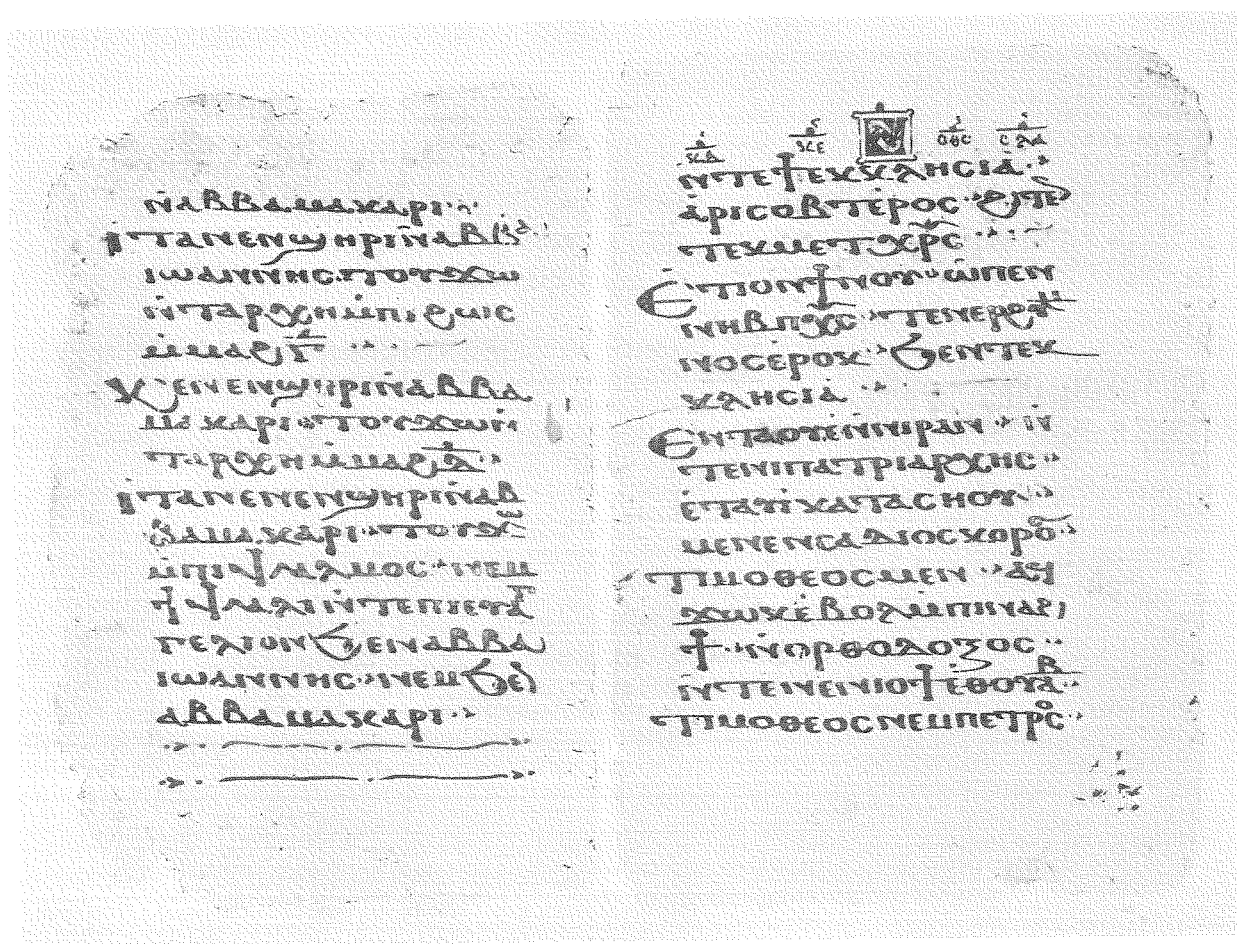
B

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A and B. Book of Hymns (No. XXXVIII G, frags. 12 and 9).



A



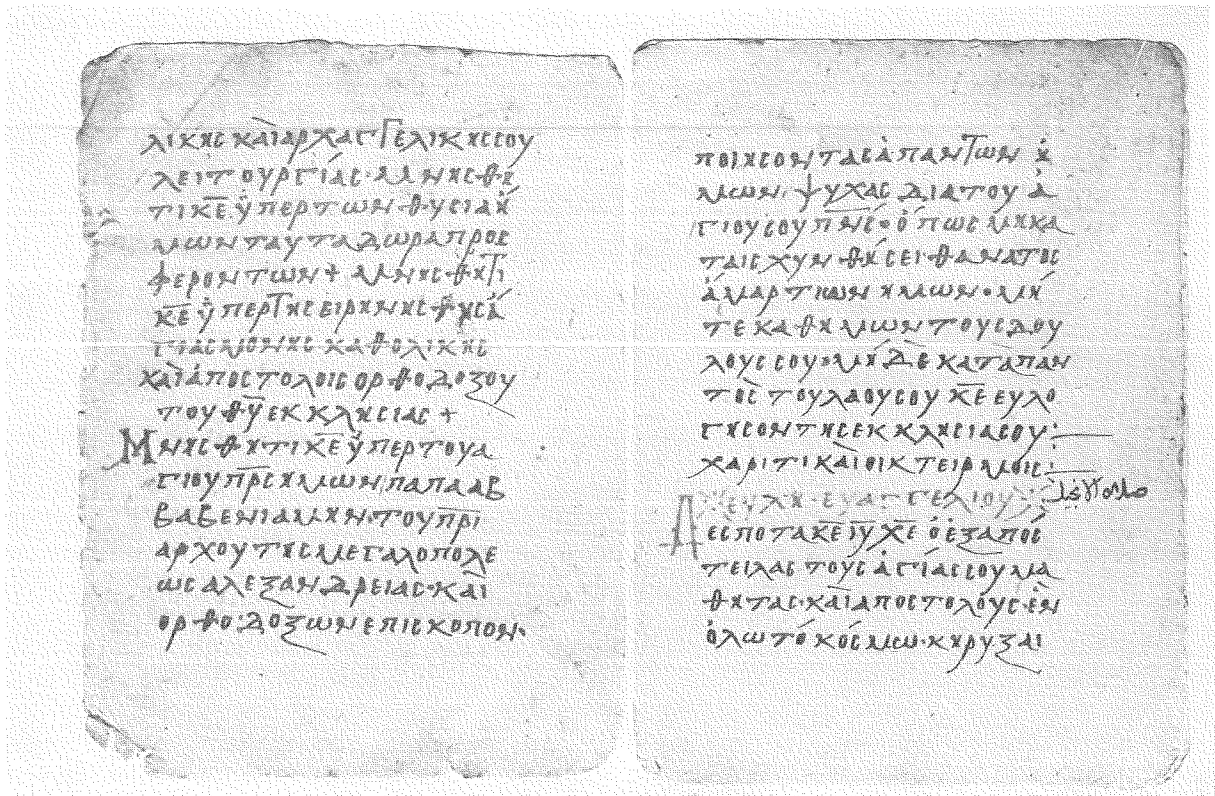
B

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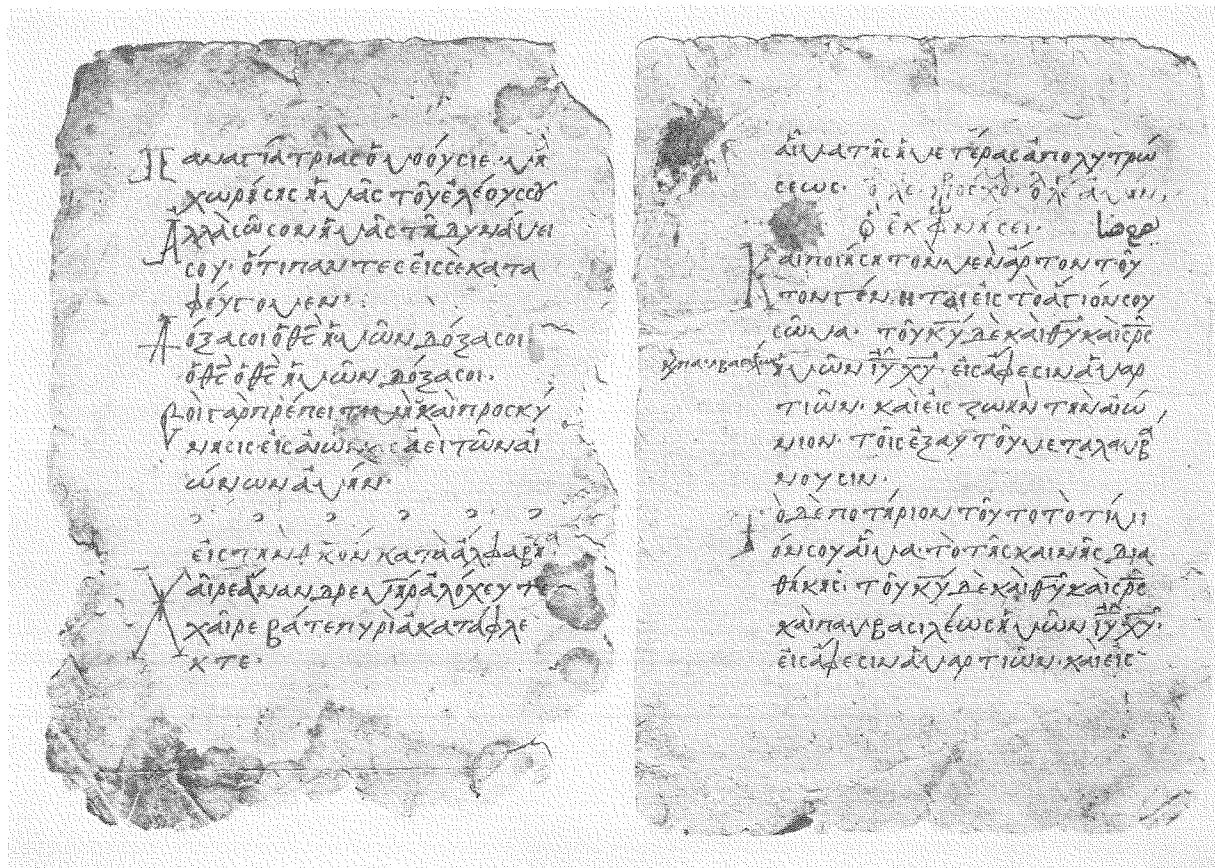
A. Psalter (No. XXXVII B, b. 3).

B. Fragments from the Theotokia.





A

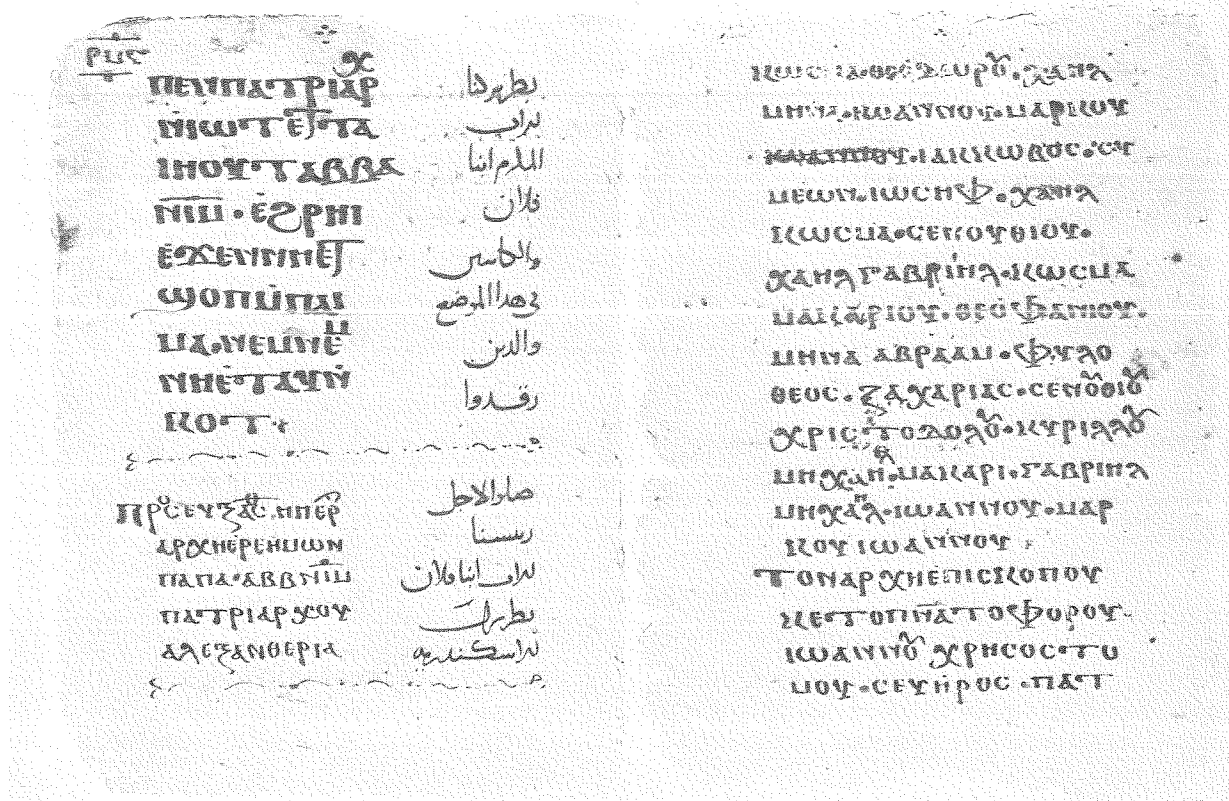


B

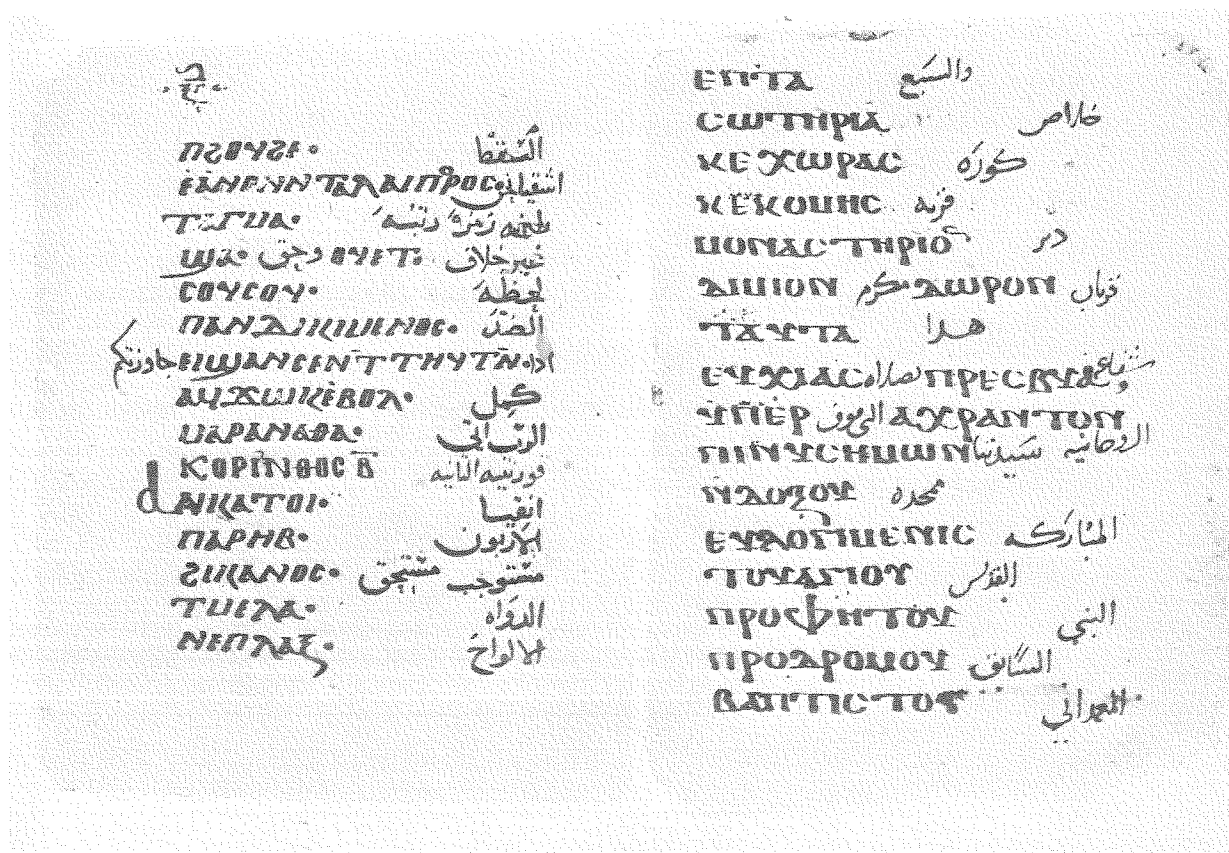
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A. Greek Liturgy of Saint Basil (No. XXXVIII, foll. 9<sup>a</sup>, 4<sup>a</sup>).

B. Greek Liturgy of Saint Gregory (No. XXXVIII, foll. 14<sup>b</sup>, 5<sup>b</sup>).



A



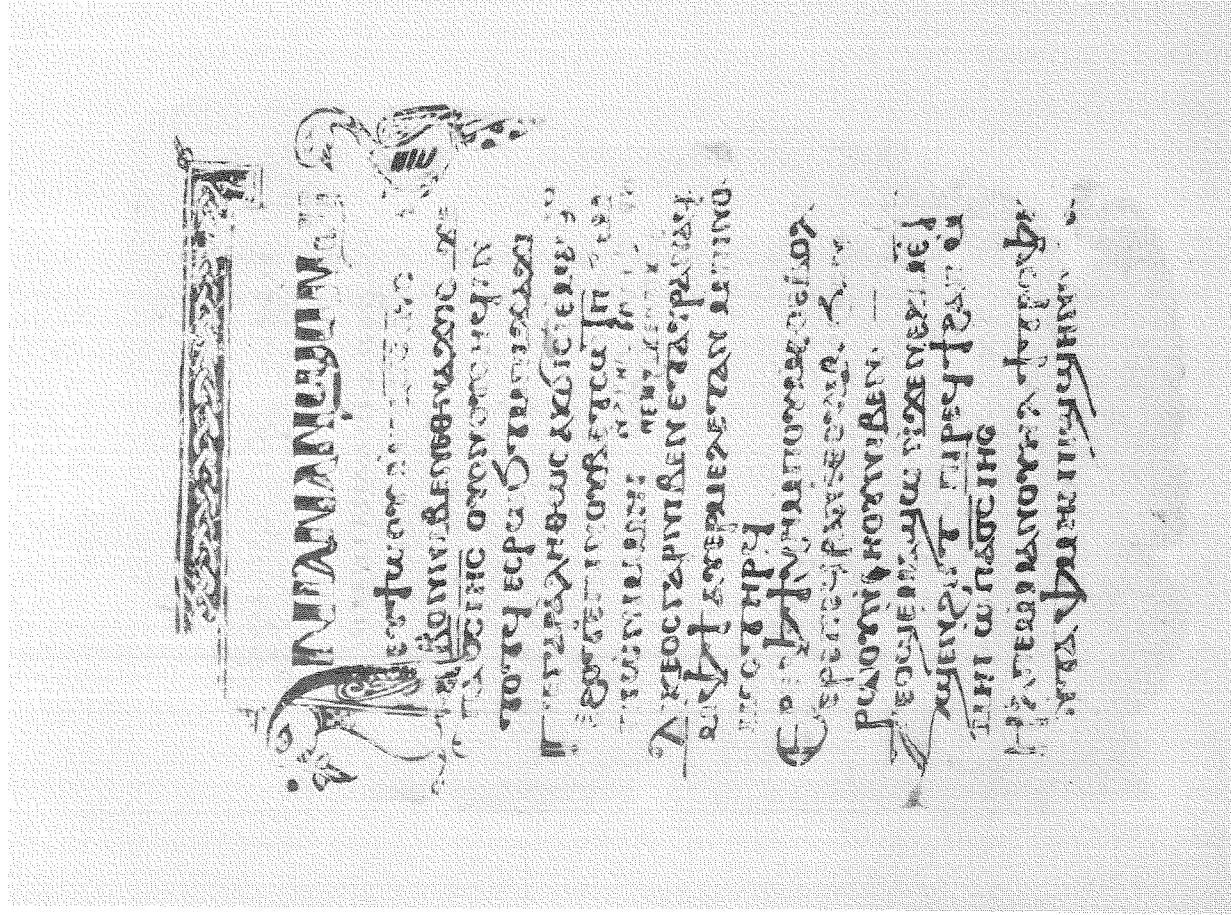
B (1,2)

Printed in Holland

A. Copto-Arabic Anaphora with fragment of the Diptychs (No. XXXVIII B).

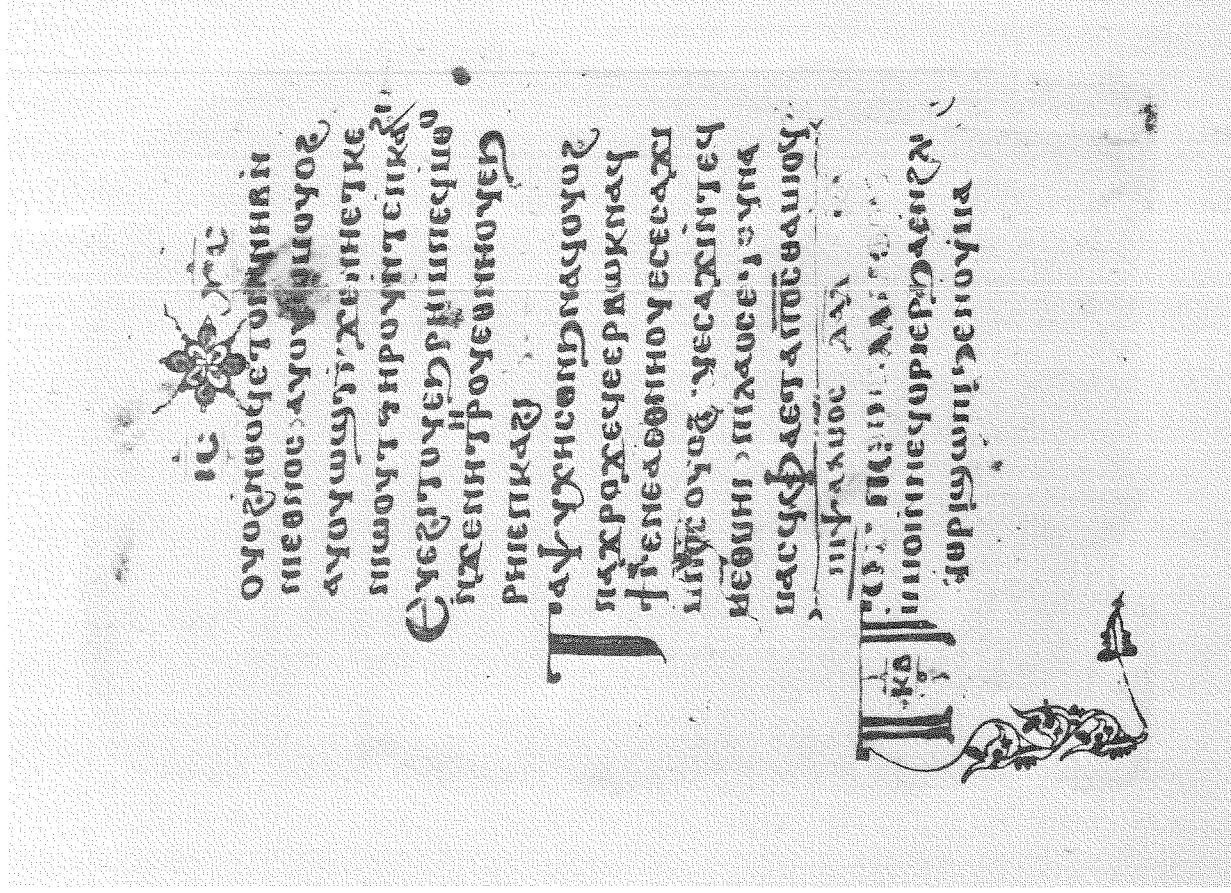
B. 1. Sahidic Vocabulary (No. XXXIX, 1).  
2. Bohairic Vocabulary (No. XXXIX, 9).





A

A. Alphabetical Psali from the Theotokia Supplement (Cairo, No. 93).

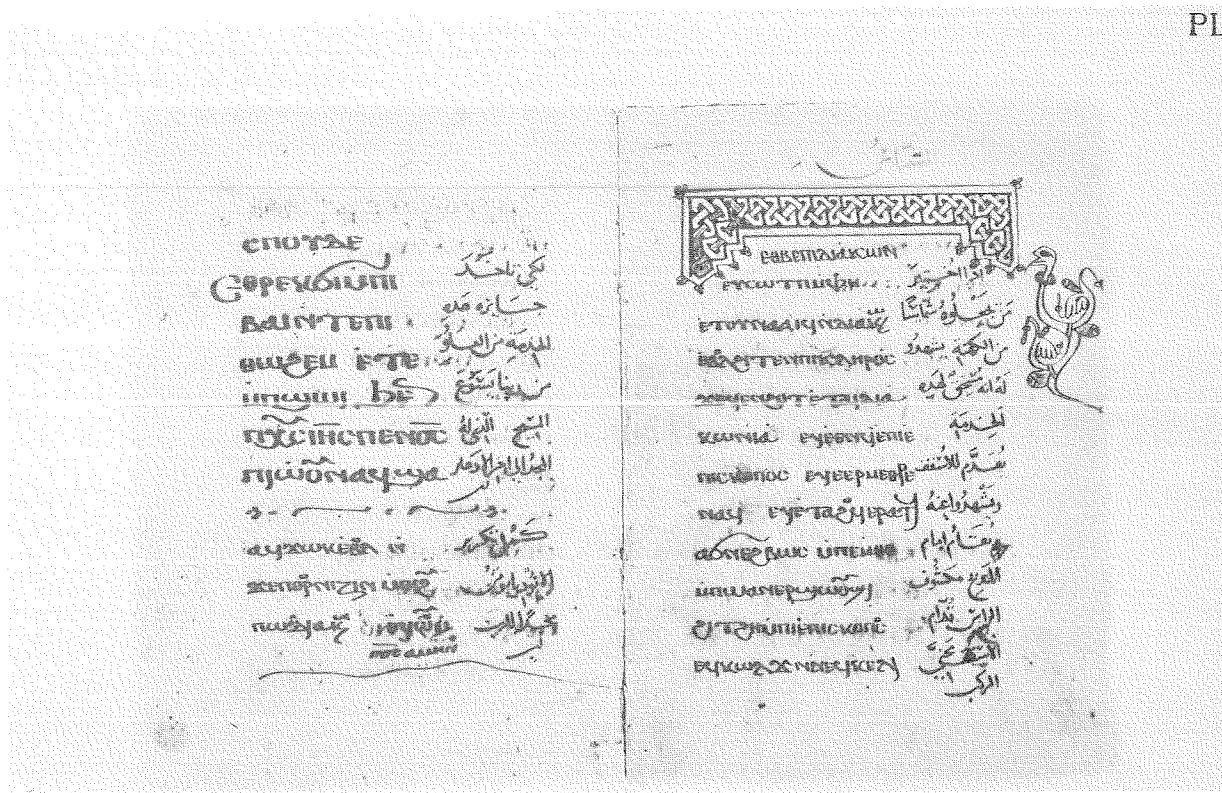


B

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B. Psalter (No. XXXVII B, b. 6).





A

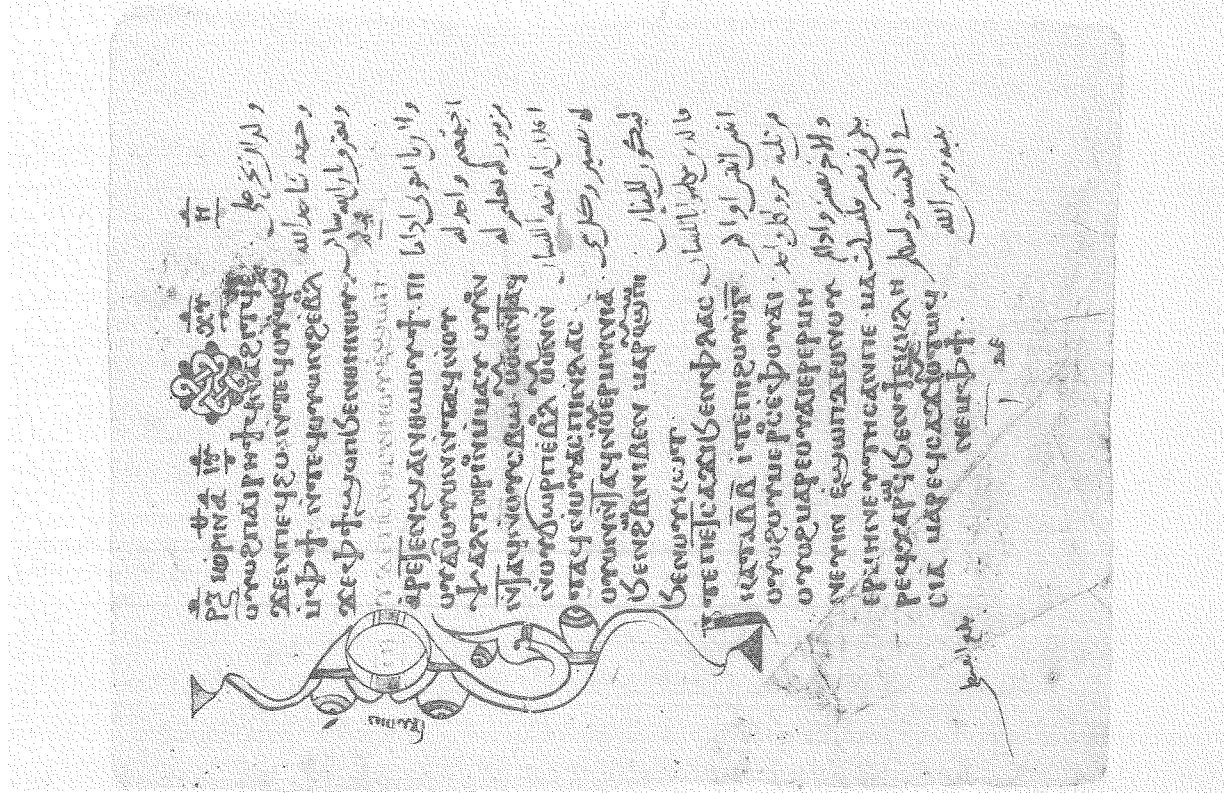


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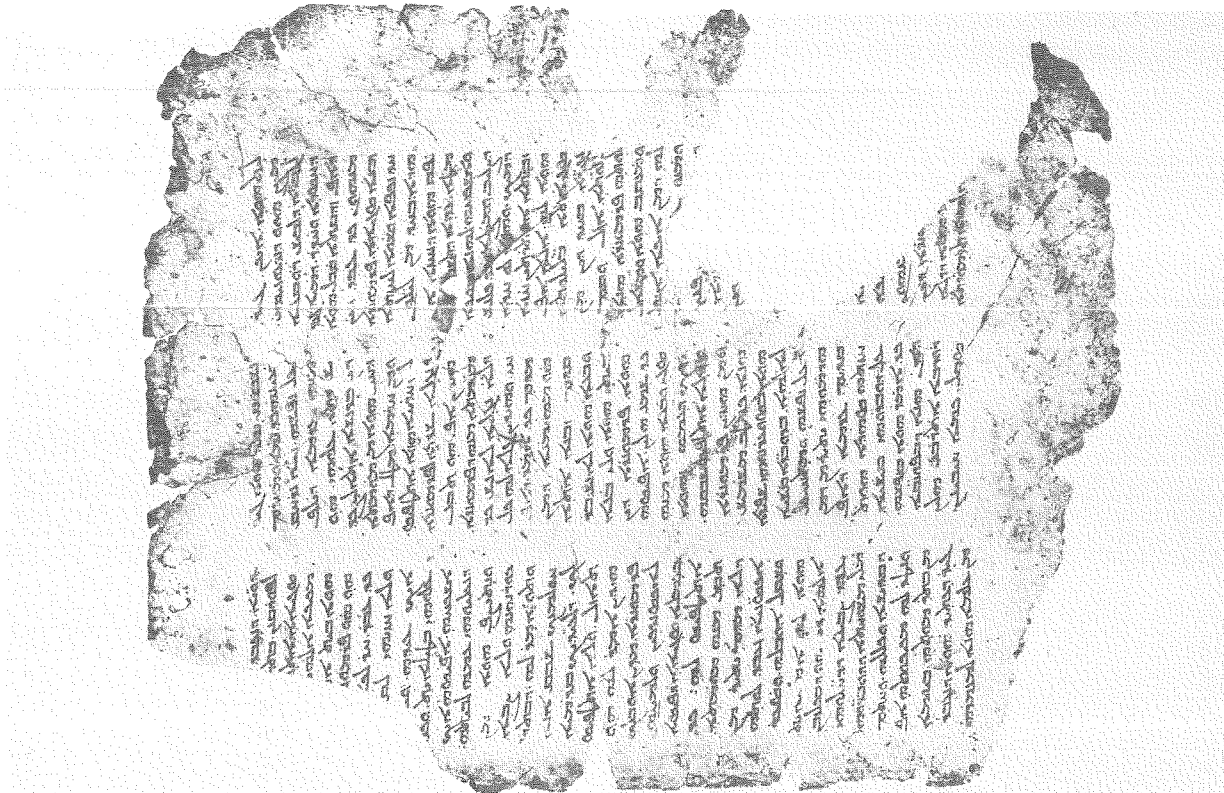
- A. Ordination of Subdeacons and of Deacons (No. XXXVIII C).
- B. 1. Horologion, Sahidic and Bohairic (No. XXXVIII D).
2. Theotokia for Wednesday (Cairo, No. 94, i).





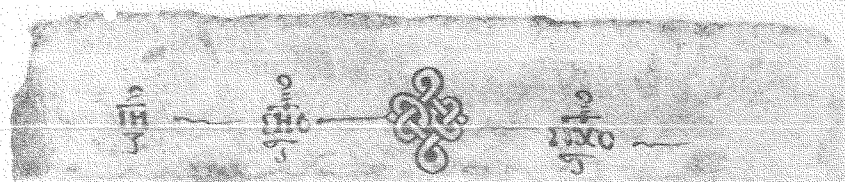
A

A. Epistle to the Corinthians (No. XXXVII D, fo. 5).

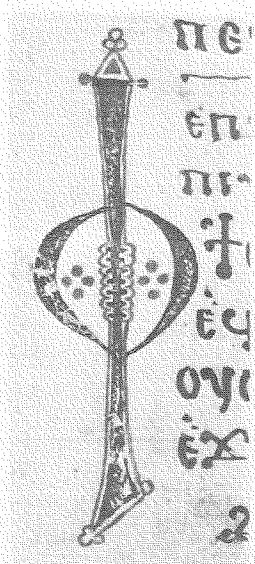


B

B. Syriac Life of Saint Alexius (Cairo, No. 113).



A



B



C



D



E

Examples of Coptic Penwork:

A-C. From the Psalter (No. XXXVII B).

D-E. From a Liturgical Fragment (Cairo, No. 98).