THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART
EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION

THE MONASTERIES OF
THE WADI 'N NATRÜN

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.¹

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

¹ I have not attempted to deal with the fragments of the numerous copies of the Theotokia: the new material has been utilized by Dr. De Lacy O'Leary in his Coptic Theotokia (London, 1923).
² The nature of the Coptic script calls for relatively short lines, which were probably adopted for that very reason by the ancient scribes. The long lines of many modern editions are hard to follow and are wearisome to the eye.
PREFACE

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

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

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

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

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

\(^1\) *H.N.S.*, Excursus.
PREFACE

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

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

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

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

In 1911–13 he was associated with Winlock in the Museum's excavations at Thebes—at the Palace of Amenhotep III and in the Assasîf—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
Hugh G. Evelyn White

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

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

1 Cf. MMA. Bulletin, July, 1920, Part II and November, 1921, Part II.
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their publication, together with the present volume, had generously been made in 1922 by Mr. Edward S. Harkness, Chairman of the Committee on Egyptian Art.

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

ALBERT M. LYTHGOE.
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SYMBOLS AND SUMMARY ABBREVIATIONS

I. IN COMMENTARY, NOTES, ETC.

A.A.C.M. = Architecture and Archaeology of the Coptic Monasteries in the Wadi `n Natrûn.
A.M.G. = Annales du Musée Guimet.
B.O. = Assemani’s Bibliotheca Orientalis.
Cairo = The Coptic Museum at the Church El Moallaka in “Old Cairo.”
Cat. = Catalogue, Catalogus.
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.
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.
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.

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 ἀμωμιοῦ, 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. 20, l. 14. For σῖμαι, read σίμαι
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 ἀμωμὶοῦ, read ἀμωμὶοῦ
P. 45, l. 11 ἀμωμὶοῦ, read as ms.
" (transl.) F, l. 8. For “Only,” read “else”
P. 46, l. 1. For ὁμωθέν, read ὁμωθέν (?)
" (transl.), l. 2. For “material creatures,” read “molten images”
P. 47, l. 5. For αἰὼμιοῦ, read αἰὼμιοῦ
P. 49, l. 8. For ἀμωμὶοῦ, read ἀμωμὶοῦ
note 2. For (Μων., read (Νοτ.
P. 50. Delete note 1 (text)
" (transl.), l. 5. Delete “and enchantments”
P. 51 to l. 2. For φωνῆ, read φωνῆ
... l. 8. For τὴν, read τὴν
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 to l. 17. For ἀμας, read ἀμας
P. 67 to l. 29. For εἰς, read εἰς
P. 68, l. 3. For γῆς, read γής
P. 70 to l. 3. For ἔρωτα, read ἔρωτα
P. 74, l. 9. For ἀποκατάληψις, read ἀποκατάληψις
" (transl.), l. 2. For “... of heart because of,” read “but I have had patience respecting”
P. 92, l. 1. For πειρατα, read πειρατα
" (transl.), l. 1. For “a dumb man,” read “a land-owner”
P. 95, note 4. For “see the Arabic Synax. Abl. 25 (ed. Forget, ii 244),” read “see Synax. Bañah 4, ed. Basset, pp. 1078 f.”
P. 96, l. 12. For ζητοῦντος, read ζητοῦντος
" (transl.), l. 4. For “(and) this statue also,” read “these seventy idiots,”
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 αἰὼμιοῦ, read αἰὼμιοῦ
" (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.”
" (transl.), l. 3 from below. For “I fear,” read “Needs must”
P. 130 (transl.) l. 5. After “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 ἤματιον, read ἤματιον
P. 151, l. 24. For πτερον, read πτερον
P. 154 to l. 15. For ὅπωρ, read ὅπωρ
P. 159 to l. 16. For ἔλεος, read ἔλεος
P. 160 (transl.). For “thousand (síc),” read “hundred”
P. 162 (transl.), l. 2. For “spring,” read “canal”
" (transl.), l. 5. For “heat (?),” read “cooking food”
P. 175, l. 6. For ὁ, read ὧν
.. l. 19. For ὅτα, read ὅτα
P. 176, l. 22. For προσ, read προσ
Delete note 2
.. l. 22. Read ἀνωρθωσις-εἰσερχομενος
INTRODUCTION

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


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; and the same monk consulted Macarius as to what he ought to do with the three cherished volumes which constituted his library. Paphnouti of Scetis also was falsely charged with the theft of a volume which a malicious brother had hidden in his cell.

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.

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, 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:

2. *id. t.*
4. The Tall Brothers possessed a collection of "excellent and canonical books" which were burned by Theophilus: see Palladius, *Dialogus de Vita Iohannis Chrysostomi* (Migne, *P.G.* xlvi, i, i, 24).
5. Sarapion ii.
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

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

Before his death a monk (we may suppose) often gave away to his disciples or companions such books as he possessed. But in many cases books must have been left undisposed of. These would have become the property of the community in general and have been stored at the Church, as the center of the settlement. The Church, indeed, was the one place in a monastic settlement of the early Antonian type where books would most naturally collect, where they would be most accessible, and least likely to be dispersed. Here at least there must have been a series of books for liturgical use, lectionaries, and collections of homilies. And to these would be added important doctrinal manifestoes, such as the yearly Paschal Letters issued by the Patriarchs of Alexandria,3 or standard works like the “book of the holy Athanasius” wherewith Sisoes routed his Arian visitors.4 Possibly it was from such a collection that the superior visitor to the Mount of Nitria was furnished with the book with which he was expected to beguile his time.5 The Church, then, in all probability was the center at which the monastic Library began to develop into a formal institution.

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

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

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

3 See Cassian, Collationes x, 2. 2. Similarly in 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 Cyrill, were preserved —though, indeed, these were inscribed upon a wall.  
4 Apophth. Patr., Sisoes xxv. The lemma prefixed to the Morgan Life of Maximus and Domitius asserts that ‘Pshoi,’ the author, wrote his work “in a volume (πομας) 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. cxxvii (pp. 245 ff.).
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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, it is highly probable that, as a stranger, he found his documentary sources 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 all the books existing in the primitive Monastery of Saint Macarius, whether publicly or privately owned, must have perished in one or other of the Barbarian Raids which took place in 408, 434, and 444 A.D.4

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

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1 Thomas of Marga, Book of the Governors, ed. Budge ii, p. 175.
2 Abbot Butler (Lausiac History 1, 85 f.) shows that Anan-Isho incorporated a Syriac recension of the Lausiac History in his work, but he need not necessarily have found this in Scetis. He cannot have depended to any very considerable extent upon oral tradition, and we may conjecture accordingly that he made use of the lost Coptic work known as the Paradise of Shfti written twice mentioned in the Life of Pisenti (ed. Amelineau, Mém. de l'Inst. égyp., ii, 339, 363), and more adequately noticed by Zacharias in the Life of John the Little (ed. Amelineau, A.M.G. xxv, 322 f.). It is there called The Book of the Old Men (παλαιοὶ πρεσβύτεροι) 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’ (Μονή Νητρίας) on a Theban ostracon (see Crum, Coptic Ostraca, no. 250; cp. p. 63 and note).
3 e.g. the Life of Maximus and Domitius by 'Pshoi of Constantinople.' A note prefixed to the Morgan ms. of this Life (cp. Cauwenbergh, Étude sur les Moines d'Égypte, p. 71, note 4) states that the text was carried by Apa Isidoros from Scetis to the Hospice at Alexandria when the desert Monasteries were destroyed by the Mastiki (Mazices). It remained there until the days of the Patriarch Michael when it was restored by a deacon Eustathius to a monk of Scetis resident at Enaton. Cauwenbergh assumes that the destruction mentioned was the Sack of Scetis temp. Damian, and identifies the Patriarch Michael with Michael I (744-767). But the Apa Isidoros who rescued the book is certainly identified with the fourth-century Isidoros the Priest (who died, however, long before the first Sack of Scetis), and this statement at least must be fiction. That the book was saved during one of the Sacks of Scetis is probable enough, but (unless the date of the Morgan ms. contradicts this) it is more likely to have been saved in the fifth and last Sack of the Monasteries (c. 817 A.D.) and restored under Michael II (850-851), or Michael III (881-909?). Yet the rescued ms. is likely to have belonged to the Monastery of Baramus rather than to the Monastery of S. Macarius.
4 H.N.S. i, x, §§ 3 ff.
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Monastery an annual subsidy, which afterwards became a permanent endowment, and thus enriched it materially.\(^1\) Secondly, the transfer thither of the Patriarchal throne of the Monophysites at the middle of the sixth century added to the place a peculiar ecclesiastical importance.\(^2\) Once more, however, any accumulation of books formed under these influences must have been dispersed when (towards the close of the sixth century) the Monastery was sacked for the fourth time.\(^3\)

For many years after this disaster the Monastery remained in ruins and utterly depressed, and it is unlikely that any attempt to form a new Library can have been made until the changed conditions following on the Arab Conquest led to a vigorous period of restoration. Then indeed (if we may trust our documents) we find the Patriarch Benjamin I, who had come to the Monastery to consecrate a new church of Saint Macarius, instructing his syncellus, Agathos, to “bring forth the books which are requisite for the consecration.”\(^4\) Presumably, therefore, the Monastery had already (about the middle of the seventh century) been reequipped at least with indispensable service-books. Some years later we hear that a certain Abba George, syncellus of the Patriarch Simon I (689–701 A.D.), compiled a history of the Patriarchs from Cyril I to Alexander II († 730 A.D.) “in the gebel (desert) of the holy Abû Makâr in Wadi Habîb;”\(^5\) and it is reasonable to suppose that this work—together with a copy of the more famous Chronicle by John of Nikiu—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.\(^6\)

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.\(^7\) That sack was peculiarly thorough, and we shall hardly err in assuming that the Library hitherto existing was completely destroyed: 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.

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

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1 id. ii, i, § 3.  
2 id. ii, iii, §§ 1–3.  
3 id. ii, iv, § 5.  
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. 296 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.
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to submit to a secondary enthronement there; and there some of the most solemn rites of the Coptic Church were celebrated.1 Thence, too, were drawn men to fill the episcopal sees, at any rate of northern Egypt. Then and through the greater part of the Middle Ages Dér 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 Dér Abû Makâr) in the Vatican is issued, it will be impossible to gauge with full assurance the growth of the Library; but the following list of dated or closely datable examples may roughly represent the development.2

(1) 830 A.D. Translation of Saint Macarius (fragment).3
(2) 884 A.D. Martyrdom of James the Persian, written by Cyriac, ‘son’ of the deacon Staurus, A.M. 600.4
(3) Ninth century, Archelaus of Neapolis, Sermon on the Angel Gabriel (by the same hand as the foregoing).5
(4) 914 A.D. Martyrdom of Macarius of Antioch (written by Jacob, the ‘son’ of John Kamâ).6
(5) 918 A.D. Moses of Keft, Encomium on Pisenti of Keft (written by the same Jacob).7
(6) 925 A.D. Martyrdom of Isaac of Tiphres (written by Theodore at the direction of Abbot (? Abraham of Colthâ).8
(7) 933 A.D. Cyril of Alexandria, Homily on the Three Children.9
(8) 950 A.D. Martyrdom of Saint George.10
(9) 957 A.D. Dioscoros, Elogium on Macarius of Thmû (written by Theodosius, ‘son’ of Mennas, priest of the Great Cell).11
(10) 962 A.D. Saint Athanasius, On the Three Patriarchs (written by a monk of Saint Macarius “whose name is known to God alone,” when Chael was archpriest).12
(11) 962 A.D. The Deaths of the Three Patriarchs.13
(12) 962 A.D. Basil of Caesarea, Sermon on the Monastic Life.14
(13) 979 A.D. Paphnouti, Life of Unefer (Onuphrius), written by Gabriel the Deacon.15
(14) Tenth century (first half), Martyrdom of Theodore the Eastern.16
(15) Tenth century, Gregory Nazianzen, Homily on the Sacrifice of Abraham (contains a note dated 995 A.D.).17
(16) Tenth century, Gregory Nazianzen, Homily on Poverty (contains a later note dated 1025 A.D.).18
(17) Tenth century, Martyrdom of Eusebius (contains later note as above).19
(18) Tenth century, Martyrdom of Saint Luke.20
(19) Tenth century, Life of Macarius the Great.21
(20) Tenth century, Menas, Elogium on Abba Macrobius.22
(21) Tenth century, Life of Joseph the Carpenter.23
(22) Tenth century, Life of Simeon of Mesopotamia.24

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 (Hyvernat, Album, Pl. 21).
5 id. LX (Hyvernat, Pl. 22).
6 id. LIX, 4 (Hyvernat, Pl. 22).
7 id. LXVI, 5 (Hyvernat, Pl. 42–3).
8 id. LXVI, 3 (cf. Zoégia, Cat., no. xix).
9 id. LXIX (Hyvernat, Pl. 24).
10 id. LXIII (Hyvernat, Pl. 26).
11 id. LXVIII, 7 (Hyvernat, Pl. 27).
12 id. LXVIII (Hyvernat, Pl. 29).
13 id. LXI (Hyvernat, Pl. 28).
14 id. LXVIII (Hyvernat, Pl. 29).
15 id. LXV, 3 (Hyvernat, Pl. 40).
16 id. LXI (Hyvernat, Pl. 41).
17 id. LXI (Hyvernat, Pl. 32).
18 id. LXV, 12 (Hyvernat, Pl. 30).
19 id. LVIII, 4 (Hyvernat, Pl. 31).
20 id. LXVIII (Hyvernat, Pl. 40).
21 id. LIX (Hyvernat, Pl. 41).
22 id. LVIII (Hyvernat, Pl. 33).
23 id. LXVI (Hyvernat, Pl. 34).
24 id. LXI (Hyvernat, Pl. 35).
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(23) Tenth century, Alexander, *Elogium on Peter of Alexandria.*
(24) Tenth century, *Martyrdom of Peter of Alexandria.*
(26) 1067 A.D. *History of Joseph the Carpenter.*
(27) 1153 A.D. *Acts of Isaac of Tiphres.*
(28) 1211 A.D. *Mark the Priest, Martyrdom of John of Phanidjit* (written by Peter, son of Abû 'l Farag).
(30) 1255 A.D. *Life of John Khâmê* (Kâmê), written by Paul, priest of the Church of Abû Shenûdah in Bebig (?).

If the list given above presents anything approaching a true perspective, 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.

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.* As stated above, 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 Dér Abû Makâr it is said that he continued on the episcopal throne seven years.” 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 Dér Abû Makâr, twenty-three years.”

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

1 *Cod. Vat. Copt. lxxi* (Hyvernat, Pl. 38).
2 *id. lxxii* (Hyvernat, Pl. 36).
3 *id. lxxiii* (Hyvernat, Pl. 42, 1).
4 *id. lxxvi* (== Zoëga, *Cat.*, no. xxv).
5 *id. lxxix* (== Zoëga, *Cat.*, no. xlvi).
7 *id. lx* (Hyvernat, Pl. 43).
8 *id. lx, 4;* edited by M. Davis, *P.O. xiv,* fasc. 2.
9 The fragments appear to corroborate the evidence of our list so far as the tenth century is concerned, but they also indicate that the later centuries were not quite so barren as they are represented to be.
10 Even in the early tenth century we find Arabic ousting Coptic, for it is definitely stated that the *Life of John the Little* was translated into Syriac from an Arabic version and not from the Coptic original.
11 Ed. Evetts, p. 8: “These histories were collected by the care of Abba Severus ibn el Mukaffa... who relates that he gathered them from Dér Abû Makâr and the Monastery of Nahya and other Monasteries.” Cpo also p. 32.
12 p. xxiv.
14 *id.*, p. 469.
15 *id.*, pp. 43 ff.
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fragments have been recovered (No. vi). 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. 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; but on the other hand very summary, if any, use is made of the Life of Timothy Aelurus, 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 Shenuda II written (about 1055 A.D.) by Michael, Bishop of Tinnis, as well as the lives of nine other Patriarchs. 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." 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
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Week, and the prominent position assigned to the great saints of Scetis 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, 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.” Though no fragments of Canons in Coptic are known to have been found there, it is beyond doubt that the Library at Dér 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.”

(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; the Armenian Monastery may have emerged in the eleventh–twelfth century, and the Abyssinian Monastery at the same period or slightly later. How far Armenian and particularly Syrian monks may have availed themselves of the Library at Dér 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 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 Khâmê, founder of a minor Monastery in Wadi ’n Natrûn, died in 859. More important is the fact that several Metropolitans of Abyssinia were selected from among the monks of the desert. In the Patriarchate of Yusâb or Joseph (830–849 A.D.) one John of El Baramûs was appointed to this dignity; under Cosmas III (920?, 923?) Peter a monk (presumably of the desert)

1 See Dillmann, Catalogus Codicum Ethiopicorum in Museo Britannico, no. XXVII (p. 30).  
3 Otherwise John Golobos or the Dwarf. It was second in rank of the Monasteries in Wadi ’n Natrûn.  
5 Crum (see Riedel and Crum, Canons of Athanasius, p. 81) observes that the Arabic text of the Athanasian Canons is certainly derived from a Bohairic version. Surely a copy of this version must have existed in the Monastery of S. Macarius.

6 Cod. Vat. Arab. DCLXII (= Mai, S.V.N.C. iv, ii, p. 184).  
7 H.N.S. III, ix, § 6.  
8 id. iv, v, § 4.  
9 Study of the Syriac mss. from Dér es Surîn might possibly furnish evidence as to this. A priori it is most likely that the Syrian monks would have availed themselves of so important a library, especially to make translations of the lives of Egyptian saints.  
10 P.O. vii, 345.  
11 See his commemorative inscription, A.A.C.M. III, iii, § 5.  
12 Others, probably, are unrecorded.  
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was consecrated; under Philotheos (981–1002?), Daniel of Déh Abû Makâr became Metropolitan; and in 1102 George, from the same monastery, held that office for a short time. 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. 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.

(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). A few instances may be noted: (1) An Arabic ms. at Paris* 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 by John Calliopaeus was transcribed from mss. at Déh Abû Makâr in 1379 A.D. (3) So, also, a copy of the Nomocanon of Makârah above mentioned was made there in 1372. (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. Further, we have definite knowledge of a ritual for the Blessing of the Altar “according to the rite of the Monastery of Saint Macarius,” 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

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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 Apollos 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.
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.

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

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

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

1 Cod. Vat. Copt. 1.
2 id. v (tenth century) probably came from Dēr Abū Makār, but even this seems to be a service book since the Canticles are appended.
3 See below, pp. xxxvii f.
4 Now in the Bodleian Library (Hunt. 17), described by Horner, Coptic Version of the N.T. 1, p. xxxvii.
5 See below, p. xl.
6 This is suggested by the numerous Arabic glosses written in the margins.
7 It was probably carried to Dēr es Suriān by J. S. Assemani from Dēr Abū Makār and accidentally left there.
8 See below, pp. xlf. The former are at Leipzig (Cod. Tisch. xxviii); for the latter see below, No. xxxvii e.
9 The pagination indicates that the copy was in two volumes.
10 This is contrary to the usual assumption that the Egyptians delighted in metaphysical subtlety. Yet the real Copts (as distinguished from the Hellenists of Alexandria) certainly judged of such questions as that at issue at Chalcedon on an entirely concrete level.
11 Cod. Vat. Copt. lvii.
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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.\textsuperscript{1}

Hitherto Der Abu Makår has not been recognized as a source of ‘primary’ apocryphal material.\textsuperscript{2} Secondary documents, indeed, such as the Discourses of Evodius and Theodosius on the Assumption, have long been known and published.\textsuperscript{3} But apart from the little-noticed\textsuperscript{4} 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 \textit{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\textsuperscript{5} 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\textsuperscript{6} is to be read “on Epep 14 in the Sanctuary of Abba Makari to the South;” the Martyrdom of Saint Apatip\textsuperscript{7} 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\textsuperscript{8} 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?

\textsuperscript{1} H.N.S. iii, vii, § 2.
\textsuperscript{2} For the use of apocrypha in Egypt (fourth century) see the \textit{Canons of Athanasius} (ed. Riedel-Crum, pp. xv, 33) where their reading is forbidden or discouraged; also \textit{Apobth. Patr. Sopater} (P.G. lxxv, 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 (\textit{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 \textit{Apocalypse of Adam} (see Renan, \textit{Journal Asiatique}, Ser. v, t. ii (1855), p. 452): “First hour of the Night; it is the hour of the adoration of the demons.”
\textsuperscript{4} Their importance has been remarked only by W. E. Crum, who was the first to point out that they belonged to a single ms.
\textsuperscript{5} Cod. Vat. Copt. no. lxii = Zoëga, Cat., no. lvii.
\textsuperscript{6} \textit{id.} = Zoëga, Cat., no. xxviii.
\textsuperscript{7} \textit{id.}, no. lxii = Zoëga, Cat., no. xxi.
\textsuperscript{8} \textit{id.}, no. lxii = Zoëga, Cat., no. lxxii.
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The suggestion may at least be raised in view of certain circumstances presently to be noticed.

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. The parchment fragments brought back from the Wadi 'n Natrun 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, internal evidence proves their derivation from this Convent; 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;" and (3) in respect of date, script, and general appearance their correspondence with the Vatican codices is close. 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, another dealing with the Translation of Macarius' body to Shiet. 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.

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.

1 Codd. Vat. Copt. LVIII–LXIX; see Mai, S.P.N.C. v, Pt. ii.
2 See Tischendorf, Anecdota Sacra et Profana i, pp. 69 ff. But in his Travels in the East (p. 52) Tischendorf mentions the discovery of certain parchment leaves and fragments in the Monastery of Macarius, but without stating what was their character. For a summary catalogue of these fragments see Leipoldt ap. Vollers, Kat. d. Isl., Christl.-Orient. ... Hss. zu Leipzig, nos. 1086–1090 b (Codd. Tisch. XXIV–XXX).
3 e.g., one fragment (Leipoldt ap. Vollers, Kat., p. 395 = Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 31) has a colophon written by a Psalmist "of the Church of our Father Abba Makari of Shiet." Others contain matter which is peculiarly 'Nitrian.'
4 loc. cit., p. 393 = Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 22.
5 As W. E. Crum informs me. Can the fragment Cod. Tisch. xxiv, t–2 (loc. cit., p. 388) from the Martyrdom of Anatolius the Persian actually belong to Cod. Vat. Copt. LXVIII, which is defective at the beginning and end?
6 Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 23 (loc. cit., p. 393).
7 Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 22 (loc. cit., p. 393). For the text of this and the foregoing fragment see below, No. XXIII C, D.
8 Rylands Cat., no. 438, the hand of which is described as 'Nitrian' in type. No. 441 is identified as belonging to Cod. Tisch. xxv, 11, fol. 1; no. 442 (probably) to Cod. Tisch. xxiv, fols. 14, 15 and xxvi, fol. 23; and no. 448 to Cod. Tisch. xxiv, fols. 43 ff.
9 On the relationship of the groups of fragments to one another and to the Vatican mss. see below, p. xliii.
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Zoëga has pointed out 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—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. 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 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, and even a number of Homilies appointed for certain days.

As we have already seen, 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,’ though indeed this may have been no more than a copy of the Nomocanon of the monk Makaráh.

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

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1 Cat., p. 4.
2 It was in 1626 that the Barberini Psalter was rebound; this may indicate some general effort to put the Library in order.
3 But since the various tracts were acquired by the Monastery at different dates and differed in size, it may have been impossible to bind them up in sequence. The apparent references to numbered volumes (see below, p. cxxxv) seem to indicate that the lack of sequence was an old-standing feature and not due wholly to the ignorance of later binders.
4 e.g., the Acta Martyrum (edited by Balestri-Hyvernat, C.S.C.O., Script. Copt., Ser. III, t. 1 (Arabic)).
5 Thus the MS. of the Life of Isaac by Menas has the rubric or note “(To be read on) the 9th day of Athor” (see P.O. xi, 302, note 1).
6 Above, p. xxviii.
7 See below, p. xxxvii.
8 If so, it may be the Paris MS., Bibl. Nat., Fonds arabe, no. 251.
with one exception their remains are all relatively late, dating at earliest from the twelfth or thirteenth century. Yet the fragmentary copies of the Theotokias, of the Dīfnār (Antiphonarium), and of the smaller collection of hymns recovered in 1921 may reveal local divergences from the normal medieval Egyptian uses.

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

The item last mentioned leads up naturally to mention of a side of the Library which was as large or larger, if less monumental, than the Coptic sections—the collection of Arabic mss. As Arabic became more and more the common, every-day language in use among the Egyptians, 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. It is quite impossible here to outline the scope of the Arabic collection, 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, and elsewhere came from this source, but he must examine the volumes so inaccessibly stored in the modern Library at Dēr Abū Makār, and must further sort and reconstruct the masses of leaves which still lie in the oublie−ette beneath the ancient Library. It is quite possible that he who will do so may

1 Below, No. xxxviii e.
2 See above, p. xxvi.
3 This is proved by the notes, glosses, etc., written in the margins of the mss.
4 For these see Mallon, Grammaire Copte, pp. 4 ff.
5 To evidence already cited add the significant statement of Severus (Hist. Patr., p. 17) as to the state of things in the tenth century. He informs us that he invited the assistance of certain “Christian brethren” to aid him in translating the materials for his History from Greek and Coptic into “the Arabic tongue current among the people of the present day in the region of Egypt, most of whom are ignorant of the Coptic and the Greek.”
6 See above, p. xxvi.
7 But generally speaking it can have comprised little more than versions of the Coptic works in the other side of the Library. Yet many of these Coptic originals are now entirely lost or survive only in fragments. Original works in Arabic were probably but few.
8 I suspect that many of the Christian Arabic mss. in the Bibliothèque Nationale come from this Monastery.
9 I must confess to being guilty of a grave error of judgment in not removing, when I had opportunity and permission to do so, all the ‘waste paper,’ Arabic as well as Coptic, lying in the Monastery.
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, 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; secondly, appreciable fragments have now been recovered of an ascetic work which though composed in Arabic is written in Coptic characters.

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.

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.

In the earlier Libraries, the last of which perished in 817 AD, there were doubtless many works in Greek. But, though the Coptic Church did not utterly abandon the use of Greek, 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 Déh Abû Makâr in 1259 AD; and we now possess twenty-five leaves from the Greek Anaphoras of Saints Gregory and Basil (No. xxxviii a). There are grounds for believing that Greek was occasionally used for liturgical purposes at other of the desert Monasteries.

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

1 Certain of them are mentioned above (pp. xxviii f.).
2 See *A.A.C.M.*, 1, 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.
3 See the text as edited by Dr. Sobhy in the Appendix. This work may even be partly identical with the *Paradise* mentioned or with the *Paradise of Delights* extant at Paris (de Slane, *Catalogue*, no. 279).
4 i.e. brought to the Monastery by monks from the Sa'id, or left there by chance visitors or pilgrims.
5 The Patriarch Macarius II (1103-1131) was 'proclaimed' in Greek, as well as Coptic and Arabic (*Synax.* Tbt 4, ed. Basset, pp. 6 ff.). Moreover to the present day passages in liturgical books are retained in Greek.
6 See Crum, *Theological Texts from Coptic Papyri*, p. 175. Note that a Melkite had to be called in to do the translation. Probably the Greek original is now lost, unless indeed it be one of the MSS. now in Europe.
7 Since one of these contains a petition of the Monophysite Patriarch, Benjamin II (about 1330 AD), this MS. cannot be of Melkite origin.
8 From the neighboring Monasteries of Anba Bishoi and El Baramus 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).
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the Life of Saint Alexius, by a second small parchment fragment, and by some tatters of a late liturgical paper book. They, however, are best regarded as 'strays' from the neighboring Dér es Surián.

5. The Decay 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. 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—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.

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; and it is possible that the tracts in the Vatican codices were put together and bound about the same time. 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.

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

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1 These fragments (recovered in 1921) are unnoticed below, but for the script of the first see Plate XXVI b.
2 See H.N.S. iv, x, § 6.
3 The monks themselves asserted (1921) that their Library was wrecked in an incursion of the desert Arabs, but they can assign no date to this event, which may be merely a confused recollection of the Barbarian raids in the ninth and earlier centuries. Yet the books may well have been very roughly handled when Muslim officials were sent to search the Monastery: cp. H.N.S. iv, vii, § 5.
4 For the note see P.Q. x, 217.
5 Many of the newly found leaves show rebacking and restitching which may have been done at this period.
6 Thus the Martyrdom of Apa Apoll (Cod. Vat. Copt. lixi) 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.
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being spared);\(^1\) then whole leaves were cut up to serve as ties or backing or even covers for other volumes.\(^2\) Other leaves met a more piteous fate, being used to line shelves or even to wrap round jar-stoppers.\(^3\) Much, also, was ruined by sheer neglect and the effects of exposure to damp or vermin.

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

6. The Dispersal of the Library.

So far as can be ascertained, the dispersal of the Library began in the seventeenth century. Pietro Gassendi\(^4\) informs us that the French bibliophile Peiresc "conceived very great hopes of obtaining out of the east both Coptic and other rare books... when about the very same time (1633) that very good man Aegidius Lochiensis (Gilles de Loches), a Capucin, returned out of Egypt. For he, being received with great exultation by Peireskius, ... told him of rare books which were extant in divers Convents and Monasteries. And remarkable it is how he saw a Library of 8000 Volumes,\(^5\) many of which bore the marks of the Antonian Age." Urged, probably, to follow up the clue furnished by de Loches, another Capuchin, Agathange de Vendôme, writes to Peiresc from Cairo on March 18, 1634,\(^6\) to report that he is on the point of securing a ms. of the Psalms written in six (sic) languages: Coptic, Arabic, Greek, Armenian, Abyssinian, and Syriac. The volume, he reports, is at the Monastery of Saint Macarius, and the Superior, who has already parted with a volume of 'Councils,'\(^7\) 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,\(^8\) "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."

On July 25, 1635, de Vendôme wrote\(^9\) 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,
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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.¹

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

News of this acquisition seems to have attracted other Europeans to the Monastery, probably in search of manuscripts. At any rate, graffiti in the Kasr at Dér Abû Makâr show that French visitors were there in 1640 and 1644.⁵ How far they or others like them were successful is unknown, but collectors like Colbert and Coislin certainly obtained Syriac mss. from the neighboring Dér es Suriân and may well have secured Coptic mss. from Dér Abû Makâr also.⁶ Later in the same century Wansleben ("Vansleb") attempted but failed to reach the Monastery. Had it been otherwise we should doubtless possess a really valuable account of the Library as it then was. In 1682–3, however, Robert Huntington, chaplain to the Levant Company, visited the Monastery and has left the following notice of what he saw there:⁷ "In the Library of this (Monastery), many manuscript codices are preserved, such as a large volume of Saint Chrysostom in Coptic on parchment, a colossal (elephantinus) tome on Saint Matthew by the same in Arabic (sic), lections of the Church for the whole year in four volumes in Coptic, etc." But apart from the single⁸ copy of the Gospels mentioned above, I do not know that he brought away any mss.⁹

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. xlvi.
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).
⁸ Of the items mentioned the first is certainly to be identified with Cod. Vat. Copt., no. lxxv (mai., S.F.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 1857 at the Syrian Monastery. For (i) the Curzon ms. certainly once belonged to Dér 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 τερμέναι τις μεταφεδεῖν εὐσκέιας κατὰ μάστον, follows Matthew i, 1 (a single line) and then a commentative passage beginning with the name ιωάννης πατριάρχης. 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.
⁹ 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.
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Early in the eighteenth century (1706) the Maronite Gabriel Eva paid a visit to Wadi 'n Natrūn and to Dēr es-Sūriyān, 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 Gabriel Eva or Elias Assemani may well have seen the Coptic MSS. there and have brought back the information on which his cousin Joseph was to act later.

Claud Sicard the Jesuit first visited the Monastery in 1712. Unfortunately he devotes 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."¹

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."² Doubtless Assemani with his rich booty felt scorn for the heaps of loose and tattered leaves which he must have seen in the Library: yet the "greedy" gleaners who have followed him have not gone unrewarded.

Sonnini (1778), as is well known, was deterred from visiting Dēr Abû Makār; but his account of the Library at Dēr el Baramūs 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."³

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.⁴

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, extant record of Assemani's achievement, but possibly his correspondence, if preserved, would expand the story.

1 For both Gabriel Eva and Elias Assemani see J. S. Assemani, B.O. i (Praefatio).
2 Lettres Édifiantes, t. v (Levant) p. 21.
3 See Assemani, B.O. i, Praef., § x: "Ab his Monachis [S. Macarii] codices Coptico sermone scriptos accepimus optimaet notae... nec alios habebant qui hominem etiam cupidum morarentur." So far as I know, this is the only
4 Travels in Upper and Lower Egypt (trans. Hunter), ii, 162.
5 Mém. sur la Vallée des Lacs de Natroun (Descr. de l'Égypte: État Moderne i, 279 fl.). Can any of the volumes taken by Andréossy be identified at Paris or elsewhere?

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

Somewhat later Lord Prudhoe (1828) visited EI Baramūs and the other western Monasteries, though he is not known to have penetrated to Dĕr Abû Makār. Robert Curzon (1837), who was so fortunate at the Syrian Monastery, states definitely that here he saw none but the Church books.\textsuperscript{3}

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.”\textsuperscript{4} Most or all of these “fragments and loose leaves” passed, when Tattam’s own library was sold (June 16, 1868), into the possession of Lord Lindsay and are now in the Rylands Library at Manchester.\textsuperscript{5}

But a few years later (April, 1844) the Biblical scholar, Constantine Tischendorf, visited Dĕr Abû Makār as well as the other Monasteries and found there a mass of leaves and fragments, now preserved in the University Library at Leipzig\textsuperscript{6} 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:\textsuperscript{7} “The special locality set apart for the Library in the several Monasteries is the tower chamber (sic)... Here are to be seen (I speak of the first Monastery [= Saint Macarius]) the manuscripts heaped indiscriminately together. Lying on the ground or thrown into large baskets beneath masses of dust are found innumerable fragments of old, torn, and destroyed manuscripts.\textsuperscript{8} I saw nothing Greek;

\footnotesize

\textsuperscript{1} Since the new find includes many leaves from the selfsame Psalter (see below, No. xxxvii i; 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.).

\textsuperscript{2} These include: (1) Fragments of a Sermon on Penitence (op. cit., pp. 203 ff.: to this possibly belongs our own No. xxxv r, 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.

\textsuperscript{3} *Visits to Monasteries in the Levant* (1849), pp. 82 ff.

\textsuperscript{4} See Quarterly Review, LXXVII, p. 58.

\textsuperscript{5} The following can be identified with certainty as being derived from Dĕr Abû Makār: 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.

\textsuperscript{6} Codd. Tisch. xxiv–xxix (cf. Tischendorf, *Anecdotα Sacra et Profana*, p. 61) are all certainly from Dĕr Abû Makār. For the contents see Leipoldt *op. Vollers, Kat. d. Islamischen, Christl.-Orient. Hss. zu Leipzig*, nos. 1686 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.

\textsuperscript{7} *Travels in the East* (English translation), p. 52.

\textsuperscript{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.
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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.”¹ Doubtless this exploit was grossly exaggerated;² and if he really made away with any mss., these are likely to have been Church books or possibly Arabic mss., and not the ‘débris’ with which we are particularly concerned.

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

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

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

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

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

1 Almost invariably the parchment leaves had been roughly folded twice or thrice, and besides, being much twisted and crumpled, were parched and highly brittle.
2 This was, of course, a deplorable piece of weakness, since I was authorized by competent authority to carry away the whole deposit. As stated above, the Arabic leaves may quite possibly include fragments of really valuable works; but I hope and believe that little or nothing of primary importance has escaped me so far as Coptic leaves are concerned.
3 If another should ever have the opportunity of exploring this ‘waste-paper room,’ he should be forewarned that it is entirely lightless and airless and that every movement raises choking clouds of fine dust which cannot be dispersed. Furthermore, the ancient timbers overhead swarm with voracious vermin which are roused to activity by the light or warmth of candles, and the proximity of a latrine adds a final touch of unpleasantness.
4 To illustrate the accidents which beset the working archaeologist I may add that I was nearly arrested at the railway-station of Khatatba at the instance of the Abbot of another Monastery, who had hastily concluded that my spoils were snatched without his leave from his own Convent.
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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. I) 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 Paesi and Thekla (Nos. xviii–xxi), or the Lives of Pidjimi, Timothy Aelurus, and Apa Hôr (Nos. xxix, xxxi, xxxii), if known at all, are known only in the brief résumés included in the Synaxarium.

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

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

3 For further examples see Nos. xx, xxxi, xxxiii 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 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.

8. The Library and Technique of the MSS.

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, where a room was set apart for their accommodation: this book-room was known in Coptic as ṣerēpōrt or in Arabic as الوتراني.

In the Monastery of Saint Macarius the small chamber with the oubliette, situated in the southwest angle of the second floor of the tower, 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, no fittings being apparently provided. There is some evidence that to facilitate reference the volumes in the Library were numbered (see below on No. XXXVII E, 3, note, and G, frag. 12). This is borne out by a 'rubric' in the Vatican MS. of the Martyrdom of Apatil, where some reference is made to another work to be read on Epep 16 with the direction ṣeben ṣwd ᵃ سيتم ᵃREET, 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; though we hear once 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. IX (quoted by Horner, Coptic Version of the N.T. 1, p. lxx 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. cclexxiv [p. 305]).
4 See Zoega, Cat., no. XLIV (p. 66); cf. Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 31 verso.
5 Hist. Patr., p. 469.
6 See A.A.C.M. 1, 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 (onkn) of old books. So, too, Shenut 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 Zoega, Cat., no. xxv (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. 111, pp. xvii f., and H.N.S., Plate ix).
10 See Zoega, Cat., no. x (pp. 7 f.).
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of the sacred writings” (αυτήν τὴν ἐνυπαρξίαν εὐαγγέλων) 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.  

Nothing like the scriptorium of a Western Monastery seems to have existed. Copying was indeed sometimes carried on in a ‘common room,’ 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. 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, 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.

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

The ink used is ordinarily a deep and glossy black, unfortunately quite soluble and liable to flake off the parchment. This is perhaps the ink which “the Egyptian Fathers who lived in this desert used for writing.” The recipe is preserved in a ms. from the neighboring Dér es Surián 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

1 See Wright, op. cit., no. xvii.
3 See H.N.S., iv., iv., § 2 (and reference).
4 See Wright, op. cit., no. CCCXXVIII (p. 274).
5 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.”
6 I found not a scrap of papyrus at the Monastery of S. Macarius. Probably it was quite unknown there from the ninth century downwards.
7 A Coptic recipe for the preparation of parchment has been edited by Crum (P.S.B.A. xxvii, 166 ff.).
8 See Wright, Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum, no. DCXCV (p. 580).
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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, 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. 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 then set to work. The title of the tract to be copied was written in small, informal uncial 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, 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: where natural pauses occurred the scribe left a short blank in which the rubricator 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

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1 Such boards are still used in the Monastery of S. Macarius for ruling manuscript-paper.
2 The letters 'hang' from these guide-lines.
3 From the ninth to tenth century the division of a page into two columns had evidently been abandoned by Bohairic scribes (except in the case of bilingual texts, when Arabic and Coptic, of course, are inscribed in parallel columns).
4 Thus in No. xxix, frag. 4, verso, the grouping is TEDDENEPCTPA/TAP/OCXEN/XEN/MA/COPTOTO/TOUK-

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xlvi
INTRODUCTION

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

The number of quires in the ms. varied, of course, with the length of the work which it contained. In parchment mss. four sheets (i.e., eight leaves or sixteen pages) usually made up the quire or gathering. Occasionally (doubtless for exceptional reasons) the quire seems to have contained an odd number of folios. Each quire was numbered on its first and last page, and ordinarily either the folio- or page-numbering was marked on the verso of every leaf.² In addition, the first and last leaves of every quire (sometimes every leaf or page) received a small central ornament in its upper margin—a cross or a quatrefoil of interlaced work alternating with the abbreviated words of the Sacred Name and Title, such as phiale πη αμαθας θεος (sic).³

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

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

¹ 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 Dér es Surîn there is a full page containing miniatures of the Four Evangelists.

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

³ Sometimes an invocation is substituted, such as τη αμαθας θεος: “Jesus the Christ, have mercy on me.”

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

⁵ See Žokga, Cat., nos. xix (pp. 21 f.), xliv (p. 65), lvi (p. 105).

⁶ For examples of the anathemas inscribed in books see H.N.S., Excursus, § 8 (Anathema of Severus or Cyriac), and Horner, Coptic Version of the New Testament, 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,¹ but for the most part they are, if undated, of slight or of no importance, as are the examples seen in Nos. xvi, Frag. 7, and xxIII b, Frag. 2.

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. vix = 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 γα (‘unto’) followed at a longer or shorter interval by οὗτος (‘read’), and the note γράφει (‘translate it’) in No. xxIII d, appended to a citation from the Psalms. The two former seem to indicate that the intervening passage was to be omitted in public reading: the second may have signified that the citation was to be rendered in Arabic.² (3) The new fragments contain no notes or colophons of historical or topographical value such as occur in the Vatican MSS. Yet palaeographically and for the light it throws on the medieval pronunciation of Coptic the note appended to the Martyrdom of Justus (No. 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 θ, 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 ἁνεφ-, μείναε. It is also added to a number of Coptic vowels, such as the verbal prefix ἡ when separated from the verbal stem; to the pronominal prefix ἢ; to the prepositions ε, ἐσοντσ, ἐσολ, &c.; to ο and to i (especially when final) as in ὅι, τονημ and ἵμ; and to ώ and ω as in ταδ, ὅμ, ἐρωτώ. Initial and final θ (also medial α, ι, ο) in Greek words are similarly marked: e.g., ἀντιγκια, ἀποκαλυπτάος, ἀπος, ἀρέαος. But in all these respects the fragments are strictly parallel with their fellows, the Bohairic MSS. in the Vatican.

¹ The statement of Joseph the Deacon concerning El Hakem’s persecution (Zoega, Cat., no. liv, p. 106).
TEXTS
AND
TRANSLATIONS
I. APOCRYPHAL FRAGMENT ON ADAM

Parchment. Two leaves (Cairo, no. 22), numbered on the versos ρας, μη, and forming a single sheet from a quire. Since the numeration is apparently by folios, 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 x 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. 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, at once comparing and contrasting Abel and Christ. Though the text has elements in common with such works as the Ethiopic Book of Adam and Eve, the Book of the Bee, and the Old Testament History lately translated from the Ethiopic by Grébaut, 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. Of this practically nothing beyond the title is known; but it is possible that there was at least some connexion between our fragment and the Penitence. For the situation at the close of the former can have developed only into a reconciliation between Christ and Adam.

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

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., xvii (1911), pp. 171 ff.
7 See Preuschen, Analeda, p. 154; James, Lost Apocrypha of the O.T., pp. 1 ff.
8 Cp. No. iv.
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." So Cain was wroth against Abel his brother, because God loved him (Abel) more than him.

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

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

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.

They thrust a spear into His holy side, and thereout came water and blood which fell upon the ground. The depths were troubled, because He unto whom they did all this was God: the luminaries 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...
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NOTES

Fo. 24 recto


I. 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).

I. 14-26. *Genesis* iv, 4-7 again closely followed.

I. 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

I. 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."

I. 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).

I. 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.


Fo. 28 verso

II. 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."

II. 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).

II. 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.

II. 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).
II. ACROSTIC HYMN ON THE NATIVITY

Paper. Four leaves (imperfect), 25 x 17 cm., from the first volume of the Dīfār (No. xxxviii f.). For the hand and style see Plate XVIII a (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. 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. 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, 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 Dīfār.

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.

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.

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.

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. 32r.
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIA

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

With the Angels let us praise Him!

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

With the Angels let us praise Him!

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

With the Angels let us praise Him!

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

With the Angels let us praise Him!

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

With the Angels let us praise Him!

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

With the Angels let us praise Him!

¹ Cp. Psalm L, 2 and xlvii, 5.
⁴ Cp. Mat. i, 21.
10 And lo, the days were accomplished that the Virgin should bear Our Savior. She said unto Joseph: "Help me; for He Who is in my womb would come to birth."

With the Angels let us praise Him!

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

...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... 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 x 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 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, 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 Evangile des xii Apôtres. 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.)

\[ ... \]

\[ ... \]
THE DESCENT INTO AMENI

"Verily I say unto you that this one (Gestas) also departed and received the portion of Judas in Amenti.

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

NOTES

IV. THE DESCENT INTO AMENI

Parchment. Four fragments derived from two distinct MSS.

Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 61. i), 29.5 x 23 cm., is a nearly complete leaf, numbered on the recto II. 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 makeshift title.

Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 61. ii), 16 x 22 cm., is the upper portion of a leaf numbered II. 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 x 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, brought by Assemani from the Monastery of S. Macarius, our fragment answering to folios 13670 l. 2—13770 l. 14.

Frag. 4 (Cod. Tisch. xxvi, 181), measuring 26 x 20 cm. and numbered II, 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.

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

1 See Leipoldt ap. Vollers, Kat., pp. 41 ff. 2 Cod. Vat. Copt. lxv, i.
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 61.1).

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? 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? 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...

Be ashamed, O Death, and know that This is the Christ, the Son of God... (1.6) Not even the demons failed to know Him upon Golgotha, and the elements knew Him when they quaked at His voice. By the unveiling of His flesh He hath confounded powers and authorities and astounded them in that they knew Him upon the Cross. Had it not been for the Crucifixion, they would not have known the Son, Who He was; but at the Crucifixion they all beheld and knew Him, every one. Judas himself not even... the demons who knew the Son of God. For he did not take... upon himself to know Who it was Who in His weakness showed us the power of His mightiness, and at His Crucifixion received the adoration of the Gods. On that (sc. the Cross) whereby all the strong ones are laid low they raised Him up and glorified Him...
[The souls in Amenti cry out to Christ]. . . And another said: "Let Thine abundant mercy come speedily unto me, my Lord."1

Another (said): "Deliver my soul from the depths of Amenti."2
Another: "Bring my soul out from the depths of Amenti."
Another: "Bring my soul out of this prison."3
Another: "Thou wilt not leave my soul in Amenti."4
Another: "Let my life come up from destruction, O Lord my God."5

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

* * * * *

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

1 Ps. cxix, 41.
2 id. lxxxvi, 13.
3 id. cxlii, 9.
4 id. xvi, 11.
5 id. xxx, 3.
6 Cp. id. lxix, 17, lxxxvi, 15.
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

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

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 power upon them who have been cast away from of old, and upon them who had not there any 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. For this cause I say and will not cease to say: "Quicken me for Thy mercy's sake. For in death there is none that remembereth Thee. Who shall be able to show Thy praise in Amenti?" 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 sacrifice (?) and while its course (?) passeth, there is none to contend (?) and to gain the crown in that place; while the night taketh hold on me ere yet the market with its goods is opened. Harken unto that which the Scripture saith concerning all men who end their lives (well): "For death..."

1 Some word like 'mercy,' 'compassion' is required by the context.
2 As the text stands, "in any hope."
3 The meaning is obscure.
4 Cp. Ps. cxlviii, 11.
5 Ps. vi, 5.

Recio

...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 power upon them who have been cast away from of old, and upon them who had not there any 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. For this cause I say and will not cease to say: "Quicken me for Thy mercy's sake. For in death there is none that remembereth Thee. Who shall be able to show Thy praise in Amenti?... There is no deliverance after death, there is no deliverance in the grave. For my life is a sacrifice (?) 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..."
THE DESCENT INTO AMENTI

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

"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 treasuries of good things, already prepared is the everlasting Kingdom of the Heavens. The good ones stand looking down upon men."

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

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

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

1 Cp. Matth. 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 Add) is a single leaf numbered $\text{\textnumero}$, 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 $\text{\textnumero}$, $\text{\textnumero}$; 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 $\text{\textnumero}$, $\text{\textnumero}$. Each leaf is $24.5$ cm. high by $16.6$ cm. wide, the lower and outer margins having been cropped; 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 111. The following reconstruction may therefore be suggested.

The Apostles, assembled after the Resurrection either in Galilee or on the Mount of Olives, are warned by Christ that He must shortly ascend up into Heaven, 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. 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' 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 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 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. 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 of the 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).

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

The upper margin, however, is intact.

This is made clear in fo. 141.

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

Again see fo. 141.

As in Matth. xxiv, 3, the pseudo-Clementine Second Coming (§ 4), and the Syriac Testament of Our Lord, § 11 (ed. Rahmani, p. 5).

See Rev. xi, 3 ff.

This is directly implied in fo. 116a, II. 24 ff.

For the appearance of Enoch at this stage see Notes (p. 20).


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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.

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. 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—was to be "an everlasting Kingdom:" 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, 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, 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; 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—this period could only be pictured as one of material ease, luxury, and sensuous delight.

The Gospels and Pauline Epistles give no direct support to this belief in an earthly kingdom, though they accept as axiomatic a Second Coming to be preceded by the appearance of one or many false Christs. 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 and by 'Barnabas:' Justin regarded Chiliasm as an orthodox belief, though one not universally held. Cerinthus, according to Eusebius, taught 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).

11 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.

1 Exact as does the Testament in Galilee (ed. Guerrier, § 62; Schmidt, Geschichte Jesu, § 51).
2 See especially von Harnack's article Milennium in the Encycl. Brit., the article in Hastings' Dict. of the Bible &c.
4 Daniel vii, 13 ff.
5 Psalm xc., 4 (cp. ii Peter iii, 18): the argument is set forth in the Epistle of Barnabas xv.
6 Doubtless through the medium of Jewish converts. See especially von Harnack's article in Hastings' Dict. of the Bible &c. 7 So in Apoc. of Elias (ed. Steindorff), p. 105.
8 e.g. Cerinthus, Irenaeus and Nepos (see below).
9 Especially drinking and feasting; this was probably inferred from such passages as the Parable of the Great Supper (Luke xiv, 15 ff.). There is no need to suppose
that there was to be an earthly Kingdom of feasting and good cheer, as also did Irenaeus. 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. 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. 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. Methodius of Tyre (early fourth century) and Apollinarius of Laodicea (c. 368 a.d.) were the latest exponents of Chiliasm in the Near East, 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, 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. 116⁹), the Coming of Christ in full view of the sinners and the severance of the wicked from the just (fol. 116⁹–vo), and the introduction of Chorazin and Bethsaida (fol. 117⁹). 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. I 16), being a notable instance of the latter. 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 coët—ceītòt (fo. 117⁹ ll. 9 f.) 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. 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. 116⁹ Bartholomew is introduced, but quite without significance; nor does the only other definite personal reference (to Mary, fo. 141⁹) furnish any clue to the authorship.

1 l. c. Irenaeus argues from Matth. xxvi, 29 that in the Kingdom wine is to be drunk and that this postulates a resurrection in the flesh.
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. xxviii, 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 Preusch, Analecta, p. 153: "Liber qui appellatur Neporis." 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, 7-8th c).

... λαόν τοῦ θεού τοῦ ισυπατοῦ 
πάσης ζωής μετά της ημέρας τῆς καταστροφῆς τῆς γης καταστροφής τῆς 

ο ὑπό της βασιλείας τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Βασιλέως τῆς θεϊκής καὶ τῆς χριστιανικῆς 
κυριαρχίας τῆς ὁμοφωνῆς καὶ τῆς ἑνίκην τῆς εἰς ὑπεράνων τοῦ θεοῦ.

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.

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.

* Recto

* Verso
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 8).

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

They shall behold Me with them as I come down from the gates of the Heavens—even the sinners who were numbered with the anti-Christ: these are they who shall be upon the earth in the days of My Appearing."

Bartholomew answered and said: "My Lord, wilt Thou that...? in the days of Thine Appearing? If the righteous shall be upon the earth for the Thousand Years, where shall the sinners dwell? Surely they will not live with the righteous of Thine inheritance?"

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

1 Lit. 'being in them.'
2 The text is partly illegible and the restoration baffling.
3 Lit. 'send.'
4 Or, "(and) he shall remove them."
5 There is no break between the texts of fos. πρώτος and περβάζων.

X Recto

X Verso
FRAGMENTS OF AN APOCALYPTIC GOSPEL

"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 the judgment, but the rest of the righteous—they who shall not be able to attain unto the measure of the judgment—shall sit upon a Pillar of Light, that they may behold them who do judgment and them who have judgment done upon them.

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

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

Frag. 3 (Cairo, no. 7).

5 ἀφενεὰρ ἔρατον ἀ- 10 Ἡ ἀργυραὶ κύκλῳ τῆς περήφανος ἐκδοθεὶς ἐν οἴνοι[†] περίπτερον οὐκ ἔστω οὕτω
5 ἂν ἐκάθεν ἐνκακία ἐκ θυμοῦ μετατόπισεν ἐν πιστικότερα ἐκδοθεὶς ἐνθεούμων ἐπὶ σεβάσματι εἰς τοὺς ναοὺς πιστικοῖς ἔστω.
10 Τότε γυμνὸς ἐκεῖνος ἐβολή μισθὸν ἐτέκνον μοι ἐκεῖνον ὡστε ἀνανάμωσῃ ποιήσω οὐκ θαλαμήν οὐκ ἔστω.
15 Τότε γυμνὸς ἐκεῖνος ἐβολή μισθὸν ἐτέκνον μοι ἐκεῖνον ὡστε ἀνανάμωσῃ ποιήσω οὐκ θαλαμήν οὐκ ἔστω.
20 Τότε γυμνὸς ἐκεῖνος ἐβολή μισθὸν ἐτέκνον μοι ἐκεῖνον ὡστε ἀνανάμωσῃ ποιήσω οὐκ θαλαμήν οὐκ ἔστω.
25 Ἡ ἀργυραί κύκλῳ τῆς περήφανος ἐκδοθεὶς ἐνθεούμων ἐπὶ σεβάσματι εἰς τοὺς ναοὺς πιστικοῖς ἔστω.

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

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

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

1 sc. the Father. But the incident is narrated by Christ.
FRAGMENTS OF AN APOCALYPTIC GOSPEL

I. perhaps to be altered to ἰπερχαί...ἀγγίλια.

"[...spreading] 'forth our hands we prayed, and He1 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."

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 Pentecost2 is completed, and after that Thou wilt go up into the Heavens from among us."

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

1 Probably Christ: the speaker seems to be Mary (see Notes, p. 26).
2 For the use of this term see Notes (p. 26).
3 Lit. 'ask a word.'
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Noteworthy is the prominent place in the First Resurrection assigned to the virgins and the continent. This is Enratism indeed, but not necessarily heretical Enratism. 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 Christianitv, 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’ (ἀπεστάλμαζε τῇ παρθένῃ).


I. 13. The “Chariot of the Cherubim” frequently appears in Coptic works, e.g. Theodotius, Death of the Virgin, § viii (ed. Robinson, Copt. Apoc. Grap., pp. 126 f.). The conception is based on Ps. xxvii (xvii), 10; lxvii (lxxix), 17; II. 15 ff. For the Assumption of the Righteous cp. i Thess. iv, 16 (quoted above). For their descent with Christ see id. 14 “Then also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with Him;” and Apoc. of Elias I.c.

II. 21 ff. Based on Matt. xxiv, 30 “And they shall see the Son of Man coming in the clouds of Heaven with power and great glory;” cp. also ad. xxxvi, 64.

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

Fo. προφοβό
II. 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.


II. 10 ff. An almost verbal parallel is found below, No. ix, Frag. 1, p. 8, II. 18 ff. and in the Coptic Paschal Letter of Damians (Mou. of Epiphaniu, 11, pp. 333 f.). Cp. also Heb. 1, 3 “Who being the brightness of His glory and the express image (τοπογραφή) 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 Galilie § 28 (ed. Guerrier, p. 60: cp. Carl Schmidt, Gespräche Jesu, pp. 58 f., and—for the Coptic text—p. 74+) “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, 444) “I am one with My Father in Godhead; for I am come forth from His essence and His love.”

II. 19-21. The Thousand Years were, according to many Chiliasts (see Introductory Note), a time of festival and good living: cp. I. 27 where άνεκονόησεν 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, Aegyptial, pp. 30 f.) Εξώτε βρεῖνες οι περ­κομα τον περεσον πέτο υπε περαμιν ηε μω ραμιν (“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 Sıft (Synax., Kihak 5, ed. Basset, p. 305).

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

Fo. προβο
II. 23 ff. Perhaps Res. xiv, 3 is here echoed.

II. 28 f. Cp. Res. xi, 15 “And the seventh Angel sounded (his trumpet), and there were great voices in Heaven saying, ‘The kings of this world are become (the Kingdom) of our Lord and of His Christ.’” Note how our compiler reshapes the context.

Fo. προβο
II. 1-8. For the First Resurrection (in which the Saints alone participate) see Res. 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 xxxv, 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 Thres. iv, 16). No reference is made to a Second Resurrection of the mass of mankind.
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. πίπτω.

II. 1-6. In the *Apoc. of Elias* (ed. Steind. p. 100) Gabriel and Michael create a pillar of light (μαύρ-στυλός στοὰ·[ne]) to guide the faithful into the Holy Land (cp. Exodus xii, 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 II. 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 *Oraetia Sibyllina* (ed. Geffcken) ii, 238 ff.

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

It seems beyond doubt that the Judgment takes place in Amenti—a conception familiar to an Egyptian. But this judgment is not the Last Judgment (which comes at the end of the Thousand Years), but a preliminary examination to determine who among the dead are to share in the Kingdom of light to undergo purification: see A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, xi, p. 44 and note, and Epiphanius, *Panarium*, 11, 66, 26 there quoted.

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

I. 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 Jerusalem (Budge, *Misc. Copt. Texts*, pp. 1055, 1060).

I. 21 ff. The fate of anti-Christ is noteworthy. According to ii *Thess. ii*, 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.

II. 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, II. 21 f.) here applied to the Devil are reserved for anti-Christ in the *Apoc. of Elias* (ed. cit., p. 92: cp. *nathune*, o πυρός ἡ ταύταις); 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" (λαδιαγοῦ) see further the Greek text of Ephraem Syrus (ed. *Assmann*, iii, p. 142).

Fo. πίπτω.

II. 1-6. Here and in II. 19 ff. there is verbal correspondence with *Apoc. of Elias*, p. 86: μαίεντος ἀκαλέσθαι ο πυρός ἡ ταύταις, ερωτάς ἀλλακτε ἐν τε μικρότερες ἐπολογίαις. *Cf. also the ps.-Clement. Second Coming* (R.O.C. xx, 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 *Matt. 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."

II. 7 ff. The compiler here draws upon the Canonical Gospels. See *Matt. 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: όρον γεωργίας ὁ Χοραζηνίας... καὶ Βηθσεδαία—though Bousset (The Anti-Christ Legend, trans. Keen, p. 173) strangely proposes to read Chorazim;—and in the Armenian *Resurrection of Nerses*, which again assigns anti-Christ to Chorazin (op. cit., p. 255).

II. 13 ff. Cp. *Ascension of Isaiah* iv, 8 (quoted above on II. 1-6).

I. 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 *Descentus Christi* (ed. Tischendorf, § ix) Enoch and Elias after their translation were 'reserved against the coming of
anti-Christ;’ in the *Apoc. of Elias* (pp. 163, 169) they are again opposed to anti-Christ, by whom they are slain, and whom they in turn destroy after their Resurrection; and in the Bohairic *Death of Joseph* (ed. Lagarde, ch. xxxi) we have: ‘For the Anti-Christ shall slay these two men and shed their blood upon the earth for a pot of water (sic), because of the rebukes which they shall give him.’ [N.B. in the following chapter anti-Christ is alluded to as ‘the Son of Perdition,’ cf. 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 ii, 142): Enoch and Elias cry out, πλανοῦσιν, ἐὰν ἀνθρωπος μοιῆς αὐτῷ πιστεύειν.

ll. 21 ff. ‘The Son of Iniquity;’ see note on fo. 117 recto 26 ff. The verbal expression is derived from ii Thess. 1, 8, where anti-Christ is alluded to as δ ἀνθρωπος τής ἀνωτέρως (ο.δ. ἀνωτέρως), δ ἀνθρωπος, δ ἀνθρωπος.

ll. 24 ff. Cp. perhaps i John 11, 8: ‘For the Devil sinneth from the beginning.’


Fo. *Ποταμος* 20

1. 4. In the Genealogy of Christ (Luke iii, 37) the Coptic (ed. Horner) has μελετεία: an uncollated ms. seen by the Editor at Dēr es Śurān (dated 1220 A.D.) has μελετεία.

ll. 24 ff. For the titles here used compare Enoch lxiiii, 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. *Ποταμος* 20

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’ 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, c, Frag. 8 (Fo. ckl), where a psali begins φιλομιλοτοσαντος-σεγονοι παιδελων ὑπὲ
μινιμοὶ ἐκεῖνοι; and No. ix, e, Frag. 1 (fo. 2), ll. 4–5.

Addendum. The relatively early date of the Gospel suggested above (p. 18) is not unobjectionable. If in fo. *Ποταμος* 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. *Ποταμος* recto, ll. 7–17 we seem to have an anti-Arian protest and perhaps an Athenian formula. Yet this latter passage, if not the former, may well be interpolated.
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 x 17.5 cm. where intact. There is a single column (20 x 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; the ink is glossy and deep black; capitals and large letters (as opolitan forms) 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, ϒ, 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: ἸΩ (Ornament) ΙΩ (Ornament) Ὁ, "Jesus Christ, the Son of God." The quire contained five sheets (ten folios or twenty pages): apparent irregularities may be explained on the supposition that each narrative was preceded by a full-page miniature of the Apostle whose adventures were recorded. 2

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

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

Our fragments belong to the following sections in the collection: (A) The Journeyings of Saint John; (B) The Death of Saint John; (C) The Preaching of Saint Philip; (D) The Martyrdom of Saint Philip; (E) The Preaching of Saint Bartholomew; (F) The Martyrdom of Saint Matthias; (G) of Saint Mark; (H) of Saint Luke. The order of the narratives in the Coptic ms. was evidently the same as in the Arabic ms. at Dér es Surian 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. xxxv, x (Pl. XVII A) and closely contemporary with the hand of the Coptic Gospels at Dér es Surian (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 Ἱ (18) is paged from p. ἸΑ to ἹΝ 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).


6 Cod. Vat. Copt. lxvii, 2 (publ. by Balestri, Bessarione, 1905, pp. 128 ff.). This ms. also came from Dér Abû Bakr.

7 Cod. Tisch. xxvi, 2; xxvii, 3, 8 (ed. 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 Dér es Surian) by Mrs. Lewis, Arabic Version of the Acts Apoc. Apost. (Text), and Mythological Acts of the Apostles (Translation) = Horae Semiticae 111 and 1iv.


11 Ed. B. Evetts, pp. 43 ff.
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made to rectify the text with the help of the Arabic and Ethiopic versions; but since these have not been closely compared, nothing like a complete *apparatus criticus* is possible. The divergencies of our own text from that of *Cod. Vit. Copt. lxviii.* 2 in the *Martyrdom of S. Luke,* have, however, been noted. In the margin of the translation references to the Arabic and Eth. versions are indicated by the signs L. (= Lewis, *Myth. Acts of the Apost.* ) and B. (=Budge, *The Contendings of the Apostles,* vol. ii).

Two folios (four pages) missing.

A. The Travels of Saint John.

[S. John, appointed by lot to preach in Asia, takes ship at Joppa accompanied by Prochorus. His prophecy that they will suffer great hardships at sea is fulfilled; for the ship is wrecked. John disappears, but Prochorus with the crew is cast adrift. Now when I saw him, I arose in haste to help him, since I also was escaped from affliction of this same sort: for I did not know that he was John. I went to give him my hand.]

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

[John and Prochorus go to Ephesus. Outside the city they meet Romanna, keeper of a bath-house, who invites them to be her bath-man. Now she used to give us three pounds of bread a day.]

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

...I will give thee wages and necessaries for thy body.” And he said unto her: “Certainly.” She looked towards me, and said unto me: “What sayest thou?” John said unto her: “He is my brother.” She said unto him: “I have need of him also for the work of a bath-man.” And she took us to the bath-house.

But on the fourth day John forgot to fire the bath: she seized him, thrust him within, and beat him sorely without mercy. And she spake these words unto him: “O thou who art fled from thine own country, that dost...
Now on the morrow Romanna came saying unto John: "Many tell me concerning thee that thou payest no heed to thy work. But thou dost thus of thy perverse wish that I may release thee from this place. And

One folio (two pages) missing.

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

Now when I heard these things which she said to John dealing him sore blows the while, I went my way and toiled at the task appointed me by Romanna.

If thou needest aught else for the body, I will give it thee: only give heed to thy work properly." John said

Then why do many (complain of thy neglect?), For thou knowest that we set out boldly on the sea, and art thou grieved in heart at a single buffet from a woman and a little anger? Get thee to the work assigned thee, and perform it cheerfully. For our Lord Jesus, our Maker, was buffeted: they spat in His face, they scourged Him, they crucified Him. Us, even us, His handiwork, He Himself hath redeemed with His blood, and gladly "became like unto us: and He told us all these things beforehand. But in His patience let us possess our souls."

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

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

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

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

The demon is speaking.

p. 309 (= B., p. 232; L., p. 42)

p. 299

p. 232; L., p. 42

p. 303

1 The demon is speaking.
thou canst not depart again out of my hand. If thou shouldest seek to escape from me, I will not leave thee 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 thou my slave, O ill-favored one? What sayest thou? Dost thou not admit thy slavery? Answer me!’ And John said unto her: ‘Verily I am thy slave, I the fire-man, and also Prochorus the bath-man.’

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

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

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

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

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

And when his servants knew of it, they came forth weeping and saying: "What shall we do? For our lord is dead." And when Romanna heard it, she cast her mantle upon the ground and tare the hair of her head, wondering at Romanna and the way she acted in her grief. And when John was come forth from the stokehouse, he said to me: "Prochorus, my son, what is this tumult in the city today by reason of this woman?"

And she dealt him a buffet, saying: "O worthless slave!"

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

\(^{1}\) ic: the appliances used in bathing.

\(^{2}\) Etb: '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

prepared for you in return for your pains.” And they said unto him: “Show us thy business and be not anxious.” He said unto them: “I, poor wretch, am a man of Caesarea in Cappadocia in Palestine (sic). I am an adjutant of a *comenairesis*, and there were delivered unto me two men, wizards, from Jerusalem: the name of the one was John, and the name of the other was Prochorus. Now I cast them into the prison.

And on the fourth day the *archon* asked for them; and, lo, they were shown to have wrought wicked and harmful deeds. And when the *archon* saw the multitude of their evil deeds which were manifested, he sent them again to the prison, that by examination of them he might know of a certainty concerning the evil deeds which they had committed. Now when I had removed them to cast them into the prison, they escaped out of my hands by wicked sorcery. And when I informed him who was over me of the matter, being vexed with me he said: ‘Depart, wretched man, and seek after them. If thou dost not bring them to me, thou shalt die miserably; and if thou dost not find them, do not return to me. For I know the wrath of the *archon* against me.’” And he was showing them the semblance of a pile of gold, saying: “I have heard from a number of men thus, my good comrades. Cast them into some place and let no man know it, that ye may slay them secretly and receive these monies which I have brought away with me.”

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

†Now the holy John knew through the Spirit that which the evil spirit did. And he said to me: "My son, Prochorus, I would have thee know and prepare thy soul for certain trials. For lo the demon who is in the Temple of Artemis stirreth up reproach and great affliction against us. For, he hath raised up two of good comrades; and I do not wish to see my city ever, nor to behold it again." And they agreed with him to slay them and to receive at his hand the semblance of money.

So while John was telling me these things, there came to us the two men who were of the guard, and seized us. Now Dioscorides was not there at that time, "but was gone to his house on some public business. And John said unto them: "For what cause do ye this?" And they said: "For an evil art, that is, sorcery." But John said: "And who is he who accuses us of these things?" They said to John: "We will take you to the prison until you meet your accuser." But John said unto them: "Ye may not take us wrongfully. If ye have not here our accusers before our faces, why then do ye vainly this idle thing?" But they "dealt John a buffet. And as they dragged us away, they did not take us into the prison, but took us to a house apart, that they might kill us, even as the evil demon had enjoined upon them. But Romanna made search for Dioscorides. So when that man heard her, he arose in haste and came and delivered us. And he spake harsh words to the guards, saying: "It is not lawful for you to imprison any man unaccused and unless he who accuses them appears face to face with them—much more "since they are not in the public prison, but in a private house, so that ye may plot evil against them. Behold now, these men (shall be) in my house; and if there is any man who accuses them, let him come and take them, and let them be judged according to the law." And Dioscorides took us to his house.
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

...καὶ οὗτος η Ἁγία, ἐποίησεν διαδοχὴν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ γινεῖσθαι καὶ τίτλον άστρον αὐτῷ, δια νόμον τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπέτασεν σαρκίναν τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῆς γῆς ἐν αὐτῷ... (first p. of The Repose and the Passing-away of the holy Apostle and beloved of Christ, the Virgin and Evangelist, John the Son of Zebedee; the which took place at Ephesus on the fourth day of the Month Tōbī. In the Peace of God! Amen.)

B. The Death of Saint John. 3

†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 on the fourth day of the Month Tōbī. In the Peace of God! Amen.

Now it came to pass, after that Our Lord Jesus the Christ had fulfilled the dispensation of the saving of the whole world, that He might go up into Heaven in glory, that the holy Apostles were preaching, each in the country which the Lord appointed for him. It was appointed the holy John, the Son of Zebedee, to preach in Asia. When therefore he was come to Ephesus, which is the metropolis of Asia, he was preaching faith and Divine, John the Son of Zebedee... the which took place at Ephesus on the fourth day of the Month Tōbī. In the Peace of God! Amen.

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.

1 i.e. Kanāmatīk (Βίβλος). The Eth. has "Kāmadagi" (the Ar. fails at this point).
2 For a Sahidic recension of this narrative see Budge, Coptic Apocrypha, pp. 51 ff.; 233 ff.
3 Both Arabic and Eth. have Patmos.
4 Acts xix, 27 ff.

NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

thou hast found worthy to rest upon His bosom...

wonders innumerable through the Name of Our Lord Jesus the Christ, and had brought back almost the whole country from the pollution of idols, and had brought them from the bitter servitude of Satan to the knowledge of Our Lord Jesus the Christ and of His good Father and of the Holy Spirit, and filled the whole country “with Churches of the Christ, assigning unto them a multitude of Bishops and Priests and Deacons, while moreover the faith of Our Lord Jesus the Christ and knowledge of Him spread and increased among them all; and after that the holy Apostles had finished their course—Peter being crucified in Rome; and Paul beheaded, and Mark in Rakoti drawn for two days until he died: in a word, each one in the country whither the Lord had sent him (having perished) under a multitude of afflictions "and by various deaths—the blessed John (still) lived in this world for a number of years down to the reign of Domitian. He spent seventy years in the body after the Resurrection of the Lord and became an old man, exceeding heavy. He did not taste the bitterness of death by the sword or by any other instrument of execution, because the Lord loved blessed John (still) lived in this world for a number of years down to the reign of Domitian. He spent seventy years in the body after the Resurrection of the Lord and became an old man, exceeding heavy. He did not taste the bitterness of death by the sword or by any other instrument of execution, because the Lord loved

[God purposes to give rest to John. The Apostle addresses the believers at Ephesus and, after administering the Eucharist to them, causes Prochorus and others to dig a grave outside the city. He then utters a thanksgiving to God.]

1 Lit. ‘every nature’ (φύσις).

3 Before the first μ a letter (? n) has been erased.

4 or has been (imperfectly) erased.

5 Added above line by a second hand.
up from the fall caused by her enemy, making her to guard (?) against 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 my feet; Thou Who alone art pure and abidest in them that are pure, Jesus the Christ, my King, the only

1 Literally ‘drew (her) attention to.’

2 For the traditional site of S. John’s burial (or disappearance), see Tischendorf, Travels in the East (E.T.), p. 256. At an early period a small Church was erected on the spot, which was superseded by a splendid building in the time of Justinian. Remains of these buildings have lately been uncovered at Ayassoluk (6 Θεός Θεολογός), near Ephesus (Morning Post, Oct. 13, 1921; Journ. Hell. Stud. xli, 276).
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Six leaves (twelve pages) missing.

[Philip and Peter set out to preach the Gospel in Phrygia. By their miracles they cause the people to believe. The priests attempt to oppose them, but are encircled with a cloud of fire. Peter casts their idol, a golden hawk, into the fire.]

C. The Preaching of Philip and Peter.

[And Peter took up that idol and cast it] into it (sc. the fire). Then answered the hawk of gold, saying:

"O Apostles of the Christ, torment me not but have compassion on me that ye may judge between me and these sinful men. For I, even I, was earth\(^1\) of the earth; and these men removed me: they smelted me, and fashioned me in this manner and placed me in this temple. They are wont to sacrifice beasts and to mingle their blood (with wine), while they delude the people, saying that it is I who eat them (the sacrifices); whereas I eat not, neither do I drink, nor do I speak with these men. Nay, at the present time also it is not I who speak, but it is the power which is with you that causes me to speak with this multitude." *Now when the hawk of gold had thus spoken, it fell silent.

But the priests besought the holy Apostles, saying: "We beseech you, O Apostles, bring us out of the fire, and do not slay us. That which ye shall bid us, we will do." Philip said unto them: "If ye turn away from your abominable worship, then say in penitence of heart, 'We believe on Thee, O God, Jesus the Christ!' Let this cloud of fire depart from us."*

And they all cried out: "We believe on Thee, O God, Jesus the Christ." *And straightway the cloud of fire departed from them and became as a lake of water white like milk, so that the Apostles marveled.

And the whole multitude was entreating the Apostles to inform them what they should do that they might live thereby. But Philip caused them to bring him a basket (?) of reeds (?) and laid out the foundations of the Church. And Philip said unto the gate and to the pillar\(^2\) which was upon it: "In the Name of Jesus of Nazareth Who is risen up above the Heavens, (I command you) to remove hence for the building of the house

\(^{1}\) *i.e.* an element in the earth.

\(^{2}\) The gate and the pillar are mentioned in the earlier part of this work (see the Arabic, ed. Lewis, p. 61).
THE APOCRYPHAL ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

"And straightway the gate came in together with the pillar which was upon it and became (part) of the building in the presence of the whole multitude; and no sound of it was heard at all.

1 Arabic has ‘Marwān’; the Eth. ‘Kērōn.’
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

First folio (two pages) missing.

Apostles send their son to Egypt.

They addressed the people of Egypt and said to them, "If you believe in God, who made the heavens and the earth, and all things that are in them, and 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; x He it is also Who blessed our father Adam, saying unto him on this wise: 

"Increase and fill the earth: exercise lordship over it."4...

1 Doubtless nem nπρεβλήθικτι should be added: both Arabic and Eth. read "the Law and the Prophets." The ms. has xσοσθαί which is inappropriate (though supported by the Arabic "blessed"). the Eth. reads "who are assembled," pointing to a Coptic reading ςτοσθαί which might easily be corrupted to ςοσθαί.

2 The ms. has xσοσθαί which is inappropriate (though supported by the Arabic "blessed"). the Eth. reads "who are assembled," pointing to a Coptic reading ςτοσθαί which might easily be corrupted to ςοσθαί.

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), twi when Peter interpreted them unto them through (the Spirit).

[The Apostles celebrate the Offering for the people and, after appointing a bishop, priests, and deacons, depart from the country.]

D. The Martyrdom of Philip.

(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, 9 fye who desire to partake of the grace of Christ, the true God. The God whom I preach 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, 8 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."

1 So in both Arabic and Eth.
2 See note on Coptic text. 3 Cp. John x, 30. 4 Genesis 1, 28.
THE APOCRYPHAL ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

The holy Apostle Philip said unto them: "He is in the Heavens and upon the earth with us, the men who do His will."

When the Devil perceived that the holy Apostle desired to bring back the whole multitude unto God, even the Christ Jesus our Lord, He quickly filled their hearts with his evil thoughts, and wrought within them for evil. He caused them to seize the holy Apostle Philip; and they bound him meaning to put "him upon a cross. And thus everyone who seized him fell blind. And the whole multitude cried out, saying: "One is the God of the holy Apostle Philip! Do not slay the holy Apostle who is come to save us all at once." Thus the whole multitude delivered the holy Apostle Philip from the hands of them who wished to slay him.

He was journeying also, preaching in all the regions round about him, preaching unto them God the Word with many miracles and healing every man who was sick among them; so that the whole multitude of the city sought after him, while he taught them concerning the Kingdom of Heaven. When they brought unto him the blind, he bestowed healing upon them; when they brought unto him the lame, he bestowed healing upon them; when they brought unto him the sick, he brought them to health; when they brought unto him the deaf, he made them to hear; when they brought unto him the dumb, he made them to speak; when they brought unto him the blind, he bestowed healing upon them; when they brought unto him the lepers, he cleansed them through the laying-on of his hands, while he prayed to God over them; when they brought unto him men possessed with demons, he cast them out; and "through the grace of our God he wrought (?) healing upon these also. In a word, he was healing every sickness and every frenzy: they were all being healed at the hands of the holy Apostle Philip.

Then the great men of the city were wroth when they saw those things which the holy Apostle did for them that were diseased; but more especially when they saw their beloved ones, their sons, and their daughters, and their brethren, and their companions, renouncing their worship (of idols) and believing on the Christ Jesus, the Only-Begotten and the Word of the Father. And so they assembled together, even "all the great..."
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* (T) Открал мятежник и внезапно вдруг открыл материнский дом и пришел к ним. И привел их к святителю, сидевшему на престоле. И вместе с ним был еще один старец и два диакона. И пришли они к старцу и сказали: "Вот преступник, который входил в наш дом и созывал нас к демону. Он пришел к нам и сказал: "Я приведу вас к святителю, и он освободит вас.""

** (TH) Τηροῦντες τοιαύτα ἐπερήμην τοὺς πολίτες ἵνα οὐδεὶς ἐπιληφθῇ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ. Καὶ προσῆλθον καὶ ἔστησαν τῆς ἁγίου διακονίας ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ καὶ οἱ ἁγιασμοὶ τῶν ἁγίων ὁμοίως ἐστὶν καὶ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ. Καὶ ἠπέμαχον τοὺς καὶ ἐπέφυλαξαν τὸ πάσχα καὶ ἔπληγεν τοὺς πολίτες κατὰ τὴν διάκονην τῇ Προδρόμῳ καὶ τῇ Πεντακόσιῳ μεσημβρίαν καὶ τῇ Δικαίωματι ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ.

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1 This passage is corrupt in Ar. and Eth.
2 Literally 'beside' (ἕξωρπα).
3 Both Ar. and Eth. have "in a tree." see note on text.
4 Jerusalem is probably a mistaken identification of Ἱεροσόλυμα (Hierapolis) with which Philip is ordinarily associated.
THE APOCRYPHAL ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

Bartholomew is appointed to preach in the Oasis. He sets out accompanied by Peter and finds a magnate of the city about to return thither with his camels. Hearing that they are Christians, the man refuses to aid them, relating the unhappy plight of a married friend whose wife had been induced to lead an ascetic life.]

And the whole city and the region thereof believed on Our Lord Jesus the Christ, and they worshiped Him all of them, from the least unto the greatest. And they sent God-fearing men up upon the mountain seeking (for the body of Philip).

[At the prayer of the people the body of Philip is brought back by an Angel. It is enshrined with honor in the city.]

E. The Preaching of Bartholomew in the City of the Oasis.

1 The numeral may be ε, δ, or θ. The Arabic has “ten days.”

And the whole city and the region thereof believed on Our Lord Jesus the Christ, and they worshiped Him all of them, from the least unto the greatest. And they sent God-fearing men up upon the mountain seeking (for the body of Philip).

[At the prayer of the people the body of Philip is brought back by an Angel. It is enshrined with honor in the city.]

1 St. the Oasis of Behnesa: see p. 45, note 2.
2 The archon is quoting the words of his friend.
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Then they changed their raiment and took on the appearance of husbandmen and appeared before the archon and his beasts. Peter said unto him: "Hail, O Master of camels!" And the man answered: "Hail." Peter said unto him: "Thou wilt be able to do us a kindness, if thou wilt take us into the city with thee." And the archon said unto him: "For what purpose goest thou into this city, to buy or to sell what?" Peter said unto him: "I wish to go into the city to sell this slave of mine." Straightway the archon descended, making his camels kneel and said: "Today is a great day for me. For, lo, for many days have I been abroad with my beasts and my servants seeking for a slave to purchase, but have not found one. Behold, now I wish to go into the city to sell this slave of mine." Straightway the archon said unto him: "Thou wilt be able to do us a kindness, if thou wilt take us into the city with thee." Then they agreed as to his price—thirty staters. And Peter took them and led Bartholomew aside and gave them to him, saying: "Take thy price and keep it by thee, that if thou shouldest find a man afflicted, thou mayest give him (alms) from thy price." And the archon said to Peter, not knowing that he was Peter: "Behold, thou hast received the price of thy slave; come now, let me take thee up and bring thee into the city, that I may make a feast for thee with much wine." Peter said unto him: "Well done, my brother! The favor which thou wouldst bestow on me, bestow on this slave, and do not "afflict him, but deal kindly with him; for thou wilt find him exceeding profitable." Now when Peter had thus spoken unto the archon, he began to speak great mysteries unto Bartholomew: and he turned back to go on his (own) way.

The archon also journeyed with Bartholomew and the beasts that they might go unto the city. But as the men were traveling in the desert with the camels, they went astray in the desert; and the water they had with them failed. And the men and the beasts suffered greatly: the camels dropped and died. And the men wept, saying: "Woe unto us! What is the thing which hath befallen us? Perchance this man was no good servant when he was in his own country, and (therefore) his master sold him unto us: we have bought..."
him and have not found him profitable.” And the archon wept, saying: “What shall we do? Not only the beasts,1 but we ourselves twill perish of thirst in this wilderness.”

Then Bartholomew also wept; and he was praying inwardly without utterance, that they might not know that he was an Apostle.

[Bartholomew having restored the camels to life, the caravan reaches the city. The Apostle works in the vineyard and while there cures a nobleman who had been bitten by a snake. In consequence, the people are converted and a Church 2 is built on the vineyard where the miracle took place.]

F. The Martyrdom of Matthias.3

[Matthias, elected to fill the place of Judas, preaches in Damascus, bidding the people renounce their idols and worship God in chastity.]

“. . . and also that He may have mercy upon you in the day of your departing out of the body.” 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 xfrom 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 ...”

[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.]

1 Literally ‘give the beasts alone.’
2 There was a Church of Bartholomew at Behnesa (see Abû Salih, Churches and Monasteries, fo. 75*) and his body was preserved in the Church of Karbil there. It is clear that the Oasis in question is that of Behnesa.
3 The works preceding this, which are (presumably) wholly lost, are (1) The Mart. of Bartholomew; (2 and 3) Preaching and Mart. of Thomas; (4 and 5) Acts and Mart. of Matthew; (6) Mart. of James the Less; (7 and 8) Preaching and Mart. of Simon Zelotes; (9) Preaching of Thaddaeus; (10) Preaching of Matthias.
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

G. The Martyrdom of Mark.¹

[Mark is appointed to preach in Egypt, Libya, and Marmarika. The state of the inhabitants is described.]

(Now in that place it was revealed unto him through the Holy Spirit that he should depart unto Rakoti (Alexandria), (the city) of the Pharos.² [On entering Alexandria Mark meets with and converts a certain shoemaker.] “The man (believed on God) by reason of those things which Mark was speaking, when signs and wonders came to pass. He received baptism, he and all his house, together with a great multitude of those things which Mark was speaking, when signs and wonders came to pass. He received baptism, he and all his house, together with a great multitude of people.”)

¹ Mark is appointed to preach in Egypt, Libya, and Marmarika. The state of the inhabitants is described.
² On entering Alexandria Mark meets with and converts a certain shoemaker. But when the blessed Mark was aware of their design, he ordained Anianus as bishop, and three priests, because of him, and they brought down their idols and destroyed their groves: they received the light and intervened the Preaching and Mart. of S. James. The stick: as Budge rightly conjectures, the Pharos is indicated.
³ According to tradition each of these in turn became Patriarch of Alexandria (see Eusebius, H.E., 11, 24; 11, 14, 21; 14, 1, 4).
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 (τα Βοσκείσια) in the place which is above the sea, in a great quarry, beneath a rock. And the righteous one rejoiced greatly and, bending his knees, gave glory to God.

Now when a long time was passed and the Christians were multiplied, they mocked at the idols and derided the Pagans. And when the Pagans knew that he was come thither, they were filled with envy because they heard concerning the miracles which he was working. Them that were sick he healed; the lepers he cleansed; the deaf he caused to hear; unto a multitude of blind he vouchsafed sight; and he preached unto them the good tidings of salvation and grace ... through Our Lord Jesus the Christ. And they were seeking after (him) to take him, but did not find him. And they were gnashing their teeth: and in their theaters and their banquets of their idols they kept crying out speaking against him, saying: “Great are the iniquities of this wizard.”

Now the hallowed (Feast of the Passover) took place ... [Mark is at length seized and is dragged through the streets until he dies. An attempt is made to burn his body, but it is carried off by the believers.]

H. The Martyrdom of Luke,¹

¹ Another Bohairic recension (also from Dēr Abē Makār) 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. Capt. 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

But when Caesar Nero the king seized Paul and beheaded him in Rome, Luke fled from the presence of the king. And he was preaching in every city and every village which is in all the sea-board of Rome. Now Luke was scribe unto the holy Paul and wrote down all his acts and all the excellent things which he preached in the name of Our Lord Jesus the Christ. Great marvels was he working upon them that were sick: the blind he caused to receive sight, the lame he made to walk, the lepers he cleansed, the deaf he made to hear, them that were afflicted in what way soever he healed in the name of the Christ.

Now when they heard of the miracles which the holy Luke was performing, many towns and villages of that region believed. Churches and cells were built in every place, and they who believed on the Christ made to hear, them that were afflicted in what way soever he healed in the name of the Christ.

When they were all assembled, both the people and the Jews, and were entered into the temple at one time,
THE APOCRYPHAL ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

OvyyiINMY XyiepWf1 NMYNYYI71 + NTCCS1 1vny gS7IIYOC NMYNYYI71 + NMYNYYI71(11) NMYNYYI71 +

Penepsc no AYDAXV H11 NMYNYYI71 n11 + Nvmy NMYNYYI71 n11 + NMYNYYI71 n11 +

Xyicv n11 NMYNYYI71 H11 + NMYNYYI71 +

OvyyiINMY XyiepWf1 NMYNYYI71 + NTCCS1 1vny gS7IIYOC NMYNYYI71 + NMYNYYI71(11) NMYNYYI71 +

Penepsc no AYDAXV H11 NMYNYYI71 n11 + Nvmy NMYNYYI71 n11 + NMYNYYI71 n11 +

Xyicv n11 NMYNYYI71 H11 + NMYNYYI71 +

OvyyiINMY XyiepWf1 NMYNYYI71 + NTCCS1 1vny gS7IIYOC NMYNYYI71 + NMYNYYI71(11) NMYNYYI71 +

Penepsc no AYDAXV H11 NMYNYYI71 n11 + Nvmy NMYNYYI71 n11 + NMYNYYI71 n11 +

Xyicv n11 NMYNYYI71 H11 + NMYNYYI71 +

OvyyiINMY XyiepWf1 NMYNYYI71 + NTCCS1 1vny gS7IIYOC NMYNYYI71 + NMYNYYI71(11) NMYNYYI71 +

Penepsc no AYDAXV H11 NMYNYYI71 n11 + Nvmy NMYNYYI71 n11 + NMYNYYI71 n11 +

Xyicv n11 NMYNYYI71 H11 + NMYNYYI71 +

OvyyiINMY XyiepWf1 NMYNYYI71 + NTCCS1 1vny gS7IIYOC NMYNYYI71 + NMYNYYI71(11) NMYNYYI71 +

Penepsc no AYDAXV H11 NMYNYYI71 n11 + Nvmy NMYNYYI71 n11 + NMYNYYI71 n11 +

Xyicv n11 NMYNYYI71 H11 + NMYNYYI71 +

OvyyiINMY XyiepWf1 NMYNYYI71 + NTCCS1 1vny gS7IIYOC NMYNYYI71 + NMYNYYI71(11) NMYNYYI71 +

Penepsc no AYDAXV H11 NMYNYYI71 n11 + Nvmy NMYNYYI71 n11 + NMYNYYI71 n11 +

Xyicv n11 NMYNYYI71 H11 + NMYNYYI71 +

OvyyiINMY XyiepWf1 NMYNYYI71 + NTCCS1 1vny gS7IIYOC NMYNYYI71 + NMYNYYI71(11) NMYNYYI71 +

Penepsc no AYDAXV H11 NMYNYYI71 n11 + Nvmy NMYNYYI71 n11 + NMYNYYI71 n11 +

Xyicv n11 NMYNYYI71 H11 + NMYNYYI71 +

OvyyiINMY XyiepWf1 NMYNYYI71 + NTCCS1 1vny gS7IIYOC NMYNYYI71 + NMYNYYI71(11) NMYNYYI71 +

Penepsc no AYDAXV H11 NMYNYYI71 n11 + Nvmy NMYNYYI71 n11 + NMYNYYI71 n11 +

Xyicv n11 NMYNYYI71 H11 + NMYNYYI71 +

OvyyiINMY XyiepWf1 NMYNYYI71 + NTCCS1 1vny gS7IIYOC NMYNYYI71 + NMYNYYI71(11) NMYNYYI71 +

Penepsc no AYDAXV H11 NMYNYYI71 n11 + Nvmy NMYNYYI71 n11 + NMYNYYI71 n11 +

Xyicv n11 NMYNYYI71 H11 + NMYNYYI71 +

1 There is evidently a lacuna here. The Arabic reads "the priests adorned their idols with the pictures (sic) and the lamps," &c.; the Eth. has "the priests and their gods were adorned with rich apparel, and in the temple were draperies and lamps." Possibly we should restore πατεσσαλωτ ρεν γαπαπος ρεν περφετ ρεν γαπαπος, the omission being mainly due to the similarity of παπας...φαπας.

2 Κηστρων, so the ms. The word occurs in conjunction with αλαμπας in the Translation of the xlix Martyrs (Mon. et Extrasts, xxxix, p. 34). But there seems to have been a variant κηστρων, since the Arabic reads "all the scents" and the Ethiopic "sweet scents of every kind." In the Coptic Service for the Consecration of Church and Altar (ed. Horner, p. 386) the Coptic κηστρων is rendered الشموع (candles, tapers).

and the priests of the temple and their gods were adorned (with rich apparel, and the temple also) with lamps of gold and candles of every kind ——; after these things all the people sat down with the great men of the king's Palace and the great men of the city, sitting upon thrones and benches.

†And the chief priest came into the midst and said: "There come into our country certain wizards, Galileans, of the Twelve Galileans and the Seventy Two, whom Jesus who is called the Christ made His disciples. They have multiplied signs and wonders which they do in every place; and all the Romans walk after their teaching and their sorcery. Now some (of these) Nero the king slew; but this other, Luke, fled from the presence of the king and has led astray a multitude by his deceit."

Then stood up a Jew whose name was Isaac, a ruler of the Synagogue of the Jews who were in that country, and said: "It chanced that before I came to this country, I was under a lawyer in Jerusalem, named Gamaliel, when the High Priests of the Jews were Annas and Caiaphas with Alexander and Rubalius. They laid hands upon a man named Jesus; they passed sentence upon Him; they hanged Him upon a cross; they slew Him and left Him in a sepulcher; (but) He rose from the dead upon the third day. He it is Whom this man, Luke, preacheth."

1 Or "perfumes:" see note on the text.

2 For Alexander see Acts iv, 6; or perhaps the names are taken from Mark xv, 21, "Alexander and Rufus." The form Rubalius is supported by the Ethiopic Ḳaybēyos (though Budge, p. 139, identifies this as Aurelius), and by the Arabic (Lewis, p. 153) Decalius; though the latter is twice corrupted, Ḳ having replaced k in the Coptic original, and r (j) having given way to d (ṣ) in the Arabic version.
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Variant readings of Cod. Vat. Copt. lxviii.

1. 1 άσεροτα...ποιον Ιων, V (omitting τιμή) || ποιον; V omits, but adds eτερυφηιαν.
   1. 1 f. σταυρο...αρσιας: σταυρον πορς; V (omitting αρσιας). V
   1. 5 ποιον: πιθανουμεγετελον, V || άμισσος; V omits.
   1. 6 οπορ: V omits.
   1. 6-7 αναρ πωσι το ρωμα πεσετ Πολυταρ αε (the complaint following is entirely different), V.
   1. 8 κεκαρ πιροινα παχαν ποιον, V || ερασσειν άπαι ποιον, V.
   1. 10 άγι-...ποιον, V || οε φαει ρων ει προσω ειτερεμ άτενπουρο, V.
   1. 10-11 ορι...ητι, V omits.
   1. 11 V substitues a wholly different passage.
   1. 12 V substitutes a wholly different passage.

1 Apparently a lacuna: add (κημετρην).

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. Many miracles hath he performed on those who are sick in divers wise." Then the king was exceeding angry and gnashed his teeth.

[Nero sends soldiers who bring Luke to Rome. The saint is scourged. His right arm is struck off, but adheres again. He is taken out to sea and beheaded: his head, placed in a sack, is thrown into the sea, but it was washed up upon a certain island, where it is preserved.]

1 This statement is repeated in the Vatican recension of the Martyrdom, but does not appear in the Arabic and Eth. versions. In all that has gone before Luke is represented as preaching in "the seaboard of Rome." Is there some confusion between Old and New Rome (Constantinople)? On such a supposition the introduction of Proconnesus (in the Propontis) is less surprising.

2 Can this have been Proconnesus?
THE MYSTERIES OF SAINT JOHN

VII. THE MYSTERIES OF SAINT JOHN

Parchment. A single fragment (Cairo, no. 47), 11 × 15 cm., from a small leaf of which neither the top nor bottom is preserved. The hand (distinguished especially by the forms of μ, γ, τ, λ, γ) is identical with that of No. xxxiii (cp. Plate XI a): the only stop used is — (black; by first hand).

The text, though small, is important as establishing the existence of a Bohairic version of the Mysteries of S. John, whereof the Sahidic version was published (from B.M. Or. 7026) by Dr Budge in 1913.1 The fragment corresponds to the lower part of p. 70 in that edition and to parts of pp. 90–92 in the Sahidic ms.

The dew cometh upon the earth and causeth to grow] the fruits of the earth, and to increase. If the trumpet doth not sound, there is a sound of rain upon the earth; and the fruits spring up, the rain causing them all to increase. The thunders also whereof men are afraid . . .

"[The waters which are] above the Heavens. Lo, I have declared unto thee all the mysteries of the Heavens, O John."

I said unto the Cherubim: "My Lord, I desire to know what it is that beareth up the Heaven so that it is suspended." And the Cherubim said . . .

VIII. TEXTS RELATING TO THE VIRGIN

A. Life of the Virgin.

Parchment. Two leaves (Cairo, nos. 25, 25 Add) from one manuscript of which the second is numbered —. 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 Α, IX Α. The only stop used is —.

The first leaf deals with the Annunciation, the Conception, and the attitude of Joseph to these events, merely paraphrasing the narratives of SS. Matthew and Luke. It may be compared, though only very generally, with a fragment from a Sahidic Life published by Forbes Robinson.4 In the second leaf, however, Christ informs His mother of the glory and honor which will be hers in Paradise, and the Virgin replies. The substance is uncanonical and generally parallel with another Sahidic fragment.5 No doubt the narrative led up to the Death and Assumption of the Virgin.

The phrase (in Frag. 1 verso, ll. 9 ff.) "even as the Evangelist has shown unto us" clearly shows that the work to which the fragments belonged was a discourse embodying an apocryphal narrative.

1 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 Cad. Tisch., xxv, 6.
5 Id., pp. 34, 36.
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 35).

[new text]

"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\(^{1}\) 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 Himself is alleged to have appeared to the Virgin in the form of Gabriel and to have entered into her.\(^{2}\) And to have entered into her.

3. Matth. 1, 19. This parenthesis shows that the work was a Discourse or Homily.

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1. The context clearly implies that the Spirit entered by the mouth of the Virgin: in a Sah. fragment (Robinson, Copt. Apoc. 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.


3. Matth. 1, 19. This parenthesis shows that the work was a Discourse or Homily.
TEXTS RELATING TO THE VIRGIN

being a righteous man and not wishing to make her a gazing-stock, planned to put her away privily.
And while these things were in his heart, as he was sleeping, lo, the angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a dream, saying: 'Joseph, thou son of David, fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife; for He Whom she shall bring forth is of a holy spirit'—and the rest of all the words which the angel spake unto her. "And Joseph arose from sleep and did according as the angel said unto him. He took Mary, his espoused wife, into his house, and knew her not."

Then God wrought within her, and the Holy Spirit increased (?) within her. And her face shone with the . . . full of glory, which is the grace of the Holy Spirit.

Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 25). a

ο ὡς εἶδα τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παντὸς.

Ημ. εὐσεβῶς προς παντὸς ἐπε-

ερεονείν ἀμεκακεν ἡλικεκα.

5 ἀντι - επερεονείν ἀς ἀντι-

ἐπερεονείν ἀμεκακεν ἡλικεκα. 11

ταῦτα εὐσεβῶς προς παντὸς·

10 ἐπερεονείν ἀμεκακεν ἡλικεκα.

πεπερεονείν ἀμεκακεν ἡλικεκα. 11

ταῦτα εὐσεβῶς προς παντὸς·

15 ἐπερεονείν ἀμεκακεν ἡλικεκα. 11

10 ἀντι - εἰς παλαλόου παντὸς

παλαλόου παντὸς ἐπερεονείν

ἐπερεονείν ἀμεκακεν ἡλικεκα.

20 ἐπερεονείν ἀμεκακεν ἡλικεκα. 11

5 ἀντι - εἰς παλαλόου παντὸς

παλαλόου παντὸς ἐπερεονείν

ἐπερεονείν ἀμεκακεν ἡλικεκα. 11

15 ἐπερεονείν ἀμεκακεν ἡλικεκα. 11

10 ἀντι - εἰς παλαλόου παντὸς

παλαλόου παντὸς ἐπερεονείν

ἐπερεονείν ἀμεκακεν ἡλικεκα. 11

5 ἀντι - εἰς παλαλόου παντὸς

παλαλόου παντὸς ἐπερεονείν

ἐπερεονείν ἀμεκακεν ἡλικεκα. 11

15 ἐπερεονείν ἀμεκακεν ἡλικεκα.

20 ἐπερεονείν ἀμεκακεν ἡλικεκα.

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" . . . the root of David, thou hast been unto Me a place of rest. All the holy ones shall come unto thee to behold thine ineffable glory, marveling that a woman of the daughters of Sarah should be held worthy of glory of this sort. Lo, I give thee authority, O My holy Mother, that they all submit themselves unto thee, and eat and drink and delight thyself in the ineffable good things of Heaven. For all the precious things of the Kingdom of Heaven are prepared for thee, O My Virgin Mother, who art perfect." 1

Now when Mary heard of these glories from her Son, she was exceeding glad and her spirit rejoiced greatly within her. She cried out, saying: "Who am I, even I, that I should receive all these glories after these glories pass the measure of all human kind. I know, 0 my Lord, that Thou wast in my womb nine months, by a mystery which cannot be contemplated, even as (it is with) all women who are with child. But all the glory which I beheld today surpasses . . . ."

1 Christ is addressing the Virgin. 2 Cp. 1 Cor. ii. 9.
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.¹

Frag. 1 (Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 49) is a complete leaf, 33 x 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 318, 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 318, the second numeral (?) being exceedingly doubtful; the second reads 318; the third 318; the fourth is utterly illegible. The third must surely be a date—probably 375 A.D.; the first should then be 601 and the second should read 601 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) 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 x 19 cm., is the lower portion of a single leaf. Frag. 7 (id. no. 48. ii), 10.2 x 10 cm., is a mere fragment from the upper and inner corner of the last leaf of the work.⁴

In all the Fragments the script (see Frontispiece) is a large, bold, but not altogether even uncial, identical with the script of Nos. xxiii c and xxix (cp. Plate 111 A, B) and of Rylands Library Coptic Ms. no. 440, which Crum identifies with the hand of Hyvernat, Album XXXIII. Spaces have been left for stops, but none have been inserted.

The work to which these fragments belonged was a narrative of the Death and Assumption of the Virgin as related by Peter and John. Unlike the other Coptic accounts, therefore, it claims to be primary. Owing to the fragmentary condition of the work, it is difficult to judge what was its relation to the narrative of Evodius, or the secondary account in the Discourse of Theodosius.⁵ Narratives of the Death and Assumption attributed to Saint John are extant in Greek, Latin, Sahidic-Coptic, Syriac and Arabic,⁶ but with these our version seems only partially to have corresponded.

Some particular points of interest may be noted. In Frag. 1 the appearance of Christ as a child accompanied by the Innocents seems to be a feature otherwise unknown;⁷ in Frags. 4–5 the blessings promised by Christ to those who shall honor the Virgin are peculiarly Coptic and appear in neither of the other versions; but more important, perhaps, is Frag. 6 and the incident of the Jewish priest there recorded, since this seems to identify the large fragment published by Revillout⁸ as a further portion of this work (though in a different dialect). It will be seen that the two slightly overlap, and that in both the punishment inflicted on this priest (loss of his arm, but not blindness) is the same.

¹ This is shown (a) by the contents, (b) by the identity of script and page-dimensions.
² See Leipoldt, I.c., p. 390.
³ For the actual dimensions of these see id., pp. 405 f. (Note that sheet 30 + 31 is turned inside out. The true sequence—since fo. 30 immediately precedes fo. 23—is 31, 30.)
⁴ The conventional ascription shows that the fragment belongs to the end of a work. The script and the use of the plural make it probable that it belonged to the present tract.
⁵ For these see Lagarde, Aegyptiaca, pp. 38 ff. and Robinson, op. cit., pp. 44 ff., 90 ff.
⁶ For these see Tischendorf, Apoc. Apocr., pp. xxxv ff. and references.
⁷ See Crum, Hagiographica (P.S.B.A. xxix, 304). Crum alone (so far as I know) has recognized the peculiar interest of this fragment, as also that the Leipzig fragments enumerated above belonged to one and the same work.
⁸ Les Apocryphes Coptes, pp. 58 ff. (= P.O. 11, 174).
TEXTS RELATING TO THE VIRGIN

Frag. I (Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 49).

The Departing out of the Body of the Lady of us all, the holy Theotokos, Mary, the very Mother of God, on the twenty-first day of Tobi, and her holy Assumption on the sixteenth day of Mesure; according as they were related by Peter and John, the holy Apostles of Our Lord Jesus the Christ. In the Peace of God! Amen.

While the Mother of God, Mary, was dwelling retired in her cell with ten holy virgins abiding with her, unto whom God was revealing great mysteries, it came to pass that, when the day of her repose, which was declared unto her by the Lord, was drawn near, in the night of the twentieth day of Tobi she beheld a vision. She called unto the virgins who were with her; and they came unto her and said: "What hath befallen thee, 0 Mother of the Lord?" And she said: "I have seen a vision this night, as if I saw my Son in the midst of certain little children clad in robes and with crowns of pearl upon their heads: wondrous to relate was their glory and their honor. After that I beheld Peter and John with fine raiment in their hands. The little child, who was like Jesus my Son, said unto me: '0 woman, dost thou know who I am?' But I perceived that He was my son and said unto Him: 'When I behold thee I seem to behold Jesus, my Son.' He said unto me: '0 My beloved Mother, I will not leave thee apart from Me, but will take thee to Myself, that thou mayest rest for ever.' And I said unto Him: 'What seek these little children who walk with Thee?' And He said unto me: 'These are the little children whom Herod slew, at the time when thou didst bear Me into the world, thinking that he would find Me among them. For this cause do they walk with Me at all times.' And I said unto Him: 'My Lord and beloved Son . . .'

1 Cp. the Sah. in Robinson, Capt. Apocr. Gosp., p. 32, ll. 23 f.

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NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

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

• • • • • • • • • • • •

* * * [ ... ]

παρέχει μου πάντα ἃς

* * * * * * * * * * * *

[ ... ]

* * * * * * * * * * * *

Εἰς τὰ ζωτήρας μετά πάνταν θεοῦ

* * * * * * * * * * * *

[ ... ]

* * * * * * * * * * * *

* * * * * * * * * * * *

[Frag. 2 verso]

... "he said unto me: 1 " O my beloved brother, remember all those things which the Lord spake. And remember that it was thou who didst rest upon His bosom: 2 He revealed unto thee all His mysteries: 3 there is none that knoweth them but thou and He. For thou art His chosen virgin; and as for me, He did not leave me sorrowful, when I said unto Him:

4 "My Lord and my God, [show unto me?] those things which Thou hast spoken to John thy Beloved ..."

[Frag. 3 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." 5

[Frag. 3 verso]

"And she marvelled greatly when she heard the chosen (?) virgins. And she said unto them: "Let us go (?) to pray." When they had prayed, they were speaking unto the virgins who were with her. 7 [And while they conversed] together, [so, the Lord Jesus the Christ] came. [And] the [Virgin said unto Him]: "My Son . . ."

[Frag. 3 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.
3 The reference may be to the Coptic Mysteries of S. John (ed. Budge, Copt. Apocrypha, pp. 59 ff., 241 ff.), or (loosely) to the Revelation.
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.
“... For the glory belongeth unto Thee with Thy good Father and the Holy Spirit for ever and ever. Amen.”

Then answered Our Lord Jesus the Christ saying: “O My Virgin Mother, all things which thou shalt ask, shall be done for thee. I say unto thee that in all places wherein My Name shall be preached throughout the whole world, when they shall build Churches in thy name, he who shall expend that which ...

*He who shall take care in his heart to do a good deed and write thy holy life—I will write his name in the Book of Life; and every sin which he hath committed, I will forgive him: I am the Lord. He who shall take care for My holy Gospels, or the words of My Apostles and My chosen Prophets, or the books of the holy Scriptures— I will set him in the Church [of the Congregation (?)...

*Whosoever shall give] 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, or a ...”

1 The prayer of the Virgin here ended is parallel to the prayer in the Theodosian version (Robinson, op. cit., p. 110), where however there is nothing corresponding to the promises of Christ which here follow. For these promises compare the Ethiopic Covenant of Mercy (Budge, Legends of Our Lady Mary, pp. 57 f.).

2 th. the Eucharist and the eucharistic vessels.

3 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).


Ἀλλὰ τῇ ἀπαραπασχάζῃ εἴκοσι μην ἀποθεῖν [ὡς ἀποπεκεδόθεν ἐρωτηθεὶς] εἰς συντελέσεις μαίνεται πολλά ἐδοξάζειν ἐνθυτικὸν ρίσα ὑπερτερείας ἑν ἐπανάθεμα.

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

καὶ εἰς τὸν [ἀποθετήριον ἡμῶν ᾳν ὅρων] ὑπερηφάνειαν ἐρώτησεν μην ἑπιταχθεῖν ἐν ἐκείνῳ ἐντός ἀποφθέγματι [...].

* * * * * *

x Frag. 6 recto

...“We sang over it (sc. the body of the Virgin) a spiritual song. But as we were going out to the tomb, it (the song) reached the heart of the chief priests.1 They said to one another: “Come, let us slay them who carry her body and let us burn her body with fire.” Now they, the lawless men, pursued after us; and we set down her body together with the bier and fled. But as for them, the Lord cast blindness upon them (all) save one of them, that he might be a witness of those things which were to happen.

* * * * * *

* Verso

...“and it (the fire2) destroyed the multitude, even unto the resting-place of the body of the holy Virgin. But when the Apostles saw that the Jews were retreated, they arose and came forth from the place wherein they were hiding. And when the man, whose arm was torn off, saw the Apostles, his courage returned unto him, and he besought them, saying: “O my lords, have pity upon my unbelief.” And he came to Peter weeping and (saying) ...3

* Frag. 7 recto

...“every [one] whom the...He was found in.........Who is...unto the rest. We also knew [... ] which was come to pass...4

* Verso

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

---

1 The chief-priests are mentioned in this context in a Sahidic fragment (Robinson, Copt. Apocr. Gasp., pp. 78 f.).
2 The Jews are smitten with fire in the narrative of the Assumption of Theodosius (op. cit., pp. 118 f.).
3 The report of the incident is taken up at this point and carried on in the fragment published by Revillout (see above, pp. 55 f.). The Theodosian narrative (Robinson, p. 118) does not mention the man who escaped blindness.
5 Cp. Romans x, 12.
TEXTS RELATING TO THE VIRGIN

C. EVODIUS OF ROME

On the Death of the Virgin.

Parchment. Three fragments (Cairo, nos. 31, 31Add i and ii) derived from two copies of the Death of the Virgin ascribed to Evodius of Rome. 1

Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 31Add i), 21.5 x 21.5 cm., is the upper part of a leaf numbered —Αλ, the last in quire 38, 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 a) is somewhat angular, though regularly formed, with thickened down-strokes and may be assigned to the twelfth century. The stops used are ト (to distinguish clauses), and jsonp (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 x 27.5 cm., 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. 31Add ii), 26.5 x 19 cm., has a written column of 31 lines measuring 23.5 x 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. 4815-25 των της ταςρουμι.)
1. τῆς την άρσεν: L. 4818 των της ταςρουμι.

Frag. 1 verso.
(= L. p. 4830-49 ])+ ἐπερήτω ἐπερ θέν πιτρ.)
II. 1-2 ἐπερήτω ἐπερ θέν πιτρ + ο[. . . .]ἐπερ ἐπερ θέν : L. 4820 αριτ ἐπερ θέν (omitting the last three words).
1. 8 καν ἀρετή[. . . .]: L. 495 κανή.
1. 11 ἀν[αμ]: L. 498 ἀναμ.
1. 12 ἀντι αμογο: L. 494 ἀντι αμογ.

Frag. 2 recto.
(= L. p. 503-11 οδόνυ ἀπερρίην ἐπερ θαλ ποτ ημ έπερ.)
II. 7 ff. ἁπαξας κα κα ἤτετον [σφροτ εροτεν; L. 504 ἁπαξας διὶ θετενε[σ]φροτεσ[σ] εροτεν,
II. 12-14 ομοι ιτησεωτιδα ἰκε τητευττευη: L. 507-8 ομοι ιτησεωτιδα ἰκε τητευττευη κκ.
II. 19 ff. μι αμο νηκο αμο δι ες θετου[σ]ο[ι] μοτ [κα] επερ : L. 510 μι αμο νηκο εροτ ημ μοτ ημ έπερ. (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. 514-25 στορ παύμπρι ο τεταμ οπεροςος).
1. 1 παύμπρι αμερπρι: L. 5114 omits the latter word.
II. 4 εροτ εροτ αμος: L. 5115 omits the two latter words.

2 The verso is headed ΝΑ Δ (Ornament) νύκτε ή.
3 The complete width of the page.
4 The upper and outer margins have been cropped: the heading ΝΑ Δ (Ornament) νύκτε ή 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

D. THEODOSIUS
The Death and Assumption of the Virgin.

Parchment. Five leaves —ī, —ū, —ā, —ū, —ū (Cairo, no. 9, Add i-iii) from one ms. of the Theodosian Dormitio Mariae, to which also belong two leaves at Manchester (Rylands Lib., Coptic no. 441) numbered —nē, —mā, and two leaves at Leipzig (Cod. Tisch. xxvi, 1; xxvii, 9), the latter unfoliated, the former numbered —ā.1 These were recovered (from Dér Abū Makăr) by Tattam and Tischendorf respectively. The numeration is by pages, so that —ū, —nē and —mā, —ā, —ā are adjacent leaves. Since —ū, —ā form a single sheet, the quire must have contained at least six leaves (12 pp.).

The leaves —ū, —ā measure 29.2 x 22 cm.; —ē (slightly cropped) is 28.4 x 21 cm.; the other two leaves having been robbed of their margins,2 measure 25.4 x 15 and 24.3 x 15 cm. The written column is 22.5 x 12.5-13 cm. For the hand,3 which is rough and uneven, compare Plate Xl, Hyv. Album, Plate XXXII, XLII, 4.

The narrative portion of the work has been edited by Forbes Robinson4 from the complete ms., brought likewise from Dér Abū Makăr by Assemani, and now at Rome (Cod. Vat. Copt. lxii, 4). Below is given the full text of fo. —ē, containing the exordium of the homiletic introduction5 (omitted by Robinson). A collation of the remaining leaves with Robinson's text is added.

1 See Crum, Cat. of the Copt. Mss. in the Rylands Library, p. 219; Leipoldt, I.e., p. 408. The association of the Rylands and Leipzig leaves was established by Crum: in style and script the new leaves are identical with the former.

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

3 Coptic Apocryphal Gospels, pp. 90 ff.

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

5 To this part of the work Cod. Tisch. xxvii, 9 also seems to belong.
TEXTS RELATING TO THE VIRGIN

"A Discourse which our thrice-blessed Father Abba Theodosius, the Archbishop of Rakoti and the Confessor who put on Christ, delivered. And be 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 Mesore, beginning from the Dispensation of Christ unto the End of this Holy Virgin and her pure Assumption. And be 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: "They shall bring in unto the King 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 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."

1 Theodosius I, Patriarch of Alexandria 535-567 A.D., was banished by Justinian in 538 A.D. (see Hist. of the Patr., ed. Evetts, pp. 191 ff.).

2 Ps. XLV, 15.

3 ? Theodosius.
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

(1) Pp. (.sel), α (= Robinson, p. 10228 εισάγωντα το γεγονός και των θυσιά μας).

Recto 1. 9 πιστεύεις τιρώτ: R. 10221 omits τιρώτ.

Verso 1. 4 ἀπερείμων: R. 10220 – 21 ἀπερείμων.

1. 24 παραγωγή: R. 10226 adds Ἵπε χ.InnerException.

(2) Pp. (α), μα (= Robinson, p. 10418_10610 καθώς κατέστη εἰς ετερετείν.)

Recto 1. 12 ὅπερμακτών: R. 10421 ἀπερείμωντων.

1. 21 καλίδι: R. 10426 επικεφάλη.

Verso 1. 8 τετελέστα: R. 1069 τετελέστα.

1. 9 μια σφυρός sic: R. 1064 μια σφυρότη.


(3) Pp. (να), μ ( = Robinson, p. 10820_11013 εἰσώματος καὶ αἰσχροτ).

Recto 1. 5 πάλαι: R. 10823 omits.

1. 9 ἀπερείμων: R. 10824 omits superfluous ἐ.

1. 21 μια μικρό: R. 1101 μια μικρότ.

Verso 1. 3 f. πιστοτός: R. 1104 omits πτ.

1. 4 ἄνεζε: R. 1104 ἄνεζε.

1. 7 f. προσερχομαι χλόης ἔτη: R. 1106 omits ἔτη ἔτη.

1. 9 εἰσώματος (one ε added above the line): R. 1106 εἰσώματος.

1. 11 εἰσώματος: R. 1107 εἰσώματος.

1. 14 μικρισία: R. 1108 μικρισία.

1. 16 τύχε τεκ: R. 1108 τύχε τεκ.

1. 28 ἀείκοτος: R. 11018 ἀείκοτος.


Recto 1. 1 εἰσώματος: R. 1169 εἰσώματος.

1. 2 ἔσται: R. 1167 ἔσται.

1. 5 εἰσώματος: R. 1167 εἰσώματος.

Verso 1. 2 ἔσται: R. 11616 ἔσται.

1. 8 ἄπετεπαξίαν: R. 1169 ἄπετεπαξίαν.

1. 20 τηνική: R. 11628 ἐτεπαξία.

E. An Encomium on the Virgin.

Parchment. Three fragments (Cairo, no. 10, 10 Add) from one ms. Frags. 1–2 are two leaves forming a single sheet but not consecutive: the page or folio numbers are lost. Frag. 3 comprises the remains of a similar sheet of which the left-hand leaf is represented only by a small and illegible fragment (not reproduced): much of the outer portion of the right-hand leaf, which is numbered on the verso, is lost owing to decay. Possibly other fragments of this ms. may be identified at Leipzig or elsewhere.

The page measures 33 x 27 cm., the written column 27 x 16 cm. There are guide-lines to every alternate line of the text: the stop + (red) is ordinarily used, but σ and ς occur once each. The hand, a large, regular, square uncial (see Plate IV b), resembles the hand of Hyvernat, Album, Plate xxxvii (x century).

In Frags. 1–2 various Old Testament worthies—Elias, Moses (?), Judith, Gideon—are invoked: the contents of Frag. 3 are not altogether clear owing to its damaged condition. Though in all the Virgin is lauded, certain indications (see Frag. 1, recto, ll. 24 ff.) suggest that the work was at least formally a Panegyric on the Nativity.
TEXTS RELATING TO THE VIRGIN

Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 10).

... 

3 Presumably the reference is to Exodus xv, 23 ff., and the personage invoked is Moses.
... (I. 2) O thou who didst give birth to God... the Angel of the great council.¹

O Gideon,² the questioner, wherefore didst thou tempt the Lord, Who raised thee up to be a savior of Israel, the people of stiff necks, and didst ask to be given a sign? And it was done. The torrents of heaven were opened: dew was poured upon a single spot, until the wool of a fleece was filled with it, so that thou didst fill a basin of water therewith. Afterwards thou didst ask for the contrary; and the Lord, was the dew, Mary herself was the fleece, the ewe-Iamb without blemish.

The parable saith: “All the trees gathered themselves together...”³

¹ See Judges IV, 6 f.
² For what follows cp. Judges vi, 36 ff.
³ “Unless” resumes the question “Wherefore didst thou...”
TEXTS RELATING TO THE VIRGIN

Frag. 3 (Cairo, no. 16³⁶).

10 Οτός πώς μήκες ἀπεφέρε ἀπαντών ἔτοιμον καθαρόν εἰς τοὺς ἅμοις ἐρμήν.

15 Οτός φιλε ἔταφτ μᾶς ἀπαντών ἔτοιμον καθαρόν εἰς τοὺς ἅμοις ἐρμήν.

20 Ἰς Ἰερεμίας 1, 55. 2 Ἰς Ἰωάννης 1, 14.

*... 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...

And He who gave her power to conquer, lo, today is exalted upon her triumph (?)... 

As she kisses His mouth and worships Him saying, 'Thou art the Son of God.' Lo, Mary also brought her...

This is my God... 'He who has conquered Satan and cut his head from off him by humility without sword or lance.

O Jeremias, Who is He who laid waste Jerusalem and spoiled Babylon? 1 Who is He Who... when He made captive...

This is the Word Which became Flesh and dwelt among us and we beheld His glory as of the Only Son, perfect, full of grace and truth. 2 This is the Word of the Lord Which spake with thee at all times, as [a man] speaketh with [his friend]...
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 × 29.5 cm.) forming the central sheet in a quire. These are numbered —[τ], —[τ] respectively. 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, where the paragraphs are differently arranged, and is far nearer related to the Sahidic. Hence it appears that there were at least two Bohairic recensions of this work.

Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 32Addi) is a paper leaf, numbered —[τ], and measuring 25 × 15 cm. (column, 19 × 10.7 cm.). No stops are used. For the hand (Plate XXIV a) cp. Zöega’s Class VIII n., xxxi, or better Brit. Mus. Or. no. 702. The text, which is in the Sahidic dialect, corresponds generally but not exactly with the published Sahidic version.

Frag. 3 (Cairo, no. 32Addii), 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 a, ii) is the same as the hand of No. xxxv, F. 3. 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 peculiar angular hand (see Plate X a, ii) is the same as the hand of No. xxxv, F. 3. The peculiar angular hand (see Plate X a, ii) is the same as the hand of No. xxxv, F. 3. The peculiar angular hand (see Plate X a, ii) is the same as the hand of No. xxxv, F. 3.
ENCOMIUM ON THE ARCHANGEL MICHAEL

X... (They who are in Heaven hold festal because there hath been cast) out from them who slandered (?) them—he who was the enemy of Him who created him. For this cause we (?) 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... (1. 4) ... he came down and mastered him... and bound him in chains which may not be loosed. Nor... did he leave him bound upon the earth; but it is written1 concerning him that [he cast him into] the lake which is full of fire and (there) he is kept until the day of the Great Judgment. [For if he (the Devil) had remained] upon the earth no flesh would have escaped his evil...

But thou wilt say unto me, friend: “If the Devil was bound, why, when the Angels of God stood in the presence of the Lord, as it is written in the Book of Job,2 (and) in what manner did he... and how did he bring evil upon Job, since he was bound?” He saith...

“Harken and I [will inform thee... ] Paul the... Apostle saith3 “The servant of Satan buffeteth me...”

Our good Savior spake (?) unto him saying: “Get thee behind me, Satan.”4

But now we will not linger over this story (lit. the word) nor spend long time in speaking of him who hateth our race: let what has been said suffice (?). Rather let us return unto the Conqueror, the honored wearer of the crown, the Archangel Michael, who hath prepared (?) for us today the glorious table of the great festal which is spread for us today in the heavens and upon the earth according to the commandment, our Lord Jesus the Christ Himself, (Who is) one God, and one Lord, and one Kingdom existent in the Holy Trinity which is consubstantial for ever.

Now as for us, O my beloved, since we know how great a potentate is the great Archangel, let us rejoice with him whom God hath glorified; [let us] eat of the good things which the holy Archangel Michael hath prepared for us. But thou wilt say: “Since it is a royal banquet, it befitts us to hold back until they are summoned before us, who are the nobles of the Palace of the King and of his Chief Captain Michael. Afterwards let us follow them.” (It is well spoken; for) as was said above,

1 See Rev. xx, 1 ff., 10.
2 See Job 1, 6.
3 See ii Cor. xii, 7.
4 Matt. iv, 10 (confused with Mark viii, 33).
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

If I desire to return again unto the Palace of the holy Archangel Michael, unto the great ones and the righteous old man, then are they of the greatest worth,-Adam and Abel, and Seth his son; Enoch, Methuselah, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Joseph his son; Moses, Aaron, and Joshua the son of Nun; Gideon, Barak, Samson, and Jephthah; David the King, and Solomon his son, and Hezekiah, the righteous Kings; Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel, the Prophets; the Three Holy (Children), Elias and Elisha the great Prophets; Zacharias the Priest with John his son and the Twelve Apostles; Stephen the Archdeacon, the righteous old man, the Priest Simeon, and all the Martyrs.

Why do I speak only of men of the earth? Nay, there are the Lord of Sabaoth and the "whole host of Heaven..." [But I] desire to return again unto the Palace of the holy Archangel Michael, unto the great ones and the holy men of earth that I may inquire of them concerning this great feast which is spread out for us today, that I may...it; to the end that today I also may "rejoice with them that do rejoice," according to the saying of the wise Solomon (sic).  

1 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, your Father Adam. For he is the first whom I behold in the banquet hall, foremost amongst the men of earth... today. And although I am a sinner, yet I will pay him reverence with my tongue and say unto him: "Hail, my holy Father! Hail, Father of all mankind and of my holy Fathers who have been and who shall be." If I give him these three greetings which befit his glory at this festival, doubtless he will cry out like a good father to his son: "Come, let us rejoice with thee today at this great festival." And when I find boldness of speech before him, I will ask him: "My lord Father, art thou not he whom God fashioned with His own hands, whom He filled with (the glory of) His likeness and His image? Art thou not he whom God commanded, saying: 'Eat of the trees...'

---

Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 32Add).

1. Supply λύπωμ μια.
2. p added above the line by a later hand.

---

But I will commence my task with the Father of all mankind, with him whom God made after His likeness and His image, your 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...'

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* Verso = Boh. p. 8
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 3 (Cairo, no. 32 Add ii).

ας γει ερον εσσυζει αλλα προινον ἀλλη δισαν - πεν πιαρξασπον
κος εσσανδ μιχανδ χε μαλον
5 ελι πηλεμον χε χαι τιρον αν ετετειαν ερω-
ον
Αλλα πενεπον πε οτορ πε-
επτεπεις πε - οτορ ον τεταφ-
10 ερον τιρον χε πενεπον πε

Πεκε πιαρχον παγ χτε μιχανδ
χε -
15 ερον υμεπον υτε πιπυλ τι-
τετ - ωφων ωδη ϕεν ετο-

Πεκε πιαρχον παγ χε μιχανδ
χε -
20 υμεπον υτε πιπυλ τι-
τετ - ωφων ωδη ϕεν ετο-

* Recto = Sah. pp. 390 f.; Boh. P. 43

[* We have not] laid trouble upon ourselves on thy account; but, thanks be to God and the holy Archangel Michael, there is no stranger amongst all these whom thou beholdest. But they are all brethren and kinsfolk and friends of our fathers and our kindred.” And while they were saying these things, the Archangel Michael was rejoicing at the perfection of their dispositions.

* Verso = Sah. pp. 391 f.; Boh. P. 44

[At Michael’s bidding Dorotheos brings in the fish, which he had bought for the Archangel’s entertainment, and opens it.] “He found a great bag in it secured with a seal. And Dorotheos marveled and said: “What is this, my Lord, which I have so found?” The archon—that is, Michael—said unto him: “Great fishes are wont to swallow up everything which they find. Open it, that we may see what is in it.” And Dorotheos said: “My Lord, how shall I open it…”

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ENCOMIA ON GABRIEL AND ELIAS

X. ENCOMIUM ON THE ARCHANGEL GABRIEL

Parchment. Single leaf (Cairo, no. 39), 26.2 x 20 cm., numbered —. 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. ix. No doubt the leaf at Leipzig (Cod. Tisch. xxvii, 2), paged π, π, belonged to the same MS.

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

Reto 1-8:

οτορ πεαςλω μιοσ α ελαποσ οτι'η ρ η τοι υπερχιανομεν εοστα υαεβηβιν οτορ α ηι
ηι ηοτοτοι ηευτο ειυετο υπερχιανομεν εοστα.

Verso 1-6:

ακομπι ει ηο [νηιιιιιιιιιιιιιι] απι απι ηε εκκλησι εοστα νευ πεπελεποτον ποτετατιπιον
αερτον[οτ] η εατο ... (14—17.) ακι εδοτι ιυε ηο δελιμπι ηαφοατο ακιε ερετι ηετοττι 
ερωτ...

1 See Leipoldt, ap. Vollers, Kat., p. 416.

XI. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM

Encomium on the Prophet Elias.

Parchment. One leaf (Cairo, no. 53), 34 x 23.5 cm. The written column measures 28 x 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 also dealing with Elias and doubtless brought by Tattam from Dér Abû Makâr. 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.

Our leaf contains the peroration and conclusion of the Encomium published by Budge 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 Dér es Suriân) 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 Pehōout, to the Church of Saint Elias. Our fragment is of interest as containing an exhortation to 'hasten into the Oratory of the holy Elias'—doubtless a reference to the local Church of Elias, and therefore suggesting that the recension is 'Nitrian' in origin.

1 Crum, Cat., no. 438. 2 See Introduction, § 5. 3 Cod. Tisch. xxviii, 2—4 (see Leipoldt, ap. Vollers, Kat., p. 418). 4 T.S.B.A. ix, Pt. ii. 5 See Curzon, Visits to Monasteries of the Levant (2nd edn.), pp. 82 f. 6 See the Coptic Mart. of Isaac of Tî布莱, ed. Budge (T.S.B.A. ix, Pt. i, p. 38). The Cell Pehōout (Arabic, 'Behêt') was probably identical with the Mon. of the Abyssinians, called by Makrizi (Gesch. d. Copt., ed. Wustenfeld, vii, § 70) the Mon. of Elias, and was a unit in the Laura of John the Little: see H.N.S. iv, v, § 2.
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

...the holy Elias, he...chariots of fire. For who among you can touch the fire of this world without being burned?—much less the fire of those chariots, over which the holy Elias had power because of his purity.

For this cause therefore, my beloved, let us love purity, let us cast away from us uncleanness which the Lord abhors more than all (other) sins. Let love dwell among us; for love covereth a multitude of sins:

1 Peter iv, 8.

...the holy Elias, he...chariots of fire. For who among you can touch the fire of this world without being burned?—much less the fire of those chariots, over which the holy Elias had power because of his purity.

For this cause therefore, my beloved, let us love purity, let us cast away from us uncleanness which the Lord abhors more than all (other) sins. Let love dwell among us; for love covereth a multitude of sins:

1 Peter iv, 8.

2 Cp. Hebr. x, 23?

3 On the Church of S. Elias in Shihet see Introductory Note.

4 Tobi 6.

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MIRACLES OF SAINT GEORGE

XII. ENCOMIUM ON THE THREE CHILDREN

Parchment. Two leaves (Cairo, nos. 18, 18 Add) from one MS., measuring 29 × 21 and 29.5 × 21 cm. No page or folio numbers are distinguishable. Large fragments have been torn off the upper right and lower left corners of the second leaf. Both are stained a deep brown, having apparently been soaked in oil, and when found were caked with mud. The hand is a good-sized uncial probably of the tenth or eleventh century. The only stop used is a high – (black ink).

Other fragments of the same MS. are extant. (1) Two leaves (forming a single sheet), 29.5 × 23 cm., were in Sept. 1908 in the possession of a Spanish duke. The first leaf begins: ποιημα θεου εν λαοι ανεμερω [ . . . . ] περιομεν ερεμι [. . . ] τοι ιερον εις ντιπερην − θεν πιεροσ ει [και] ιερωνεστον σιγων − [δε] οταν ιεραμαν ποιημα.

"And thus Nebuchadnezzar took them to Babylon, put them in his treasury and sealed them with his seal (Αρματ). So he took Joakim and Jekonias to Babylon. And when the King had regained his calm number − πτυχη αριθμου, [ . . . . . . ] δει τοι ιερον, [ . . . . . . ] εμεδεξια. This leaf must have been directly followed by Cod. Tisch. xxvii, 6, which begins εοροστητον ε ομαλ φωτα οι αμαρω εοροστη.

The following gloss incorporated in the text (verso l. 16 ff.) may be quoted: πεντακοι οιδαν έτε τοι ιερον εοροστη έδειξεν ημας.

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) οτοι πουρε [εοροστητον] μεν ιεραμαν [πτυχη αριθμου] [και] ιερωνεστον σιγων − [δε] οτοι πουρε εις ντιπερην. [ . . . . . . ] εμεδεξια. This leaf was immediately preceded by Cod. Tisch. xxvii, 5, which ends: ιε υμενιοι νουτεταν ημιν πενταρα.

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 — πρω, the last of quire 5 (sic), and measuring 29 × 24 cm. There are no stops: vertical guide-lines are used to define the column, horizontal for every other line of the text. The hand is rounded and of good size, similar to that of No. xii, but ν 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. 6

The Bohairic texts relating to Saint George all appear to be derived from the Monasteries of Wadi 'n Natrūn: the Bodleian MS. (dated 1293) 5 belonged to "the Church of the Virgin in the Monastery of Baramis," and may have been brought thence by Huntington, 8 the Rylands MS. was formerly in Tattam's possession 9 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 Dēr Abū Makār. Does Cod. Tisch. xxvi, 29 10 come from another part of the same MS. ?

1 I am indebted for this information and for the analysis to W. E. Crum, who saw the original (described as being in "a large old Nitrian hand") at the British Museum. The present whereabouts of this fragment is unknown.
2 See ii Chron. xxxvi, 6 f.
3 See Dan. i, 3 ff.
4 For the site on which this image is thought to have stood see Times, May 14, 1923.
5 See Leipoldt, l.c., p. 414.
6 S. George of Cappadocia, pp. 44 ff.
7 op. cit., pp. x, xi and Hyvernat, Album, p. 18.
8 See Introduction, § 5.
9 See Crum, Catalogue, no. 443.
10 See Leipoldt, l.c., p. 414.
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

(Cairo, no. 26.)

... ἦς πλαγος [ὡς] τεσσαρ
[τοιο] ... ἦς ποτρο [ὅς] ἦς πλαγος [ὡς] ἦς ποτρο...
5 [πομος] φαλ ἦς οτιν ταρ ... [ὅς] ἦς ποτρο

(vector... ... σταμμυ ζερο ζοτομ ... κατομ ...)

10 ΙΩ σταμμυ θερον ζοτομ ... [ὅς] ἦς σταμμυ εκειν ολο.
[κατ] ... δεινιν κατομ θερομ

•••

(recto) ... "But the holy George [appeared] to the King1 ... saying: "... this steward2 ... for, lo ... Behold, for many days I have desired [to bring] punishment upon him, but ... because of the worship of idols of Diocletian. And now, when thou art arisen in the morning, take away the keys from him and give them to another one whom the people shall choose."

And when the King was arisen, he went into the topos to pray, and found all the people looking towards him with joy; because they had found a righteous King, perfect after God’s own heart, like David and Solomon. And when he had prayed, he sat down; and they all showed him "and informed him concerning the steward of unrighteousness, telling him of his pitilessness towards the poor and needy, saying: "We know of what sort (?) are all the things which this man hath done unto this day, but we could not speak because of the idolatry which was spread abroad over the whole earth.3 But now, O our Lord, that God hath sent thee unto us as a deliverer, do justice according to thy wisdom."

And the King declared unto all the multitude those things which the holy George had spoken unto him concerning the steward in the vision. And he sent straightway and caused them to destroy his house and his garners; and they cast him out of the topos. And they made inquiry throughout all the city and found ... 4

1 Perhaps Constantine.
2 A steward of the topos (‘precinct’) of S. George at Antioch is mentioned in the Miracles of S. George (Budge, S. George of Cappadocia, pp. 67, 74).
3 The meaning seems to be, “we do not accuse him for his idolatry, since that was universal, but for his harshness.”
4 The note in the right margin reads: "I pray (you) make mention of me, the poor one who wrote (this), the son of ..."
THE MARTYRDOM OF THEODORE THE STRATELATES

XIV. THE MARTYRDOM OF JAMES THE PERSIAN

Parchment. Three complete leaves (Cairo, no. 51) from one ms., each 28 × 21 cm. Frag. 1 is the outermost sheet of quire 67, comprising two leaves paged respectively 70, 60 and (65), 65. The initial and final quire-headings are: 67—=nI= (Ornament)—=nX= (Ornament)—en(Ornament)—=nX=—e. The first two quires therefore contained eight leaves each; the third, only six. Frag. 2 is paged 67—68 without other heading. The hand in all three leaves (see Plate XI 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 —n66); xxvi, 16 (paged —65), and therefore immediately preceding the new-found leaf (65), (65), and xxvi, 2 (verso headed 67—65—(Ornament)—=nX=—nIX=). Cod. Tisch. xxv, 4 (recto headed 67—nX=—(Ornament)—=nX=—nX=), 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. lxix, 1, which was brought from the Monastery of Macarius by Assemani: the divergence of the fragments from this copy is so slight that neither copy nor collation is here given. The following table will show the correspondence between the fragments and the Vatican text:

(1) Pp. —66, παρεινέται ... καθεκ 3ας 3ες αυτού t = Vat. pp. 65 l. 14—65 l. 19.
(2) Pp. —65, 67—65, τεπ ηφι αντικαμεν τετραγωρυφα χριστίον t = παπας πα = Vat. pp. 65 l. 22—(65) l. 23.
(3) Pp. —65: πεπαναγεν παχ ... ου τυ φερεται = Vat. πη 1. 13—(πη) l. 18.
(4) Pp. —65: η την πηνηκα ... ηνοι α τον εω μημ = Vat. πη 1. 18—πη 1. 20.
(5) Pp. —65 (Cod. Tisch. xxv, 4): έ τηνορου ανο νιφαν = ... (end of text illegible) = Vat. πη 1. 27—πη 1. 21.
(6) Pp. —65: η την πηνηκα ... ωρες ηαεροφαλει α — Vat. πη 1. 33—πη 1. 3.
(7) Pp. —65: ε, ... κεριεν ε κερια ... ε πυρικα α πυρωνα ε πυρεως ε στικης ε, επι

ποι απογραφη = Vat. πη 65—66.

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 × 21 cm., has a written column of 23 × 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 × 11 cm.) is the outer edge of a leaf; Frag. 3 is the middle portion of a sheet of two leaves measuring respectively 6 × 12.5 cm. and 10 × 20.5 cm. A fourth fragment, 6.5 × 22 cm., is the top of a leaf numbered on the verso 65, but comes from another ms. as the larger hand and wider column show. The minor fragments, though inconsiderable, are here published in the hope that their complements may be identified at Leipzig or elsewhere.

The script of Frags. 1—3 (see Plate XI b, and cp. Hyvernat, Album, Plate xx) is identical with the script of certain leaves at Leipzig, Cod. Tisch. xxvi, 28, 33, 34; all certainly belonged to one ms., in which (be it noted) Frag. 1 immediately preceded Cod. Tisch. xxvi, 28, which begins, καιτον τε εκατονυμην Κακος-

κακος εικε ανεχαλητον προι. As Winstedt has pointed out, 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 (acquired by Drovetti almost certainly from the Monastery of Saint Macarius), belonged to the same ms. as the new fragments and itsfellows 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, 104 ff.

1 On the two Leipzig fragments see Leipoldt, I.c., p. 411.
2 Id., pp. 408 ff. The text of this fragment is included in the portion of the Martyrdom published by von Lemm, Iberica (Mem. de l'Acad. ... de S. Petersbourg, vii, 6 ff.).
3 Leipoldt, I.c., p. 401 (but not there identified).
4 These have been published by Winstedt, Copt. Texts on S. Theodore, pp. 161 ff.
6 Published by de Rossi, Mem. della Accad. delle Scienze di Torino, Ser. ii, t. xliv (1893), pp. 318 ff.
7 See Introduction, § 5.
8 Published in Acta Mart. Copt., pp. 182 ff.
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 49).

... 1

εἰς αὐξίαν ἐν ὑπὲρ ἑνὸς ἄνω Μηδενεῦντοι οὐδόθι καὶ τοὺς εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀποτέλεσεν εἰς

5 ἔμφια ἀφετῆ παντρεύμοναν παντελῶν καὶ ἐνταλματαί πασχαν ἀλλοι ἤματοι ἀναστὰς ἀπὸ τοὺς ἄγιον

Πεθανὸν τοῦ αἰωνίων τελέσαντα ἡμῖν ἀγαθόν ἐν ἐξέρχοντες τις ἄγιον ἀριστοκράτους παντελῶν

10 καὶ συνεπάτθη. ὁ δὲ Θεός ἐν καταρακταίοις τοῖς οἰκείοις ἔμπεσεν ἀναστάς καὶ τοῖς ἐν πάσι ποιήσα

15 πετέρων ἐν καταρακταὶ ἐναρέους ἐν τοῖς ἄγιοι καὶ ἐναρέους ἐν τοῖς ἄγιοι τοῖς ἀναστασίοις.

1ς τόπῳ τῷ ἐν οἴκειοι καὶ τῷ ἐναρέους ἐν τοῖς ἄγιοι τοῖς ἀναστασίοις.

20 οἱ πολλοί πολιοῦντο ταῖς ἀρεταῖς καὶ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς τοῖς ἀναστασίοις τοῖς ἀναστασίοις.

25 οἱ πολλοὶ πολιοῦντο ταῖς ἀρεταῖς καὶ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς τοῖς ἀναστασίοις τοῖς ἀναστασίοις.

1 Traces of a heading.

x 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.”

x 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: ‘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.”

1 See Frag. 2 verso (ll. 15 ff.), which should precede this leaf.
THE MARTYRDOM OF THEODORE THE STRATELATES

Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 49).

[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).

Fo. 1 * * * * *

[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)....

*... 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.1 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

Frag. 4 (Cairo, no. 49).

redor 

... (l. 4) He lifted up his eyes to heaven and his (?)... unto Him Who had done good unto him. And he was saying: "My God, the Ineffable, Thou Who didst...; "Thou Who didst break the gates and the iron bars² of [the house?] of Amenti..."

Verso "Alas! If your father Theodore were here and saw you... here..."

redor "this healing." When she heard this, she fell down straightway, and became as one dead. And... saying:

1 Cp. i Tim. 1, 15. 2 Cp. Psalm cvii, 16.
XVI. THE MARTYRDOM OF JUSTUS THE STRATELATES

Parchment. Seven leaves or fragments from three mss. (1) Frag. 1 (Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 14) is the upper half of an initial leaf, 21 x 25 cm., paged —ū, containing the title (in the usual ornamented framing of cable-pattern) of the Martyrdoms of Justus, Apoli, Theoclia, and Eusebius. Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 52), a leaf from which the outer edge has been torn, measures 31.2 cm. (complete height) x 18.8 cm. (actual width): the column is 18.8 cm. wide. The verso is headed nū (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) are two consecutive leaves, paged —ūv, —ūwa, now measuring 32 x 24 and 31 x 25 cm. respectively. The hand is a medium, rounded uncial (? late x or xi century): capital letters have dotted ornament (usually ) and flourishes: capital Ο and Ε frequently occur in the body of the column. Stops, (red), ⊕ or ⊕. 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), 28 x 17 cm., though probably contemporary with Frags. 3-4, can hardly belong to the same ms.,a differing as it does in size and style (e.g. stops have the form ⊕): yet the use of capital Ο and Ε 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 consecutiveb but forming a single sheet, measure 28.5 x 21 cm.: the column is 23 x 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 commemoratedc on Mechir (Amshir) 10. The saint was a magnate of Antioch,9 who greatly distinguished himself during the Persian Wars of Diocletian, taking prisoner Nicomedes the son of the Persian king (Frag. 1). The prince was entrusted to the charge of the Archbishop of Antioch, who perfidiously released him and swore falsely that the youth was dead.10 For this cause Diocletian began to persecute the Christians. Justus was absent in Persia at the outbreak of the Persecution and returned to find his son Apoli a prisoner. Thereupon he headed a revolt against Diocletian, but was bidden by Christ, who appeared to him in a vision, to abandon his attempt and to demand of the King that he should be sent to Egypt to be martyred. Justus then freed his slaves and gave away his property (Frag. 2). As he demanded, he was sent to Egypt to Armenius the governor of Alexandria, who dispatched Justus to Arianus at Antinoe, his wife Theoclia to Sai (Sais, S), and his son Apoli to Pouasti (Bubastis).11

At Antinoe Arianus was with difficulty induced to torture so distinguished a person as Justus, but finally inflicted the usual series of torments (Fraggs. 3-4). After vainly attempting to bribe the martyr, he crushes him to death with a mill-stone, and when he is restored to life by the intervention of Christ, orders him to be beheaded (Frag. 5). The body of the martyr was recovered by a 'faithful man' who placed it in a martyrium in the village of 'Tisi-djereht in P-halé,12 to the south of Antinoe (Fraggs. 6-7).

2 The Leipzig leaves from the Mart. of Apoli (Cod. T. xxiv, 6, 7: 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.
10 Winstedt, op. cit., pp. xvii ff., regards this incident as possibly historical.
12 See Frag. 6, Note 2.

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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 Der Abd Makar. They are also grouped together on a small parchment leaf from a liturgical book (Cairo, no. 99), the relevant passage being as follows:

\[\text{Above \text{\textit{ten-}} a contemporary (?) hand has written \text{\textit{ten-}}.} \]

\[\text{\textit{sic, for \text{\textit{apofasec.}}} \]

---

\[\text{Frag. 1 (Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 14).} \]

\[\text{\textit{The Martyrdom of the pure Martyr of Christ, who put to shame the Kings and their foul idols, the holy Justus, the great General, the Man of Antioch; and of Theoclia, his wife, and of Apa Apoli, his son; and of Eusebius the son of Basilides; and of his servants and of eighteen thousand and forty-four souls besides, who were martyred with the pure one, Justus, who finished his good fight and his martyrdom on the tenth day of the month Mechir. In the Peace of God! Amen.}} \]

\[\text{\textit{The Martyrdom of the pure Martyr of Christ, who put to shame the Kings and their foul idols, the holy Justus, the great General, the Man of Antioch; and of Theoclia, his wife, and of Apa Apoli, his son; and of Eusebius the son of Basilides; and of his servants and of eighteen thousand and forty-four souls besides, who were martyred with the pure one, Justus, who finished his good fight and his martyrdom on the tenth day of the month Mechir. In the Peace of God! Amen.}} \]

---

\[\text{\textit{(Traces of one line)}} \]

---

\[\text{\textit{\textit{The Martyrdom of the pure Martyr of Christ, who put to shame the Kings and their foul idols, the holy Justus, the great General, the Man of Antioch; and of Theoclia, his wife, and of Apa Apoli, his son; and of Eusebius the son of Basilides; and of his servants and of eighteen thousand and forty-four souls besides, who were martyred with the pure one, Justus, who finished his good fight and his martyrdom on the tenth day of the month Mechir. In the Peace of God! Amen.}} \]

\[\text{\textit{\textit{The Martyrdom of the pure Martyr of Christ, who put to shame the Kings and their foul idols, the holy Justus, the great General, the Man of Antioch; and of Theoclia, his wife, and of Apa Apoli, his son; and of Eusebius the son of Basilides; and of his servants and of eighteen thousand and forty-four souls besides, who were martyred with the pure one, Justus, who finished his good fight and his martyrdom on the tenth day of the month Mechir. In the Peace of God! Amen.}} \]
THE MARTYRDOM OF JUSTUS THE STRATELATES

Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 52).

... "He gave a hundred gold pieces [unto each of] them, and twenty ... his ship voyaging by sea. And the rest of his wealth he distributed to the poor and the [widows?] and the orphans who were in the city. In this way he left himself nothing of all that was his ... happened on (?) the third day ... (1. 12) Afterwards, as the night (?) was ... and while they still slept, 10, the Lord Jesus the Christ came unto him with Michael and Gabriel standing on His right hand and on His left ... the Savior ... [Justus was] with Apa Apoli his son and Theoclia his wife; for they were sleeping with him. And straightway Michael stretched forth his staff [and touched them].

Then when they arose and saw our Lord Jesus the Christ with his pure Angels in great glory, they feared greatly. The Savior said unto them: 2 x" Fear not, but rather rejoice; for whereas thou hast given thy goods unto the needy and thy riches unto the poor, I also will receive you 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 3 that I am to be killed (?) there for the Name of my Lord Jesus the Christ; for, 10, I will not remain in this place since men will speak with me, saying, 'Art not thou the great prince of this city?' I know that the King ... upon thee. Moreover, do not go unto him in fear ... "

1 Cp. the Ethiopic Acta Mart. (ed. Pereira) p. 83 for Justus' distribution of his wealth: ib. p. 73 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).

The holy Justus said unto him: "I am sent unto thee that thou mayest torment me as it pleaseth thee and I shall be able to neglect the command of my lord the King."
"But the blessed man said unto him: "As Jesus the Christ, my true bridegroom, livest—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 strengthenthe me, my Lord Jesus the Christ. Only death fear not at all."  

Now when Arianus heard this his spirit grew strong within him exceedingly. And straightway he commanded that they should hang him upon the hermetarion and torment him. He caused them to pour pitch upon the instruments of torture which they applied to him. After that, he made them lay him down upon the hermetarion, and bring awls of iron, heated in the fire, and thrust them into his ears, so that the fire entered into his whole head. And again, he made them lay bare his privy parts and pour molten lead thereon.

But the blessed man lifted up his eyes to heaven and said: "Harken unto me, Thou Who art in the glory of Thy Father; for Thou art my glory and my might. Send unto me Thy holy Angel, that he may strengthen me in this hour of necessity. For the victory is Thine, my Lord Jesus the Christ, together with Thy good Father and the Holy Spirit for ever. Amen."

When he had so spoken, he looked towards his right and saw the Savior with Michael on His right hand and Gabriel on His left. And the Savior said unto him: "Fear not, Justus My chosen one, but be strong and of a good courage. I have finished preparing for thee thy throne in the Heavens, and I will set thee in the Place of Glory." And He stretched forth His hand upon his whole body and healed his frame (?). And He strengthened him, saying: "Be not afraid, neither be dismayed at all. For the death of this world is no fear not at all."
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

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

"... king because of them, that he should declare their value. I had gold sufficient to buy thee, 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 what pleaseth thee. Fear not at all.”

When Arianus heard that, he was troubled and resolved to kill him, that he might depart from him. 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 ... (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 ... 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: “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.)

1 Justus, the speaker, is refusing promises of wealth offered him by Arianus.
2 i.e. “thy city.”
3 i.e. that he might be rid of him.
4 For the word actirIoyn see Crum, Rylands Catalogue, p. 47 note (and refs.).
5 The remainder is a slightly different version of the opening lines of Frag. 6.

* Recto

* Verso
THE MARTYRDOM OF JUSTUS THE STRATELATES

Frag. 6 (Cairo, no. 4, fo. 1).

Dem otopros potos
xe alpyn apokritianoc di-
narssia.

Ariano oxe etapovn epoxo)
5 etosel pot otoxoc ope-
mi oxe sepparacl a

Otox Dem potos eiperw-
leti eorotct apmakari-
oc otoxoc ebdal pem mi-

mwn twn psewdfi poto-
dep

O'totb xe esapotepov epoxo
rake psewdfi eipw mom
nag-

15 xe palwora taivan olo
aw oxe poto xrapos


1 sic.
2 sic: for 'sou.

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

Forthwith the Savior appeared unto him (sc. Justus) and said unto him: "My true champion, verily thou hast contended! I also will cause great marvels to be wrought in the sanctuary wherein they shall lay thy body. And after thy death I will put it into the heart of a faithful man—lo, he standeth now with a multitude to bury thy body according to thy glory and thy worth. And I will cause them to build a great martyrium for thee in a little village to south of this city and to lay thy body therein—and the name of the village is Tisi-djerhet in P-hale. 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 . . ."

(Two ? folios missing.)

Dr George Sobhy points out that the place must be in the region of the modern Deir El-Medina (= Copt. teprot), N. of Assiut, referring to Crum, Cat. Copt. MSS. in the Rylands Library, p. 99, note 9, where teprot-pale is mentioned.

Recto

Verso
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

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

*Recto*

Πεπενα παί δε—αμπ ρακ
οτριμιί οιοκτος κατα
φριεν έκα πακ ρακ
σιρκος μεπερσολα εποκον
5 ακ πακλυης καρεθ [ε ξε
ξεφεν γεν πελα
δε—

Δημος ποταμεργιον επο
καρ κατα περιμα στορ
10 ατχρο μεπερσολα επεαθα
πριαγη

Ότον ραπ πιεν ετγουμι
γεν ειμπολλοι πιεν
αςποσαντος πρωγις—μακ
ραμη ε πιαλοθ
Ακοπ ρε τριω λαμεπχα
παλη οτοτ πακλυν
γεσι ά κε ηραγραγκηε
οε παλ παεκε απε τελε
ματραθα εποκον
15 ακοπ Δε ραμιω λαμεπρα
παλη οτοτ πακλυν

c
Пеепиес пал лигк пиков
марактук дук фи
ют ге пеаку миереген
25 фиети этакитуот се
κας ёфесрооот ерыи екап
пакад фи пеечка пеп
пода пак ебол пак пепк—

Παμι = πεπερά εις περακ
Φιλι ετε εβολτιττε νερ ο—
στ πιεπ = πεμ τακ πιεπ
πεμ προκιτοισι πιεπ
5 ημισ εφκλωτ νέμαθ
πεμ υππα επουθα πρεμ
ταμου

Τραγο—πεμ ρεπ πιεπ
πεμ μα ενερ πετε πιεπ
10 τιροτ αμην

*Verso*

αλιθω οκαζαναςτζ αρισοφος ακαζανχα μαζιζ'
αρινου τζ έσοφο εγκατ η παζαζη πατι
εμπη εμπης ημεο αρει χν νη εβολ αρε—
μεβε εντε πατιζ η πχοτ η ηα[νο]ζη η εβολ άνο
κα πιτζων εφεφεροντι παρα ρεμμ ριζεν
εταζον ζητζεν πικαρι ουρ εν ενε ναταμζα
εμπορον έτανημεν εροφ πελζη μακριμεν
φι ζν εντε πιτζε2 αραμπουβε τε πιτζ η ηανοβζ
[νηε εβολ πη ετευ τζοτ τζ εμμ εφετζε ροφ κατα
πισμου ημη εσεζετε εμμ ζοε3

1 1st hand: small sloping, informal uncials.
2 Later hand. Greek cursive script: black ink.

*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-hale. They built a martyrion over it, according to his deserving, and placed his holy body therein. For (sic) everyone who was sick with any sickness soever, if they worshiped over his body, obtained healing.

Now we also, O my beloved fathers and brethren—since God hath vouchsafed unto us the gift of his pure martyrdom—after this long time let us give glory unto God the Father on the day of his glorious Commemoration, to the end that he may obtain grace for us in the presence of God, that our sins may be forgiven us by the Lover of Mankind, Our Lord Jesus the Christ—through Whom all glory and all honor and all worship is meet for the Father together with Him and the Holy Spirit, the Giver of Life, now and at all times and for ever and ever. Amen.

The blessing of the holy Justus the General be with us all evermore. Amen.

Verily if thou speakest, be wise; if thou harkenest, 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 Markurios,1 of Pidjis.2 Make mention of me, that the Lord may forgive me my sins. He who shall say 'Amen,' shall also receive according to (sic) the blessing. Amen, so let it be; Amen; (Amen).

1 Probably the writer was an inmate of the Cell of Philotheos, a unit in the Laura of S. Macarius (see H.N.S. iv, v, § 2).
2 ΕΙΣΕΙΣ ΟΙ ΠΕΙΣ must be equivalent to the cell-name given (in Arabic) as Bidjidj, Bidjibidj and the like (op. et loc. cit.).
3 I am indebted to W. E. Crum for the transcription of this note.
THE MARTYRDOME 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 —^, 29 x 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 —^) forming one sheet with Frag. 3; Frag. 3, numbered —^, measures 35.2 x 27 cm. and is a nearly complete leaf. Frag. 4, a much-decayed leaf (to be identified as —^), measures 24 x 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. lx1, 2, to the missing first half of which these fragments originally belonged. 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. Frag. 5 (Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 27), paged —^, 32 x 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. Neither this nor the following fragment can have belonged to the Vatican MS., which in its present state begins with pp. — and contains a large part of the text of Frag. 5. Frag. 6 (Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 4), 33 x 23 cm., unpaged, likewise belongs to the second copy and duplicates a part of the Vatican text.

Since the Vatican MS. has already been published, 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, the son of Justus the Stratelates, is commemorated on the numeral /, after separation from his father and mother, 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 Ischyrion, who had accidentally been killed (Frag. 2). Ptolemy next tried to burn him; but the fire consumed the priests of Apollo, leaving the saint unharmed. Apoli was then shut out of the city; until Christ appeared, opened the gates, and allowed the martyr once more to confront the governor. He was thereupon cast into a noisome dungeon (Frags. 3–4) and ultimately beheaded. His relics were treasured first at Psenetai, and later at Psobt-hoi (Frag. 5). The story of his passion was written by Sergius, servant of Ischyrion of Pouasti.

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 x 27.3 cm.: the written column measures 29.1 x 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.
7 The fragments give sometimes &lsq; &lsq;Ischyrion, sometimes &lsq; &lsq;Ischyrion: the latter is merely by apocope, the name (without title) being &lsq;Ischyrion (so Frag. 1, verso, l. 5). In Arabic the name is transcribed يَلَيَسْهَي and is to be distinguished from Apollo (اَپَوْلِي).
8 See the Menologia and Cal. of Abu’l Baraḥāt (P.O. x, 208, 277).
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 114).

Ptolemy, the eparch of Pouasti (Bubastis) where Ptolemy is eparch or governor,

[Then commanded] “Ptolemeos the eparch of Pouasti that they should bring the holy Apa Apoli before the judgment-seat. (And they all marveled at his beauty), for he was of the age of twelve years. And when they had brought him before the judgment-seat, Ptolemeos 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:

“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

Ptolemeos 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...

"* * * * * * * * * *"
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 . . ."

*(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 . . ."

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

And when morning was come—there was a man in Pouasti named Iskhiron (Ischyron). 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 Ischyron 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. 119).

παύσεις αὐτῷ αὐτῷ ἐπιτεθέν εἰς τὴν καρδίαν μου.
τισὶν τῇ δικταίᾳ τίνι πρὸς τὸν άμοιον.
τὰς θανάσεις τὴν τόπον τοῦτον τῷ λόγῳ.
κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν μου καὶ τ.getError}πῶς οὕτως.
καὶ ἔπος τὴν τῷ λόγῳ τὸν θεραπευτὴν τῆς καρδίας μου.

5 ὥστε εἰς τοὺς μίμητος τῶν ψυχῶν ἵνα ἐπισκέψητε ἑαυτὸν ἔργων καὶ τὴν αὐτοὶ ἐργατών ἑαυτοῖς τὴν ἀναπάλωσιν.

Πάρύσας τινὰς ἐπιτεθέντος αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἰδιοῦτα ἐργατῶν ἑαυτοῖς τὴν ἀναπάλωσιν.

Φαί. ἐπιτεθέντος ἐπὶ τοὺς ἰδιοῦτα ἐργατῶν ἑαυτοῖς τὴν ἀναπάλωσιν.

Ὡς τῷ λόγῳ εἰς τὸν μέτωπον τοῦτον ἔργων εἰς τὸν μέτωπον τοῦτον ἔργων.

ἕκαστος τῆς τῆς περιπετείας τῷ λόγῳ εἰς τὸν μέτωπον τοῦτον ἔργων εἰς τὸν μέτωπον τοῦτον ἔργων.

τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτῳ τῇ δικτάτω
THE MARTYRDOM OF APA APOLI

Frag. 4 (Cairo, no. 11).

[....] 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 counsel." And the holy Apa Apoli was cast into a dungeon where there was no light.

... and no light.

... and spread abroad his hands to pray, saying: "My Lord...

... and the Holy Spirit forever and ever."
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

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

1 Πνεύμα ήπνωσεν ήέδειον γάρ
   εἰς χορὶς πνεύμων ήταν
οὗτος φαϊνείν οὔτε προσώπῳ τίτη
οὗτος ζωάκω τοποθετήθη
5 οὗτος ήταν παρὰ οὗτος
ζωάκω ποιεῖ καὶ πίθα
οὗτος ἀνεπαφήν οὗτος ζωάκω
ἀπεκεκλήθη εὐφώτις

1 Σκοτι: so Crum. The margin is cut away just beyond τ.

x = P., 956

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

From here onwards the fragment is parallel with the Vatican text already published. A collation of the
remainder and of Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 4, with the printed text is here added.


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

Rev. 1. 3 ἔγειρεν πνεῦμα ἑταμοῦτα

1. 7 εὐθανατ
1. 8 εὐθανακὼς
1. 9 ἀνεκράτης
1. 10 ζωάκως
1. 12 οὗτος πει εὐθανατὸ ἀφρώδης
1. 13 ἡπτασθήσαται...πάρα .

1. 14 οὗτος ἡτασκόλι
1. 14 f. ἐ τισίω
1. 17 ἠπική
1. 17 f. οὗτος ἡτασκόλις ἔγειρεν οὐδάμων εἰςομι
1. 21 ἀνάλογον
1. 21 f. ζωάκως
1. 23 ἀλάκασα
1. 24 πῆλα ἄληψη

1 Perhaps an interpolation.
2 Σκοτοῖ is frequently found in Coptic place-names
(e.g. Σκοτομεσείν, A.M.G. xxv, 301) and Σκοτοί = the Arabic
Jordan, W. E. Crum observes that here alone does the
word occur in isolation, and that in C. H. Becker's Papryri
Schott Reinhardt 'shubra' = Σκοτοῖ, though such a sense
is unlikely here unless in reference to a farm or out-
buildings of which the martyrium was the center. (The
Σκοτοῖ of l. 5, however, seems to be equivalent to κτῆμα,
'village,' in l. 10.)
3 = Senata or Sanada near Pharbat (Amelineau, Geography,
p. 378).
4 Ll. 15–18 do not occur in the Ethiopic, and were

obviously interpolated after the Translation had taken
place.

5 "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 Amelineau, Geography, p. 220. Vansleb (Wans-
leben) 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

Ada Mart. 1, pp. 243 f.

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

Retto

l. 1
l. 4
l. 5
l. 9
l. 11
l. 13 f.
l. 16
l. 28
l. 30

Verso

l. 1
l. 4
Omitted
l. 6 f.
l. 11
l. 12
l. 15
l. 16
l. 20
l. 21 f.

p. 245 l. 1 εἰδε γὰρ εινόμως
l. 1.2.1 ἢτεκά... ἢμοι
l. 4
l. 5
l. 6 ὀτόμ


ll. 29-1 ἀπὸκ οὐμαρ οὖς ἂν
ll. 2 ἐ ν ἐ ἑρ ... θεὸς
ll. 3 ἑρωκ
ll. 5 ἑτί εἰρσσαξι
ll. 6 εἰρσσαξι
ll. 6 After ἐνολ
ll. 8 ἀναποδί
ll. 14 ἧμι
ll. 15 σὴ ἡτέψεμι

ll. 17 ὤ πνεῦμον
ll. 19 μὴ πεπίστευσεν ἐν θεὸς
ll. 20 οὐκ ἦν ἐν τῷ θεῷ ὁ ἂν ἔνε
ll. 23 ἦν
ll. 23 πιθανόν ἂς ἂς ... περιστάτω
ll. 26 πιθανομεσκ
ll. 27 ἀναποδί
ll. 29 εἰρσσαξι

ll. 33 ϕι
XVIII. THE MARTYRDOM OF THOMAS OF SHENTALET

Parchment. Seven leaves from a single ms., paged — (recto) and — (verso); but on the first and last pages of the quire an eight-pointed cross is substituted. The hand (see Plate VII B) is identified by Crum 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 αγ ερπτων, στα κοινα.

Thomas is commemorated on Payni 27 — June 20 (Crum), or on Abib 27 (July 22).

The following outline of the history of Thomas is given in the Arabic Synaxarium. Thomas, a lad eleven years old, while keeping swine at Shindalot, 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, 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. Next he, with Paphnuti of Bandara and Moses of Belkim, were scourged. Thomas alone surviving, boiling oil and pitch were poured on his body, his head 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, Governor of Antinoë, took him to Tammah and beheaded him there.

Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 16).


2 No. 448 [43]: see Crum, Cat., p. 222.

3 ib. ib. ib. Malan, however, gives the date Bauneh 28 (Cal. of the Copt. Church, p. 33).

4 Amélineau, Actes des Martyres, pp. 105 f. The Calendar of Abu'l Barakât (P.O. x, 276) commemorates a Thomas of Alexandria (sic) on Abib 28.

5 As summarised by Amélineau, loc. cit. But Amélineau’s Arabic source differs from the Coptic fragments both in the order of events and in details.

6 Coptic γρευτελευτ. For this place (in the province of Gharbijeh) see Amélineau, Géogr., p. 453.

7 According to Amélineau’s source, Armenius: the

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

8 This episode was regarded with suspicion, and in our Frag. 3 is marked with the marginal γων, indicating that the passage was to be omitted.

9 i.e. Paphnuti of Telpontouro and Ginousi of Pelkhemi (see Frags. 1 and 6). In our Frag. 6 Paphnuti is beheaded.

10 Perhaps = Satrius Arrianus, Governor in 307 (Grenfell and Hunt, Ok. 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

Redo

[Text in Greek]

1 sic: = Lat. compes
2 sic.

[Translation]

("... do not receive") him, neither say unto him 'hail'; for he who shall say unto him 'hail' is a partaker in his evil deeds." 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: "0, ... do not receive) xhim, neither say unto him' hail' ; for he who shall say unto him..."

Verse

[Text in Greek]

[Translation]

"... that we..." The Governor answered and said: "[Oost 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 — HimWho 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: "0, ... do not receive) xhim, neither say unto him' hail' ; for he who shall say unto him..."

"But the holy Thomas turned ... his face to the Governor and said: "Strike..."

("... that we..." The Governor answered and said to the blessed Thomas: "..."

1 ii John, v. 10–11.
2 See Math., v. 39; xxvi, 67.
3 Or Telpontourō (see Frag. 6). The place is apparently the modern Bandarā (see Amedineau, "Géogr.", pp. 94, 453) which is near both Shindalāt (Shentelet) and Balkim (Pelkhēmi) in the province of Gharbiyeh: is the Coptic a mere transliteration of an Arabic name (Tell) Bandarā? Dr Geo. Sobhy kindly informs me that there is a village Telhan Dérot, near Mellāwi; but this would be too far south to be suitable. The Acts of Paphnuti of Bandarā are extant in Arabic (Paris, Fonds Ar., suppl., no. 89, fo. 162 ff.).
4 For Pelkhēmi (Balkim) see preceding note. For the story of Ginousi (or Shinousi) see the Arabic Synax. Abib 25 (ed. Forget, ii, 244), and the Ethiopic, Sané (ed. Guidi, P.O., i, 540 ff.): see also No. xix, below.
"[...] 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.' 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 demon departed 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 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.' 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 demon departed 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 answered and said to Apollo: 'I command thee, my lord, but that I may worship thee according to my best will.' 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 demon departed 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 answered and said to Apollo: 'I command thee, my lord, but that I may worship thee according to my best will.' 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 demon departed 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 MARTYRDOM OF THOMAS OF SHENTALET

Frag. 3 (Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 46 + Rylands, no. 4481).

[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 everyone who believeth on my Lord Jesus the Christ the King immortal forever.”

Every one who was sick with any sickness in the city entered into the prison to the holy Thomas. He healed them; and at the word of his mouth alone health came upon them all. His speech also in exhortation was like (the speech of) our pure Fathers the Apostles of the Christ Jesus, the true God Who is exalted.

Now when day was come, the Governor ordered that the tribunal should be prepared and that they should bring the blessed Thomas from the prison with chains of iron upon his limbs. And they brought him to the tribunal, to the presence of Kulkianus the Governor. “The Governor said to the holy Thomas: “Art thou persuaded to do sacrifice to Apollo, before I give thy bones to the wild beasts?” The brave martyr of the Christ, the holy Thomas, answered: “O Governor, the death of this world is no death, but life eternal; but the death of hopeless (?) torments—that is death eternal.” The Governor answered and said unto the holy Thomas: “Offer sacrifice: do not die miserably.” That pure one said to the Governor: “I will not sacrifice to thy vile and blind gods who are abominable.” (The Governor) ordered that they should give him to a ravenous she-lion. And they loosed her upon him that she might devour the flesh of the righteous one. But the lioness sprang and came to the feet of the righteous one, the pure martyr of the Christ, the holy Thomas: she licked his blessed feet. Through the power of God she received the voice of a man and cried out, saying: “Blessed art thou, O pure martyr of Christ, the holy [Thomas . . .].”
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 4 (Cod. Tisch. xxiv. 47 + Cairo, no. 54. i).  

AND he said, "Amen. Amen." The holy one lifted up his eyes to Heaven and 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).

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!"

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 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)

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...
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 6 (Cairo, no. 54. ii).

him in the prison. The pure martyrs of Christ besought the holy Thomas to heal him. "The blessed Thomas
stretched forth his hand and signed him (with the sign of the cross) in the name of the Father, and of the Son,
and of the Holy Spirit—the Trinity Which is perfect in one Godhead—and said: "My Lord Jesus the Christ will
heal thee from thy sickness." Straightway the evil spirit went forth from the man; and he was healed. When
they who were cast into prison saw that, they gave glory to our Lord Jesus the Christ, the true God.

Now when morning was come Arianus the Governor of the South said to Kulkianus the Governor of Rakoti :
"Let me sit upon the tribunal, that I may teach this unholy Christian, Thomas." And when he was seated
on the tribunal, he ordered them to bring unto him the holy Thomas. He said to one of the martyrs whose
name was Apa Paphnouti, the man of Telpontouro

The brave martyr of Christ answered: "Thy torments are naught in my sight; but the torments of my Lord
Jesus the Christ, they are torments indeed. He will cast thee forth from His courts and cast thee into eternal
punishments, thou and thy lawless King Diocletian."

(Arianus) commanded that they should... upon him: he caused...
When Arianus the Governor heard this, he commanded them to seize the holy Thomas and hang him up... by his neck on the branch of a tree, and to hang a great stone to the feet of the Saint as he hung on high, until all the bones in his neck should be broken... Michael, the Archangel of the great powers of the Heavens, came and stood upon (?) the branch of the tree and the stone which they had hanged upon him: he brake the cords which bound him. "And the Archangel Michael said unto him: 'O noble champion of Christ, holy Thomas, be of good cheer and take courage: fear not, I am with thee until thou shalt accomplish thy contest and thy martyrdom.'" The holy Thomas said unto him: "Strengthen me, my Lord, until I put to shame this 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."
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

XIX. THE MARTYRDOM OF ASTRATOLE

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. xvii and xxvii (= Hyvernat, Album, Pl. xxxvi) and the same reddish-brown ink is used. Nos. xvii 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. Possibly the former leaf dealt with the passion of the little-known saint Ginousi (or Shenousi) 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 seems to be otherwise unknown as a martyr; but he is certainly identical with Astratole the Magician, mentioned in the Martyrdom of Epime, 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

6 τι ... (four lines wholly lost)

11 (two lines lost)

16 ἄγιον ... (slight traces of seven or more lines)

18 ... [ ... ]

20 ἀγερτοῦτο

21 μω ... 5 παν ... ἦν τὸν ἀμφιποτῇ μὴ ἐ-

23 ἄγερμεκέτιν εὐροτοῦξε

30 ἰνεομένεις

32 θυσία ἢ

34 ἀμερ δητ[ ... ] ἀπαν ἐν γερ

1 Or perhaps "The Martyrdom of Ginousi and Astratole."
2 It seems necessary to publish the remains of this leaf, slight though they are, in the hope that the remainder of the leaf may yet come to light.
3 For Ginousi see No. xviii, Frag. 1, and refs. there given.
4 The name occurs elsewhere on an ostracon (Crum, Short Texts from Copt. Ostraca, no. 52, l. 5). I have been unable to find it in the Synaxarium or in the Calendars.
5 Balestri-Hyvernat, Acta Mart., Text, p. 138; Version, p. 88. No allusion is there made to the Martyrdom of Astratole.
THE MARTYRDOM OF ASTRATOLE

... (l. 3) *because of him. He remembered the holy Apa Ginousi, and said in his heart: "I saw Ginousi, the servant of Jesus the Christ, hanging on the hermetarion; and Jesus his God delivered him. If the God of the holy Ginousi (will) deliver from this great adversity wherein I am, I also will believe on Him and will give my blood for Him at the tribunal of the Governor." And he cried out with a loud voice, saying: "God of the holy Ginousi, help me, and I will believe on Thee and I will think also upon Thy holy Name."

... *sleeping in... In the middle of the night, 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." Thus saith the Lord: "Observe the covenant which thou didst make with Me: do not break it; but go to the judgment-seat to confess My Name at the tribunal in the presence of the Governor."

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

2 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 x 28 cm., pagged —̄, contains the title (framed in the usual cable-pattern border of red and yellow) and opening of the story of Kradjôn. In Frag. 2 (Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 25), 33 x 21 cm.,̄ pagged —̄, the conversion of Kradjôn and his comrade Amoun from their life of robbery is described. Frag. 3 (Cairo, no. 19 Add), 17.2 x 9.5 cm., is a fragment from the upper part of a leaf (probably from pp. —̄), and narrates how Kradjôn resolved to become a martyr. Frag. 4 (Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 26),̄ 33 x 22 cm., pagged —̄̄, describes the saint’s departure (from Shiet) and his arrival at Pshati (Ibshadi, Nikiu). Frag. 5 (Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 7), 32 x 21 cm., pagged —̄̄ (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 x 25 cm., unpaged, tells how the Governor (Arianus of Antinoë), unable to prevail upon Amoun, dispatched him to Kulkianus, the Governor at Alexandria. Frag. 7 (Cairo, no. 37 Add + Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 30),̄ unpaged, gives the text of the letter sent with Amoun by Arianus, and the martyr’s meeting with certain saints in prison. In Frag. 8 (Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 3), 33 x 21 cm., unpaged, the Governor (Kulkianus) tries to induce Amoun to recant; but the saint causes the earth to swallow up the image of Apollo in the theater. Frag. 9 (Cairo, no. 37), the lacerated remains of a page now measuring 27.7 x 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). 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  mrb for the heading at the end of a quire see the text of Frag. 5.

Apa Kradjôn of Pineban is commemorated on Ḫep (Abib) 25. He was a famous robber and went on one occasion with two 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 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.

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 x 21 cm. and 33 x 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.
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 MARTYRDMS OF APA KRADJON AND APA AMOUN

Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 19).

THE MARTYRDOMS OF APA KRADJON AND APA AMOUN

THE MARTYRDOM of the holy Apa Kradjon the Monk, the pure Martyr of Christ, and the man of Pineban; the which he accomplished nobly on the xxv day of the month Epēp. In the Peace of God! Amen.

[It came to pass in the days] of the persecution and tempest which came upon the race of the Christians, and the transgression which befell by reason of a single man—and when the decree came to Rakoti from the lawless kings, who forgot the living God and persecuted the Christians; and when the saints heard, they fled to the deserts and holes of the rocks—at that time there was an Archbishop at Rakoti named Theonas: 2 he feared God greatly. And there was with him a son of the habit, 3 named Theopemptos. This man was an excellent scholar 4 because of the power of God which was with him and the wisdom which He gave unto him. He pleased his Father 4 so he made him bishop in a monastery, outside the city, which was called The Monastery of the Fathers 5; and they who were in that monastery were six hundred monks.

Now when the holy Bishop heard the news of the persecution, he fled with all 6 them who were with him to the desert of Shīh. 6 His Father also... had the intention of fleeing. Now there was a virgin in Rakoti who feared God well. He entered therefore into her house and spent a great while in her dwelling, living in a workshop. For 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.
4 Otherwise known as the Monastery of Mt. Tabor, situated at Pilenaton ('Nine Miles' from Alexandria).
6 Otherwise Shīḥet (Sceis), now the Wady 'n Natrūn.
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 2 (Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 25).

... 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.' And they gave ear during the whole 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 smote upon them, smiting them, and saying: “Apa Kradjon and Apa Amoun...”

1 By apocope for ἀπα (ἄμωτος).
2 Or 'a scribe.'
3 Lit. ‘to write a likeness.'
THE MARTYRDOMS OF APA KRADJÓN AND APA AMOUN

Frag. 3 (Cairo, no. 19 Add).

[IN the leaf to which this fragment belongs Kradjón's resolve to confess the faith (apparently in consequence of a vision) is related.]

"... (he lived) nobly and the brethren all marveled at him.

But after these things God, the Lover of Man, revealed unto our father... concerning Apa Kradjón 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 Kradjón, he knew that a power of God rested upon him.

"... for a year I have seen the life which thou leadest, and there is no hope therein nor any star (sic)...

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 Kradjón said unto him: "My Father, pray for me in thy holy prayers. For lo, I will arise and [confront] these godless kings, and will show forth the Name of my God, Jesus the Christ, and His power which... strengthen me..."

[p. 9?]

[p. 10?]

107
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 4 (Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 26).

Ὁ ἔχει ἀπὸ σαράντα δύο ἔτεις
εἰς τὸ ἐν πέσειν τιμω.

Ἡ ἑτήρα ἡ πρὸς τὴν ἁγιὰν ἔριν
περισσεῖς ἑπτά σεβάν

Τὸν ἅγιον παιδίαν ἐξ ἐννύου τοῦ ἐντετείλατον πολλοὶ ἤρισ

Ἡ ἀρχαῖα ἡ πρὸς τὴν ἁγιὰν ἔριν

Ὅταν εἰς καταλλήλως ἔριν

Ἡ ἀρχαῖα ἡ πρὸς τὴν ἁγιὰν ἔριν

Ἡ ἀρχαῖα ἡ πρὸς τὴν ἁγιὰν ἔριν

Ἡ ἀρχαῖα ἡ πρὸς τὴν ἁγιὰν ἔριν

Ἡ ἀρχαῖα ἡ πρὸς τὴν ἁγιὰν ἔριν

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THE MARTYRDOMS OF APA KRADJÓN AND APA AMOUN

Frag. 5 (Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 7).

When the king looked upon Apa Kradjón, 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! 0 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 word, because the king was not yet speaking with him. Then the king said unto him: “Where wert thou until today?” Apa Kradjón 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 venturtest to utter these words?” Apa Kradjón 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 behold until . . .”

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NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 6 (Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 33).

εὐαγγελεῖτιν εὐφρατήρας εἰς—
φιλὸν ἑπτάνυσσας ἐκεῖνος εἰς τὸν ἐπάνω ἔσομεν εἰς ἔργον
5 Πόνεσιμον ἰησοῦν περαγ—
ἵνα πάντως ἐκεῖνος ἂν εἴη γενέσθαι ἐργαζόμενος
Σωτῆρα ποιεῖσθαι ἅμα ἐκείνος ἑγάμονες ἔσομεν πᾶν ἔργον
10 Πόνεσιμον ἰησοῦν περαγ—
τοῖς ἐκεῖνοι εἰς ἐργαζόμενος ἔσομεν ἑκατὸν ἔςειν ἐργα—
τοῖς ἐκεῖνοι εἰς ἐργαζόμενος ἔσομεν πᾶν ἔργον

[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...”

* Redo

* Verso

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THE MARTYRDOMS OF APA KRADJON AND APA AMOUN

Frag. 7 (Cod. Tischb. xxiv, 30 + Cairo, no. 37 Add.). 1


5 Εὐπλο η ἐπετευτο ρωτυ ετ[π]ον ἐπετευτο ιτοποτ Α[π]αλονος π[ιθ]ν- νομος ἢτε ἑστε ἡχε

5 Ἡλίας ταυτα πτις ε[θ]οτουμε- μη ἰπποτ Εταοτοττ φτ ω ον

10 πιπολλων μην χατρεις μου πικοκαν ἰπποτ

Ἀλλαμι ᾳς ὅμοι ὃμοιοι εὑ- ρυκόμοι πτω[θ]αν ἢτε πατ- τοπατορ ζ[εν] ζεν πνευ το [πα-]

15 ἀποκ ἢ ατ τι εὐπάπα πτω[θ]αν πλατο- λογος παπλο γνωριται ε ὑπέται κα-

ta τετελει τοι[α] ηιπποτοτο τετελει τοι[α] ηιπποτοτο

20 αποκ ζε ατη μεισθις πανοκσαν παπλο γνωριται ε ὑπέται κα-
ta τετελει τοι[α] ηιπποτοτο τετελει τοι[α] ηιπποτοτο

25 Ἐθανοσ [κ]ε απροβολουσι- μη [κοροτ]τιτι γιτε πιθετε χα μα-

Π[ι]ν[τορ] απατοτοτο τατο [πτω] [πτω] γνωριται χα μα-

30 χα μα υν στρ [μ] [μ] [μ] [μ][μ]

(Slight traces of one more line.)

1 * * * 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 . . . n, and Sarapion. And the holy Apa Amoun was . . .

1 Suggested by Crum: the initial must have been ρ, μ, or ω.
Then answered the holy Apa Amoun: "It is written in the Scriptures, 'All the gods of the heathen are demons': like unto them are all they who trust in them." 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 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."
THE MARTYRDOMS OF APA KRADJÓN AND APA AMOUN

Frag. 9 (Cairo, no. 37).

\[\text{Ἀποκρίες: Ἀπὸ ἀριστεράς ἔνας ἡμέρας ἐν ἁμαρτίας.} \]

... \[... \] ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἄστυπλον ἔστιν εἰράκρημεν ἡμᾶς καὶ... \[... \] ... ἧττον ἀνθρώπου ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ... \[... \]

5 ὁ τεύχος ἄκακος ἐκ τοῦ μεταφέρεται κρατεῖ τοὺς πλούσιους καὶ... \[... \] 

ὁ πρόσφερεῖ τινα ἐννοεῖν ἐν τῷ πάση ἐννοεῖν ἀποκρίειν... \[... \]

ὁ προσκυνεῖν τινα ἐννοεῖν ἐν τῷ πάση ἐννοεῖν ἀποκρίειν... \[... \]

5 ὁ πρόσφερεῖ τινα ἐννοεῖν καὶ τῷ πάντῃ ἐννοεῖν καὶ τῷ πάντῃ ἐννοεί... \[... \] 

ὁ προσκυνεῖν τινα ἐννοεῖν καὶ τῷ πάντῃ ἐννοεί... \[... \]

10 ὁ προσκυνεῖν τινα ἐννοεῖν καὶ τῷ πάντῃ ἐννοεί... \[... \]

... (1. 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 everyone who suffereth for Thee, Thou also... (1. 15) Thou Who didst make all things which are on the Earth and in Heaven; Thou Who didst hear the Three Holy Children in the furnace of fire,¹ Thou wilt hear (?)...

"...that holy one Apa Amoun stood up. There was not...; [but he was] without any hurt.²

Now when the multitudes saw this miracle which was come to pass, they cried out, saying: "There is no God in Heaven and upon the Earth save the God of the holy Apa Amoun." But when the Governor heard these things, he was exceeding wroth, because of all these things which the multitude said.

(II. 14 ff. are too fragmentary for translation: but in II. 19 f. the beheading of Amoun—which took place on Athur 27—may have been ordered by the Governor.)

XXI. THE MARTYRDOM OF PAESI AND THEKLA

Parchment. Three leaves and two fragments derived from two (?) mss.³ Frags. 1 and 5 are written in a script very different from that of Frags. 2-4, which is a small, rounded uncial (Plate V b): compare Hyvernat, Album, Pl. xxix.

Frag. 1 (Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 18), 11 x 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, θ, ψ, etc. Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 17a), 17.5 x 25 cm., paged —ας, is an upper half-leaf; the lower half is at Leipzig (Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 38): the two are combined below. Frag. 3 (Cairo, no. 17b), 32 x 25 cm., is an almost complete leaf: no page-number can be distinguished. Frag. 4 (Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 37), 32 x 22 cm., paged —α, —β.

¹ Cp. the Prayer of Apa Apoli (No. xv, Frag. 3, recto).
² See id., verso. (The situation is evidently the same.)
³ Frags. 1 and 5 may be restorations to supply the place of lost or damaged pages in the original volume.

4 For the Leipzig fragments see Leipoldt, l.c., pp. 392, 397.

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NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACÁRIUS

is a complete leaf, but the recto is practically illegible.¹ Frag. 5 (Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 39), 32 × 21 cm., another complete leaf, paged ἱ, ἱε, is by the same hand as Frag. 1.

Frag. 1 can be attributed to the story of Paesi 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 Paesi and Thekla are at least possible claimants. Certain Sahidic fragments of the Martyrdom of Paesi and Thekla are extant,² but are not available for comparison. Paesi and his sister Thekla,³ commemorated on Kihak 8, were wealthy people of Abusir, to the west of Ashmunen. Paul, a friend of the family and a merchant, having gone to Alexandria, fell seriously ill and sent for Paesi, 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 Paesi declared himself a Christian before the Governor and suffered various tortures. Paul and his servants weep over Paesi, 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 Paesi confront the Governor and are tortured in various ways. They remain obdurate and are handed over to the Governor of El Khusus 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 Shentúf.

Frag. 1 (Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 18).

³Recto  ... the cities,⁴ in order to read certain letters. Then they brought the letters of the King that they might read them. And there came also Eutychianus the comes of the Thebaid. They all came and read the letters of the King, saying: “Let the whole country worship my gods, especially Apollo the great God.” And after fifteen days the excubitor being in Rakoti dismissed them that each one might return to his city.

³Verso  ... in your name⁵... I will cause his name to be written in the Book of Life and to be read unto all the pure ones every Sunday in the Church of the First-Born, and I will reward them sevenfold upon the earth. I will make My blessing to rest upon that village. I will set Suríel 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.
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

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⁴ Probably we are to understand that Governors and officials of provincial cities were summoned to hear
"Thy soul shall not be parted from her soul, nor thy body from hers."

And Paul said unto the Angel: "I desire to see Thekla my sister before I die." The Angel of the Lord said unto him: "Paesi, 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 . . ."

"Thekla thy sister." And Paesi (?) 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 Paesi, the servants of Paul said to Paesi: "If Paul cometh today, compel him to eat with thee. For for three days he hath not eaten nor drunk." And the Angel of the Lord said unto him: "Hail, Oman that art worthy to be loved by God and men." Now it came to pass that when Paesi 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."

Paesi said unto the Angel: "I desire to see Thekla my sister before I die." The Angel of the Lord said unto him: "Paesi, 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 . . ."
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 3 (Cairo, no. 19).1

[...]

...[...] page-number is lost and the position of the leaf consequently uncertain: possibly it should precede Frag. 2.

1 Heading: "My Lord Jesus, the Christ, pity me." The page-number is lost and the position of the leaf consequently uncertain: possibly it should precede Frag. 2.

2 The original has "his:" the Coptic here oscillates between the singular and the plural.

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...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, Paesi came out of the fire of the bed through the power of the Holy Spirit, while the Angel of the Lord held his hand ...

Frag. 4 (Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 37).

THE MARTYRDOM OF PAESI AND THEKLA

... 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 Paesi and Thekla his sister."

The holy Paesi 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."
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 5 (Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 39).

The dux commanded[ them to remove the holy ones to the prison until the next day. And in the middle of the night the Angel of the Lord came and carried the holy Paesi aloft into Heaven and showed him...[of] Heaven, the city of... And the pure ones came forth to meet him and greeted him. They showed him the city of the pure ones, which was of gold and precious stones, shining more than the sun a thousand times. And the Angel... him and showed him a great house, exceeding glorious, made of stones of many colours, and flashing forth rays of light. That house had porticoes which flashed forth light. The pillars on the south side of the house were sixty; another sixty were on the north side of the house, and another sixty pillars on the east side of the house. Beneath1 the house were seventy strong and glorious pillars; and it was built like a Church. 12 looked towards the east and saw a great throne, very high: it had twelve steps, until one came up to the throne. And great was the splendor of that throne with its steps; and a great glory surrounded it. There were great trees shading it4 round about, bearing good fruit: and the smell of the trees was exceeding sweet. And I saw a scepter of gold upon the throne, and I saw two crowns of pearl upon the throne. I looked also and saw the pillars of the portico, and there was a throne to the east of the colonnade, one colonnade beside the other.3 They (the thrones?) rose up in splendor; and there was a crown of pearl on each of the thrones. And I, Paesi, saw a laver...[of] Heaven, the city of... And the pure ones came forth to meet him and greeted him. They showed him the city of the pure ones, which was of gold and precious stones, shining more than the sun a thousand times. And the Angel... him and showed him a great house, exceeding glorious, made of stones of many colours, and flashing forth rays of light. That house had porticoes which flashed forth light. The pillars on the south side of the house were sixty; another sixty were on the north side of the house, and another sixty pillars on the east side of the house. Beneath1 the house were seventy strong and glorious pillars; and it was built like a Church. 12 looked towards the east and saw a great throne, very high: it had twelve steps, until one came up to the throne. And great was the splendor of that throne with its steps; and a great glory surrounded it. There were great trees shading it4 round about, bearing good fruit: and the smell of the trees was exceeding sweet. And I saw a scepter of gold upon the throne, and I saw two crowns of pearl upon the throne. I looked also and saw the pillars of the portico, and there was a throne to the east of the colonnade, one colonnade beside the other.3 They (the thrones?) rose up in splendor; and there was a crown of pearl on each of the thrones. And I, Paesi, saw a laver...
THE MARTYRDOM OF PETER OF ALEXANDRIA

XXII. THE MARTYRDOM OF PETER OF ALEXANDRIA

Parchment. Fragment (Cairo, no. 50), 17 × 15.7 cm., from the upper and outer part of a leaf paged 55, 56. For the hand, which is somewhat small, cp. Hyvernat, Album, Plate xlii. ii.

The text is part of the peroration and conclusion of an Encomium on an Archbishop and Martyr (55 ll. 13 f., 56 ll. 10 f.) who is almost certainly Peter I of Alexandria (300-311 A.D.). It does not however belong either to the Panegyric or to the Martyrdom of Peter already published.

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...the holy Martyr... faithful... Let us show forth... his will, that he may pray for us in the presence of the Christ Who hath taken him to Himself... while he was with us in the body... in all this manner to become an advocate, nay rather an... in the presence of the Christ... the holy ones poured (?)... this great Archbishop and Martyr of...

...But the lover of God [was ever?] looking to the Glory [which is not] for a time, [but was] looking up at all times to the glory of the Kingdom of Heaven. May this Kingdom become (the possession) of us all [who seek for?] it, through the prayers of the holy Archbishop and Martyr of Christ, Abba Peter, and of all the Saints; glorifying the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, the Giver of Life, Who is consubstantial with Him, now and at all times and forever and ever, Amen.

XXIII. TEXTS RELATING TO SAINT MACARIUS

A. Four Odes on Saint Macarius.

Odes I–II. Paper. Two leaves, numbered 11–p8 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. For the general style and script compare Plate XXIII A.

The first Ode is based on a passage in the Coptic Life of Macarius 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, fols. 36r verso–36v recto). The more important variants of the Vatican text are noted below. The first six stanzas deal with the four-headed Cherubim who guarded Macarius and who is interpreted as symbolizing the Founders of the Four Monasteries of Shiët. The last four stanzas (which in the Curzon Theotokia alone appear under the above title) briefly notice the worthies of Shiët, 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 34, 35, from the Dīnjār 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 Phamenōth 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: Κόμω τοῦ Μάκαρι — Πανίνι έδοθι πτερυγιών τέσσαρες καὶ μακροφυλάκια (red) έδοθι τὸ ψαλμόν τοῦ Μάκαρι (black) έπειτα γειτν. Μάκαρι. 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.

1 These and other leaves of the same character are identical in script, material, size, and style with a group of leaves from the Theotokia found in 1921. Probably there were two volumes supplementary to the Theotokia containing these Doxologies.

2 A.M.G. xxv, p. 93.

3 I am indebted to Dr De Lacy O’Leary for a copy of the Vatican text.

4 As usual, ‘Cherubim’ is treated as a singular. In A.M.G. xxv, 72 the ‘Cherubim’ is described as having six wings and many-eyed. For the archaeological value of the first part of this Ode see A.A.C.M. i, iv, § 5, and below, p. 122, note 2.

5 On the Four Monasteries see H.N.S. i, § vii.

6 Curzon mss., no. 131, fo. 172b (I owe this reference to W. E. Crum).
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 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: let not mischievous foxes destroy its fruit. 
"Look to thy tree, Makari, for it beareth fruit: let not the fowls of the air spoil its fruit. 
"Look to thy treasury, Makari, for it is full of good things: let not thieves break into it. 
"Look to thy ship, Makari, for it is full of royal treasures: let not the waves of the sea overwhelm it. 
"Look to thy plough, Makari, to which thou hast set thy hand; look not aside to that which maketh it (?) become crooked." 

When Abba Makari heard these words, he cried out, weeping, and spake on this manner: 
"What is my pride of heart, sinner that I am, when evil spirits corrupt my soul? 
"What is my pride of heart, sinner that I am? I have not labored with a brother\(^2\) at any time." 

When the Cherubim heard this, he commended him...
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

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, 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.

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 bore fruit.

I will liken the face of a man unto our Father Abba Pishoi; for he spake with Christ, 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.

Lo, Moses the Black also came into these deserts: he wore the unfading crown of martyrdom.

The Forty-nine Martyrs, the old men of the deserts—they poured forth their blood upon the Rock of Piamoun.

The holy Ellaria (Hilaria), the holy Anastasia, the holy Ariipsima, the brides of Christ.

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).

1 See Life of Macarius (A.M.G. xxv, 72 ff.).
2 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.)
3 Cp. No. xxiv, 2, and see H.N.S. 1, vii, § 5.
4 See H.N.S. 1, vii, § 6.
5 The Coptic Life of these Saints (Maximus and Domitius) gives a different version of their arrival (A.M.G. xxv, 293); but note that the Karet el Muluk, the hill with which these saints are associated, was formerly known as the Hill of the Eagle-Stones.
6 See H.N.S. 1, x, § 4.
7 ib., ii, § 3; iv. 2. The connexion of Aripisima with Scetis, however, is obscure. She is commemorated in the Synax., Tt 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 Shiet (on which see H.N.S. iv, v, § 4)?
The xxvii Day of the Month Phamenoth. The holy Abba Makari.
(Melody) ‘Batos.’

Let the deserts of Shïêt rejoice and be glad: let them give forth fragrance like a lily.
Let them sing and give praise with the whole race of the monks for thy coming unto us, O great Abba Makari.
For lo, through thee the desert is become like a city; the place wherein there was no man, thou hast filled with holy men of God.

The death-day of S. Macarius. The first hymn was also used on Mesèré 19, the date of his Translation (see Introductory Note).
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.\(^1\) Phamenôth was the month wherein thou didst fall asleep, on the seven and twentieth day...\(^2\) And lo, there came unto thee that Cherubim with choirs of angels and the companies of the Just. And he spake unto thee as a brother with his brother: “Haste thee and come forth; for all these wait for thee.” And when thou wast filled with a great joy, thou didst say: “My Lord Jesus, into Thy hands I commend my spirit.”

Pray, etc.

The same again. (Melody) ‘Adam.’

A blessed one art thou, Our Father Abba Makari, Bearer of the Spirit, The Father of the Monks. Nobly didst thou run in the course, until thou didst receive the summons to the banquet. Thou didst become an example to us in thy discipline, and thy prayers, (and) in thine endurance. Thou wert a faithful and wise servant, in that thou didst well the will of thy Lord. Thou didst hear the voice: “Well done, good and faithful servant, Since thou hast been faithful in small things, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.” Through the (prayers), etc.

B. Macarius and the Hieracite.

Parchment. Two leaves from a single ms. Frag. 1 (Cod. Tisch. xxvi, 3), 28 x 20.5 cm., is paged \(\overline{q\overline{q}}\) (first page of quire \(\overline{q}\)) and \(\overline{q\overline{m}}\). Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 58), 29.6 x 21.7 cm., is paged (on the verso) \(\overline{m\overline{m}}\). The written column measures 20.3 x 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. xxii, Frag. 1 and 5, and may be identical with the hand of Hyvernat, Album, Pl. xlili (late twelfth to early thirteenth century).

The fragments belong to an excerpt from the Coptic version of the Lausiac History\(^4\) relating to Macarius (whereof the complete text is extant in Cod. Vat. Copt. lxx, 8),\(^5\) and correspond to fos. 156 verso and 160 recto-verso of that ms. They are here published for comparison with the Greek text published by Preuschen.\(^6\) Butler rejects the anecdote of the encounter with the Hieracite who denied the Resurrection, but admits the healing of the demoniac boy.\(^7\) Apart from the extracts given by Zoëga, the Vatican text has not been published.

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1 What follows is either a distinct hymn or an addition.
2 A line appears to have dropped out of this stanza.
3 See Leipoldt, l.c., p. 409.
4 See Zoëga, Cat., no. lxx (p. 127).
5 I am indebted to W. E. Crum for the loan of photographs of this ms.
6 Palladius u. Rufinus, pp. 124 ff. Our fragments correspond to pp. 126, ll. 6 ff., and 129, l. 23 to p. 130 respectively.
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,² 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]."

¹ The endings of ll. 11–21 are illegible owing to heavy damp-stain.

² Lit. ‘wishes to become of this sort.’
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 58).

Πυ μετ' χάριτος
ντόλοι πε'ρι'-εγγαγ1
μοις γινετ περιακί(ν)
οτορ πετεσθομ γινετ
ιμαθεμ πι'νετ εγρώ-
1 eγχρον
Π χαταλά άλα αι'ν τη
τεχναμι(ν)αμ εδολ-
γετεη (π)εριακί - ατ
10 πε ετπαμωμα μαμ
αι'ν ἀγερ ἀτωτεμ πεν
περι-
Φι εταξι άλος πασ' αι'ν
περιφος πι'νετ πατα-
15 πατ πετεσθομ γινετ(ν)
ιμαθεμ στην-π
φοκ απ' εταξι άλον -
αλλα παλατία
πε
20 Οντια μι'ν εφε'ν-πε ριρ-
ιε τεχναμαν2 το-
με ι'ερ εφρωσ'ν πε
πις ι'ερ πεςον πι-
κεν χαμαορ'ν πε
25 μετε ποσον άπριμα
εποιε πετεσθομ ρεν πο-

1 eγχρον, MS. 2 περι, MS.

["...As if someone were walking upon the sea and gazing steadfastly] towards the sun which beareth him up by means of its beams, and were to look upon the waters upon which he walketh: will he not be submerged, because he hath removed his gaze from the sun which supported him with its beams? What will happen unto him because he hath disobeyed the sun which said unto him: 'Take heed to thy gaze that thou look not upon the waters; for, lo, it is not thou who bearest up thyself, but my beams'? Even so also the man whose gaze is fixed upon God, seeking after the glory of God at all times, is wont to seek to hate the glory of men. If he turn aside to the glory of men, he falleth away from the glory of God, and his gaze is defiled by a multitude of passions, and in the end he submerges his cargo altogether."

The Bishop marveled, being astounded at his speech and his excellent wisdom: and he departed to his city, praising God and His servant Abba Makari.

Once an old woman came unto him (sc. Macarius) and brought unto him her son, bound in (chains of) iron and held by two men, being possessed by a demon which raved exceedingly. His mother walked after him weeping. For this was the working of that demon: after he had eaten three measures and drunk water...1

x (p. 111)
= Preuschen, p. 129 f.

x p. 112
= Hist. Lant., ch. xvii

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.
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 x 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 uncialis ευθύς ἰδεῖν ἄνα γινώσκειν ἐν Μακρίου ὑπερτυμπανίῳ, directing that the work should be read on the anniversary of the dedication of the Sanctuary of Benjamin.¹ Frag. 2 (C.U.L. Add. 1885, 8a),² 34.5 x 10 cm., is the outer edge of a leaf numbered on the verso recto. Frag. 3 (Cairo, no. 2) is a complete leaf, unnumbered, measuring 35 x 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 x 17-18.5 cm. Guide-lines are ruled for alternate lines of the text. The holes made by the pins which held the ruler in place³ are visible in the right margin of the recto. Spaces for stops were left by the scribe but have not been filled in by the rubricator. On Frag. 1, verso (ll. 8-10), however, cross-hatching is used to distinguish a Biblical quotation.

The fragments belong to a narrative describing the Consecration of the Church in the Monastery of Saint Macarius by Benjamin I on Tobi 8, circa 655 A.D., and the visions seen by the Archbishop on that occasion.⁴ After a eulogy on Benjamin (partly preserved in our Frag. 1), the author, Agathos,⁵ the synkellos of the Patriarch, relates that the monks of Saint Macarius came to Alexandria and begged the Archbishop to come to Shīf 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 synkellos, 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 Ashmunēn in his History of the Patriarchs.⁶ Since Severus himself states that the Monastery of Saint Macarius was one of the sources whence he derived his material, it is very probable that our fragments belong to the very ms. consulted by the historian or by his literary assistants:⁷ the same copy may have been consulted by the compilers who wrote the summary of the above narrative which appears in the Synaxarium.⁸

¹ Concerning this Sanctuary see H.N.S. iii, ii, § 4; A.A.C.M. xi, iv, § 5.
² From the Tischendorf collection.
³ See Introduction, § 7.
⁴ See H.N.S., i.e.; Hist. of the Patr. (ed. Evetts), pp. 239 ff.; Synax., Tobi 8 (ed. Basset, pp. 522 ff.).
⁵ For the form of this name see p. 131, note 2.
⁶ ed. Evetts, pp. 239 ff.
⁷ Cp. Introduction, § 2. (References to the parallel passages in the Arabic as edited and translated by Evetts are added in the margin of my translation of the Coptic fragments.)
⁸ Probably the compilers of the Synax. made considerable use of the Library in the Monastery of Saint Macarius.
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

1. Frag. 1 (Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 23).

2. "A...appearance of a Vision...beheld and related (?) by our holy Father, Abba Benjamin, the Archbishop of the great city Rakoti, touching the Consecration of the great Catholic and Apostolic Church of the great God-bearer and Spirit-bearer, our Father Abba Makari of the holy Mount of Shiit, when he declared unto us in customary and seemly wise that the ordinance in the institution and the consecration (of the Church) [were in accordance with?] the good pleasure of God the Father and of His Son, Our Lord Jesus the Christ, and of the Holy Spirit the Giver of Life, when he perceived and beheld how our Father, the lover of sonship, Abba Makari, as a champion was beholding it (the Consecration) along with the Powers of the Heavens above, also the...when it (the Consecration) was being performed. In the Peace of God! Amen.

3. "They whose minds are in the Heavens are wont to shine with the pure glory of the Father of Lights, and there is nothing so sweet in their sight as spiritual love; as it is written: "Taste and see that the Lord is sweet." Such an one was Benjamin, the all-virtuous Father and learned Archbishop, the scholar indeed and the glory of Orthodoxy; who understood the meaning of the Scriptures, the faithful dweller in the desert; he who comprehended (?) many mysteries of the wise and enjoyed them, because he crucified his flesh and its passions unto (?) Jesus the Christ, the true Ordainer of the contest, He Who is above everyone and establishes His mercy upon them who rejoice in His Name; like my father...

1 Benjamin I, 622-661 A.D. For his history see Hist. of the Patr., pp. 223 ff.
2 This Church was in the Monastery of S. Macarius. The epithet 'Catholic' is here equivalent to 'Cathedral,' 'Archiepiscopal' (see Crum in P.S.B.A., 1905, p. 171): 'Apostolic' is used in virtue of the intimate connexion of the Church and Monastery with the See of the 'Apostle' S. Mark.
3 Macarius pleaded the cause of his 'sons' in reply to the strictures of the 'Cherubim' (Hist. of the Patr., p. 244).
4 Psalm XXXII, 9 (XXXIV, 8). On the marginal direction "Translate it" (i.e. the citation) see Crum in P.S.B.A. xxix, p. 303.
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! 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 ...

Then when I heard these things at the mouth of the holy Abba Makari, I understood his love for his sons.
[Know, my brethren, that not one of these shall receive the lot of Jacob; and the] *power which rests upon it (sc. the Sanctuary) and its altar: they are concerned with naught save the ornament of meekness and gentleness, which is perfect in every good grace; even as the Epistle of the Apostle Paul beareth us witness in the discourse on this same vocation. 2 Lo, think not, my brethren, that I have decreed this excommunication because of this generation, but ... because of that (generation) which will come, 4 even as was showed unto me by him (sc. the 'Cherubim' or Seraph 5 ) who declared unto me, 6 I fear that they shall become (such) in the last days:' For this cause I have written this Canon 6 strongly. I establish it because of those who will come after a time, that they may turn away from the glory of men and love the glory of God most High.

1 i.e. violators of the Canons of Benjamin which immediately preceded this fragment (see Hist. of the Patr., p. 250). 2 See Galatians v, 22 ff. 3 In the Arabic this and the following paragraphs are inverted. 4 The Arabic has "Nay rather I have written them because there will come another generation in the last times which will deserve what I have written," etc. This may be no more than a natural expansion of a compressed clause, but it is equally possible that after l. 15 one or two lines have dropped out of the Coptic.

5 A 'Cherubim' or Seraph appeared to Benjamin during the Consecration of the Church (see Hist. of the Patr., pp. 244 ff.). It was perhaps to commemorate this appearance that a Seraph was painted on the NE. soffit of the dome in the (ninth cent.) Haikal of Benjamin in the Church of S. Macarius (see above, p. 122, note 2). 6 Clearly the Coptic contained the Canons of Benjamin. If these are interpolated, the interpolation is earlier than the tenth century, the date of these fragments.
TEXTS RELATING TO SAINT MACARIUS

Again, this word also spake he of the glorious form unto me, if indeed I am worthy of it: "The time of the day of 'thy passing out of the body (will) coincide with the day of the Consecration of this Church; that thou mayest depart unto Christ Whom thou lovest. And thou shalt rest with all the righteous in Jerusalem, the city of all them who rejoice." I said unto him: "My lord, shall God then make me worthy that He may take me unto Him upon this same holy day, that He should speak of my visitation upon it—me, His sinful servant? Praised be my Lord the Christ, the beloved of my soul and spirit, that He hath wrought His great mercy upon me." And straightway the Cherubim vanished from before me.

Then I called unto Agathos 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 from a single ms., namely Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 22 (23 × 25 cm.), xxiv, 32 (34 × 25 cm.), and xxiv, 24 (32 × 23 cm.); 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 uncialis 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.

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-djidjêb 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-djidjêb 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, where it is related that in the days of the Patriarch John, 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 Tkou, 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.

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).
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 Mesôrô 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.
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

1 Above in small informal uncials is the rubric:

"Let them read it on the nineteenth day of Mesore. Let them read it also after the Doxology in the night of the Day (Phamenoth 27) of our Father Abba Makari the Great."

2 Small informal uncials by a later (?) hand.

Verily it is a true saying of the holy Prophet and Psalmodist David who saith that: "All the bones of the righteous the Lord keepeth them and not one of them shall perish." ... Prophet...

The Lord also saith in the holy Gospels concerning the... "A hair of your heads shall not perish." For 4, four hundred and forty years a Fe passed from the time when our holy Spirit-bearing Father, the great Abba Makari, fell asleep, until the day of the coming unto us of his holy relics. And according to the word of the Prophet: "He who is the Lord's... the Lord will deliver his bones... without perishing..."

1 i.e. Translation. 2 Ps. xxxiv, 20? 3 id., cxxi, 4. 4 id., clxv, 20. 5 Math. x, 30; Lk. xii, 7.

6 Macarius died in 390 A.D. If this was the date accepted by the author of our text, the date of the Translation would be 830 A.D.; but Macarius was translated temp. John IV (i.e. before 799 A.D.: cp. H.N.S. ii, § 1). Possibly the date belongs not to the Translation under John IV, but to the installing of the relics in the 'Sanctuary of Benjamin' at the Mon. of Macarius: this Church, which had been ruined in the Sack of the Monasteries in 817 A.D., was actually restored by Abba James between 825 and 830 A.D. (see Hist. of the Patr., ed. Evetts, p. 574). The text may therefore have been composed and pronounced when that Church was consecrated and the body of the Saint reinstalled therein. But did the writer know the correct date of Macarius' death?

7 Psalm xxxv, 10?
TEXTS RELATING TO SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 2 (Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 32).

... he prayed steadfastly the Rock1 rejoicing. He was... to fulfil the command of the Almighty. For this cause he2 ceased not to... him until he brought him unto the feet of the Lord; according to that which the holy man Abba Sarapion, the disciple of the great Abba Antonius, hath related unto us. So when our God-bearing Father upon whom the Holy Spirit looked at all times,... And when his departing... unto the Lord... Whom he loved, they laid his holy body in (a cave) near by the Church which he had built; even as it is written in his holy life.4

So when the whole earth... [was] filled with... the trumpet of those marvels and the [wonders which were performed], the Lord working them by his means, "for this cause there came from every place, not only in Egypt but in distant lands, companies of faithful people who prayed in his cave and worshiped at his tomb; and they who were sick in divers ways enjoyed healing. More especially the people of P-djidjber,5 the village of our righteous Father, used also to come eagerly and to do reverence to him; and they beheld the astonishing wonders which were wrought by means of his holy body after those (wonders) which they had experienced through him while he was in the flesh. They made an agreement together to take him away by stealth from the deserts and bring him to P-djidjber, their village; and this came to pass. And then after a

1 i.e. the Rock on which Macarius dwelt: see A.M.G. xxv, 88 f. (probably a rocky ridge NNE. of the present Dér Abû Makûr).
2 i.e. the 'Cherubim' who watched over Macarius.
3 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).
4 op. cit., p. 111.
5 The modern Shabshir in the Province of Menûf: see Amelineau, Géogr., pp. 187 f., s.v. Gigouir.
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 3 (Cod. Tisch. xxiv. 24).

Since a monk at P-djidjber was desolated save for a small portion of years, the Saracens gained dominion, therein; and they began to reveal the secret. And so many and wonders were wrought by his renown and laid him in just this manner. But after three hundred and sixty years, the Romans were ruling. 2 According to the Synax., 3 the body remained at P-djidjber until 784 A.D., the figure given in the Synax. must be emended from 160 to 360 years.

Thereafter, the body of our all-holy Father. 4 And when Joseph, the Christ-loving archon of Elmi, 5 saw that they could not take care of the Sanctuary wherein was the body of our Father the Prophet, the great Abba Makari, he went reverently to the man of God, our Father Abba Makari... 6

1 According to the Synax., Baramhat 27 (ed. Basset, p. 905), John, the covetous disciple of Macarius, was bribed to reveal the secret.

2 Cp. Abi Salih, fo. 23a (ed. Evetts, pp. 80 f.), where the Roman revenue from Egypt is reckoned at 20,000,000 dinars, whereas under Muslim rule it fell to 3,000,000 dinars.

3 The Synax. (l.c.) states that the body remained at P-djidjber “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-djidjber 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 Menofiah (Amélineau, Géogr., pp. 162 f.). Monks from Elmi at the Mon. of S. Macarius are mentioned in the colophon of a Coptic ms. (Zoega, Cat., no. 1v, p. 107).
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 (ψε, ηθ), 26 × 17 cm., from Cairo, no. 92. 2, Group D, containing an acclamation to the great monastic Saints of Egypt: after [Paul] and Antony (II. 1-7) the Saints of Scetis are acclaimed.

(2) Paper. Two leaves (πηρ and —) from the Difnât (No. XXXVIII F), with two imperfect Odes on John the Little (the Hegumen).

(3) Parchment. One leaf, C.U.L., Add. 1885, 9, (πξ), 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.


(6) Paper. Two leaves (ψε, ηθ) 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.

1 The published reading is given first, indicated by A with page and line numbers: the variant, separated by ), follows.
Hail to Abba Makari, the great net who drew every one into the Way of God, and put upon them the holy habit, teaching them to dwell solitary in holes of the ground.

Glorious exceedingly beyond what words can tell was Abba John the Hegumen. By reason of his purity the beasts became as rams (sic) before him; by reason of his obedience a dried stick blossomed and bare fruit.

I am at a loss in my thoughts, my mind is bewildered, I can find naught to say worthy of thy glory, O Man of Light, Our Father Abba Pishoi, who nobly didst run the race.

Hail to Maximus and Domitius, our Roman Fathers! When they had taken up their cross they followed after Christ to the holy mount of Abba Makari. Even as John, the holy virgin, and James, the sons of Zebedee, when they left their father and their nets in the ship and followed after Christ with a true heart, in exchange for their nets and the fishes of the sea He made them to be catchers of men—(so) our Father Maximus and Domitius left their wealth and their palace, they despised their substance, they trusted to attain life eternal. They inherited (sic) the fourth laura which God chose in the desert.

[Hail to Abba John Khamé...!]¹ He became founder of a haven of salvation for many souls so that they were delivered.

Hail to Abba Moses, mighty warrior, first of the martyrs that were upon this mountain!

Hail to the Forty-nine, blessed Seniors, who poured forth their blood upon the top of the Rock!

Hail to Hilaria, and Anastasia, and Aripisima the brides of Christ!

Blessed art thou, O Abba Makari, for the God of Heaven giveth great glory unto thee. Thou shalt see thy Sons and thy Sons' Sons as a crown unto thee in the Kingdom of Heaven.

¹ See note on text. Khamé was certainly commemorated.
ODES TO SAINTS OF SCETIS

Ode 2 (John the Little).

With an hallowed disposition let us make mention of the righteous one, our holy Father Abba John, the founder of our community. 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 hath blossomed through thy prayers. Bless me, my Father! Behold the tree, touching which thou didst command me, hath borne fruit." Abba Pammoi 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 a 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 Dér 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; Aqophb. Patr., John Col. 1 (P.G. lxv, 204); and H.N.S. vii, 1, § 5.
4 sc. Abba Amoi.
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Ode 3 (the same).

[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 Shiet upon thy little finger like a drop of water; and thou didst chastise thy body with toilsome discipline, that thou mightest be free from peril in the Day of Judgment; so that also thou didst become worthy, O our holy Father Abba John, to sit with the Apostles to judge thy generation.

Pray (&c.).

Alleluiah. Novice (sic).

Ode 4 (Moses the Robber).

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; 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...

The Twenty-fourth day of Paoni: Abba Moses.

Psalti: 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; that I might entreat him to pray unto the Lord for me and for the sins of my soul; that Christ our God may forgive me ere I am borne forth from my...

1 For the two initial lines see the Cairo Psalmodia, p. 354. 2 See A.M.G. XXV, 354. 3 See A.M.G. xxv, 354. 4 Probably an 'incipit.' 5 On Abba Moses the Black or the Robber, see H.N.S. 1 x, § 4.
Odes to Saints of Scetis

Ode 5 (The Forty-nine Martyrs).

Through the intercessions of "the Forty-nine Martyrs, O Lord, vouchsafe unto us forgiveness of our sins."

(Through the intercessions of) "the Forty-nine Martyrs, O Lord, vouchsafe unto us forgiveness of our sins."

\[ \text{Through the intercessions of] "the Forty-nine Martyrs, O Lord, vouchsafe unto us forgiveness of our sins."

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 Forty Martyrs!"

The chief among the Saints, named Abba John, stood in their midst and cried, saying:

"Lo, the Barbarians are coming. He who would flee, let him flee: those who will remain with us, let us (sic) not be faint of heart."

Some of the old men fled...

Ode 6 (Apa Samuel).

\[ \text{Through the intercessions of] "the Forty-nine Martyrs, O Lord, vouchsafe unto us forgiveness of our sins."

1 For ἀγαθοποιος.
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

"Our Father Aba Samuel.

A choice savor and a smoke of incense, a holy sacrifice well pleasing unto God were thy holy prayers and thy austerities, O our righteous Father Abba Samuel. I will not leave untold thy austerities and thy penances which thou didst perform in Shiêt; most of all, the sufferings which thou didst endure at the hands of the Colchian tyrant. ¹

Thou didst offer up thy life for the confession of the right faith in the holy Trinity. Thou didst make strong thine heart, like a martyr, and so didst receive the crown of patience. They drove thee forth from Shiêt, so that thou didst come and dwell in the Mount of Neklone.

Again, when God called thee from this mountain of thy vows (?) for a great service, of thy patience in a strange land of barbarians I will make mention. The Lord Jesus the Christ caused thee to work signs and great wonders in that place: thou didst cause (the dumb) to speak, thou didst cause the lame to walk, women who were barren thou didst cause to bear children. Thy name was renowned in the land of Nemax,² and they glorified thee as the Apostles. They suffered thee, after the desire of thy heart, (to depart) so that thou didst go and dwell in the Mount of Kalamon, the place wherein the Lord God promised that thou shouldest dwell, thou and thy sons for ever. Thou didst bring in a numerous people into the Kingdom of Heaven through thy holy prayers.

Through, etc.

¹ i.e., Cyrus of Phasis (in Colchis), the 'Chalcedonian' Archbishop.
² A frag. from a Boh. Life of Samuel (Crum, B.M. Cat., no. 917) has hikēpég, "Malx" being probably the true Coptic name for the Berber people called in Greek Mazices.
Odes to Saints of Scetis

Ode 7 (John Kame).

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 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 Kame, that, &c.

Abba John Khamé.¹

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): [...] (Ornament) [Ornament]. 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 with part of the text published by F. de Rossi in Mem. della Accad. delle Sc. di Torino, Ser. II, tom. xlviii (1893), pp. 301 ff. (= reprint Frammenti di un Sermone sulla Penitenza, pp. 88 ff.). The portion actually preserved records the frightful crime of Abba Apollo before he became a monk.²

The Turin ms. itself probably came from the Monastery of Saint Macarius, since it is one of five given by Drovetti to Peyon,³ and the group contains a great part of the Psalter to which our group, No. xxxvii a (b) 5, belongs.

¹ For the story of Khamé or Kame, who flourished in the early ninth cent., see the Coptic life (ed. Davis), P.O. xiv, fasc. 2 and A.A.C.M. i, 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.
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

* Recto *

Now this man (Apollo) was a shepherd by profession, as were his fathers. But while he was still in his youth, that man gave himself up unto great sins... (I. 6). And he gave himself into the hand of the Devil until he had completed forty years. And he fulfilled all the desires of Satan and his abominations, envies... (I. 15). In a word...

* Verso *

... (I. 18) [He thought within] himself, saying: “From my youth I have sinned and committed everything which my soul desired. And I have not left unfulfilled any one of all the sins of the Devil. One only have I failed (to commit); for I desire to rip up the womb of a ‘woman who is with child, to see how the child lieth in her womb.” [I.l.4-16 Apollo meets his victim who implores him not to harm her.]

"... (I. 17) for since the day that I came forth from my mother’s womb, no strange man hath defiled my body " (I. 22) But when the shepherd Apollo heard this, he relented not at all, nor did he lift up his eyes to Heaven. But the Devil...

XXVI. LIFE OF THEODORE, DISCIPLE OF PACHÔM

Parchment. Upper right quarter of a leaf (Inv., no. 59), 19.5 x 18.8 cm. The recto (first p. in a quire) is headed (Ornament) μετα τας ἡμερας του Αββα Παχομ. The hand is a smallish, even, but somewhat slovenly uncial, probably identical with the hands of Inv... nos. 71, 102, 107-8. The leaf (paged ---) preceding the new fragment is extant at Leipzig (Cod. Tisch. xxv, 3).1

The text² (from the Life of Theodore, disciple of Abba Pachôm) will be utilized by Dr Lefort of Louvain in his forthcoming Vita S. Pachomii. §

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1 See Leipoldt, l.c., p. 401.
2 =A.M.G. xvii, 322 (Amélineau’s edition).
3 In the Corpus Script. Christ. Orient.
XXVII. THE TRANSLATION OF EPHRAEM SYRUS TO SCETIS

Cotton-paper. Leaf, 25 × 17 cm., numbered — folio number — from the Dijnar (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 Pis hoi (Bishoi). That the Saint can be no other than Ephraem appears certain; for the Calendar of Abu’l Barakêt commemorates Ephraem the Syrian on T6bi 7, and the Monastery of Anba Bishoi still claims to possess Ephraem’s body. 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.

[They brought his] pure [body] to the blessed Monastery of our Father Abba Pishoi in the desert of Shiet 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.” And his blessed bones were laid in an ark of choice wood with the pure body of our Father Abba Pishoi.

This holy memorial took place upon the seventh day of the month Tobi, while God wrought great miracles in his holy Oratory.

Pray, &c.

1 P.O. x, p. 262. Note, however, that the Coptic Calendar also commemorates Ephraem on Abib 15 and a Translation (?) at Edessa on Amshir 3 (op. cit., x, 264, 275).
2 Professor F. C. Burkitt informs me that Edessa still claims to possess the relics of Ephraem. According to Thévenot, Voyage au Levant, ii, Ch. lxxi, all the bodies of the Saints at Dér Anba Bishoi were accidentally burnt in 1656, but the monks made good the loss by drawing upon the monastic cemetery.
3 Psalm xxxiv, 20.
4 i.e. a long chest or coffer, probably similar to the inlaid chest preserved at Dér es Surian (see A.A.C.M., iv, Ch. iii, § 5) or that at the White Monastery (Hist. Patr., pp. 350 f.).
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

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 in supra): particularly noteworthy is the collapsing \( \alpha \). 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. Attention was drawn in ancient times to this duplication by a marginal note in informal uncials in the margin of Frag. 7, verso, \( \text{παροιμία} \ εἰς \ ψαλμόν \ παραγ. \) i.e. ‘twice over,’ ‘repeated,’ and by the sign \( \epsilon \) \( \) (\( \text{τὰ παρασκεύασθαι} \) which is placed in the margin against the line in which Frag. 7 begins to repeat Frag. 6, recto. On the verso of the same fragment a marginal symbol \( \gamma \) 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 \( \) (at the end of a paragraph, \( \). ) Some passages, notably the ‘Creed’ (Frag. 4 verso), have been hurriedly punctuated by a later hand with the normal \( \) in red ink. Attention should here be called to the marginal directions \( \) ‘so far’ and \( \) ‘read’ (see Frag. 11), indicating that the intervening passage was to be omitted in public reading.

Six leaves from a Sahidic version of the \( \text{Life of Gregory} \) 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 x 20 cm., is a complete leaf, paged \( \) (the second numeral is very doubtful). The text, which has suffered much from damp, answers to the Greek in Migne's \( \text{P.G. XLVI, 897} \) \( \text{ὁ} \) \( \text{τὸν} \) \( \text{δὲ} \) \( \text{ἐξέκλεισεν} \) \( \text{γράμμα} \) \( \text{τὴν} \) \( \text{στῆλαν} \).

The next three fragments are continuous, answering to the text of \( \text{op. cit.}, \) \( \text{P.G.} \) \( \text{ἐκπομπὰς} \) \( \text{ὡς} \) \( \text{ποτέ} \) \( \text{τὴν} \) \( \text{θεσπερίαν} \) \( \) \( \text{γράμμα} \) \( \text{τὴν} \) \( \text{στῆλαν} \). Of these, Frag. 2 combines \( \text{Cod. Tisch. XXV, 24} \) (the upper half of the last leaf in Quire II, headed on the verso \( \) \( \text{οἰκ.} \) \( \text{ς} \) \( \text{τὸν} \) \( \text{δὲ} \) \( \text{ἀνάκεφαλυ} \) \( \) \( \text{καί} \) \( \text{πᾶν} \) \( \text{πέρα} \), with Cairo, no. 24 \( \text{δ'} \) \( \text{βιβλίον} \) \( \text{αισ} \) \( \text{τού} \) \( \text{αυτοῦ} \) \( \text{δοθέν} \) \( \text{δὲ} \) \( \text{αὐτῷ} \) \( \text{δοθέν} \) \( \text{τὸ} \) \( \text{πόρισμα} \) \( \text{τὸ} \) \( \text{δὲ} \) \( \text{αὐτῷ} \) \( \text{δοθέν} \) \( \text{τὸ} \) \( \text{πόρισμα} \) \( \text{τὸ} \) \( \text{δὲ} \) \( \text{αὐτῷ} \) \( \text{δοθέν} \) \( \text{τὸ} \) \( \text{πόρισμα} \) \( \text{τὸ} \) \( \text{δὲ} \) \( \text{αὐτῷ} \) \( \text{δοθέν} \) \( \text{τὸ} \) \( \text{πόρισμα} \) \( \text{τὸ} \) \( \text{δὲ} \) \( \text{αὐτῷ} \) \( \text{δοθέν} \) \( \text{τὸ} \) \( \text{πόρισμα} \) \( \text{τὸ} \) \( \text{δὲ} \) \( \text{αὐτῷ} \) \( \text{δοθέν} \) \( \text{τὸ} \) \( \text{πόρισμα} \) \( \text{τὸ} \) \( \text{δὲ} \) \( \text{αὐτῷ} \) \( \text{δοθέν} \) \( \text{τὸ} \) \( \text{πόρισμα} \) \( \text{τὸ} \) \( \text{δὲ} \) \( \text{αὐτῷ} \) \( \text{δοθέν} \) \( \text{τὸ} \) \( \text{πόρισμα} \) \( \text{τὸ} \) \( \text{δὲ} \) \( \text{αὐτῷ} \) \( \text{δοθέν} \) \( \text{τὸ} \) \( \text{πόρισμα} \) \( \text{τὸ} \) \( \text{δὲ} \) \( \text{αὐτῷ} \) \( \text{δοθέν} \) \( \text{τὸ} \) \( \text{πόρισμα} \) \( \text{τὸ} \) \( \text{δὲ} \) \( \text{αὐτῷ} \) \( \text{δοθέν} \) \( \text{τὸ} \) \( \text{πόρισμα} \) \( \text{τὸ} \) \( \text{δὲ} \) \( \text{αὐτῷ} \) \( \text{δοθέν} \) \( \text{τὸ} \) \( \text{πόρισμα} \) \( \text{τὸ} \) \( \text{δὲ} \) \( \text{αὐτῷ} \) \( \text{δοθέν} \) \( \text{τὸ} \) \( \text{πόρισμα} \) \( \text{τὸ} \) \( \text{δὲ} \) \( \text{αὐτῷ} \) \( \text{δοθέν} \) \( \text{τὸ} \) \( \text{πόρισμα} \) \( \text{τὸ} \) \( \text{δὲ} \) \( \text{αὐτῷ} \) \( \text{δοθέν} \) \( \text{τὸ} \) \( \text{πόρισμα} \) \( \text{τὸ} \) \( \text{δὲ} \) \( \text{αὐτῷ} \) \( \text{δοθέν} \) \( \text{τὸ} \) \( \text{πόρισμα} \) \( \text{τὸ} \) \( \text{δὲ} \) \( \text{αὐτῷ} \) \( \text{δοθέν} \) \( \text{τὸ} \) \( \text{πόρισμα} \) \( \text{τὸ} \) \( \text{δὲ} \) \( \text{αὐτῷ} \) \( \text{δοθέ

The six fragments following form a single group corresponding to the Greek of \( \text{P.G.} \) \( \text{καὶ} \) \( \text{παρασκεύασα} \) \( \text{δὲ} \) \( \text{δὲ} \) \( \text{αὐτῷ} \) \( \text{δοθέν} \) \( \text{πόρισμα} \) \( \text{τὸ} \) \( \text{δὲ} \) \( \text{αὐτῷ} \) \( \text{δοθέν} \) \( \text{πόρισμα} \) \( \text{τὸ} \) \( \text{δὲ} \) \( \text{αὐτῷ} \) \( \text{δοθέ

1 On the hand see Crum, \( \text{Rylands Cat.}, \) p. 221. It is probably identical with the hand of our No. xviii.

2 Frag. 7 duplicates the text of Frag. 5, verso, l. 6–Frag. 6, recto, l. 33. Frag. 7 is not therefore printed in our text, though it has been used to supplement the defective recto of Frag. 6.

3 The same sign occurs in \( \text{Cod. Pat. Copt. LX, fo. 150b}. \)

4 The abnormal numeration of Frags. 8 and 9 as folios \( \) was perhaps somehow due to a desire to eliminate the superfluous leaf, Frag. 7.

5 See Leipoldt, \( \text{op. cit.}, \) p. 405.

6 id., p. 399.

7 id., p. 395.

8 id., p. 395.

9 id., p. 404.

10 id., p. 398.

11 For the critical signs which are used on this leaf, see above.
GREGORY THAUMATURGUS

Frag. 9 (Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 34), a damaged leaf, foliated nα and headed on the verso πε, follows Frag. 8 directly.

Frag. 10 (Rylands Library, Copt. 49 = Cat. 446), a complete leaf, the last in Quire IV, is paged (ξεν). ξα and headed on the verso ξα πε γη πε. The text corresponds to 925 C τοις μητροφίοις σπλάγχνοι---925 C καὶ ὅσα ἦν εἰκός of the Greek original.

Fragment 11 (Cairo, no. 24 Add ii), 18 x 16 cm., is the lower and outer part of a decayed leaf. The text of the recto answers to 928 C τοῖς ἑκατέροις συμπαρατασσόμενοι---C εἰς εἰρήνην καὶ ἐξισώσων; of the verso to 929 A τὰ μὲν δὲ κατὰ τὴν λίμνην(?)—Δύσκος γὰρ . . . ἐπονομάζεται.

Frag. 12 comprises Cairo, no. 24 Add iii, 16.5 x 19.2 cm., the inner and upper portion of a leaf, headed (recto) ξα and (verso) ξα (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---οὗ δὲ οἱ μὲν παρῆγγον.

Frag. 13 (Cairo, no. 24 Add iv), 13.7 x 24 cm., is the lower portion of a leaf: the text of the recto corresponds to 937 A καὶ διήγησιν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις λόγοις---Β ἔχοντες Ἀλέξανδρον; and of the verso to 937 B τῷ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἕξβροι---C τῆς ἐκείνου δυναστείας καθαιρετῆν ἑσόμενον.

Frag. 14 (Cairo, no. 24 Add vi) is a narrow slip from the center of the upper part of a leaf, probably the first in a Quire. Both the hand and the style of the heading indicate that the fragment belonged to the same ms., and the few words recognizable distinctly suggest that the verso is parallel with P.G. 928 B, in which case the fragment should belong to the upper half of the same leaf as Frag. 11. But it is hard to identify the recto with the Greek of 926 C-D.

The text of this doubtful fragment will more conveniently be placed here rather than lower down.

1 op. cit., p. 396.
2 See Crum, Rylands Catalogue, p. 221.
3 For convenience in printing, I have placed Frag. 13 after Frag. 11 and before Frag. 12.
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 24).

1 sc. [ἐπεζείνοις.

*For alone of all lands and seas* that Pontus (is called) *Euxine,* since it supplies unstintingly all necessaries conducive to life, not only of the men of that part and the inhabitants of the country, but also of such others as may hasten thither from every part. For verily this is the nature of that country. Not only does it abound in all necessaries conducive to life, but (it lacks) not for all other things (from abroad, since) the sea supplies them from every part. Such is that whole nation, that if a man gives heed to a part of it alone, he thinks it more choice than all the rest. For this cause by a decision of that whole race together the city of the great 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?)
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 was then at that time . . . was established in the error of idolatry; so that there were not more than eighteen men who had accepted the word of faith out of that great multitude.

Having thus perforce taken the yoke upon his neck . . . , and having sought a little time of him who had bestowed the priesthood upon him, that “he might learn the whole surety which was in the holy mystery, he no longer—as the Apostle says!—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)
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 3 (Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 6).

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
“from the (use of their) names also he knew those who had appeared to him, since each one addressed his fellow by his name. For it is said that he heard her who had appeared in the form of a woman begging John the Evangelist to reveal to the youth the mystery of the truth. And that one also was speaking to her in this manner: “I am ready to vouchsafe this, O Mother of my Lord, since this is thy wish.” And so, after he had declared the matter sufficiently in some few words, they disappeared.

But he (Gregory) straightway wrote down the holy words which he had heard, and afterwards he preached according to the sense of that utterance in the church. And he preserved that doctrine which he had received from God as an inheritance for those who should come after him. And even until now the people of that country are instructed therein, remaining untainted by the mischief of any heresy. These are the words:

"There is one God, the Father of the living Word (Who is) the established Wisdom and the Power of His likeness; the Father perfect, and the Son perfect; Father of the only-begotten Son, and one Lord; One-Only of One-Only; God of God; the Image and the Likeness of the Godhead; the Word Who hath wrought the Wisdom which embraceth the system of all things, and the Maker of all creation; very Son of very Father, Invisible of Invisible, Incorruptible of Incorruptible, Immortal of Immortal, Eternal of Eternal; with One Holy Spirit Who proceedeth from the perfect Father and (is manifested) through the perfect Son, perfect Life, the Cause of them who live, the Pure One, the Supplier of purity, He (in whom God the Father) is (revealed) . . .

1 In the Greek ‘Wisdom’ is in apposition to ‘Word.’
When Gregory had declared the faith towards God, confirming it not by words, but by wonders shown forth in deeds, the priest answered: “I also wish to see a miracle such as can convince my heart, that I may confess the faith.” It is said of that great man that he wrought a miracle in that place, which was great. When the priest said concerning a great stone which lay before him and which could not be moved by the hand of man: “Through the power of the faith alone let me see this stone remove to another place at thy command,” then that great man Gregory did not rebuke (him) at all, but straightway commanded the stone as one that had understanding; “Depart and go to another place” —namely that which the priest indicated. And when this came to pass, straightway the man believed on the word and left all, his kindred, his house, his 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.
*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...*

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. And the whole multitude went forth from the city to behold a new marvel, everyone desiring to see that Gregory who, though a man, x p. 48

[The recto, p. 47, duplicates the text of pp. 49, l. 29-50, l. 32. For the translation see preceding page. The text of p. 48 continues the text of p. 50 without break.]

1 A considerable passage has here dropped out (cp. the Greek 917 D-g20 A). It is perhaps to this omission that the marginal sign X in the margin of Frag. 7 refers.

2 The Greek has τοις ἀριστέων ὑπὸ κύκλον δορυφοροῖμενος: the omission of anything corresponding to 'body-guard' is indicated in Frag. 7 by the marginal X.

The text of the verso is restored from the Greek.

**GREGORY THAUMATURGUS**

Frag. 6 (Cod. Tisch. xxv, 17).

*See text for full transcription.*

1 The text of the verso is restored from the Greek.
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 Add i).

(Eighteen lines lost)  
(Sixteen lines lost)
"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?" 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).

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.

"When the other of the two, being moved) \( ^{\\text{1}} \) inwardly, since she was the mother of the living child, admitted that she was vanquished and begged that the little child might be spared—for she was grateful that the child should live at all,—the king treated this utterance as a decision of the truth and gave the verdict for her who had... For he reflected that she who did not shrink from seeking after the death of her son, was accused by nature; for had she been the mother, she would not have been eager to slay him.

What, then, is the judgment of the great Gregory which we are going to relate? It chanced that two brothers, who were young, divided the inheritance of their father and were disputing over a lake of water, each of them striving \( ^{\\text{2}} \) 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...
[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..."

"(l. 2) These were the things said and done concerning the lake.

Another marvel after this which he [wrought?] and showed forth, [and which is] remembered to this day, is this. There was a river [flowing through] that place, [which owing to] its roughness [and] turbulence... is called Lycus.

"And Gregory continued rebuking those who were assembled with him with these words... until the servants had fulfilled his bidding with that which he had commanded them, and had returned unto him. With them came (Alexander)."

"(Moreover, this was dear) to the enemy of righteousness, and [he desired?] that the chosen vessel should remain useless and obscured by ignorance; for he was unwilling that a man of this sort, who would be a destroyer of his tyranny, should come into the midst."
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 12 (Cairo, no. 24add iii + Cod. Tisch. xxv, 14).

The zeal towards good was growing intense until the priesthood was established everywhere, increasing and growing; 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...

[L. 18–33 untranslated.]

... 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, 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...

[L. 18–33 untranslated.]

1 The Greek has: 'that everywhere the faith might increase and extend.'
LIFE OF ABBA PIDJIMI

XXIX. LIFE OF ABBA PIDJIMI

Parchment. Five leaves from a single ms. Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 1 Add), 28.3 x 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. Tischb. xxiv, 9), 30 x 19 cm., also despoiled of its margins, follows Frag. 1 immediately. Frag. 3 (Cod. Tischb. xxv, 1), 30.5 x 19 cm., probably follows Frag. 2 directly. Frag. 4 (Cairo, no. 1), 31.5 x 24 cm., numbered on the verso K, is a complete leaf and was separated from Frag. 3 by a single folio (now lost). Frag. 5 (Rylands Library, Copt. no. 445), 32.5 x 21.6 cm., was probably the next leaf but one to Frag. 4.

In all the script is the same, a large and bold but uneven uncial (Plate III A), identified by Crum with the hand of Hyvernat, Album, Pl. XXXIII (early tenth cent.): other fragments by the same hand are Nos. VIII B, XXIII C and Rylands, no. 440 (Death of Joseph the Carpenter).

Pidjimi (Arab. Bidjimi) was a native of Fishah in the region of Masil. At the age of twelve, while keeping his father's flocks, he was led by an angel to the desert, where he became the disciple of three old monks. After dwelling with them for twenty-four years, 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 (Euphrates). Once, while carrying baskets to sell in the rīf, he became exhausted and was carried to his destination by an angel.

Anba Shenoudah (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 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.

Pidjimi is one of the nine hermits depicted in the Chapel of Es Sūāḥ at Dēr Abū Makār.
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 1 2).

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in good cheer, for thou shalt be the more wise. Do thy diligence also to see God in all things which

A and c appear certain: after the former is a single vertical stroke which may be part of i, m, n or p.

x 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.¹

Do thy diligence to have pity (?) [upon] every creature. For all things are by the will of Christ, and all things are from Him."

He said also in other words (?) ... in himself (?) and. .. [when] therefore thou knowest that ... do not scorn any. . . [of] the Lord. If thou beholdest a sinner, do not hate him, but hate the sin which he doeth, that thou mayest not do it thyself.²

It is written³ that if ... thou shalt load them upon a ... ; if an ass, thou shalt change them to a sheep (sic).

Even so do thou also change everything which thou shalt see and hear into things good.

If thou beholdest a likeness (or image) (I. 3) all the precious things (?) [belonging to ?] those who shine like the sun in the Kingdom of the Heavens.⁴

He said also concerning [delicate] meats and perfumes: "Think upon the good things prepared in the heavenly Jerusalem and the perfumes which are in Paradise. If thou [sufferest] afflictions and . . . think upon the punishments ... in every place [by the will] of the Lord God. . . . It is written: ‘If ye be risen with the Christ, haste ye also to seek the things of the Christ.'⁵

And again: "If thou hast not yet conquered thy heart, guard thine eyes and thine ears; for these are the doors of thy heart. If therefore thou shalt guard thy heart and knowest that thou hast conquered it, then be of good cheer, for thou shalt be the more wise. Do thy diligence also to see God in all things which

¹ See Jude 9.
³ Where?
⁴ Cp. Matth. xiii, 43.
⁵ Colossians iii, 1.

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LIFE OF ABBA PIDJIMI

Frag. 2 (Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 9).

Do thy diligence to give rest unto every man, either by the work of thy hands, or by thy speech, or by thine aspect.

If thou goest also into the midst of the brethren, if they are working, work with them according to thy power, that the grace of the power of God may be in thy weakness.”

These are the things wherewith the blessed Abba Pidjimi instructed himself alone. Then the blessed Abba Pidjimi arose and departed into the inner desert of Shiét. And he passed three days and three nights journeying, not knowing whither he was going. Nor had he taken with him any bread or water or anything at all save a little palm-stick whereon he leaned.

Then there appeared unto him companies of demons disguised in their nature and exceeding fearsome; bulls, and lions, and bears, and hyenas, “and wolves, and dogs, and wild boars, and foul birds. In short there was everyone (creature) after its kind seeking to affright the blessed man, but they were not able to succeed.

But the blessed Pidjimi when he perceived the matter, stood up: he saw their malice and their confusion because they could not move him, and he mocked at their powerlessness. He said unto them sternly: “What ails you, wretched ones, that ye make these appearances and this false confusion? If my Lord Jesus the Christ had delivered me unto you, a single one of you would have been sufficient against me. But since He hath not given you authority against me, get you gone unto your place.”

Straightway he prayed and crossed himself, and when he had breathed upon them, they vanished in the air and consumed away like smoke.

1 These reflections may have been borrowed by the biographer from a collection of ‘Sayings of the Fathers.’

2 Probably Frag. 3 follows immediately.
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Recto

And he used to live on the fruit of the palms which grew in the Marsh 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 bin² of water (once) every six days from the Marsh. Nor again was it ever his custom to have food or water with him in the place in which he was; but every six days, when he wished to eat, he would go unto the Marsh to fill his hand with dates and eat, and to drink his bin of water at the Marsh, and then return again to his place until the six days were ended. He passed another three years in this discipline.

Verso

His prayers and his offices he used to make daily—four hundred and forty prostrations by day with [fifty?] Psalms and a number of recitations also from Moses and all the Prophets. By night also he used to make twenty-four thousand (sic) prostrations with a hundred Psalms besides a great number of recitations from the Old Testament.

When he had spent three years in this discipline, the clothes which he wore were worn out and fell to pieces. He was at a stand what to do; for he did not wish to clothe himself at all with the necessaries of this world, but to be rid of them, like little children and the animals, and (but) a man who is sober (?) in the Scriptures. He said within himself: "How shall I be able to sit if I am naked? How shall I be able to pray to God if I am naked?" Again, he said: "My Father Adam and Eve, our first parents...."

¹ The well-known "Marsh of ShiṬ."
² An Egyptian measure (commonly used in Palestine: cp. Exodus xxix, 40; xxx, 24; where the LXX has ε椁). Here it denotes a vessel of definite capacity.

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LIFE OF ABBA PIDJIMI

Frag. 4 (Cairo, no. I).

The small cross (inserted by a later hand) distinguishes the divine utterance.

...so also the water. But they 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 (tapas) in thy name 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 Michael: "Take up My chosen one upon thy wings of light and carry him to the land wherein he was born."

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."

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 ...
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 5 (Rylands, no. 445).

Recto

*From the time that he (Shenouti) left his cell, he did not eat nor drink while he was journeying. Pidjimi said unto him: "Take thee this vessel and fill it with water from the spring which is to the east." And he took the vessel and filled it with water. When he came up, he found the old man (Pidjimi) standing and praying to God. And when he entered into the cell, he found the cooking pot upon the ground and boiling with heat (?). Then Abba Shenouti understood in his heart that this was Abba Pidjimi whose throne and whose crown had been shown to him.

When they had prayed together, they ate their little cooked morsel and slept. But in the middle of the night they arose and said an Office together: they spent the whole night praising God and chanting in spiritual songs.

* Verso

After these things Abba Shenouti *informed Abba Pidjimi of the marvel concerning his throne and his crown. Thereafter, they went forth... walking in the country with... God purposed thus that the election of Abba Shenouti should be revealed to Abba Pidjimi. It chanced that as they two were walking, they came upon a dead man, buried in that place. For verily there was a multitude of bodies of the pagans of old buried there. Now (while) Abba Shenouti was walking with his little palm-staff in his hand, [he came] upon a dead man's skull.2 And Abba Shenouti struck it upon the skull three times; (and) forthwith the dead man answered (?) and spake with Abba Shenouti and Abba Pidjimi in 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 la, from henceforth [I] shall..."

1 See Introductory Note.

2 The anecdote of Shenouti and the skull is a doublet of Apophth. Patr., Macarius xxxviii (P.G. lxv, 280) where Macarius similarly finds a skull which he causes to speak and describe the lot of those in Hell.
LIFE OF SHENOUTI

XXX. BESA

Life of Shenouti.

Parchment. Five fragments from three different MSS.

Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 13Adii) 12.5 x 19.5 cm., is the lower portion of a sheet (two conjoined leaves). The script is a thick, heavy, but not large uncial: the stops ـ and = (both black) alone are used. Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 13B), 18.5 x 13 cm., is a fragment from the lower right-hand portion of a leaf. The script is the same as that of Frag. 4. Frag. 3 (Cairo, no. 110), 11 x 23 cm., is a strip torn from the foot of a page and giving its full width. It does not therefore belong to the same MS. as did Frag. 2: the hand, moreover, is larger and thicker. The stops ـ and = alone are used. Frag. 4 (Cairo, no. 13A), 34.5 x 23 cm., is a complete leaf from the same MS. as Frag. 2, having thirty-seven lines to the page. The recto (eleventh page in the ms. and first in the second quire) is headed ΤΩΣΑΝ ΤΟΣ (Ornament) [�示]. The script (as in Frag. 2) is a good-sized, rounded uncial; the ink is reddish-brown: the only stops used are ـ and (at the end of a paragraph) ـ. Frag. 5 (Cairo, no. 13Adi)ii), 18 x 16 cm., is a much-discolored fragment of a decayed leaf: it may possibly belong to the same MS. as Frags. 2 and 4.

All these belong to the Life of Shenouti by Besa. Other fragments of the same work are Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 10, 11; xxvi, 26, of which the two former at least may belong to the same MS. as our Fraggs. 2 and 3. The complete work is extant in the Vatican MS. (Cod. Vat. Copt. lxvi, 2) which was also brought (by Assemani) from the Monastery of Saint Macarius, and has been most recently edited by Leipoldt. 3

1 See Leipoldt, L.c., pp. 390, 413.
3 Indeterminate endings of three lines precede.
4 Indeterminate beginnings of four lines precede.
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

XXXI. LIFE OF TIMOTHY AELURUS

Parchment. Two leaves (Cairo, no. 12), 34 × 24 cm., paginated 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.). After a lacuna of two leaves (four pages), the return of Timothy from exile (475 A.D.) and his subsequent alleged banishment owing to the intrigues of the Bishops of Rome and Constantinople, are described. The appointment of Timothy Salophacaslos 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; 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, 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 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. 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 Abu Makar in Wadi Habib." For not only was Abba George syneculus of the Syrian Simon I, and so in a position to learn what Syriac writers had recorded concerning his period, 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..."

(Cairo, no. 12).

1 That enumeration is by pages is certain. The usual number of parchment sheets in the quire is four (= eight leaves or sixteen pages).

2 Timothy was elected in 457 and died in 477 A.D.: see Nau in P.O. viii, p. 20, note 1.

3 See below, p. 167, note 3.

4 Raabe, Petrus der Iberer, pp. 64 ff., 69 ff. (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 (Mem. de l'Acad. Imp. des Sciences de S. Pétersbourg, Series viii, t. vii, p. 6).

5 Raabe, op. cit., p. 70 ("Das war für den seligen Petrus...erfreuen konnte").

6 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 constant Syriac being a redaction edited only by John Rufus.

7 Concerning George, see Hist. Patr., ed. Evetts, pp. 344 ff.
LIFE OF TIMOTHY AELURUS

...Marcian died suddenly without sickness. Then the blessed Peter the Iberian, who was at Pemdje 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 to all the monks who were there, the multitudes of the place which is called Pi-Ennaton and the others also who were there, the multitudes of the orthodox, who no longer had strength by reason of the increase of the afflictions which they had found in the city Rakoti concerning the death of Marcian—he who had been the author and originator of all these woes to be neglectful but to hasten to finish that work which they purposed. They came and there was amongst them there the great ascete and prophet, Abba Longinus, the Father of the desert while he was unaware of anything of this kind. For he had previously been held worthy of the dignity of the multitude of the orthodox, who no longer had strength by reason of the increase of the afflictions which 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 (?) 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 Oktanadakaton and there was amongst them there the great ascete and prophet, Abba Longinus, 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 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 this was the dispensation. When the news reached almost all the city was assembled together, men and women and their children together with the holy monks. The people and a strength of the orthodox faith. Now this was the dispensation. When the news reached Alexandria, Cpo Cauwenbergh, his history see D' Egypte, p. 65. Five of his sayings are found in the *Apophthegmata* (P.G. LXV, 266 ff.).

1 Emperor, 450-457 A.D.
2 =Oxyrhynchus, the modern Behnesa.
3 The Syriac has 'destructive.'
4 The Syriac adds Edessa 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. Cpo. Cauwenbergh, *Étude sur les Moines d'Égypte*, pp. 66 ff.
5 Of Cilicia, Superior of El Zajag (Pi-Ennaton). For his history see *Synax*, Amshir 2 (ed. Basset, pp. 730 ff.).

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Two leaves (four pages) missing.
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

(Cairo, no. 12).

Διπλακαριος τιμωθεως φι ἐτη ἀπερχεσθησιν ἀμων εὐοδριτην φιν ἀνενεμον εκεν πενναρονος καὶ φινα γιτεν παλι να εὐοφ οτομὶ
5 πασιων ὑβλικ ἐκαθηκ καὶ παντες ετασιμὶς οὐρ ὑτε πιλοκ αὐτον ἀλων ἑν οὐρηρίῳ

Οὗτος ετασιμὴ ἐρωτε ἐ ἀλικι a μοιτ νιφεν λοι ἰρνμι 6 ῥη ουο ῥι ὰτή

Ἀλπὶ ὡσ πάρες οὔτης εὐροι εὐοδριτην πασιωνῃ φιν ἑτασιμίς 7 ὑτο ἑτε ὑτεν ἀεν ἑπο ἑοὶ παρ το το ὑπερ[πανός] αἱτ μη ἀποροεῦ τοιο οὐτεμαυ

15 Σφισ εὐτο να ὑβλακαριος τιμωθεως ὑτε τιμιοκομὴν πνευ πρωποι

Πάλιν ὡσ ανεμβροι εὑροι ἑυκα πεναρος πασιων εὐαῖο ἐ ποταὶ πιπρομὶ

20 Ἀκορατικὶ πταὶ δι τίρος ὑτε ἀυτη ἀμωτῃς ὑτε πενε

πενδοκος εὐροι λα ἀπεν ἱνεν ἰρνμι 8 ὑτο ὰσ φα ἑνταντ[π]οτολισι πεν ὑτε ρομι εὐεδε ὑν εὐοθο ἀπιπλακα

ριος τιμωθεως πεν τοποταστα
c[iς] πεν πεναννος πεν τοποτα

ριστα πατον πνεφετ πεν χυφο 

ἵνα οὐτεμαυ

Σφερακοσμετηγὶς ἀμων ἀγαλοιςιν

30 ἕαον να πενδοκος εὑροι ἑρατη 


πεν πεναρονος πεν πεναρονος πεν πιλοκαν εὐοδριτης πασι

αἰν ἀτασιμὶς ἑτασιμῳ ἕαον 

Εἰ δι αναρχητον ετορ ἀμωσιον εὐεμαυ εὑο 

ἑτοτοι εὐοδρισιε ῥη οὐ 

5 πεπατομὶ εὐοδρισιε ῥη οὐ 

115 ἱερωτησιτε αὐτων ἀμωσιον εὐεμαυ εὑοτος ἀμωσιον εὐοδριτην ῥη οὐ 

5 πεπατομὶ εὐοδρισιε ῥη οὐ 

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5 πεπατομὶ εὐο 

1 sic.
[The Emperor[^1] commanded that they should restore] *the blessed Timothy, who was elected by God, and set him upon his throne, that in this way the city might regain strength after the troubles which were past and that the people might rest in peace. And when he returned into the city, every street was filled with joy and delight and gladness; and a great multitude of the unbelievers was coming to receive baptism. And if we may speak briefly, the city of the people of Rakoti was Heaven in all those days.

Now when the blessed Timothy had occupied the Bishopric for three[^2] 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,[^3] to rage in this manner with a great hatred, because the life of the blessed Timothy, his disposition, his renown, and his outspokenness were a shame and rebuke unto them, since he daily anathematized publicly—he, and the Bishops who were under him, and the clergy, and the monks, and the laity—the unholy Council which was held at Chalcedon. They made a great to-do by means of bribe-giving and the advocacy of lawless men—for they found *the rulers who were in power at that time amenable to them through covetousness—and did not cease from their wicked and evil design until they had caused the blessed Timothy to be exiled again, and had shed much blood among the people. And so he was removed into exile again, to a city, Gangra, the place wherein his fellow-confessor and champion of the orthodox faith, *Dioscoros, ended his days when he had won the crown of Confessorship.[^4]

For when they had cast out the blessed Timothy from his throne by means of the King's decree and of violence, and had caused him to be exiled, they set another in his place by the King's edict, namely, one of the priests who was styled, indeed, Timothy, though his other name was Salophacialos[^5], and who also had adopted the corrupt faith of the Chalcedonians.

Now there was a priest in Caesarea named Apholios[^6] 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 . . .

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[^1]: 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 Apolos and Apëos; but in § XXIX, where the same priest is mentioned, the *Mss.* give Altos and Apolaos, of which the last most nearly approximates to the Coptic.
XXXII. LIFE OF APA HÔR

Parchment. Two fragments from a single ms. Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 60), 33.5 x 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 (A?), 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 we in an informal but perhaps contemporary hand: for the meaning of this and the corresponding direction see Introduction, § 6. Frag. 2 (Cod. Tisch. XXIV, 5) is the upper half of a leaf measuring 16 x 22 cm. (the left margin has been cut off). It is paged (?), 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 for Kihak 2, Hôr was a native of Atripe in Upper Egypt. He became a solitary and lived in the desert until Satan challenged him to go to Alexandria. He went to the city and there busied himself with bringing water to the prisoners. While he was thus laboring, a child was run over in the street and killed. The blame for this accident was laid on Apa Hôr, who restored the child to life and then fled from the city. At his death he beheld the usual vision of Saints waiting to receive his soul.

Hôr is associated with Anba Harmina of Pemdie, with whom he took a journey to the Monastery of Apa Jeremias (at Sakkara). 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, 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.

2 id., pp. 295 ff.
3 Life of Harmina (Paris, B.N., Fonds Arabe, no. 148 ff., 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.).
5 See John of Nikiu, Chronicle, lxxxix, §§ 4 ff.
The Life of our beloved and holy Father, glorious in every grace, the perfect Monk, the holy Apa Hör, 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.

Hör, the least (of men), who writes (this), unto my beloved and holy Father, the man of God, Apa Jeremias, greeting! Before all things I pray and beseech thy Holiness that thou make mention of me in thy many prayers and thy continual supplications. For many times have I desired to see thee face to face, but I have been hindered until now. But I trust in God that through thy holy prayers this favor may be granted me once more, that I may behold thy Fatherhood face to face, and that I may greet thee mouth to mouth; in order that I may behold the habit of the Angels wherein thou art clad, and that thy greeting may purify my members both inward and outward.

O man of God! O matchless one! 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 reclinet in the bosom of Jesus and all thy care resteth upon Him. For thou didst hear Him reproving certain and saying: "Which of you by taking thought can add a cubit's length to his stature?" Thou also didst answer Him joyfully, saying unto Him: "I vex not myself, my Lord, while I rest upon Thee: I desire not anything for a single day." And when He saw thee following after Him, He breathed upon thee, saying: "Receive a holy Spirit..."

1 See Introductory Note.
2 Reading παρακατος in the sense of 'transcending the men of thy own time.'
3 Matt. vi. 27.
x (p. 103)  
"Ambrosius" (answered) unto Apa Hör: "Do a charity and make mention of me in thy holy prayers." Apa Hör said unto Apa Ambrosius: "Make mention of me also, that I may make mention of thee." Apa Ambrosius said unto Apa Hör: "We will make mention of thee, my holy Father." Apa Hör 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...4 said...

x p. 104  
...[the] miracle5 which our holy Father Apa Hör had wrought, 14 arose and went into the desert. I spent a whole week without being permitted to make mention of Apa Hör, because of the great sufferings which I endured. I journeyed out from the desert (lit. mountain) and I was dwelling in the desert (mountain) of Sbehti,6 but Apa Hör was in the desert of Pi-$oben,7 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...

1 On Ambrosius see Crum, P.S.B.A. xxix, 290. For his association in inscriptions with Jeremias and Hör, see p. 168, note 4.
2 Perhaps a fresh anecdote told by an Apa Pdjo... begins here.
3 Probably the restoration to life of the child killed by accident at Alexandria (see Synax., Kihak 2, ed. Basset, pp. 294 f.).
4 Perhaps Apa Pdjo...
5 Sbehti is Apollinopolis Parva (Crum, l. c.).
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]) is a single leaf 28 × 19 cm.; the page-number is lost. Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 62) measures 29.1 × 20.8, the margins being complete save that the upper left corner, bearing the page-number, has been torn off. Frags. 3 and 4 (Cod. Tisch. xxvi., 11, 13) are two consecutive leaves, paged respectively — p. 3 and — p. 7 (sic), and measuring 25 × 19 and 28 × 18 cm. The written column (in Frag. 2) measures 22.7 × 13–14 cm. Guide-lines are ruled along the top and down the left side of the column: the only stop used is = (black), which is freely employed. The hand is compared by Crum with that of Hyvernat, Album, xlui., 1, xli., 1: in addition to the peculiarities noticed by Crum the irregularity of ϑ 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): 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 Misk (Egypt), the same who built the (Nilometer) at Hulwân." The writer then relates that one day when the Patriarch was in audience with 'Abd el 'Aziz news was brought that a certain Jew had died without heirs. The governor ordered the property of the deceased to be brought into the treasury. A casket of silver and gold attracted special attention and was brought to 'Abd el 'Aziz, who on opening it was surprised to find only a fragment of wood. The Patriarch, however, divined that it was a fragment of the True Cross, and, after the wood had been placed by way of test on a fire without being burned, purchased the relic from 'Abd el 'Aziz for three thousand dinârs.

This done, the Governor expressed a desire to know which was the true religion and arranged that the Patriarch should dispute before him with a Jew named Aaron, and a Melkite or Chalcedonian. After protracted debate both were converted by the Patriarch, who was then requested by the Governor to show how the doctrine of Transubstantiation could be consistent with the fact that God is in Heaven. The Patriarch's reply contains a noteworthy incident derived, perhaps, from some apocryphal document. Judas, he says, was made to go out before the institution of the Eucharist as unworthy to partake of the Body and Blood of Christ. Thereupon the Savior made His solemn declaration to His disciples: "And while our Lord Jesus Christ informed them of that, they doubted in their hearts. Thereupon He disappeared from their sight, and they beheld that Bread which had been changed into Flesh, and that Wine which had been changed into Blood after the Consecration. And they were afraid and fell upon their faces like dead men. Thereupon, He appeared (again) to them, lifted them up, and drove away their fear. And He said to them: 'Verily I say unto you, whosoever believeth and eateth thereof with complete faith, he shall live for ever; and whosoever shall confess Me before men, I will confess him before My Father Who is in Heaven.'"

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, 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.

1 See Crum, Cat. of Copt. MSS. in the Rylands Library, pp. 222 ff., where the text of this fragment is edited.
2 See Leipoldt, ab. Volland Kat., p. 410.
3 The p is at a lower level than the a and surmounted by a separate bar. Presumably the original scribe forgot his hundreds, and these were added sporadically by a later hand.
4 The lower edge and lower right corner of Frag. 3 are missing; in Frag. 4 the left edge has been slightly cropped.
5 The former of these alone has been consulted: the passages in it parallel to the Coptic fragments are indicated in the margin of my translation.
6 'Abd el 'Aziz was governor of Egypt, 685–705 A.D. (See Lane Poole, Hist. of Egypt in the Middle Ages, pp. 26, 46.)
7 The meaning seems to be that Christ was literally transformed into the Elements.
9 Whatever the provenance of the Paris ms. 215, it was clearly not translated from the Coptic ms. whose remains are here published; for the latter (see Frag. 3, verso, l. 11) omits two paragraphs which are present in the former.
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. I (Rylands, no. 449 [48]).

The Arabic has "I should like you to tell me if in my law it is written that one of our fathers has been transported to Hades."

2 The Arabic has "I will go down to Hades sad because of Joseph, my son."


1 The Arabic has "... saying: 'Behold thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee forth from the land of Egypt.' When He had called your fathers, they did not keep His law; (and) the Lord called the Christians also and gave them His body and His blood, the hidden manna, that they might eat thereof a thousand years. For indeed our Father-Apostles taught us concerning this holy manna—Lo, it is we who have kept their law unto this day; and the gates of Amenti [shall not prevail?] for ever. Your fathers did eat manna and are dead; our fathers also ate manna and live for ever."

The Jew said: "How sayest thou this to me? Do not the Christians also die?"

The Archbishop said: "Verily, the death of this world is a passing away; but he who shall fall into the hands of Amenti—that is death eternal."

The Jew said: "Where is it written that our fathers went down unto Amenti?"

The Archbishop said: "At the time when they brought the coat of Joseph to Jacob his father, he wept over it. And his sons consoled him desiring to comfort him; but he desired not to be comforted, but said: 'I will go down unto Amenti sad because of Joseph my son.' Again, when he had sent his sons to Egypt to get corn; when Joseph saw them, he knew them and terrified them, saying: 'Ye are spies who are come to examine the land.' But they worshipped him, saying: 'O our Lord, thy servants are not men of this sort'."

1 Exodus xxxii, 4. 3 Cp. John vi, 58. 5 So the Arabic.

THE CONTROVERSY OF JOHN IV

Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 62).

The Chalcedonian said: "Ye, the Theodosians; for ye say that God suffered. We say that God is not subject to suffering, that He dieth not, that He eateth not, and drinketh not, and sleepeth not, and slumbereth not. But He came down and was clothed in human flesh, separate from His Divinity—flesh subject to suffering and subject to pain, flesh which ate, and drank, and slept, and slumbered. The flesh was crucified, and the flesh was nailed and wounded with the spear. All these things the flesh endured. The Godhead also healed those who were sick, turned the waters into wine, blessed the five loaves, walked upon the sea, cast out devils. In a word, all the wonders which He performed pertained to the Godhead, and the sufferings pertained to the Manhood alone."

The Archbishop said: "O abominable heretic! According to thy words, then, which are full of blasphemy, thou affirmest of our Lord Jesus the Christ that He was in two Natures, one indeed which healed and one which suffered?"

The Chalcedonian said: "Such is my faith."

The Archbishop said: "It was not so. But harken unto me attentively and I will declare unto you the truth. "..."

1 i.e. the Monophysites who were so called after the Patriarch Theodosius I (535–565): see Hist. Patr., ed. Evetts, p. 204.

1 sic: ? for acēt;
2 sic: from τος (to fasten: see Zoëga, Cat. p. 290, note 21) + μητ, nail.

"The Chalcedonian said: "Ye, the Theodosians; for ye say that God suffered. We say that God is not subject to suffering, that He dieth not, that He eateth not, and drinketh not, and sleepeth not, and slumbereth not. But He came down and was clothed in human flesh, separate from His Divinity—flesh subject to suffering and subject to pain, flesh which ate, and drank, and slept, and slumbered. The flesh was crucified, and the flesh was nailed and wounded with the spear. All these things the flesh endured. The Godhead also healed those who were sick, turned the waters into wine, blessed the five loaves, walked upon the sea, cast out devils. In a word, all the wonders which He performed pertained to the Godhead, and the sufferings pertained to the Manhood alone."

The Archbishop said: "O abominable heretic! According to thy words, then, which are full of blasphemy, thou affirmest of our Lord Jesus the Christ that He was in two Natures, one indeed which healed and one which suffered?"

The Chalcedonian said: "Such is my faith."

The Archbishop said: "It was not so. But harken unto me attentively and I will declare unto you the truth. "..."
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 3 (Cod. Tisch. xxvi, 11).

The Governor said unto him: "It is written in my Law that God taketh not a woman, nor doth He beget; but a Spirit and a Word 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.")

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 to 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." The Governor said: "And who was he whom they hanged upon the Cross?"

The Governor said: "It is written in my Law that they did not seize Him, but God took Him up into Heaven." The Governor said: "It is written in my Law that they did not seize Him, but God took Him up into Heaven." The Governor said: "It is written in my Law that they did not seize Him, but God took Him up into Heaven."

The Archbishop said earnestly: "Do not be angry, O Governor, if I ask you a question." The Governor said: "I

1 The end of the saying of Christ to His Apostles as quoted by the Archbishop. See Introductory Note.

2 For the meaning of στρατηγός see Crum in P.S.B.A. xxxix, 292; Leipoldt ap. Vollers, Kat. p. 410 (note).

3 See Koran, Sura cxii: "He begetteth not, neither is He begotten."

4 id. Sura iv, 169: "Jesus, Son of Mary, is only an Apostle of God and His Word, which He conveyed into Mary, and a Spirit."

5 Question and answer (which ended like l. 11 of the text with the word ρωμα) were omitted in the Coptic by homoeoteleuton: they are here reproduced from the Arabic.

6 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.

7 See preceding note.

"...'holy Angels.' Lo, those things which I have heard from my fathers I declare unto you."

The Governor said unto him: "It is written in my Law that God taketh not a woman, nor doth He beget; but a Spirit and a Word 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.") 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." The Governor said: "And who was he whom they hanged upon the Cross?"

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The Governor said: "It is written in my Law that they did not seize Him, but God took Him up into Heaven." The Governor said: "And who was he whom they hanged upon the Cross?"
THE CONTROVERSY OF JOHN IV

Frag. 4 (Cod. Tisch. xxvi, 13).

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 thousand gold pieces for this little piece (?) of wood, which thou hast found in the house of this Jew; scarce a palm long? 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) ... 2

1 For the allusion see the Introductory Note.
2 A few lines only of the conclusion are missing, the Arabic continuing (down to fo. 202b, 17) with the words ...and sent him away in peace."
XXXIV. A EUCHARISTIC MIRACLE

Parchment. Two fragments from one MS. Frag. 1 (Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 36) is a complete leaf, 32 x 23 cm., numbered — [ício]. 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 x 17 cm., is the upper portion of a leaf of which the inner edge is lost. On the verso is page or folio number [...], either [R~] or [RR], if Frag. 2 follows Frag. 1 immediately.

The hand, which is slightly below medium size, is square and thick. The form of [1r] (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.
A EUCHARISTIC MIRACLE

"I said unto him: "He Who hath made the Heaven and the Earth and all living things." 1

Now it came to pass that when they had brought the prayers to an end, the people came up to receive the Body and Blood of Our Savior. And the little Pagan thrust himself into the midst of the people and received of the Body of the Lord at the hands of the Archpriest. When he looked at it, he found it had taken the form of a son of man 2 in his hands. And when he smelled its fragrant perfume, he took it and departed to his home, without waiting for me to come forth, but departing alone.

So he carried away the Body of the Lord which was like the body of a man and placed it in a casket of gold, sealing its mouth with his ring: and he placed the ring upon his finger. Now his father and mother and brothers smelled the fragrance in the house, such as they had never smelled (before): they looked about in all parts of their house, but did not find the place wherein was the fragrance. 3 They spake with one another: "Perchance this Christian 4 hath wrought magic and cast a spell upon us that we should smell this fragrance in our house."

Now it came to pass that after the fourth (?) Sabbath was come, the little Pagan boy [sought me] out and brought a vessel of... up to a hundred... (I. 9) in the evening, saying: "Let us go to the Church and receive..." 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 5 in his hands. And the Pagan also held out some gold 6 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).

Περακ λεέ τανιον1 μνιωμα ε-
οδαλε οτι ουι εισ-
ωμ | μαμα-καιπνπιπο-2
τηριαν ε ομηεφέει-
5 φιοροκ μωσ3-ανοκ δε
σταρο πυτιρεπον πα-
γιος-
Αντι πυπιον δε4 ρας5
τε-

Ο νωρ εκλογωνινι ειχε ηερωτ [7]

1 etaios, MS. 2 μπικαρ, MS. 3 μμαανι, MS. 4 μπικαρ, MS. 5 μεροκ, MS. 1 Page or folio number: the second numeral is possibly ε.

He 7 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 8 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 9 stretched forth his hand with my Father 10 and took the Cup, saying: 'τα ἁγια τοῖς ἁγίοις,' 11 that is to say, 'That which is holy for them who are holy.' And all the people answered: 'One Holy Father. One Holy Son, One Holy Spirit: Amen.'" 12

1 Doubtless in answer to the Pagan's question as to who was the Christians' God.
2 i.e. human flesh. Similarly in Apophth. Patr., Daniel vii, the monk who could not believe in Transubstantiation received κρας ψωταμον. 3 i.e. whence the fragrance proceeded.
4 Probably the narrator, the associate of the 'little Pagan.' 5 i.e. flesh.
6 Probably the Elements carried away on the previous occasion had been turned to gold.
7 sc. the Pagan. 8 Literally 'divide.' 9 Apparently an angelic celebrant who accompanies all the priest's actions (cp. Apophth. Patr., Daniel vii (P.G. LXV, 157)). 10 sc. the celebrant.
12 ibidem.
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARiUS

XXXV. HOMILETIC FRAGMENTS

A. SEVERIAN OF GABALA

Homily on Penitence.

Parchment. Two fragments (Cairo, 34, 3) from a single ms. The former (17.7 × 16 cm.), the upper part of the first leaf of a fourth quire, is headed ἥμιλις χρυσόν [•••];1 the second (27 × 15.5 cm.) is the larger portion of a leaf from which the outer and lower edges have been torn.2 Both in script and general style the fragments are closely similar to Nos. xxvici and xxix. The arbitrary shortening of the lines is a noteworthy feature.

The contents indicate that the two leaves are consecutive, for Frag. 1 verso introduces the Angels who separate soul and body—a subject which is continued on Frag. 2 recto. Further, the text of Frag. 1 recto and verso, ll. 3–6 reproduces the Greek text of the Homily on Penitence spuriously attributed to S. John Chrysostom3 but ascribed by the Copts to Severian of Gabala. Consequently there can be little doubt that our two fragments once belonged to Cod. Vat. Copt. lxviii, 9 (brought from the monastery of Saint Macarius by Assemani), where the Coptic text of the main part, but not the conclusion, of that Homily is preserved.4 Presumably when the final attempt to rehabilitate the Library was made,5 the concluding quire of this tract was discarded as too deeply stained or too damaged to be worthy of preservation, and the remainder was bound up with other matter in the volume of which it now forms part.

As De Vis has remarked,6 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: ...ἀγγέλους φοβηροὺς τὸ δάκτυλον τῆς ψυχῆς σου ἀπαστόντας. ἐὰν μὲν ἡ τιμία ἡ ἕλικα πανηγυεῖα ἡ ψυχή, ὑπὸ τῶν ἄγγελων δορυφορηθῆσαι· ἐὰν δὲ ἀνίλιος πρὸς τὸν ἐμφύλους πένητας ἀνατραφείσα, ἀνίλιος κατακριθῆσαι.

1 The heading is written in yellow-brown ink (as is the note or rubric ὑπὸ τοῦ σικτοῦ, inscribed on the extreme upper edge). The faded quire-number has been retracted in black ink by a later hand. The half-petition ἡμᾶς ἡμᾶς corresponded to τῇ πρὸς τοῖς the opposite (left-hand) page.

2 The upper and left margins have been cropped, doubtless to supply material for bookbinders, as also the left margin of Frag. 1.

3 See P.G. lx, 767–8. It is not found in the Armenian collection of sermons by Severian: see Aucher, Severiani ... Homiliae (Venice, 1827).

4 See the edition by H. De Vis, Homelies Coptes de la Vaticane, pp. 195 ff. Unfortunately De Vis says nothing about the Coptic pagination of the Vatican fragment.


6 ed. cit., p. 198.
HOMILETIC FRAGMENTS

Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 3 ")

νὴν ἐκφράσω τὴν καταγγελίαν τῶν πεπεφυμένων πρὸς τὴν εὐαγγέλιαν τῆς τῆς ἐρμηνείας λόγου ἐρώτημα ἐποίησεν εἰρήνη: ηὗτος ἐκφράσω τὴν καταγγελίαν τῶν πεπεφυμένων πρὸς τὴν εὐαγγέλιαν τῆς τῆς ἐρμηνείας λόγου ἐρώτημα ἐποίησεν 

5 οὗτως ἑλέσθη ἡ πρόσωπος τῆς κρίσεως ἡ ἀνθρώπων οἱ πλάκας ἢ πρὸς τὴν ἐπίδρασιν τής τῆς ἑλέσθη ἡ πρόσωπος τῆς κρίσεως ἡ ἀνθρώπων οἱ πλάκας 

10 εἰσερχόμενος τοι ἐν τῷ τῷ φίλῳ ἡ ἡ τῆς κρίσεως τῆς εἰσερχόμενος τοι ἐν τῷ τῷ φίλῳ ἡ ἡ 

15 μι]

2 

.

. 


d...which surround thee, when thou beholdest 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 which goeth up from thy nostril, convulsed with grief because of the anguish of the heavy sickness which lieth upon thee;...

x...at the last when they 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, 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...

1 = P.G. IX, 767 ήπι οὗ τούς κύκλον σου περιστώτας φύλους, γείτονας, συγγενείς &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 ἐκλέξειν τὸν ἀνθρώπον πρὸς τὸν ἄγιον τῆς πέφης ἡ μητέρας &c. (quoted in the Introductory Note).

5 Mat. viii, 12.
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 3).

*[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." Thou art distressed, thou grievest, thou recallest thy deeds, that they may have mercy upon thee.

Then when the Angels hear these things, they say unto us: "0 wretched soul! 0 miserable soul! All the days of thy life thou didst spend in heedlessness; and now thou desirest to repent. 0 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] . . . 0 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. These are the things that are in Tartarus, the place wherein shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

For harken to those things which the Lord saith in His teaching on all these matters in the Gospel—and He is infallible, for He said: "The earth shall pass away and the Heavens also shall pass away . . ." 5

1 Cp. Apophth. Patr., Sisoes xiv (P.G. lxv, 396), where Sisoes says: ὁδι, ἄγγελοι ἱδὼν λαβέν μοι καὶ παρακαλῶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μεταφέρσαι μικρότ. (Sisoes xlix is a variant of the same anecdote.)

2 For the beings who attend on death-beds cp. the Boh. Life of Piscati (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. 536).

3 Matth. viii, 12.

4 Id. xxiv, 35.

* * *
HOMILETIC FRAGMENTS

B. GREGORY THEOLOGUS

Homily on Christian Charity.

Parchment. A single leaf (Cairo, no. 63), 33 × 27.5 cm.,paged (R'), R,l 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 μαρτυρίᾳ τῆς πίστεως Ἀδραίῳ τοῦ καὶ μαρτυροῦσιν Μωίσεως καὶ Δαβίδ. Further leaves from the same ms. are:—(καὶ), Δὲ (Cod. Tisch. xxiv, 8: = 862 c to 864 b of the Greek text); Νο, Λα (id. xxv, 4), and ( kuk), και (Rylands Library, Copt. no. [42] 437). 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).

1 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).
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

* (p. 27) *And unto Faith beareth witness the Patriarch Abraham who was justified because of it.\(^1\) And unto Hope beareth witness Enôs—for he was the first who hoped, calling on the name of the Lord,\(^2\)—and all the holy ones who suffered affliction in hope. And unto Charity also beareth witness the holy Apostle, saying, "God is Love."\(^3\)

Excellent is the love of strangers; and unto it beareth witness righteous Lot. This man was (dwelling) in Sodom, but he was not a man of Sodom in his conduct. Likewise also Rahab the harlot beareth witness unto love of strangers—she who was delivered because of it and was justified in the Scriptures\(^4\) 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* \* works of \* \* that He might give grace unto him \* ; but in that He, the Lord, became \* a way... Excellent is long-suffering. For it is He again, Our Lord, who beareth witness unto this (virtue). For [not] only did He . . . Peter when he smote with the sword, but also He restored his ear unto him (Malchus) . . . into its place again. Likewise also Stephen the disciple of . . . also exalted long-suffering in that he prayed for them who stoned him. Excellent is meekness. Our Savior exalted it, saying: "Learn of Me, for I am meek and lowly in My heart."\(^5\) And again it is written concerning Him: "He shall not strive nor cry; neither shall any man hear His voice in the streets."\(^6\) And Moses also and David . . .

1 See Romans iv, 22.
3 1 John iv, 8.
4 See Hebr. xi, 31.
5 Matth. xi, 29.
6 Isaiah xlii, 2; Matth. xii, 19.
HOMILETIC FRAGMENTS

C. On the Long-suffering of Christ.

Parchment. A half-leaf and an almost complete leaf, 20.2 x 21.4 cm. (Cairo, no. 69), from a single MS. The written column measures 22.5 x 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).

Πη τιρος ἠρχα με πουσέ ἑο- 
ροτροτον γαρρέ - σονε 
παράπροσ πουσέ ἑολά- ἑοτοτ- 
μου ἡτα πισοτοιμι 
ἐοε φαι ἑαυτοτ ὑριτ ἦμα- 
τετροττοṇ εὐδότεϊ 
μετήπαιμε γάτων ιελόλον 
πελεά- 
νεμ πισοτε - νεμι, πισοτι 
νεμ πισοτε - νεμ i πισοτι 
νεμ πισοτε - νεμ πισοτε - 
νεμ πισοτε - νεμ πισοτε - 

5 ενε φαι ἑαυτοτ ὑριτ ἦμα- 
τετροττοṇ εὐδότεϊ 
μετήπαιμε γάτων ιελόλον 
πελεά- 
νεμ πισοτε - νεμι, πισοτι 

10 μεμ πρεγάτ φάρμα ιουκ = 

5 ενε φαι ἑαυτοτ ὑριτ ἦμα- 
τετροττοṇ εὐδότεϊ 
μετήπαιμε γάτων ιελόλον 
πελεά- 
νεμ πισοτε - νεμι, πισοτι 
νεμ πισοτε - νεμ πισοτι 
νεμ πισοτε - νεμ πισοτι 
νεμ πισοτε - νεμ πισοτι 
νεμ πισοτε - νεμ πισοτι 
νεμ πισοτε - νεμ πισοτι 

15 ματετροττο treaties 

Χ[α]ράζε ᾧ[e] * * * *

*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.

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 fulness of the Godhead1 and through Him...

1 For the verso generally cp. Colossians 1, 16 ff.; 11, 9.
(When Korah, Dathan, and Abiram sought after the) high-priesthood and would not obey Moses, God spake and the earth opened its mouth and devoured them with all those who pertained unto them. But Our Lord, even Our God Who is merciful and compassionate, when the Jews rose up against Him, did not take vengeance on them because of that which they did unto Him, but refrained from them. He gave Himself for us that He might deliver us from our sins, being an example unto us not to take vengeance upon any man.

When Korah, Dathan, and Abiram being an example unto us not to take vengeance upon any man. And He was long-suffering with them and did not take vengeance upon them; according to the word which our Lord Who is full of mercy, when the servants smote Him on the head, mocking Him . . . And He was long-suffering with them and did not take vengeance upon them; according to the word which He spake: "Love your enemies, and do good to them who hate you."
HOMILETIC FRAGMENTS

D. On Fornication.

Parchment. A single leaf (Cairo, no. 68), 28.6 x 21 cm. (column 24.2 x 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 Ξ.

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).

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.¹

Then is it not a scandal that a woman who has spent her whole life in committing fornication should say, "I am a Christian," and, as the flesh of her body wastes away and she grows old and men cease to esteem

¹ Cp. ii Cor. v, 10.
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: "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." But if (it be) for the sake of food and raiment, since God provideth for cattle and birds and wild beasts and all creation, 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 bvest in these fornications, O woman? Even as the Prophet saith, 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." For the Proverbs say: "Faithful lips become a heart." 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 x 18 and 36 x 28 cm. respectively. Since the hand—a small, very regular uncial—is the same in both, and the numeration of the versos, 5, 5, probably indicates pages, the fragments represent two consecutive leaves of a single ms. Possibly further fragments of the same ms. could be identified among the Tischendorf fragments at Leipzig.

The text suggests a Greek original, but this has not been identified. Owing to their imperfect condition, no translation of the fragments is attempted.

Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 46).

1 Jer. i, 3.
2 i Cor. vii, 2.
4 Ezechiel xvi. 20?
5 Exodus xx. 7.
6 ? Proverbs x. 32 or xv. 7.

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Homiletic Fragments

Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 64).

...[πετί πρακτικά] ἐπὶ τοῦ προτὸ[φανέρωσιν].

...τοῦ τεταυτείαν ἕτοι τοῦ κατὰ ὁμίον συντευχῆς ἐμφάνισε οὕτως ἕκαστα ἀπείρως τοὺς κατὰ τοῦτο τότε ἐγείρα...[πετί πρακτικά] ἐπὶ τοῦ προτὸ[φανέρωσιν].

...τοῦ τεταυτείαν ἕτοι τοῦ κατὰ ὁμίον συντευχῆς ἐμφάνισε οὕτως ἕκαστα ἀπείρως τοὺς κατὰ τοῦτο τότε ἐγείρα...[πετί πρακτικά] ἐπὶ τοῦ προτὸ[φανέρωσιν].

...τοῦ τεταυτείαν ἕτοι τοῦ κατὰ ὁμίον συντευχῆς ἐμφάνισε οὕτως ἕκαστα ἀπείρως τοὺς κατὰ τοῦτο τότε ἐγείρα...[πετί πρακτικά] ἐπὶ τοῦ προτὸ[φανέρωσιν].
F. *Four Homiletic Fragments.*

(1) Parchment. Upper portion of a leaf (Cairo, no. 67), measuring 21 × 20 cm. As the heading of the *verso* shows, it was the last leaf in a second quire (each quire containing eight leaves). The outer edge has been cut off (probably for book-binding purposes) and the foot has been torn away. The hand, medium-sized and regular, should probably be assigned to the later tenth or eleventh century. The *recto* is much discolored and the surface in parts abraded, while the *verso* has been bleached by exposure to weather.

The homilist contrasts the ultimate lots of the Rich Man and Lazarus (here called Nineves and Job respectively), and calls upon his hearers to make their choice.

(2) Parchment. Lower portion of a leaf (Cairo, no. 70), 17 × 23 cm. The column, 17 cm. wide, has horizontal and vertical guide-lines: the only stop used is = (black). The hand is of a peculiar, angular type (? twelfth century) seemingly identical with that of No. 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 × 25.5 cm. (the latter is the full width of the page): the written column is 16.5 cm. wide. The angular hand seems to be identical with the hand of (2).

The text contains a fragment of the story of Jonah. It does not belong to the homily of Saint John Chrysostom *On Jonah*, but may possibly be a fragment of Zacharias of Sekhoo *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 (στ), σάκα which is missing from that MS. 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), 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: the *verso* is headed — μι — (Ornament) — η — ...]. The script is identical with the script of No. xvi, Frags. 3–4: besides the rounded form of the stop ـ, the form menīca is another feature in common.

The text deals with the vanity of human wealth, power and strength.

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1 See de Rossi, *Alcuni Manoscritti Copti* (offprint), pp. 86f. For the Nitrian origin of the Bohairic MS. at Turin edited by de Rossi see *Introduction* §6.
3 A rather elaborate eight-foil in red and yellow.
4 See above, p. 79.
..."in his body and his flesh (?) in Amenti. And after these things God gave him\(^1\) ... besides the Kingdom
of Heaven which he enjoyed for ever being in a state of joy unending ... with the Angels. Consider ... also
Nineves\(^2\) 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\(^3\) has heard, he will say: "Remember that in thy life thou didst receive thy good things."\(^4\)
Thou seest that food and drink and wearing of goodly raiment did not profit that pitiless man.

Behold the two parts of thy life at all times, O my beloved. Behold Job in the Kingdom of Heaven and
in eternal bliss. Behold Nineves also in torments unquenchable, in endless pain for ever. Choose, then, for
thyself that which thou shalt desire. If thou desirest the Kingdom of Heaven, make thyself like to the
Kingdom of Heaven after which the righteous Job followed, even he whose door was open unto every man
and did not turn away (?) any man [at] any time among those who ... him ...  

\(^1\) sc. Job, who here seems equivalent to Lazarus.  
\(^2\) Apparently equivalent to Dives of the Parable (Luke XVI, 19 ff.).  
\(^3\) Apparently Abraham.  
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Frag. 2 (Cairo, no. 70).

* * *

The fragmentary endings of seven preceding lines are omitted.

1 The fragmentary beginnings of ten lines are omitted.

2 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?

Frag. 3 Recto

... hundreds of thousands ... incorporeal [beings] ... chant hymns unto their Lord with fear and trembling. If the great host of the Incorporeal Ones and all the Powers of Heaven with hair of flame ... and they are not able to sit nor do they transgress (?) the commandment of their Lord; but they all stand trembling, being ... and beholding ...

Frag. 3 Verso

... 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.

Frag. 3 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. 52¹).

[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; or 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, .

Now he saith: "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." 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." And in Isaiah...

1 What follows is very doubtful. 2 Doubtful.
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

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. Frags. 4–5 belong to another ms. from which Frags. 6–7 also are probably derived.

Frag. 1 (Cairo, no. 14 Add), 20.5 × 21 cm., is the upper portion of a leaf numbered —, ClH. The inner edge has been torn off, and the text of the recto is consequently obscure. Frags. 2–3 (Cairo, no. 101), 7 × 19 and 7 × 18 cm., again form the upper part of a sheet of two leaves, numbered on their versos ρη, βη. In script and style these fragments are identical with No. XXIII E i.

Frag. 4–5 (Cod. Tisch. XXVI, 24, 25), 7 × 19 and 7 × 18 cm., again form the upper part of a sheet of two leaves, numbered on their versos τη, τη. In script and style these fragments are identical with No. XXIII E i.

Frag. 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.

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... 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) ... and idleness ... without toil. And do not (neglect?) continence and thy ...

"... are not; but Mine are all they who harken to My commandments."1 Since He loves them who are His with a perfect love, He said unto us (?): "Fear not, My little flock; for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the Kingdom. Sell your goods..."2 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."3 And He gave them strength so as not to faint in tribulations. He put joy into their hearts...

1 A loose citation of Luke vi, 46. 2 Luke xii, 32. 3 John xvi, 33.
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Frag. 4 (Cod. Tisch. xxvi, 24).

ε ἡρεμημέν ᾧς πεποιοι
ματοθ - ἀπερρύψιν μα-
τοθ - λίπως ἅτεμεστ
περίκοτ μὲν πεποικα-  
5 οτορ ἀπερρυψιν ἐ ζ φή
ἈΛΛΑ . . .

* *

ῥη
ἐρ ἀφριτ - ἀποκατατατικ
ἀγαπότος ερωτά-
5 ὁτορ μα πιθανόν - ἀς ἀπ-
ερ πιθανί πεμνη εοδε "ομήτερ-
[ἀγο . . . ]

Frag. 5 (Cod. Tisch. xxvi, 25).

Εἴη ἀπερρυψίσθησθε-
σε ἀμφοτεροι οὔτα
ἀπερρυψιν ἐ ζ φή - ὁμα-
κόλλεισθαι μισάν - ἐτ-
5 πρεπείσθαι τα χρή ἀπ-
οτιμώμει διὸν ἐπὶ μονα-
κοσμίκοι . . .

* *

ῥη
ρηνα ἀπερρυψίσθη ἀμφο-
τεροι ἀπερρυψίσθη
ἐκοτώμω ἀπερρυψίσθη
ἀγαπότο-
5 ἑκατὼμα ληθαίμων εν ὁ-
δικα - ἐτ οὐκ χρή - ἐ ζ ἀμπε-  
[ἀγο εκόλ . . . ]

* *

Frag. 6 (Cairo, no. 102a).

* *

κε πικεκάβετ-
Αἰτεῖται ορθῶν ὑπεντο-
λι τα τεράσι - ἀπερ-
μελαλαλάλει - ἀλλα ἀπε-
5 ρευμάτω χόλα τραυμα-
. . . .] ἐ μπετραμίῳ μικρ .

* *

μονον ερωτ - ἀλλα ἀτρικο-
κε πιθανο πιεδολλιτεν
θῆς δικατατη - εἶμεντε ε τ-
παροτρία ἄνθος ἄντι πιεκ
5 νω ετων ἀρτ - οτορ ειμε-
̃νω

* *

Frag. 7 (Cairo, no. 102b).

* *

. . . . .] μεν . . .
παραμίται προ-
μαρ ερωτάν ἀμο-
πετραμίῳ σαλ ετ ο φή

* *

* *

* *

ζε χονο ερωταν πει-
κεμα γωτε ερεγ-
σαμ ἐκδολλιτετ

Frag. 6 * Recto
... even the wise; let (?  him establish the commandments according to his power; let him not be over-

eager (?), 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

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 × 27 cm., forming a single sheet from the outer part of a quire, and numbered —⅚, —⅚. 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 ⅚ is a crude drawing of a bearded figure with halo and cross-headed staff: on the halo is inscribed ἀδελφα μακαρία πεινις εκεῖνος.

The first leaf contains Exodus xxxiv, 29-35, xxxv, 1-10; the second, xxxix, 30 f. + xxxvi, 8 f., 35-38 + xxxviii, 9-18 (εἰσηγήμα) as published by Lagarde, Der Pentateuch Koptisch,1 pp. 215—216, 221—222. A collation is here added, the references being to Lagarde's text.

L., p. 2155 = C = M = Lag. 6 οὕτως καὶ C. η γένος &c. > οὕτως οὕτως οὕτως > οὕτως omitted; L. 7 περιγράμμα τροπ > τροπ > τροπ omitted; L. 8 η ὄψιν &c. > η ὄψιν η ὄψιν η ὄψιν; L. 9 ητεροκλείσα &c. > αὕτε — εἰρήνω ό ν οὐ|| οὕτως ἁμαρτά > οὕτως οὕτως > οὕτως omitted; L. 10 αὐτοκεφαλα > αὐτοκεφαλα; L. 11 παράκλητος τροπ > τροπ omitted; L. 12 οὕτως αὐτοκεφαλα > οὕτως > οὕτως omitted; L. 15 ὄψιν > ὄψιν; L. 17 καλημα > καλημα || καλημα || καλημα/καλημα; L. 19 καλημα > καλημα || καλημα/καλημα; L. 20 f. τροπ > omitted; L. 21 εἰσηγήμα > εἰσηγήμα ἀμεγ; L. 24 καλημα > καλημα; L. 25 ἀμεγ > ἀμεγ; L. 30 στύλας > στύλας; L. 31 εἰς εἰς > εἰς; L., p. 217= C = M, L. 6 ἅμαρτα εἰς εἰς εἰς > παρακλήν εἰς εἰς; L. 8 f. ἁμαρτα > ἁμαρτα; L. 12 καλημα > καλημα; L., p. 221 S; ἁμαρτα > ἁμαρτα; L. 24 μητρά > μητρά; L. 26 ἁμαρτα &c. > ἀμεγ οὐ&c. > οὐ&c. > οὐ&c. > οὐ&c.; L. 28 καλημα > καλημα; L. 29 (as 1. 23); L. 30 εἰς εἰς εἰς εἰς > εἰς εἰς εἰς; L., p. 222 S; καλημα > καλημα; L., p. 223 S; καλημα > καλημα; L., p. 224 S; καλημα > καλημα; L., p. 225 S; καλημα > καλημα; L., p. 226 S; καλημα > καλημα; L., p. 227 S; καλημα > καλημα; L., p. 228 S; καλημα > καλημα; L., p. 229 S; καλημα > καλημα; L. 25 εἰς εἰς εἰς εἰς > εἰς εἰς εἰς (inverting the order of what follows); L. 26 ποταμί οὐ&c. > οὐ&c. > οὐ&c. > οὐ&c.; L. 27 καλημα > καλημα; L. 31 εἰς εἰς εἰς εἰς εἰς.

B. Psalms.

Fragments from mss. of the Psalms are numerous: most, if not all of these, however, were written either for liturgical or devotional use and do not come from copies of the Scriptures. The parchment leaves and fragments are here noticed first; then the remains of paper copies.

(a) Parchment.

(1) Single leaf (Cairo, no. 33A), 27.6 × 18 cm., medium sized, very regular hand of the tenth or eleventh century. Contents: Ps. xxxix, 1—xxx, 19.4

(2) Single leaf (Cairo, no. 33B), 26 × 17 cm. The verso (last page of quire twelve) is headed ποταμί (Ornament) ποταμί. Contents: Ps. lxx, 5—18.

(3) Single leaf (Cairo, no. 76, vi), 26 × 19 cm., numbered on verso ποταμί; thirteenth century paper hand. The text, Ps. cvi, 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) ΠΩΤΗΡΙΟΝ (Ornament) ΙΩΑΤΕΙΚΟΝ. 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 ΠΩΤΗΡΙΟΝ

1 The text is based upon another 'Nitrian' ms., from Dér Anba Bishoi, acquired by Tattam (op. cit., p. iii).
2 Fragments of the Psalter as adapted for use in Horologia and other service-books are not included in this section.
3 Some of these, doubtless, belong to the same mss. as the parchment leaves of Psalters recovered by Tischendorf (Cod. Tisch. xxix, 23—28): see Leipoldt, loc. cit., pp. 422 f.
4 The references are to the Coptic version (Cairo, 1898).
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(Ornament) Contents: Pss. LXXIV, 3—LXXXV, 10; (b) (fragment from upper edge of a leaf), 12 × 11 cm. Contents: Pss. LXXVII, 35–38, 43–45; (c) (lower half of a leaf), 15 × 21.5 cm. Contents: Pss. CXL, 1–8; CXLIV, 1–10; CVII, 5–CVIII, 8; CX, 1–CXII, 2; CXIV, 3–CXVII, 12; CXLVI, 4–CXLVII, 1.

(2) Paper.

(1) Nineteen leaves (Cairo, no. 77, i), 22.2 × 14.2 cm., foliated on versos. Very regular ‘paper’ hand of thirteenth century; stops + and — (red). Psalm-headings in red; first lines in thick black lettering; capitals and large letters in text are touched in with red. Contents: Pss. XLI, 3—XLII, 2; XLIII, 3–8; XLIV, 1–10; CVII, 5–CVIII, 8; CX, 1—CXII, 2; CXIV, 3–CXVII, 12; CXLVI, 4–CXLVII, 1.

(2) Fourteen leaves (id. ii), 18.5 × 13.5 cm., foliated on the verso. Small, regular, thick script (? thirteenth century), eighteen lines to the page. Stops (+), Psalm-numbers (in margin), and headings, in red; paragraph capitals and prominent letters in the text are touched in with red. Each Psalm began with a large capital illuminated in red and yellow and was further distinguished by marginal illuminations, but the former have been mostly cut out, no doubt to serve as models for later scribes. Contents: Pss. XXXI, 10—XXXII, 6; XXXIV, 13—XXXVI, 3; XXXVII, 12—XXXVIII, 6; XLIV, 15—XLV, 3; LXXV, 9–LXXVI, 5.

(3) Eighty-seven leaves (id. iii), 18 × 13.5 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 uncial usually black, but occasionally in red. Each Psalm begins with a large illuminated capital and one line in red: red is also used for the stops (+) and for emphasising prominent letters. The lower and outer portions of the leaves from quires  were eaten away. Quire-headings, e.g., — — (Ornament) Ꞵ Ꞵ Ꞵ Ꞵ (Ornament) Ꞵ Ꞵ. Contents are as follows:

Pss. XLI, 3—XLII, 2; XLIII, 3–8; XLIV, 1–10; CVII, 5–CVIII, 8; CX, 1—CXII, 2; CXIV, 3–CXVII, 12; CXLVI, 4–CXLVII, 1.

(4) Twenty leaves (id. iv), 17.7 × 13.3 cm., pagged (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 + (red) and —— (at end of paragraphs). Quire-headings (e.g.) Ꞵ Ꞵ (Ornament) Ꞵ Ꞵ Ꞵ (Ornament) Ꞵ Ꞵ. Contents: Pss. XLI, 3—XLII, 2; XLIII, 3–8; XLIV, 1–10; CVII, 5–CVIII, 8; CX, 1—CXII, 2; CXIV, 3–CXVII, 12; CXLVI, 4–CXLVII, 1.

(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 red, and stops (+), are in red. Initial capitals are variously enlarged (see Plate XXVII a–c) and are sometimes red and sometimes black. The paper is often eaten through, apparently owing to the use of corrosive ink. A large part of the Psalter to which these leaves belonged was given by B. Drovetti to Peyron and is now at Turin.2 Another leaf of the same ms. (recovered by Tischendorf), containing the latter part of Psalm xxiv, is at Cambridge (C.U.L., Add. 1886, 13). The contents of the new leaves are: Pss. IX, 24—X, 3; XIII, 2–7; LX, 1–4; LXV, 7—LXXVI, 3; LXXVII, 3–15, 18–23; LXXVIII, 4–8; LXX, 9–LXXXII, 5; LXXXVII, 13—LXXXVIII, 15; LXXXIX, 7–15; CXLVI, 6–11; CXLVII, 3–CXLVIII, 12.

(6) Thirty leaves or fragments (Cairo, no. 34),2 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 (+ or +), in red. Quire-headings (e.g.) Ꞵ Ꞵ (Ornament) Ꞵ Ꞵ Ꞵ Ꞵ (Ornament) Ꞵ Ꞵ. Contents: Pss. XXI, 23—XXII, 1; XLVI, 1–8; LXXVII, 14—LXXXI, 4; CVII, 25—CVIII, 1; CX, 9—CXI, 8; CXII, 3—CXIV, 2; CXVII, 1—CXVII, 8; CXXXIX, 1—CXXXIX, 7; Song of the Three Children. To the same ms. belongs C.U.L., Add. 1886, 6 numbered Ꞵ Ꞵ and containing Pss. CXLVI (end), CXLVII, CXLVIII (beginning).

1 Three leaves at Cambridge (C.U.L., Add. 1886, 15, 18) belong to the same ms.

2 Published with an excellent facsimile by Rossi, Mem. della Reale Accad. delle Scienze di Torino, Ser. II, t. XXIII (1893), pp. 226 ff. The new leaves partially fill the gaps in the Turin ms., which must have come from Dér Abd Makîr.

3 The margins were illuminated, but the color has eaten away the paper.
BIBLICAL FRAGMENTS

(7) Two leaves (Cairo, no. 77, vii), 22 × 14.2 cm., unnumbered, headed ∼. Coarse thirteenth—fourteenth century hand; Psalm-numbers and stops (+) red. Contents: Pss. vii, 1–7; viii, 2–6.

(8) Two leaves (id. viii), 12.7 × 8.2 cm., unnumbered. Running fourteenth century script; first lines (of sections) red, with Arabic incipits; no stops. Contents: Ps. cxvii, 124–133.

(9) Three leaves (id. ix), 26 × 18 cm., unnumbered. Large, bold, and very even script of the 'paper' style. Psalm-headings, numerals, and stops (+) in red: first lines in thick black script, sometimes with elaborated capitals. Quire-headings (e.g.) ἐκ (Ornament) Ἡ. Contents: Pss. lxxii, 11—lxxxiii, 6; cxiv, 1—cxv, 1; cxviii, 2–10, 23–35.

(10) Four leaves (id. xi), 26.5 × 17.8 cm., numbered on versos. Psalm-headings, numerals, and stops (+) red: enlarged initial letters. Coarse, ill-formed, 'paper' uncials of the fourteenth century; green-brown ink. Contents: Ps. 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.' The text of the last is as follows:


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: νάτα | (ματωόν) | last and first leaves of quires headed (e.g.) Αλαν (Ornament) ἐκ | Ἡ (Ornament) Ἡ. Stops, + (red). Sections are distinguished by enlarged initials and marginal illuminations (the latter mostly perished), the first two lines being in red: the section-numbers 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, 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).

(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. (See Plate xvi, a.) Sections begin with enlarged illuminated capitals and two lines in red: major (red) and minor (black) section-numbers are placed in the margin or inside capitals; stops, + (red) or ∼ (first hand, black). Left-hand pages are headed νατονα or νατος: quire-headings (e.g.) ἐκ (Ornament) Ἡ Ἡ | Ἡ Ἡ (Ornament) Ἡ. I was not able to retain the leaves sufficiently long to make a collation. Contents (originally), the Gospels of SS. Luke and John, of which the following portions are preserved: Luke 1, 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, 15–36; ix, 8–13, 21–61; xi, 10–25; xii, 15–31; xiii, 27—xiv, 13; xiv, 21–30; xvi, 18–xvii, 2; xvii, 22–30; xviii, 13–19, 29–39; xix, 15–26; xx, 35–46; xxi, 16–25; xxii, 36–48; xxii, 54—xxiii, 2; xxiii, 11–22; xxiv, 18–53 (end of Gospel); 1

1 Nos. 7 and 8 may well belong to Horologia.
2 Identical with the 'Gloria in excelsis' of Western liturgies. For the complete text see the Cairo Psalmodia, pp. 265–270. Has this ode any bearing on the 'mention of S. Athanasius' which John Khâmê said his monks use in connection with the Song of the Three Children (Life of John Khâmê, ed. Davis, p. 41)?
3 Assuming that the first two pp. were outside the quire and contained prefatory matter, we may take the quire to have contained 16 pp. (8 folios).
4 Recovered by Tischendorf.
5 It closely resembles a (? hitherto unnoticed) copy of the Gospels at Dēr es Surīk, dated 1216 A.D., and written (as the colophon also states) by one Simon, son of the deacon Peter, son of John ἔπαθαι, at the charge of the 'archon Bartholomew, son of the deacon Abū'l Feth (αὐτοτέφ) Mānus, the man of the Monastery (αὐτόν) of Apa Besa.' Note that in the Abū Makār ms. double μα in regularly written with a narrow and a spreading character: μαμ.
6 No trace of the first volume (SS. Matthew and Mark) was found: it may be extant in the modern library or in Europe.
7 = Fo disc. 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 1, 9-49; III, 26-34; IV, 8-16; V, 19-61; VI, 61-70; VII, 10-44; VIII, 14-29; VIII, 53-IX, 3; IX, 19-24; 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 x 22 cm., paged (?) on the versos, 23 ll. to the page. Good-sized, regular, but not very careful 'paper' uncial (fourteenth century; Plate XXVI A); stops (\(\approx\)), 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 (\(\pi\varepsilon\sigma\rho\sigma\sigma\nu\) (Ornament) \(\pi\varepsilon\sigma\rho\sigma\nu\) \(\pi\varepsilon\sigma\rho\sigma\sigma\nu\). Contents: Epistles to the Romans (Coptic and Arabic),\(^3\) i-I, 17-24; III, 4-15; IV, 7-16; followed (on leaf \(\pi\nu\nu\)) by a collection of the O.T. citations occurring in the text with references to their sources.

The fifth leaf is headed (on verso) \(\pi\varepsilon\sigma\rho\sigma\nu\) \(\kappa\rho\iota\nu\ \pi\nu\nu\) (Ornament) \(\pi\varepsilon\sigma\rho\sigma\nu\) \(\pi\varepsilon\sigma\rho\sigma\sigma\nu\). Contents: i Cor. xiv, 20, ἡρμηνευτὶς ἡν πεπερατον—xiv. 28, ἄμερηκας ὅπως ἐγὼ φθ. The following variants from Horner's (Oxford) text occur: 20, ἄρμην ἣν πεπερατον (\(\pi\nu\nu\) added by a second hand) εὑρεθησαν, 21, ὁτιον οὐκ οὐκ ἐπέτυχεν (with \(\alpha\) added by the same or a second hand) πέταξαν τὸν Χριστὸν τοὺς ἐπαράστηκτος omitted by haplography. 23, ἀρτάραμιν. 25, ἀποτομῆσαι \(\alpha\varepsilon\pi\nu\) omitted. 26, ἀποστάλτηκεν \(\alpha\varepsilon\pi\nu\) γὰρ πλῆξεν. 28, ἐφώνω \(\pi\nu\nu\) ἀπὸ τοῦ στερμάτιν.

E. Catena Patrum.\(^3\)

Parchment. Two leaves, one half-leaf, and five fragments (Cairo, no. 36\(^{Add}\)). The script is a fine regular hand of the tenth or eleventh century. Heads to the Gospel-sections are in small informal uncial; those prefixed to citations from the Fathers are in red ink. Paragraph capitals usually have \(\pi\nu\nu\) prefixed: stops, = (black).

Frag. 1, 33.5 x 25.5 cm. (column 27.5 x c. 17 cm.), numbered —\(\pi\varepsilon\sigma\rho\sigma\nu\) (on Matth. xviii), corresponds to Lagarde's text,\(^3\) pp. 4917-5013. The following variants occur: L(agarde), p. 4917, εορτή pe\(\delta\sigma\nu\) > order inverted; L.20, εορτή > ἐκείνη πεπερατον; L.21, γαλακτοφόρος > γαλακτομεταφόρος; L.22, ἀποτομηκα > omitted; L.23, παρνα > ὑπερορ豳; L.24, ἑρωτοῦ > εὐδοκία; L.241, ποιημὸν pe\(\delta\sigma\nu\) > inverted; L.23, παιδαδότης > γενεαῖ (so also in L.28); L.28, ἔτος οἰκίας > ὠνίας; L.38, στερεος > omitted; ἑρωτοῦ μικρὸς > 
\(\alpha\varepsilon\pi\nu\) μικρὸς αὐτὸς; L.381, ἀδέρει ἑρωτοῦ > inverted. L., p. 501, ἀποτομῆσαι > ἀποτομῆσαι; L.24, ὁτιον οὐκ ἐπέτυχεν εὐρωτοῦ > omitted; L.5, ἀπὸ > ἀπὸ added; L.9, ἀρπάχῳ > εὐτος added; ἐνθοπατοῦ > ἐπε; L.10, αἰτὶ > ὁτιον αἰτὶ; L.13, διαφωμόν αὐτὸ > αὐτό omitted.

Frag. 2, 21 x 15 cm., is a fragment from the outer side of a leaf (on Matth. xxii), corresponding to L., pp. 5928-5814, 5820-28. It is too small for collation.

Frag. 3 (Cairo, no. 36), 32 x 26 cm., numbered —\(\pi\varepsilon\sigma\rho\sigma\nu\) (on Matth. xxii), corresponds to L., pp. 6013-6114. The following variants are found: L., p. 6018, πετραῖα > ταυταῖον > inverted; L.20, πετραῖα > ἀντὶ εὐεργείῳ; L.31, παλαιότερον > a second εὐεργείῳ ποῖον added; L.31, παλαιότερον > 
\(\alpha\varepsilon\pi\nu\) παλαιότερον; L.38, εποπτή > ἐπὶ (a\(\alpha\varepsilon\nu\) added above line by a late hand); L.34, ἀμαρτητῶς > placed after περιηγήτως.

L., p. 611, ἐποπτή > ἄνωσις added; ἀμαρτητῶσις > μετ' ἀνωσία; ἀμαρτητῶς > with αἰτὶ added; L.2, ὀτάν ἀμοίβα αἰτὶ ἀνοίζεται; L.3, ἀμαρτητῶς > with ὀτάν ἀμαρτητῶς ἄνωσις-ἀμαρτητῶς ἀνοίζεται; L.5, ἀνατροπὴ > ἀνατροπή; L.5, τὸ ἀμαρτήσαν > ἀμαρτήσαν; L.15, ἀμαρτητῶς > ἀμαρτητῶς; ὀποίον > omitted; L.13, ἀμαρτήτως > omitted.

1 = Fo. 183; 814-28 is fo. 185. The lost fo. 184 contained 753-811; but clearly the famous passage 753-811 was omitted as usual in Coptic texts.

2 Whether or no this is part of the copy of the Epistles seen by Tattam (Introd. p. xl) must be left uncertain. It can hardly be described as a 'beautifully-written' ms.

3 Other leaves from this work are at Leipzig (Cod. Tisch. xxvii, 8-15) and doubtless belong to the same ms. Fragments of another Nitrian copy are in the British Museum, Add. 14740 A, fol. 10, 11, 24: see Crum, Cat., no. 914. It is to W. E. Crum that I am indebted for this information.

4 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 Dér es Suríán (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 x 25 cm., upper half of a leaf, headed on verso πρὸς [Ornament] πῶς, relating to Matt. xxiv. By a singular good fortune the fragment partly fills the lacuna in Lagarde’s text,¹ p. 67. A copy (without line-division) is here given:

Recto [ . . . . . . . . ] Παραθετός [ . . . . . . . . παραθετός πώς [ποτέ ημύνοι πώς ημύνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημύνοι ήμυνοι πώς ημϋ
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

XXXVIII. LITURGICAL FRAGMENTS

A. The Greek Liturgies of Saints Basil and Gregory.

Paper. Twenty-five leaves (Cairo, no. 20), 17.7 x 13.3 cm., unpagd. 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 γ. Summary Arabic renderings of the rubrics are added in the margins by another (?) but probably contemporary hand. The ordinary abbreviations are used—آن, ین, ميد, فناء, نون، حيد، حيد. On fo. 9, the reigning Patriarch (Benjamin II 1327-1339) is named, thus dating the ms.

2. Fifteen leaves belong to the Egyptian Anaphora of Saint Gregory. The script is here a fine, slightly sloping uncial, apparently contemporary with the script of the Basilian Anaphora, but by a far more expert scribe (see Plate XXI B). Errors are comparatively few, accents are mostly correct, and the breathings (♯ and ⬠) are rightly used. Ends of sections are marked by a line of spaced commas (red). The brief Arabic directions in the margin appear to be by another hand.

Folio 4 in this group is the inner edge only of a leaf; folios 7-8 are badly affected by damp, which also obliterated many of the rubrics.

The size of the leaves, the quality of the paper, and (in a most general sense) the similarity of the hands make it certain that both Rites, though written by different scribes, belonged to a single volume. When (if indeed ever) the Liturgy was celebrated in Greek at the Monastery of Saint Macarius we cannot ascertain: that it was used at the secondary enthronement of the Patriarch there, is perhaps a possible conjecture.

The fragments of the Basilian Anaphora are valuable as containing the principal parts of the Mass of the Catechumens, which is taken for granted as common form in the ms. used by Renaudot1 and so not written out. They supply the Greek text of several passages of which only the Coptic—and in some cases Ethiopic—has hitherto been known, besides a large number of variant readings.2 The following is an analysis3 of this group of leaves with references to the texts and versions edited by Brightman (B.)4 and Renaudot (R.).5

I. Prayer of Thanksgiving.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fo. 1</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. Prayer of Thanksgiving.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Εὐχαριστοῦμεν—] αὐν τῷ παναγίῳ Ἀμὴν (B. 113, 148).</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

II. Prayer of Prothesis.

<table>
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<th>Fos. 2-4</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>II. Prayer of Prothesis.</td>
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</table>

III. Prayer after the 'Praxis' (Acts-lesson).6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fos. 2-4</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>III. Prayer after the 'Praxis' (Acts-lesson).6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>... θρον δικαίωσον—χάριμι καὶ οἰκτ[ημοῖν].</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

IV. Censing.

<table>
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<th>Fos. 2-4</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IV. Censing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ὅ Θεός ὁ αἰώνιος (B. 150).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Καὶ μισθησήμαι (B. 150, 166, R. 58).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Τὴν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ—τὸν λαόν σου (B. 166, 126, R. 59).</td>
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</table>

V. Prayer of the Gospel.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fos. 2-4</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V. Prayer of the Gospel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Δέσποτα Κύριε &amp;c. (cp. B. 115, 117).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Lit. Or. Coll. (2nd edition) 1, 57 ff.
2 These are noted in the apparatus criticus (where our fragments are parallel to the text of Renaudot).
3 For this as for other notes on the contents of the Basil fragment I am greatly indebted to the kindness of the Rev. F. E. Brightman of Magdalen College.
4 Liturgies Eastern and Western, Vol. 1.
5 ut supra.
6 The identification is provisionally made by Brightman.
The remains of the Liturgy of Saint Gregory correspond generally to the text of Renaudot, 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. Prayer of Peace.

Fos. 1*-2b

[ἀνακαίνισις—ἀμήν (= Ren. 90-91).

ἐγαθίσας—κυρίος (= Ren. 92).

II. Beginning of the Anaphora.

Fos. 2b

ἀληθῶς—ἀχρόνον (= Ren. 93).

III. Consecration.

Fos. 3*-4b

tοῦ πτώματος—πίετε ἐκ αὐτοῦ (= Ren. 96-97).

Fos. 5*-5b

ὁ διάκονος—ἀμαρτίων (= Ren. 98).

IV. Intercession after Consecration.

Fos. 6*-7a

παρασκεύα πάσιν—τὸ πρόσωπον (τῆς γῆς) (= Ren. 100-101).

Fos. 7a-9b

χάρισαι τῷ λαῷ—δονήματα (= Ren. 102-104).

V. (After the Eucharistic Confession).

Fos. 10a

tῷ πατρὶ—ἀμήν (= Ren. 113, with differences).

VI. Psalms and Hymns.

Fos. 10b-12a

Psalms cxxxv.

Fos. 12b-13a

Psalms ct.

Fos. 13b-14b

Hymn to the Trinity.

Fos. 14b-15b

Hymn to the Theotokos (Alphabetic).

1 op. cit., pp. 85 ff.
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

The Liturgy of Saint Basil.

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 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 this life also grant unto us. Our King, the ranks of our army, our magistrates, our Senate, our people, the grace and mercies and loving-kindness of the Father and the Holy Spirit, now and always and for ever and ever. Amen.
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...

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.

†††††

...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 its1 behalf—do Thou accept them upon Thy heavenly and blessed altar for a smell of sweet savor. Its every enemy, visible or invisible, do Thou soon crush and set under our feet, but for itself, preserve it in peace in the holy Church.

Remember, O Lord, this holy Church and our assemblies.

1 sc. of Thy people.
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Our gatherings together do Thou bless. Grant unto us, O God, that they may be held without let and hindrance according to Thy holy and blessed will. Vouchsafe unto us and to them who are with us houses of prayer, houses of blessing for ever. Arise, O Lord, and let all Thine enemies be scattered, and let all that hate Thy holy Name flee before Thee, but upon Thy faithful and true people who in obedience do Thy holy will, bring thousands of thousands and tens of thousands of blessings.

Prayer of Salutation.2

O God the Everlasting, Who didst create man for incorruption, and didst destroy death, which had entered into the world through the envy of the Devil, through the life-giving presence of Thine only-begotten Son, and didst fill the earth with that peace from Heaven which also the hosts of the Angels glorified, saying: “Glory to God in the Highest, and...”

* * * * *

Our gatherings together do Thou bless. Grant unto us, O God, that they may be held without let and hindrance according to Thy holy and blessed will. Vouchsafe unto us and to them who are with us houses of prayer, houses of blessing for ever. Arise, O Lord, and let all Thine enemies be scattered, and let all that hate Thy holy Name flee before Thee, but upon Thy faithful and true people who in obedience do Thy holy will, bring thousands of thousands and tens of thousands of blessings.

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* * * * *

...regeneration through water and the Spirit, and made us an especial people, sanctify us through Thy Holy Spirit.

He Who loved His own that were in the world, gave Himself as a ransom unto Death, who reigned over us and unto whom we were subject, being sold into slavery by our sin; and when He had descended through the Cross into Hades, He rose again on the third day from the dead; and when He had ascended into Heaven, He sat at the right hand of Thy (sic) Father, having appointed a day of retribution whereon He shall appear and judge the world in righteousness and reward every man according to his work;

(The People: According to Thy mercy, O Lord.)

1 Or better “after us” (see note on text). 2 (Aspasmos): i.e., of the Kiss of Peace.
LITURGICAL FRAGMENTS

Katêlîtpen1 de hemin toîto (to) méga ths thesebêias (megà) mysteryon métallon gar paradoynai eaytwn2 eic
Thenaton3 yper taîs toû kosmou zwic 4 (4)laios arpon epî toûw â]

[elai]2 xontac epi scôs5 kai epîkorrhymenous to onoma soû to årion òti òi òfêlëllaii pantwos eic eì elatísocin-
kal òi òlloîs òdòs tìn trophîn atôsan en eukarìsia6 poíscon me6 hmoi kara tìn ârâthta soû òî òdòs trophîn
pasì7 carpi òlloîsuan ýarács kai òdèfrosçhcs tâ kàrâllcs hmoi 8 pântote pâsan òdèfrikàs elôntacs
periceuwmen9 eic poûn epîn aragôn toû poûin + òt thêlima soû to årion:——

Mnìschní ke kai toûn ta11 dòrâ tażą prôsfereontwn12 kai méson oýromên parâscasuy pâscû13 epielâ14
lepitâta prôstacmâ aèstyn toû monôtêryous soû yî Yog tûs mnîmícs tûs åsion soû koinôiñen hmoi mnìschní15
kataêgouon16 toû àt poûnoc eúarasthsiantws17 soû18 åsion ñèrwsn parâscasu - prôsfere t19 aîpóstolwn:
ômartûrwn - òmologistwn

[elai]2 xînhs kai arxâstelíkhs soû leitourgíââ : ] Mnìschní ke yper tûn ògía20 hmoi tûta dòrap prôsfere-
tron + Mnìschní ke yper tûn eïrnìcs tûs åsias monhs katholíkhs kai âpóstolíkhs21 orpholoûon tû 8n
èkkakiascs +

Mnìschní ke yper tûn åsion prê hmoi pâpâ ñèrwsn benâmih - tûn prîràxh ton tûs megálëllolouc elaxandáreia-
kal orô - doxoç epîkorrhyswn22

"Mnìschní ke yper tûs åsias èkkakiascs tûsges: kai toûs syneleasedewn23 hmoi:——

ûc prôseuëw toû dôpso tûs òdòs òdòsan aèl. kai tûn ògíaon tû prê hmoi (n) òdàplon - zàxaráhos tûs ògíma(ma):-
kornîhos - âp érçseûas kai òdèfrosçhcs24 kai tûs òhirmas25 tû dûg òlîeta - kai tûs ògírsthra tûs òdòsal
soû prôsadexí tûs tû polû26 kai òlîgos ñèrwsn - kai parância ògímalenw

— 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
every flesh. Fill our hearts with joy and gladness, that having at all times all sufficiency we may abound unto
every good work, to do 'Thy holy will. . .

Remember also, O Lord, them who offer these gifts and grant unto them all a heavenly reward. Forasmuch
as it is a commandment of Thine only-begotten Son, O Lord, that we should partake in memory of Thy Saints,
vouchsafe to be mindful of them who well-pleased Thee from the beginning, the holy Fathers, Prophets,
Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors . . .

...of Thine angelic and archangelic liturgy.

Remember, O Lord, them who offer these our sacrificial (?) gifts.

Remember, O Lord, the peace of the one, holy, Catholic, and Apostolic, Orthodox Church . .

Remember, O Lord, our holy Father Papa Abba Benjamin,1 the Patriarch of the great city Alexandria,
and (all) Orthodox Bishops.

*Remember, O Lord, this holy Church and our assemblies.

As Thou didst accept the gifts of Thy righteous Abel, the sacrifice of our Father Abraham, the 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 . . .

1 Benjamin II, Monophysite Patriarch, 1327-1339 A.D.

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NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

THE Liturgy of Saint Gregory.

Prayer at the Breaking of the Bread.

O Master, Lord God the Father Almighty, the Great, the Eternal, Who art wondrous in glory; Who keepest Thy covenant and Thy mercy unto them that love Thee; Who hast given us remission of our sins through Thine only-begotten Son, our Lord and God and Savior Jesus Christ; the Life of all, the Help of them who flee unto Thee, and Hope of them who call upon Thee; beside Whom stand tens of thousands of Angels and Archangels, Cherubim and Seraphim, and all the countless multitude of the heavenly powers; Thou Who hast hallowed these gifts which lie before Thee, cleanse us from our secret and our open sins, and of partaking in His holy Mysteries, O Lord our God Almighty.

...when Thou didst desire to renew him (sc. man) and to restore him to his former estate, neither Angel, nor Archangel, nor Patriarch, nor Prophet attempted our Salvation;

But Thyself, without change, though made flesh and putting on manhood, didst become in all points like man) and to restore him to his former estate, neither Angel, nor Archangel, nor Patriarch, nor Prophet attempted our Salvation;

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

...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.

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.

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 Uncontainted, without beginning, the Eternal, without time...
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

• Fo. 3
  COU ΔΕΛΩΚΑΣ [eic μαρτίας] *ΤΑΣ ΔΕ ΣΙΑΡΩΝΑΣ ΚΟΥ *ΤΕΘΙΚΑΣ ΕΙΣ ΡΑΠΙΣΜΑΤΑ ὪΓΚ ΔΙΕΤΡΕΨΑΣ ΔΙ' ἘΜΕ ΤΟ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΝ ΚΟΥ ἈΠΟ ΔΙΣΚΥΧΩΝ ΕΙΣΠΥΤΥΧΜΑΤΩΝ

  ὁ λ(αος) λ(εγε) κύριε ἐλ(εηθεν) 1

  ὩΣ ΠΡΟΒΑΤΟΝ ἐπὶ σφάγην ἔθες μερί ΣΤΡΟΥ ΤΗΝ ΕΜΙΝ ΚΑΙΔΕΜΟΝΙΑΝ ΤΕΘΕΙΔΕΣ ΤΟ ΣΩ ΤΑΦΟ ΤΗΝ ΕΜΙΝ ΔΙΑΜΑΡΤΙΑΝ ΕΝΕΓΚΡΟΣΣΑΣ ΕΙΣ ΟΥΝΝΟΙ ΜΟΙ ΤΗΝ 2 ἈΠΑΡΩ[ Ν] ΑΝΕΒΙΑΣΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΙΣ ΑΦΕΙΔΟΣ 3 [ΜΟΙ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΡΑΓΜΑΤΙΑΝ ΕΜΣΝΥΚΑΣ ΕΝ Η ΜΕΛΑΝΙΑΣ ἘΡΕΘΕΙΑΙ ΚΡΙΜΑΙ ΣΩ(Ν)ΤΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΝΕΚΡΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ἈΠΟΘΟΥΜ(Ν)[ΦΑΙ ΕΚΑΣΤΩ] ΚΑΤΑ ΤΑ ΕΡΓΑ ΔΥΤΟΥ.

• Fo. 4
  *ἈΥΤΟΣ 4 ΜΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΣ ΠΡΟΣΦΕΡΩ ΣΟΥ ΤΑ ΕΥΒΟΛΑΙΑΙΟΥ ΨΗΛΑΙΟΥ ΣΟΥ ΣΠΙΓΡΑΦΩ[Ω ΣΟΥ ΤΑ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΑ]

  ὃ ΜΟΥ ΤΗΝ ΑΥΣΤΡΙΚΗΝ ΤΑΣΤΙΚΗΝ ΛΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΙ[ΑΝ 6 ΠΑΡΕΔΩΚΑΣ ΤΗΣ] ΕΙΣ ΑΡΩΜΑΤΙΚΟ ΕΝ ΑΡΤΟ ΚΑΙ ΟΙΝΌΥ ΤΗΝ ΜΕΘΕΞ[ΕΝ] 7

  ΤΗ ΓΡΑΦ ΝΥΣΙ[ Η ΠΑΡΕΔΩΚΑΣ ᾽ΑΥΤΟΣ] ΣΕΑΥΡΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΣΕΑΥΡΩΥ ΕΠΟΙΣΙΑΣ.

= R. 97
  ΛΑΒΩΝ ΑΡΣΩΝ ΕΝ ΤΑΙΣ ΑΓΙΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΑΞΙΑΝΤΟΙΚΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΑΛΛΩΝΑΝΤΟΙ ΚΟΥ ΧΕΡΩΝ ΕΝΕΥΣΑΙ ΑΝΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣΟΤΟΝ 8 ΙΔ[ΙΟΝ ΣΟΥ]

  ΤΑΤΕΡΑΡΩ[ ΟΥΑ ΤΑΤΕΡΑ]

  ΗΤΕΡΑΡΩ[ ΟΥΑ ΤΑΤΕΡΑ]

• Fo. 4b
  *ΗΠΙΑΣΑΣ ΕΚΛΕΙΣΑΣ ΜΕΤΕΔΙΩΚΑΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ ΚΟΥ ΜΑΣΘΥΑΙΩ [ΕΙΤΑ] 10 (ΕΙΠΑΣ]

  [ΑΛΛΕΤΕ ΦΑΓΕΤΕ ΤΟΤΤ] ΜΟΥ ΕΣΤΙΝ [ΤΟ ΣΟΜΑ ΤΟ ΥΠΕΡ ΖΗΜΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΚΑΙΜΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΔΙΔΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΕΙΣ]

  ΑΦΕΙΣΙΝ ΔΙΑΜΑΡΤΙΑΝ [ΤΟΥΤΌ ΠΟΙΕΙΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΕΜΙΝ ΑΝΑΜΝΙΣΙΝ]

  Ο[ΧΕΙΣΑΤΩ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΟ ΔΕΙ] ΠΝΙΝΑΙ ΑΛΒΩΝ ΠΟΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΚ[ΡΑΣΑΣ ΑΥΣΤΟ ΓΕ ΠΟΝΗΜΑΤΙΟΝ] ΑΜΠΕΛΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΞ ΨΑΛΤΩ]

  [ΗΠΙΑΣΑΙΟΥ ΤΑΤΕΡΑ ΕΚΛΕΙΣΑΣ ΜΕΤΕΔΙΩΚΑΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ ΕΣΕΑΥΡΩΝ 11 ΕΙΠΑΣ ΠΙΤΕΕ ΕΞ ΑΥΣΤΟΥ]

= R. 98

* Fo. 5

  *Ο ΔΙΑΙΚΟΝΟΣ ΛΕΓΕΙ[ΕΙ] ΚΛΗΝΑΤ[ΕΙ] 12 ΜΕΤΑ ΦΟΒΟΥ

  Ο (ΚΕΡΕΥΣ) ΛΕΓΕΙ[ΕΙ] ΕΝ ΕΑΥΤΩ ΚΛΗΝΩΝ 13

  1 (Red).
  2 ΤΗΝ ΕΜΙΝ, Ren.
  3 ΔΙΕΓΕΝΕΩΣ, Cod.
  4 (Red).
  5 ΤΑΤΥΕΣ, Ren.
  6 Ren. omits.
  7 People's response omitted.
  8 ΠΑΡΕΙΔΙΑΣ*, Ren.
  9 Ren. omits.
  10 καὶ ἀποστόλοι, Ren.; the lacuna would perhaps admit these words in abbreviated form, κ. ἀποστ.
  11 σου ΜΑΣΘΥΑΙΩ καὶ ἀποστόλοι, Ren.
  12 ὁ δὲ, Cod. (in the margin is an illegible Arabic gloss).
  13 ΚΛΩΝΩ, Ren.

• Fo. 3b

  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. 4a

  *(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. 4b

  "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 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—

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LITURGICAL FRAGMENTS

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 holy and glorious presence hallow and transform these precious and holy gifts now offered into the very Body and Blood of our Redemption,

The Deacon says: Let us give heed.
The People say: Amen.
The Priest shall say aloud—
—and cause this Bread to become the Holy Body of Thee, our Lord and God and Savior and supreme King, Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins and for eternal life unto them who partake of it,
—and this Cup to become Thy precious Blood of the New Testament of our Lord and God and Savior and supreme King Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins and for...
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

O πάρ λαύε σου καί ἡ ἐκκλησία σου ἱκετεύει σε καὶ διὰ σοῦ καί σέν σου τόν πρὸ λέγωσα.

Εἴλεχον ἰμάσι ο θέο το θερμανυμιν.

[Rubric in one line effaced by damp.]

= Fo. 7

χάρισαι τῷ λαῷ σου τῷ ομόνοιαν.

Τῷ κόσμῳ τον ἐγκαταβήσειν.

Τῷ αἵρι τῶν ἐγκαταβήσειν.

Τοῖς νοσοτήται τῶν ἐρπαν.

Τοῖς λεημένοις τῶν ἀνάφυτοι.

Τοῖς ἐν ἐξορίαις τῶν ἀνέκδοκ.

Τοῖς ὁρφανοῖς τῶν ἐν οἰκιάσει.

Τοῖς χαράις [ὑπὸ τὴν αντιπηνυμία.]

Τοῖς εἰλίποιοί εἰς ἐπαρκήσων εἰς ἄραβον.

Τοῖς εὐπρός [ἐπαρκήσων]

Τοῖς πεπεπάτοις [ἐπαρκήσων]

[Four lines wholly illegible.]

Τοῖς ναραπτικότας καὶ μεταμορφώσατας συναρπάσμενοι τοῖς πιστοῖς σοῦ

Τοῖς πιστοῖς [συναρπάσμενοι τοῖς] μαρτύριοι σοῦ

Μὴ μνησάτι [τοῖς παροιμαῖς] ἐν τῷ

1 ποτάμιων, Cod.

2 The passage τοῖς αὐλακαί...κύριε ἐλέησόν (Ren. 10126-1029) is omitted from the ms.

3 Folios 7 and 8 are seriously injured by damp; fo. 7 is almost illegible.

4 μετὰ τῶν πιστῶν, Ren.

5 μαρτύριον, 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.

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;

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;

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LITURGICAL FRAGMENTS

*τότε τοῦ τῶν ἀγγέλων κατέχουν καὶ ἡμᾶς τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἁρπάζοντας πρὸς τὸν σῶν κεκαθομένους ἀναξιούς

[Rubric in one line effaced by damp.]

Μνησθήτες κε’ καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἡμῶν ταύτης καὶ τῶν ἐν ὑποδόξω πίεσει οἰκονύτων ἐν ἀγίᾳ καὶ πάσῃ
πόλεις καὶ χώρας σὺν παντὶ τῶν κομμῶν ἄγγελῶν καὶ μίσει χάρος ἂν ἄγγελοι τὸ πάντος ἐχοῦν 
καὶ στεφάνων καὶ σπουδασμένων καὶ τῶν ἐκ πάσης ἔργων ἔργων καὶ παντός
πόλεως καὶ συν στίμων καὶ ἀγίων τῶν ἀξίων καὶ ἀληθείας καὶ ἀρετής καὶ στοιχείων ἐν πιστεύουσαν
τε καὶ αἱρετικῶν.

Μνησθήτες κε’ καὶ τῶν προδότων ὑμῶν τῷ πολλῷ ἡμῶν ὧραντισκότων

Kai πάντων το[ν ἀπὸ [ἀγωνο]ν οἱ ἐγκαταλείποντος

Ἀγίων Πρώτων· ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡμῶν Προφητῶν· καὶ ἐν τῷ σὺ νθελούσι τῶν ὡς ἠμένων· καὶ τῶν ἀξιάων
πόλεως καὶ συν στίμων καὶ τῶν ἐκ πάσης ἐργών ἐργών καὶ παντοτό

Εὐαρέστες τὰς παναγίτας ἐν πρόεδροι καὶ ἐκεῖνοι τὸς τελείους ἑκατόν περιστρέφοντας ἐν τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ

τῶν ἀγίων ἐνάδοξου προφήτων προσδόμους καὶ μάρτυρος ἤλθον· Τοῦ ἀγίου

Τοῦ ἀγίου προσδόμου τοῦ πρωτοτιμοῦντος καὶ πρωτομάρτυρος·

Καὶ τοῦ ἀγίου καὶ μακαρίου πρὸς ἡμῶν μάρτυρος τῶν δούλων καὶ ἀγίων·

Καὶ τοῦ ἐν ἀγίων ἡμῶν Θεολόγου· καὶ ὡς ἐν τῇ σάμαρῳ καὶ σώσετε τὰς πόλεις

καὶ πάντως ἡμῖν ἑαυτῶν

ὦν τὰς ἔθεσι καὶ προσεβαίνεις καὶ ἡμᾶς ἑλέσθη καὶ σῶσον διὸ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡμῶν ῥεῖν εἰς ἡμᾶς.

[ὁ λαόν οἱνομεῖ] λεγε[τε] τὰ δίπτυχα]

Μνησθήτες κε’ τῶν προκοκιμομένων ἐν τῇ ὑποδόξῳ πίστει πρῶτων ἡμῶν καὶ ἀγαθούν.

Καὶ ἀναπληρων τὰς φυλάκιας αὐτῶν[ν] μετὰ δόσιμοι μετὰ διάκοικοι.

Σύνανσε εἰς τόπον χαλκὸς ἐπὶ τὰς ἀναπαυκέσεως· ἐν παραδείγματι τριγυμένῳ συν ὡς εἰπονεῖ τὰ ὧν ὀνοματε. 1

* * *

1 People’s response omitted. 2 Ren. omits. 3 Ren. omits. 4 A single-line Rubric is here effaced by damp. It may perhaps have contained the Rubrics both for Deacon and Priest, if these were strictly abbreviated. 5 ἐκθέσεων καὶ σύνανσει, Ren. 6 Ren. omits. 7 Ren. adds αὐτῶν.

Them who are present in this place do Thou make imitators of the Angels; and though we be unworthy do Thou accept us who have been called to Thy service.

(The rubric following is illegible.)

Remember also, O Lord, this our city, and them who dwell therein in the Orthodox Faith, and every city and country together with all their people. Deliver us from famine and pestilence, earthquake and flood, fire and captivity of the barbarians, and from alien swords and insurrection of enemies and heretics.

Remember also, O Lord, the predeceased, our holy Fathers the Orthodox Bishops, And all who from the beginning have pleased Thee well, Holy Fathers, Patriarchs, Apostles, Prophets, Heralds, Evangelists, Martyrs, Confessors, and every righteous spirit that hath finished its course in the faith of Christ;

Especially our all-holy, most glorious, immaculate, and ever-blessed Lady, the Mother of God and ever-

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.

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

X Fo. 10a = R. 113

...II

1 These three words are absent from Renaudot's text, where the association of the Father and the Holy Spirit is placed after προκύψεως.

1 The Rubric in Renaudot's text (p. 113) prescribes only Ps. cl.

The following variants from Swete's (Cambridge) text occur:

[The remainder of the page is left blank.]

1 Hail, Mother unwedded who didst never travail! Hail thou Bush unconsumed by fire!

1 Heading in red. Alternate initials (X) are also in red, as are all the alphabetic initials.

2 Gēnoc, Cod.

3 Probably interpolated.

To the Theotokos.

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

Χαίρε Ἰάσις τῶν νομιμάτων κακών· Χαίρε κράτος καταρρύματος·
Χαίρε λόγον Θεοῦ· Χαίρε χρήσιμον παρθένοις καὶ ἄφοροις·
Χαίρε ἡμίφησις ἀρνί καὶ ἀμύλαντες· Χαίρε θανάτων εἰμιλαχνή·
Χαίρε ὀρός Θεοῦ· Τῷ πάνωτει· Χαίρε προσενε· Τῷ αἰωνίῳ χαῖρε·
Χαίρε πάθας βαλτικάκας τάχειν σωᾶς· Χαίρε στέμμα ταῖς κατ’ θεάμα τῶν ἰκάνων·
Χαίρε τόμος εἰς ἐνεχυς καὶ καθαρός· Χαίρε γυμνά τῶν πεπτωκότων φθοράς·
Χαίρε φέρος καὶ σέβας ὀρθοδοξίας· Χαίρε γείασθεμένων τῷ σκεπασμαί·
Χαίρε ψυχοφθορόν εἴσοδόν· Ἡ βραχύκακα· Χαίρε ὠμόμα·
Χαίρε πολύχωρος εἴσοδόν· Ἡ βραχύκακα· Χαίρε ὠμόμα·
Χαίρε πολύχωρος εἴσοδόν· Ἡ βραχύκακα· Χαίρε ὠμόμα·

1  ἀμύλαντε, Cod. 2  προσενε, Cod. 3  ψυχοφθορόν εἴσοδόν, Cod. 4  sic: ?=ὁξιλα.

Hail, thou Healing of sore sickness! Hail, Might and Strong Refuge!
Hail, thou that didst bear the Word of God! Hail, only Virgin and uncorrupt!
Hail, thou Bride, pure and undefiled! Hail, Destruction of graven images!
Hail, all-holy Mount of God! Hail, thou who dost procure eternal joy!
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 x 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. Ῠπε) 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 Khalibús (sic) as priest in 1265 A.M. (= 1549 A.D.), and Hegumen (? of Dér Abû Makâr) in 1277 (= 1561 A.D.). Both consecrations took place under Gabriel VI, the latter in the Church of S. Mercurius “in the Monastery of Tamwa” (opposite Meadi in the district of Utflâ).

A leaf, numbered Ξ, 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, 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-Fragments show) 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 x 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 uncial 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.

1 See Crum, Catalogue, no. 428.
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

D. Horologia.

(1) Paper. Fifty-five leaves (Cairo, no. 82), 17.5 x 13.2 cm., foliated on versos, 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.) _ABC (Ornament) _D (Ornament) _E. 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, 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 x 12.5 cm., foliated on the versos, 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 x 13 cm., foliated on the versos. 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 x 13 cm., foliated on the versos. 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 x 13.8 cm., foliated on the versos. 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.

(HOURS FOR HOLY WEEK)

(1) Paper. Seven leaves (Cairo, no. 87), 21.5 x 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 x 13.2 cm., paged (7) on the versos. Good, bold thirteenth century hand. Headings (with Arabic versions) in red, e.g. ᾳανθνος ᾶας ῖπειρος ἀπὸ ἀπαράξιας ἐν ῖς φύλα ἀκαλότω (e.g. 53:1). Stops (+) red; plain, enlarged capitals with red touches.

The leaves preserved contain odes (psali) for the Hours in Holy Week; but the last (—ΣΔ) has the heading ΠΡΑΣΙΑΝ ΧΤΗΜΑΤΟΣ.

1 Copt. psalms, Arabic. A collection of Psalms, prayers, Scriptural passages, &c., for each of the Canonical Hours. Modern editions are (1) Arabic: : الإيجيبي (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 ΣΔ, the last ΣΔ (i.e. 16–287).
3 In size, quality of paper, &c., this MS. is similar to No. xxxviii A (Greek Liturgies).
4 Between ΣΔ and ΣΔ (i.e. 12-251).
5 Between ΣΔ and ΣΔ (18-246).
6 Between ΣΔ and ΣΔ (58-238).
7 Between ΣΔ and ΣΔ (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 ΣΔ and ΣΔ (6-238).
LITURGICAL FRAGMENTS

(3) Parchment. One leaf (Cairo, no. 14), 34.2 × 27.5 cm., unnumbered. Medium-sized uncial script, probably of the twelfth century; no stops (Plate VI A).

Contents: lections for the Pascha, vii., Ro. to Vo. l. 30: Isaiah XLIX, 11–25; then, after a paragraphus, the direction (in smaller informal uncial) ἐκεῖνος ὑπέρωνακεν ὑπὸ μηνάκεα εὐς ἔμενον ὑμῖν ἄν

Thereafter, with one line in enlarged capitals, Isaiah XLIX, 26.

Under the Patriarch Gabriel II (1131–1146), "certain learned, skilful, and wise men, as also many monks of the Monastery of S. Macarius, compiled a book of passages from the Old and New Testaments, and named it The Book of the Passion; and it was used yearly for the celebration of Easter in the Church."2 At a later date this work was enlarged by a certain Peter, Bishop of Behnesa. Presumably our fragment belongs to the earlier of these recensions.

F. The Difnąr.

Paper. Thirty-three and twenty-six leaves, complete or fragmentary (Cairo, nos. 89, 90), from two volumes3 of the Difnąr. Each volume contained something like 160 leaves (320 pages), grouped in quires of ten leaves each. Where complete, the page measures 25 × 17 cm. The numeration (on the verso) is by folios, but as usual the first and last pages in each quire have a special heading: thus folios 140 and 1414 of the first volume are headed —κα Τα (Ornament) πράγμα παρ. ἐν μικρὸν (Ornament) μῆνυ τακ. 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 β and δ both occur: capital α always has the form α: αβτ never carries the mark of abbreviation. The stop γ or ζ (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 1 cover the first third of the year (Thọut-Khoiak); the remains of Volume II cover the second third (Tōbi to Pashons), but no remains of the presumed third volume have been found.

Manuscripts of the Difnąr are rare, and the four extant copies4 date only from the eighteenth century: our fragments, such as they are, therefore represent by far the earliest known copy of this work.5 The ample recognition in these pages of Saints of Scetis possibly indicates that there was a local 'use': indeed there is some evidence to show that the ms. once belonged to the Monastery of Saint John the Little.6

To every saint and festival commemorated two hymns were assigned, set to the modes or melodies 'Batos' and 'Adam.' It is noteworthy that in this, unlike the Rylands Difnąr,7 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 ἀποκ (or ἀποσ) on, 'the same (person) again,' with the appropriate melody. The individual hymns are in stanzas (written as paragraphs) of four lines each, the lines being distinguished by stops. The first hymn usually concludes ἀντικαὶ...ἐρυθρά ἐξώρισαν ἦν ἔνησάν (neposlf παχ ἐνολα), but once (Tōbi 21, Death of the Virgin) the formula is varied by ἑκατέρων ὑπὲρ φωνής ἄνω ἔσχα ἦν ὑπὸ Παναθ., followed by ἐσφορέτοι ἐρυθρά ἐξώρισαν: the second hymn ends ἀντικαὶ ἦν...ὁσι (ἀριστότ. &c.). But both are commonly abbreviated to one or two words. Where neither formula was appropriate (as at Christmas) a variant, beginning ἐντῷ ὑπέρ, was substituted. Ordinarily the hymns show no sign of acrostic arrangement: the only exceptions are: (i) the second Ode on Dioscoros (Thọut 3); and (ii) the second Ode on the Nativity, wherein each stanza begins with a letter of the alphabet.8 In the latter Ode, moreover, a refrain,

1 The first numeral surely indicates a page, the second perhaps a numbered volume in the Monastic Library. Cp. below on No. xxxviii C, Frag. 12 and note thereon.
2 See Dillmann, Cod. Eib. 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 Difnąr itself is quite obscure (see Crum, Cat. of Copt. MSS. in the Rylands Lib., p. 213).
6 See No. xxiv, 2, p. 95, ii. 5–6.
7 Crum, op. cit., p. 211.
8 The text of this Ode is given above (No. 11).
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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 (Tobi 7), two hymns to Saint Macarius (Phamenoth 27), and the two imperfect hymns on John the Little (Paophi 20). The following is a summary of the contents: 1

(Vol. I) Tobi 1: New Year’s Day; 3, Dioscoros; 8, Moses the Prophet, Zacharias the Priest; 17, Holy Cross. Paophi 1, Paul of Tamwah, Sergius and Bacchus; 12, Matthew the Apostle; 20, John Colobos (the Little); 25, Abba Apollo; 26, Abba Makari of Tkoou. Athor 9, The cccxviii Fathers at Nicaea; 22, Cosmas; 23, Merine (Marina); 27, James the Persian; 28, Abba Sarapamon; 29, Peter of Alexandria. Kboiak 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; 15, Gregory of Armenia; 25, John Khamé; 27, Psoti and Callinicus; 29, The Nativity.

(Vol. II) Tobi 6, Basil of Caesarea; 7, Translation (of Ephraem) to Dér Anba Bishoi; 11, John the Baptist and Feast of the Baptism; 12, Theodore the Eastern; 13, Marriage at Cana; 16, Saint Philotheos; 20, Death of the Virgin; 22, Saint Antony; 30, Martyrdom of Elpis, Pistas, and Agape. Mecbeir 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. Pharnouthbi 25, Saint George. Pasbons 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. Tiscb. xxix, 29–33 (perhaps also 34), 2 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 ε is paged —ἐκη, and the first in quire ε is numbered εκβολος, εκβολοεια. The intervening quire ε, however, certainly contained eight leaves or sixteen pages. The complete page measures 19.4 x 16.3 cm. Many leaves (see on Frags. 1–4, 10, 12) have been cut vertically down the center, no doubt to be used for binding purposes. Guide-lines are ruled for every alternate line and down the left side of the column. The hand is a good-sized, clear, but somewhat coarse uncial of the paper type, which may be assigned to the thirteenth century (see Plate XIX A, B). Illuminated headings accompanied by a spray of marginal illumination marked the beginning of the group of hymns assigned to each month. Rubrics are normally in red; but if they are lengthy, alternate passages are in red and black. The stop - (black), inserted by the original scribe, has generally been superseded by + (red).

The book to which these fragments belonged was a collection of hymns appointed for use on various festivals throughout the year, 4 beginning with the month Thout. 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. 6 In one case, however (Frag. 8, Pharnouthi 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 x 15 cm., a single leaf cut vertically into two unequal parts, 6 and paged on the verso ε. Recto: Hymn to Dioscoros (Thout 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’ ἅλκακτες, ἁλκάκτες, and εἰς παραφοράν της Ἕσση τῷ Πατρίῳ ἈγαθοτοMessages “Lo, all his ministry (?) is (written) in the Book of the Prophets.” 7 Lastly comes the heading (red):

1 Most of the hymns are incomplete.
2 One leaf (Pανακατ) 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.
6 The inner portion is much shrunk and faded, and the upper part (the first two ll.) has been cut off.
"Second day of Thōout: John the Baptist. Melody, 'Adam'" with the opening of the Hymn: παλαις εδεχθησαν πνε ἀπιτρικίας ἐπί τῆς προφητείας του Παλασίος."

Frag. 2 (C.U.L. Add., 1885, 9), 18 x 14.5 cm., two leaves (one sheet) paged on the versos ν, υ. 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); 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 ποιμ μοι). 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 ἀλλαλονθη προφατεται εὐθέ."

Frag. 3 (Cairo, no. 91), 19.5 x 5.7 cm., is the outer half of a leaf, paged —κ, which has been cut vertically down the center. Recto: conclusion of an unidentified Hymn. Then follows the heading (red): "[Twenty-seventh day of Paopi, Abba Makari [the Bishop. Let them] say,' Let [. . .] 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 x 7.2 cm., is the outer half of a leaf paged —και and cut vertically down the center. Recto: after one line of text is the direction (black, between paragraphi) ἐν ἐορτασμοι παλαις εδεχθησαν προφατεται. 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 Archbishop]lop. Let them worship in Abba Beinopher. Psali. Melody . . .] The beginnings of four lines follow. (Cod. Tisch. xxix, 31, a leaf paged —κας, 15 x 13 cm., and dealing with Athor 15 and 18, should come next in the sequence.)

Frag. 5 (Cairo, no. 41), 19 x 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 ποιμ μοι παλαις εδεχθησαν παλαις εδεχθησαν. Folio 2 recto: text of Hymn beginning παλαις παλαις εδεχθησαν; verso: text wholly effaced.

Frag. 6 (Cairo, no. 91), 16 x 14 cm., comprises two leaves (one sheet) of which the lower and outer margins are cropped. The first leaf is paged —και; 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) κατα τιμη οντω[. . .] πως δαιμονια[. . .]

Frag. 7 (id.), 13.2 x 16 cm., is the lower portion of a leaf. Recto. Heading: "Second day of Khoiak, Abba Longinus. Psali. Melody, 'Adam.' αἰκινία εἰσαίτη (an incipit) δεν αἰαν ἀκρίσιμος." (The last two words are canceled and a later hand has substituted παλαις ἀκρίσιμος, 'the little book'). Second heading (red): "Fifteenth day of Mechir, Symon (sic) the Priest. Let them veil the throne. Psali. Melody, 'Adam.'" Five lines of the Hymn follow, beginning ἐν τω μνήμων ἐκ θεοῦ. Verso. The same concluded, ending κατα τιμη οντω[. . .] αἰαν ἀκρίσιμος.

Frag. 8 (id.), 18.7 x 16 cm., is a complete but faded leaf, paged —και. Recto. "'Renew unto me' (an incipit). Take it from the first day of Thōout. Alleluia. Virgin." Then follows a second heading (red): "The Second Sunday of the Fifty (Days);" and in black, "See (?) on the Second Sunday of the Forty Days" (κατα τιμη οντω[. . .] αἰαν ἀκρίσιμος τε πιὰ). A third heading (red) comes next: "The [Second] Sunday of the . . ."
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Frag. 9 (id.), 19.5 x 16.5 cm., is a single leaf paged —σήμερον. Recto. Final ‘rubric’ of a Hymn relating to the preceding page, ἀλλαξανθών + πυρομοιοι. Then beneath a transverse headpiece of interlaced work (white, yellow, red, and green) is the month-heading “Pharmouthi: Eighth (Month). Twenty-third day of Bathouch, Saint George (red). Psali. (Melody), ‘Batos.’ (ἀπό τῶν ἁγίων ἅγιοι) Αἰωνίως. Seven years did he pass’ (an incipit). Melody, ‘The Fifty,’ if he (one?) pleases” (ὑπερθύμβοιες ὁμοίως ἐνεργεῖ τὴν ἐπιστήμην) (black). Next comes the direction “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 παντὶ παλαιὸς ἐκτύπωσεν + παλαιὸς. Verso. Heading for last page of a quire, σήμερον (Ornament) o o o. Then the text of the Hymn is continued—ὁ λεγόμενον + εἰς ὁποῖα εἴπερ περιπλῆσθαι + παλαιὸς ἐκτύπωσεν &c., and concludes with the rubric ἀλλαξανθών ἐπιστήμην.

Frag. 10 (Id.), 19.3 x 16.4 cm., is a complete leaf, first in quire σήμερον, ἐως τὸν ἑαυτόν. Recto. Below the quire-heading σήμερον (Ornament) o o o, follows the text (without beginning) of a Hymn to “our Father Abba Panoub” (Paoni 23), who “in his choice (προσεπεκά) became a martyr and endured the affliction of punishment (ἁμαρτία) when the King Co(n)stantine (sic) pursued after thee (sic) and the Seventy Confessors.” Verso. Heading: “Twenty-fourth day of Paoni. Abba Mousé (Moses the Robber). Psali. Melody, ‘Adam’” (red). For the text of the Hymn following see above, No. xxiv, Ode 4.

Frag. 11 (id.), 17 x 6.5 cm., is the outer half of a leaf slit down the center and paged —σήμερον. Recto. Endings of seven lines of a hymn followed by a paragraph. Then comes a rubric (red) [τῷ ἁγίῳ ἀνοίγομεν εἰςήν] […………. ἐαυτῷ πιστεύοντες + πυρομοιοι (sic)] δατος. 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 [τῷ ἁγίῳ ἀνοίγομεν] […………. ἐν στὶς εἰς τὰ ἀρχαῖα καὶ τὰ ἑκάστα ἅγια + ……. ἐκεῖ πάντας ……. ἐκεῖ πάντας] ……. “If they read the discourse [………….] (red) of the holy [………….] concerning the [found]ing of the Church ……” (black).

Frag. 12 (id.), 19.7 x 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).” Psali. Melody, ‘Batos.’” (σήμερον πιστεύοντες Θεοτοκος-πισταρχάς τούτων ὑπερθύμβοις ἐπαυτός μαρτυρος Αϊώνιος + Παλαιός ἐκτυπωται). The text of the Hymn follows, beginning ἐπεκτείνοντο τας ἑπτάνατα, τος ἀναμνήσεως τὰς περιπλησμάτι τῆς ἐρωτικής τιμήν παραμενον. 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.’ Alleluia: ……. (σήμερον πιστεύοντες Θεοτοκος + ἐπεκτείνας τας ἑπτάνατα). Next follows a heading, “Epep 25. The Second Lakane,9 and the holy Thekla the Apostle (red). Repeat everything which is written for Epep 5 except the psali ‘These Twelve did Our Savior choose.’ Alleluia. Prodos.” (σήμερον πιστεύοντες Θεοτοκος + ἐπεκτείνας τας ἑπτάνατα). The text which follows begins ἐπεκτείνας τας ἑπτάνατα τας ἑπτάνατα τας ἑπτάνατα τας ἑπτάνατα τας ἑπτάνατα τας ἑπτάνατα τας ἑπτάνατα τας ἑπτάνατα τας ἑπτάνατα τας ἑπτάνατα τας ἑπτάνατα τας ἑπτάνατα τας ἑπτάνατα τας ἑπτάνατα τας ἑπτάνατα τας ἑπτάνατα. Last is the heading (red): “Epep 25. Apa Antonina and many other

1 For the ‘Angel of the great Council’ see above, p. 123.
2 Sic, but the word σῦνομ 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 πᾶς below, or πᾶναβομ in Frag. 12.
3 In the adjoining margin is a spray of conventional foliage: see Plate XIX a.
4 ἀλλαξανθών + ἐπιστήμην + ἀλλαξανθών.
5 σύν τῷ παρὰ τὸν παρακολουθεῖν Παρακολουθεῖν ὑπερποντῷ ἐπεκτείνας + ἀλλαξανθών + πᾶς.

6 Or perhaps ἀλλαξανθών ἐπιστήμην (τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ Παρακλήτου). “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, 1, § 5.
8 ἀλλαξανθών + ἐπιστήμην.
9 ἄρα + ἀλλαξανθών + ἐπιστήμην.
10 The incipit of the Hymn of which slight fragments are preserved in Frag. 11.
LITURGICAL FRAGMENTS

Martyrs. Psali. Melody, 'Adam.' Folio 2. Recto: "Mesore 16. The holy Assumption of the Theotokos [...] (red). Let them say 'This is the Gate' and 'PiakahOn.'" 


The fragmentary sheet (Cod. Tischb. xxix, 30, 30a) relating to festivals in the 'Little Month' should follow next in the sequence.

The right edge of the recto has been cropped: any unit-ciphers following K (twenty) have therefore been destroyed. These marginal numbers are ignored in the version.

1 Added by a later hand.

The three Days of Nineveh—Zacharias of Schou On Nineveh 165.82 (119 added by a later hand).

The text of this fragment is given in full.

1 The meaning of παραφωμ (apparently an incipit or popular name for some hymn) is quite obscure.
2 See also Introduction, p. xliii.
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 K (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 uncial.

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 uncial) 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 Λήμος "Lection" between two verses of the selected Psalm-passage or even in the middle of a verse.1

Further fragments of this ms. were recovered by Tischendorf and are now at Leipzig (Cod. Tisch. xxix, 1-10).2

Before the first of our fragments should be placed Cod. Tisch. xxix, 1, containing directions for the Third Sabbath and Sunday of Paopi, and for Paopi 23 and 25; and id. xxix, 2 (Paopi 27—Athör 8).

Frag. 1 comprises the lower halves (each 9 x 18.5 cm.) of two successive sheets (four leaves) from a quire. Folio 1, recto, begins with the heading, "The First Sunday of Athör. Psalm xxiv." Verses 6-7 (= xxv, 6)3 are cited, followed by the direction Λήμος. Verso. The heading is lost. Psalm xcvi, 8 (Λήμος) and 6 (= xcvi, 7-8, 6)4 are cited. Folio 2, recto. The heading is lost. Psalm ciii (civ) 4-5 are quoted. Verso. After the close of a citation, "The Second Sunday of Athör. Psalm lxiv (lxvi)," verse 10 is cited. Folio 3, verso. The heading is lost. Psalm lxv (lxvi) 11 (Λήμος) and 12 then follow. Verso. "[Athör 22.] Day of the holy Cosma and Damianos and their Brethren. Psalm xcvi (xcvi)." Verse 11 is quoted and followed by Λήμος. Folio 4, verso. The heading is lost. Psalm lxxiv (lxxvi) 5 (Λήμος), 6 are quoted. Verso. "Athör 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 x 16.5 cm., the second being numbered on the verso μ. The lower part has been cut off and the text of the remainder is very dim. Folio 1, verso. After an illegible citation is the heading: "The Third Sabbath of Athör. Psalm iv." Verses 3-4 (Λήμος), 1 (sic) are cited. Verso. After an illegible citation is the heading: "Athör 9. The Assembling of the ccxviii of the holy Synod of Nicaea. Psalm ci (cii)." The cited passage is illegible. Folio 2, verso. Illegible quotation. "[Athör 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 Athör. Psalm lxxv (lxxvi)." The verse quoted is illegible.

Frag. 3 is a single leaf, 25.2 x 18.7 cm.,paged on the verso μ. The text is much bleached owing to exposure to weather. Recto. Citation from Psalms, followed by the heading: "[Athör 28.] Abba Sarap'amJon, the holy Bishop. Psalm ..." The quotation is illegible. Verso. "[Athör 29.] The Day of Abba Peter the Martyr. Psalm ..." The citation which follows is unidentified. Next comes "[The Fourth Sabbath of Athör.] Psalm xxxix" and "The Fourth Sunday of Athör. 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 xxii, xxv, lxxxviii; and Cod. Tisch. xxix, 8, the upper half of a leaf numbered —μ, 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 μ, ν, and measuring 18 x 17.7 cm. (the lower part is torn off). Folio 1, verso, opens with a citation of Psalm ciii, 23 (= civ, 24), followed by the heading: "The Fourth Sabbath of Khoiak. Psalm lxxxix (lxx)." Verses 2 (Λήμος), 2 continued,4 and 3, are quoted. Then comes "The Fourth Sunday of Khoiak. Psalm xcvi (xcvi)." Verso. Verse 1 (= 1-2) is cited. Next is "Khoiak 2[7. The Day ?] of our Lord the Christ ... The Day of Abba Pstoi the Bishop. Psalm xliv (l)."

1 For the use of the direction Λήμος see Junker, Koptische Poesie des Zehnten Jahrhunderts, 1. Teil, pp. 57 f.
2 See Leipoldt, loc. cit., pp. 420 f.
3 The Psalm- and verse-numbers are those of the Coptic Psalter (Cairo, 1897). The quotation is added in brackets.
4 Very noticeable is the occasional inversion of the passages quoted.
5 If, as is probable, this leaf immediately followed Cod. Tisch. xxix, 8, the numeration is by pages, not folios.
6 This breaking of a verse is not unusual.
7 In the Synaxarium Pstoi is commemorated on Khoiak 27, and the Nativity on the 27-28.
LITURGICAL FRAGMENTS

Verses 2 (Ægic), 5-6 are quoted [Cod. Tisch. xxix, 4, commemorating John the Hegumen (Khoiak 30)] with Psalm cxxxi, and Kallinikos (Tobi 2) with Psalm lxxxvii, must have formed part of leaf, — immediately following — . Folio 2, recto. Ægic, followed by Psalm lxxvi, 11-12. Then follows the heading: “Tobi 8. The consecration of the Church of our Father Abba Makari. Psalm lxvii (lxviii),” verses 25-27 being quoted. Next, “Tobi 9. The Day of our Father Abraham [of Shilt]. Psalm . . . .” (citation illegible). [Cod. Tisch. xxix, 8, commemorating the Feast of the Baptism (Tobi 11) and the Third Day of the Baptism, evidently completes the foot of the page with which we are dealing].1 Verso. “The [Second] Sabbath of Tobi . . . Psalm viii,” verses 1 (Ægic), 1 continued, being quoted. “The Second Sunday of Tobi. Psalm xxviii.” Verses 1-2 (Ægic) 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 5 111 (Ornament) 111 [σε]. Recto: “The Third Sabbath of Tobi. Psalm iv (?)” (citation illegible). “The Third Sunday of Tobi, Psalm xiii (xiii).” Verso. “Tobi 21. The Day of Our Lady the Theotokos. Psalm xliv (xlvi). . . . [The Day of the holy] Hilaria (καλάπα) Psalm . . . .” [To the following page doubtless belonged Cod. Tisch. xxix, 7, relating to the Fourth Sabbath and Sunday and to the last day of Tobi, 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 Μακάριος Επισκόπος).]


1 How Cod. Tisch. xxix, 10, 16b (on the Second Day of the Baptism) is to be fitted to 8a and to Frag. 4, fo. — [p]9 is by no means clear.
2 The numeration of Frag. 6 and of Cod. Tisch. xxix, 5a indicates that by whatever accident the month Epep was placed before Pañi.
3 See Leipoldt, loc. cit., p. 421 (the two fragments are here treated as one).
4 This instance leaves no doubt that the notation 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 Pañi 27.

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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 x 13.1 cm., from a Sahidic-Arabic vocabulary, foliated as follows: δ, ε, ζ, η, θ, θ', η', θ'' (a fragment), μα, μα', μα'' η, θ, θ', η', ζ, ζ', ζ', η'' ζ'' η'' ζ'' η''. The hand is a plain, clear, slightly sloping uncial (see Plate XXI B 1), probably of the fourteenth century. I 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.

As the headings 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 Ιδιαίτερα, τάξις και ενδιάμεσα (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.

(2) Two leaves (one sheet), 15 x 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 XXI A).

(3) Eight leaves (four sheets), 14.3 x 10.5 cm., foliated (on the rectos) δ, ε, ζ, η, ζ, ζ', ζ', δ. 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 x 15.5 cm., numbered on the versos δ, ε, ζ, the second and third being the first and last leaves of quire δ (there were therefore ten leaves in the quire, and the numeration is probably by folios). The heading of folio 90 is η (Ornament) δέ. Late thirteenth century hand: stops + (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 89 of no. (3) both groups belonged to copies of the same work.

(5) Eleven leaves, 13 x 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 x 13 cm., numbered on the verso δ. The list of words is drawn from Revelation (e.g. xiii, 2, xvi, 1, 12, xvii, 12, xxii, 19 f.). Late thirteenth century hand.

(7) Fragmentary leaf numbered δ, and three leaves, 17.3 x 13.2 cm., numbered ε, ζ, — (the first two forming the outer sheet of a quire of ten leaves). The quire-heading is [δ] δέ (Ornament) δέ δέ δέ. Red stops + and + are used.

(8) Single leaf, 17.5 x 13 cm., headed δ δέ (Ornament) δέ δέ. Late thirteenth century hand (see Plate XXII B 2, right). The words (mostly Greek) are drawn from the Anaphora of Saint Basil.

(9) Two leaves, 17.5 x 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, while the second includes such words as επηγονος, θρημιας, etc. (Plate XXII B).

(10) Single leaf, 17.5 x 13 cm., headed on the verso δ δέ (Ornament) δέ δέ. Late thirteenth century hand: headings, capitals, and stops (+) are red. The words listed seem to be drawn from the Theotokia.

1 The paper is the same as that of the Greek Liturgies (No. XXXVIII A).
2 See Crum, Cat., no. 114 (p. 62), where the folio numbers are given. Other fragments from the same ms. 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 Samanbldi.
3 Biblical headings are in Coptic, the remainder in Arabic.
4 Bibl. Nat., Copt. 44 (as Crum informs me).
5 From pp. 312-337 of the Cairo Euchologion (1907).
6 From pp. 325-343 of ed. cit.
SUPPLEMENTARY TEXTS
SUPPLEMENTARY TEXTS

A. PSEUDO-LINUS

The Martyrdom of Saint Paul.

Parchment. The upper half of a leaf (Cairo, no. 17 Add), measuring 16 x 23 cm., and foliated on the verso 3. The outer margin of the fragment, which has apparently been used for book-binding, has been folded over and pasted down. The script, a small, regular uncial, is perhaps identical with the script of No. XXI, Frags. 2-4 (with which the fragment is erroneously grouped). The stops used are, = (black ink) and + (red ink).

The fragments of the text preserved are from the Martyrdom of S. Paul by pseudo-Linus, and answer to parts of folios 13b, 14a of the Arabic version. They should have been grouped with No. vi.

Cairo, no. 17 Add.

[Cairo, no. 17 Add.]

medecanoc mowq aqitow e pi-

yntek
staqumwe xq hen otnh leading to

nom + nem otalow agorot-
hq lica oton nuhen esnaqes

xe amon onamto nitne

mowq etem-

ma-

O xqro etaqemwx qnjjow amai

nuq erymo mowq xe oton

nuhen etxwoales w connects

amato hntq nxw [ma]j01t [... ]

ymec

staqumwe xq [nx?] qex qon ag-

cop eyol qwe mieratwe

ymec [nx?] jplodo

* * *

[Nero inflicted great] "torments on them and cast them into the prison. And since he was in a great rage and fury, he caused search to be made for every one who should say, “I am a soldier of that eternal King.” And he established a decree after this manner, saying: “All who shall be found being soldiers of Jesus the Christ let them be... one and all.” Now when this decree was made, the whole army scattered throughout the city..."

* Recto *

* * * * * * *

*And he (Nero) said unto him: “O man of the great king who art delivered bound into my hands, tell me what hath happened unto thee that thou hast ventured to come into Rome and to raise soldiers for thy king from mine own realm?” But Paul said in the presence of every one: “Caesar, not only from thine own realm will we raise soldiers; (for our King) hath commanded...”"

* Verso *

* * * * * * *

1 This number was assigned before the fragment was identified.
2 The numeral is doubtful: if correct it must be a folio-number.
3 For a discussion of the origin, history, and character of this work see C. Schmidt, Acta Pauli, §§ vi-ix.
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 x 17.5 cm., foliated on the verso. 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).

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...

1 Red ink. The last two syllables are added in black by a later hand.

2 The letter of

3 The letter is added in red by the rubricator.

The Four and Twenty Elders.
SUPPLEMENTARY TEXTS

C. Acrostic Hymn on the Finding of the Cross.

Paper. Two leaves, foliated on the versos recto, verso, from the first volume of the Dijnar (see above, No. xxxviii f). The text is the opening of an acrostic ode on the Finding of the Cross by the Empress Helena. 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.

The seventeenth day of the Month Thout. The Feast of the Holy Cross.

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.

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.

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...
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\(^1\) (Cairo, no. 45). The leaves, 19.8 x 13.5 cm. when complete, are unnumbered; though the first and last leaves of each quire are duly signed. Examples of these headings are — ATEGORY (Ornament) secured (Ornament) \& \text{ etc. The hand (see Plate XXIV \text{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 \(\cdot\) 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., \text{Add. 1886, 17}).\(^2\) The work to which these fragments belonged was apparently designed for the instruction of novices (see fo. 15\(^{\text{v}}\)), drawing mainly upon the \textit{Sayings of the Fathers} and the \textit{Orations of Easias 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,\(^3\) which, though not yet all formed, were in the process of formation. The \(\mathfrak{f}\) for example had not yet degenerated into the \textit{bamsa} 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.\(^4\) 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 \textit{tanwin}, which is represented in the Coptic text by two oblique red lines at the end of the word, thus \(\mathfrak{e}\). The nominative and objective \textit{tanwin} need no additional letters, but the dative \textit{tanwin} always, or almost always, calls for a preceding \(\aleph\) in Arabic. This I have always represented, when it does not appear in the Coptic texts. Thus \(\overset{\text{\textit{r}}}{\text{\textit{m}}}\text{\textit{n}}\text{\textit{w}}\text{\textit{n}}\) is represented in Arabic as \(\mathfrak{r}_{\text{\textit{gan}}}\text{\textit{m}}\text{\textit{n}}\text{\textit{w}}\text{\textit{n}}\text{\textit{a}}\text{\textit{n}}\) (nominative), but \(\overset{\text{\textit{r}}}{\text{\textit{m}}}\text{\textit{n}}\text{\textit{w}}\text{\textit{n}}\text{\textit{a}}\text{\textit{w}}\text{\textit{a}}\) (dative) and \(\overset{\text{\textit{r}}}{\text{\textit{m}}}\text{\textit{n}}\text{\textit{w}}\text{\textit{n}}\text{\textit{a}}\) (objective); so also with the suppressed final \(\mathfrak{f}\) in Coptic \(\overset{\text{\textit{g}}}{\text{\textit{n}}\text{\textit{w}}\text{\textit{n}}\text{\textit{a}}\text{\textit{n}}}\) = \(\mathfrak{g}\). There are other minor points which will be easily grasped by the reader.\(^5\) I must draw attention here to the curious transliteration of the Arabic letter \(\mathfrak{f}\) by the Coptic \(\gamma\). The letter \(\mathfrak{f}\) is never pronounced as \(\gamma\) in Arabic of the present time, whether classical or vulgar. It is always pronounced as a guttural \(\mathfrak{d}\); sometimes even in hurried pronunciation it becomes indistinguishable from the \(d\). The \(\mathfrak{f}\) however is pronounced like a \(a\) which is a guttural \(\mathfrak{p}\) and which is also represented by a \(\gamma\), in Turkish. Was the influence of Turkish already acting in Egypt at the date when the MS. was written? If so, we might suspect that the \(a\) represented a \(v\) or Turkish \(\mathfrak{u}\).

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\(^1\) Four or five of the fragments have been omitted by Dr. Sobhy as too small to deserve publication.

\(^2\) Published by P. le Page Renouf in \textit{P.S.B.A.} xi, 112, 155, and later studied by Amelineau and by Casanova (\textit{Bull. de l'Inst. Fran\c{c}. 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.

\(^3\) See the footnotes. The references are to the Greek \textit{Apothegmata} as found in the editions of Coteler and Migne, and to the Coptic edited by Amelineau in \textit{Annales du Musé Guimet} (A.M.G.) xxv.

\(^4\) Cp. \textit{Ancient Egypt}, 1921, pt. iii, pp. 70 ff.


\(^6\) Underlined words are rubrics written in red in the MS.
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

CONCORDANCE OF COPTIC AND ARABIC ALPHABETS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coptic</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Coptic</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ꞌ</td>
<td>١، ٥</td>
<td>The ꞌ when not pronounced as ث</td>
<td>١</td>
<td>ꞌ، ٥</td>
<td>The ꞌ before ١ is invariably used with no difference whatever for ١. Casanova's theory of Emala does not hold good at all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ꞗ</td>
<td>و</td>
<td>This may have been pronounced like V and represented the Turkish و</td>
<td>﷐</td>
<td>﷐</td>
<td>The ﷐ always, marked above it ﷐ with three dots instead of two ﷐ although it represents ٢ ة. The actual spoken Arabic has lost entirely the ﷐ ء</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>﷗</td>
<td>غ</td>
<td>Invariably used for the ﷗</td>
<td>ت</td>
<td>﷐، ﷐</td>
<td>Invariably used for the Arabic ﷐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>﷓</td>
<td>د، ﷓</td>
<td>Invariably used for either ١ or ﷔</td>
<td>﷓</td>
<td>﷓</td>
<td>Invariably used for either ١ or ﷔</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>﷔</td>
<td>١، ﷔</td>
<td>Only once for ١. The ﷔ = ﷔ = ض or ض = ض only in Turkish ؟؟</td>
<td>﷔</td>
<td>﷔</td>
<td>Invariably used for either ١ or ﷔</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>﷓</td>
<td>﷓</td>
<td>Not represented</td>
<td>﷓</td>
<td>﷓</td>
<td>Not represented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>﷔</td>
<td>﷔</td>
<td>Once for ﷔</td>
<td>﷔</td>
<td>﷔</td>
<td>Once for ﷔</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>﷔</td>
<td>﷔</td>
<td>Sometimes for a short ء، in ﷔</td>
<td>﷔</td>
<td>﷔</td>
<td>Sometimes for a short ء، in ﷔</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>﷓</td>
<td>﷓، ﷓</td>
<td>Always marked with the respective Arabic letter it represents</td>
<td>﷓</td>
<td>﷓</td>
<td>Always marked with the respective Arabic letter it represents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>﷓</td>
<td>﷓</td>
<td>Appears in one fragment without my being able to assign its value</td>
<td>﷓</td>
<td>﷓</td>
<td>Appears in one fragment without my being able to assign its value</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 See the monumental work of M. Chassinat where he attacks my dictum that the ﷔ is always pronounced like English <br>ch. Un Papyrus Médical Copte, p. 33.
### APPENDIX I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coptic</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>٠</td>
<td>١, ٢, ٣</td>
<td>Is oddly used for ١ in ١٠٠٠ etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>١</td>
<td>ب</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٢</td>
<td>ر</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٣</td>
<td>ن</td>
<td>Faultily used for ٣ which ought to be ٣</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٤</td>
<td>ق</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٥</td>
<td>ع</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٦</td>
<td>غ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٧</td>
<td>ف</td>
<td>Always with the Arabic equivalents above them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٨</td>
<td>ق</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٩</td>
<td>ك</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ا</td>
<td>ك</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>١٠</td>
<td>ل</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>١١</td>
<td>م</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>١٢</td>
<td>ن</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>١٣</td>
<td>أ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>١٤</td>
<td>با</td>
<td>As in κοπαλνς قلاً</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>١٥</td>
<td>م</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>١٦</td>
<td>ه</td>
<td>Never used, never represents ١ or ٢</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>١٧</td>
<td>م</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>١٨</td>
<td>س</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>١٩</td>
<td>أ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٢٠</td>
<td>ث</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٢١</td>
<td>ح</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٢٢</td>
<td>ج</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٢٣</td>
<td>د</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٢٤</td>
<td>ح</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٢٥</td>
<td>ن</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٢٦</td>
<td>ب</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٢٧</td>
<td>ث</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٢٨</td>
<td>ح</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٢٩</td>
<td>ج</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٣٠</td>
<td>د</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٣١</td>
<td>ح</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٣٢</td>
<td>ج</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٣٣</td>
<td>د</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Remarks**

- Was the ٢ then pronounced as ١ as in Turkish? Or was it the influence of Turkish?
- Always with the Arabic equivalents above them
- The Copts could not catch exactly the right pronunciation of this letter
- The Arabic ٢ above is never written in full and might pass for ١ hamzah, once or twice ١
- According to its position
- Never used, never represents ١ or ٢
- Not represented when final
- Two oblique red lines, once or twice ٣١
- Two oblique red lines
- Two oblique red lines
- Once or twice
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

Cairo, no. 45.

* Fo. 1 recto  

* pekaqheb - kaq - qa  
  leq - pafa - itiqoq - pe  
  meaqqaqep - fuqjikim  
  q - qaawq - kemeiipa :  
  loq - melax - kebalac  

* Fo. 1 verso  
  gaalac - bexerea : ga  
  la - baxacs - memel  
  baqin ebrak : bime  
  gaac en itiqoq - lepe  
  bork - elberek - en  
  baqin ebrak : el  
  kaqin - elmek - iaq  
  bork - oemekelme  

* Fo. 1 recto  

... "and cruelty of heart. He who is underneath will be in great meekness and shall have no refuge or salvation except his master. He then crieth with a loud voice which his master knoweth, and when his master heareth ... he shall have pity on him and demand salvation... and save him... he spoiled this... harmful. If... liked this... "on him and strove to save him from the ferocious beast." 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...

* Fo. 1 verso  

... * Virtues of S. Macarius (A.M.G. xxv, 131). 2 loc. cit.  

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*... to stay here.* The elder amongst them said, "If we cannot stay in this place we shall depart to another." He 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..." then that... run away... in the desert. ... I said... * Fo. 2 verso

---

1 * Apophth. Patr., Macarius, xxxiii; and A.M.G. xxv, 207 ff.

2 i.e. of the two 'Little Strangers' (Maximus and Domitius).

3 sc. Macarius.

4 Notice that Arabic = "hatchet."
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

*x Fo. 3 recto

*δεμεμοντω.............
ιδε λεμ • τεσσεμεςκεν...
ελεγες ες σεσεμεςκεν
ματωσ και δοβιν ως εις... εφες
νεγος ς ς μις εις...
ικελελ ως ελαξελεμ
δεις senses pegeos ς μις
καλ λ εις
λατωσ και παρε
τιμε δ πειτως ...
είνα
ω καλ ελα...
λευθ ειςεσκεθ
επολ εξεσκεθ
σαλ.. καλατος.. καπο
χωρουν.. πελεταρ
φεμετρ ελα
σεκαλ
... εμειεκ... 
... εμεισκ...
... ποι... 

* Fo. 3 verso

ιδε εποι
και καλ
ας ως εις
καλ
λοφ εμετρε εμει
λε ελασκοτρε... 
σαλ.. ελατος.. καπο
χωρουν.. πελεταρ
φεμετρ ελα
σεκαλ
... εμειεκ... 
... εμεισκ...
... ποι... 

* Fo. 3 recto

"*the counsel... If man do not hold great meekness in his heart and body and submit himself to everything and accept every saying and be harsh to himself in everything, his death shall be near him day by day and... exorciseth all... and exorciseth... and every...

* Fo. 3 verso

"[A brother came] to Abba Makarii 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... And he said...
APPENDIX I

*mercy... The Angel of Christ... to her... great... and answered... prevented her.

This same brother asked concerning the passage that “Thy youth shall be renewed like the eagle.”

Abba Makari said to him: “Like gold when tried in the fire... renewed...”

...and everything that shineth shall become new... to...

The brother asked him... “What is the ‘going upwards’, O my father?” Abba Makari said to him: “Like unto the eagle when he mounteth upwards in the sky which is to save himself from the hunter's trap... if he returned...”

---

1 = A.M.G. xxv, 145 f.
2 = Psalm ciii, 5.

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NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARtUS

"... but she hath pity on him and taketh him to her bosom gladly and every sweet thing she hath is his. So if she is thus created to love her child, how much more is the love of our Maker and Master Jesus Christ for us?"

The Virtues of Abba Makari.

"... say to me the nature of repentance." 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

* And he said to him: "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... the righteous... there was there... 

*...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.

1 = Apophth. Patr., Macarius, iii; A.M.G. xxv, 233 f. (Macarius is speaking to the Devil).
And said Abba Johannes the Short to his disciples: 2 "If we praise the One, everyone 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 the Short, 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 4 . . . "I wish to be [free from] occupation, as [the Angels]—because—[they have no] occupation"

---

1 = A.M.G. xxv, 338.
3 = A.M.G. xxv, 357 f.
APPENDIX I

* unparalleled.

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. . . .

* . . . 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 [kneelst?] . . . . to him. Forgive

Abba Jo(hannes). . . .

* * * * * *

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And said Abba Johannes.¹ "I saw an elder in ecstasy and three monks standing on the sea-shore. There came to them a voice from the other side, saying: 'Take wings of fire and come to me.' And two of them took wings of fire and flew to the other side; and the other remained standing 'crying and weeping. And at last they gave him two wings that were not of fire, but they were weak, without strength, and flew up and down with great difficulty, but he came to the shore. Thus this generation taketh wings, but not of fire, and furthermore they take wings that are small and weak and without strength.'

Abba Johannes said²

He who filleth his belly in converse with a youth hath already committed fornication with him in his heart.

It was said of him\(^1\) that when he had finished the harvest he went round amongst the elders and devoted himself to prayers, and listening to psalms and melodies until his mind was at harmony with his original quest.

Abba Johannes said:\(^2\) "He is like a man sitting under a great tree and seeing many beasts and reptiles coming to him. If he cannot make a stand he escapes and ascends the tree and saves himself. So, when I am sitting in my cell I can see diabolical imaginations 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

And a brother asked Abba Djidjoi\(^2\) and said to him "... why did you leave Shiḥet (шейт), being with Abba Makari, and come hither...?" "The Sheikh said, "When Shiḥet (шейт) 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"...

do to him Abba Djidjoi...
APPENDIX I

* * * * *

And Abba Djidjoi once fell ill.1 He had elders sitting round him: he ceased talking. They said to him, “What dost thou see, O (our) father?” And he said: “Some people who came for me... to take [my soul...].” Came to him once...

* * * * *

* * * * *

... hear from them a word. They said to me: “Thou hast faith in us and thou dost obey.” And I said: “Yes, O my fathers.” They said to me: “Go... thou seest me...”

* * * * *

* * * * *

... the elder. And he said to them, “The chief of all things is that one does not ever accustom oneself to anything. And I heard that... Abba Djidjoi...”

* * * * *

1 = id. XLIX.

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NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

x Fo. 14 recto  
* * *  

Fa. 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.

x Fo. 14 verso  
*

* Fa. 14 verso  

Abba Joseph asked Abba Poemen1 and...say to me....the Elder answered him...if thou desire repose in this world and in the other, say in everything, 'I am what I am,' and do not judge any one.

A certain one of the brothers said to one of the elders: "What must I do? because when I read in my Psalms I do not feel my heart melt, because I do not know [the] power..." Said to him...thou dost not...


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APPENDIX I

A holy man saw a man commit sin, and he wept a great deal.... and he said.... sinned against (me).... commit sin....

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....

* * * * * * * * *

1 Apophthegmata.
... 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 ...  

1 Apophthegmata.
although the Coptic version (e.g. Wessely, Studien, no. 276 a) shows that some arrangement entirely different existed. [W. E. C.]

1 ..."himself and restrain himself and not persecute anybody. You must therefore, my brethren, try to learn this lest your life be without fruit, and be always ready, and for every word ye hear say, "Forgive me." Meekness putteth an end to everything belonging to the enemy. Do not, O brother, account thyself anything in thy deeds...

... and let not thy face ever be severe. If strange brethren come to see thee, be cheerful and pleasant with them, that the fear of God may dwell in thee. If thou walk with brethren in the road, separate thyself from them a little in order to be silent, and as thou walkest do not turn to the right or to the left, but read thy Psalms and pray to God in thy thought...
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

* Fo. 18 recto

...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..."
APPENDIX I

<1>...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.  

*1 Esaias, Gr. 9, Lat. 1109 d.  

* Or "carefulness."
...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 handwork, leave thy work and do for him what he desires...

* Fo. 20 recto

*I* Esaias, Gr. 9, 10, Lat. 1110 A.

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APPENDIX I

1. and listen to what they tell thee lest thou grieve them and peace be lost amongst you. If thou live with a brother and he ask thee to cook him something, get his permission for what he wants: if he give thee liberty, whatever thou findest carry out, in the fear and favor of God. Take part with him in anything he doeth. Do not let anyone be tender towards his body lest he grieve the heart of his brother. If thou rise early every day, before thou touchest anything to do with thy hands, begin by calling on God and praying to Him, and afterwards if thou hast anything to do in thy Cell, do it without reluctance. If thou desire to do a thing wherein is wage and reward, let another participate in it and do not envy him. If it be a small thing...

1 Esaias, Gr. 10, 11, Lat. 1110 B.
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 him for the sake of God comfort. 

* * * * *

I Esaias, Gr. II, 12, Lat. 1110 D.

1 Esaias, Gr. 11, 12, Lat. 1110 D.
APPENDIX I

*God." 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

*x Fo. 23 recto

1 Esaias, Gr. 12, Lat. 1111 A.
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 (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...

1 Esaias, Gr. 12, 13, Lat. 1111 b.
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...
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 recto

* Fo. 26 verso

1 Osaías, Gr. 22, 23, Lat. 1116 A.
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...

\[1\] Esaias, Gr. 23, Lat. 1116 a.
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.

* Fo. 28 verso

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.

1 Esaias, Gr. 23, 24, Lat. 1116 D.

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x1 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].

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 . . . ."
NEW TEXTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT MACARIUS

* Fo. 30 recto

"nego — léllla le . . . .
sofi — men easy — h[a]l
nak — qeYe — oγex — epXa
nak — oγe — kai — men
ex — oγe — oStina — e[la]

\[\text{original text in ancient script}\]

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

\[\text{translated text}\]

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 . . .

* Fo. 30 verso

\[\text{translated text}\]

Do not not neglect it.

\[\text{other text in ancient script}\]

1 Esaias, Gr. 63, 64, Lat. 1134 A.
...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 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.

* * * * *

I Esaias, Gr. 64, 65, Lat. 1134 A.
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.

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1 Esaias, Gr. 65, Lat. 1134 b.
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...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...

1 Not identified.

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... to evil, any one of the men, and the purity of the eyes, and the reining of the tongue, and the cleanliness (?) of the feet, and the righteousness of the hands, and the observance of prayers and the mortification of the body and watching unto God. Upon thee he placeth his burden... the counsel... without murmuring... his removal (?)... the field... passeth by him, and it causes struggling and worry in the heart, and the thoughts of the body frighten him by their emotions and... the enemy. If the heart return and keep the commandments of the Spirit then it will be covered. Then if man learn perseverance toward God... his rest, as... O Lord... I cried...

1 Not identified.
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ワンの手をもどし
が
ワンが明るい

* fo. 35 verso

これらの文字は取り消されました。

1 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.

* * * * *

* Esaias.
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x Fo. 1 recō

... 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


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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 . . .

*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 . . .
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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 Natrun; nevertheless that little may here be gleaned.

1. The Library at the Monastery of John the Little.

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.

However this may be, only one Coptic MS. 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 Shïêt in the desert of our holy Father Macarius." An earlier MS. 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. There is reason to believe that a copy of the Difnâr, of which fragments have lately been found at Dâr Abû Makâr, once belonged to this Monastery.

Three Arabic MSS. are also connected with the Monastery of John: first, a (fragmentary) version of the Psalms the date of which is not specified; secondly a copy of the Gospels written at the Monastery itself in 1343; and thirdly the Vatican MS. of the Chronicon Orientale, 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 that the MS. was conveyed to Cairo, where it was read and copied by Elias of Eden in Mount Lebanon.

We may safely assume that amongst the Arabic books to be found here were the works of Sem'an ibn Kalil and the Nomocanon of Macarius, 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, and more loosely connected with the Syrians; though indeed the Syriac books known to have been written there seem to have found their way almost at once to the Syrian Monastery.
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2. The Library at the Monastery of Bishoi.

Though a certain number of MSS. which once belonged to the Monastery of Bishoi are still extant, the fact that many of them are undated renders it difficult to make out anything definite as to the history of the Library. Nevertheless it is of some significance that the earliest dated MS. was written in 1357; probably the white ants, which had so endangered the Monastery in 1330,1 had not spared the books, but devoured all the earlier MSS.

The earliest codex from the Monastery contains the works of Besa,2 successor to Shenoute the Great; but since it is written in the Sahidic dialect, it is certainly not of local origin and may have found its way to the Wadi ’n Natrûn at any period.

The only dated examples which can be quoted are: (1) the Four Gospels, now at Gottingen,3 written in 1357, repaired in 1491, and bequeathed at a date unknown to “the Monastery of Abi Bishai in Wadi ’t Tarraheh;” (2) the Pentateuch4 dated 1393 A.D.; (3) the Four Gospels,5 given in 1514 to the Monastery of Abi Bishâh, “known as the White Monastery in Wadi el Latrun,” and containing a note by John XIII forbidding its alienation; (4) the Psalmody or Theotokia,6 presented in 1619; (5) a Lectionary, now at Leipzig, presented in 1784-5 by a monk named Sawios.7

The only further pieces of any interest known to come from this Monastery are a fragment of a Homily,8 the Acts of Samuel of Kalamon,9 a Lectionary,10 and fragments of the Office for the Consecration of Holy Oil.11

Perhaps the most remarkable relic of the Library which has survived is a fragment from a polyglot Lectionary for Holy Week in Coptic, Greek, and Arabic,12 which may be assigned to the fourteenth century. A similar trilingual fragment, found at the Monastery of Baramûs13 by Dr. A. J. Butler and now in the Bodleian Library, appears to have belonged to the same MS.14

3. The Library at the Monastery of Baramûs.

Little or nothing of early date is known to have come from the Monastery of Baramûs. The Monastery was restored in the thirteenth century,15 and if this was made necessary by the ravages of white ants, the lack of early MSS. is not surprising.

Huntington in 1678-9 saw in the Church a complete New Testament in Coptic and Arabic,16 but mentions no other books, though he seems to have acquired at least one MS. here.17 Sonnini (1778),18 however, speaks of the books as being kept in the kasr; and here they or their remains were found by Lord Prudhoe, Curzon, and Tattam.

Lord Prudhoe (1828) saw and informed Tattam of “a small room with its trap-door . . . where books and parts of books and scattered leaves in Coptic, Ethiopic, Syriac, and Arabic were lying in a mass.” He formed the opinion that the collection had been cast into this hiding-place at some time of crisis and had so remained for centuries.19 Curzon (1837) mentions that there were “in a large vaulted room” in the tower some forty or fifty Coptic MSS. on paper: he found only one vellum leaf, which he carried off.20 Tattam visited the Monastery in 1838 and found (according to Miss Platt) about 150 Coptic and Arabic Liturgies; and further, “in the tower

1 See H.N.S. iv, x, § 3; A.A.G.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. 1251; see Horner, Copt. Verso of the N.T., p. cxl.
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. xvm (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.
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 ms.;'14 Finally A. J. Butler (1884) saw in the Chapel of Saint Michael in the *hak* a pile of loose leaves of ms., 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."15

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 Pasocrates and other texts relating to the Saint.8 An Arabic note states that the volume (which may have been acquired by Huntington) once belonged to "the Church of Our Lady at Dër Baramûs."

A fragment of *Deuteronomy* and another of *Psalms*4 are in the British Museum. Another ms. of the *Psalms* appears to have been brought to England from Baramûs by Huntington, and is now at Oxford:6 it belonged in 1317 to a certain Ibn Yusif, and between that date and 1624 had become the property of the Monastery. The British Museum also possesses a fourteenth-century copy of the *Gospels*,6 which belonged to "Our Lady at Baramûs in Wadi 'l Latrun" (sic) in 1776, when the volume was restored. Two copies of the *Anaphoras* of Saints Gregory and Basil (the former dated 1510), now in the same collection, also come from Baramûs.7

This general list may be closed with mention of a Copto-Arabic lexicon or rhymed vocabulary by Abû Ishak ibn Assal, seen at Baramûs by Prudhoe, who procured a transcript for Tattam.8

Far more interesting are two of the four polyglot fragments derived from the Wadi 'n Natrûn. The first of these is half of a large leaf (actually 17·1 x 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:9 the second is a single leaf, 35·5 x 26·7 cm., containing the text of *Saint John* i, 31-45; it may be assigned to the thirteenth or fourteenth century.10 This fragment again is in the five languages above named and similarly arranged. Doubtless both come from one and the same ms.—a copy of the *Gospels*.

The former of these fragments was found at Baramûs by A. J. Butler, who also recovered an imperfect leaf from a lectionary containing part of *Saint John* xiv-xv in Coptic, Greek, and Arabic.11 This fragment (32·4 x 26 cm.), written probably in the fourteenth century, almost certainly once formed part of the British Museum Lectionary for Holy Week, derived from the Monastery of Bishoi. Which of the two Convents owned the complete volume must remain an open question.

Butler also brought back from Baramûs a few Syriac fragments12 which may have strayed from the Syrian Monastery. Baramûs at any rate is not known to have had any Syrian connection.

4. The Library at the Monastery of John Kamé.

Of the Library at the Monastery of 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;13 presumably he also worked for the benefit of his own Convent. Bessus, the Hegumen of the Monastery in the eleventh century, is described as engaged on one occasion in copying books, which doubtless found their way into

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1 Quart. Rev. lxxviii, p. 57.
4 Crum, Cat., nos. 713, 720.
7 Crum, Cat., nos. 816, 815.
8 Crum, *Cat. of Copt. MSS. in the Rylands Lib.*, no. 452 (viii), and *Quart. Rev. lxxviii*, pp. 51 f.
11 Dr. Butler assures me that he remembers distinctly that all the fragments brought back by him were from Baramûs. (The fragment hastily described as from a Copto-Eth. lexicon is apparently the polyglot text above noticed.)
12 These fragments (Bodl. Syr. g. 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. 1.).
13 See Zoega, *Cat.*, p. 4.
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the monastic Library. Moreover, the thirteenth-century copy of the Life of John Kamël 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, written, as the colophon states, “in the holy Monastery of Anba John Kâmë in the desert of El-Askit, Mizân 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, 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 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, and after its downfall the MS. 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.

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.” Some of these may have belonged to the national Abyssinian Monastery, but the fate of the collection is unknown.

Two MS. 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. The book was found by Curzon, almost certainly in the Syrian Monastery, 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 MS. 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 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 (now) residing. 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—and since we know from Makrizi

1 See above, p. xxvi.
3 de Slane, Cat. des MSS. Arabes de la Bibl. Nat., no. 297, where it is wrongly stated to have belonged to the Syrian Monastery of St. Moses in Scetis.
4 URL, Bibl. Bodl. Codd. MSS. Or. Cat., Pars 1, Codd.
5 Copt., no. 111.
6 See H.N.S. iv, v, § 4.
7 See Wright, Cat., pp. xv f.
8 It is possible that Curzon may have acquired some of these MS., though he says nothing about so doing. For Ethiopic MS. in Curzon’s possession see his Materials, p. 99.
9 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.
10 See H.N.S. iv, v, § 2, and Excursus, § 10.
11 See Curzon, Materials, p. 27 (the colophon is there utterly mistranslated).
12 Text in T.S.B.A. ix, pp. 110 ff.
13 On this cell see H.N.S. iv, v, § 2.
14 H.N.S. iv, v, § 2.

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that the Church of the Abyssinians was dedicated to Elias, there can be little doubt that this volume once belonged to the Abyssinian Monastery.

The second ms. is a copy of the *Pauline Epistles* written in the fifteenth century for a prince or chief named Aydāfar-Zan. From him it passed (probably as a gift) to the Monastery of Saint Elias in Scetis, since on folios 117\(^b\), 118\(^b\) are various monastic rules of a general character relating to the Convent and dated in the Year of Grace 79 (= 1419 A.D.). A further note on folio 119\(^b\) records the foundation of a Church at Dēr Abū Mīnā by two Abyssinian priests and a deacon in 1512 A.D. Hence it appears that after the definitive ruin of the Monastery of Elias, the ms. was carried away from Scetis. It was formerly in the Séguier collection, and so must have been brought to France in or before the seventeenth century.

1 *id.* iv, x, § 8.
2 See Zotenberg, *Cat. des MSS. de la Bibli. Nat.*, no. 46.
3 See Zotenberg, *loc. cit.* Since I have been unable to obtain a satisfactory translation of these rules, no rendering is here given; they are of a purely general character. The only point of interest they show is the injunction “that the Commemoration of the brethren who have been sanctified (i.e., the dead) in the Monastery of Scetis be performed each year on the twenty-ninth of the month Tegemt (Oct.).” The Monastery itself is referred to as “this precinct of the Monastery of Scetis, the Sanctuary of Elias.”
4 Possibly in the Dēr Mari Mīnā, North of ‘Old Cairo.’
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[The following abbreviations are used:—Archbp. = Archbishop; Bp. = Bishop; Ch. = Church; Hist. = History;
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1 In Coptic Cherubim is both singular and plural.

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